

STRATEGIES IN THE MODERNISATION OF VENDA

BY

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submitted in accordance with the requirements of the degree of

DOCTOR OF LITERATURE AND PHILOSOPHY

in the subject

LINGUISTICS

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

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JUNE 2000

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I declare that **STRATEGIES IN THE MODERNISATION OF VENDA** is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.


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15/06/2000
.....

DATE

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my deep gratitude to my promoter, Professor August Cluver for his patience and assiduous help. He has given most generously of his valuable time and vast knowledge throughout the research period. I sincerely appreciate his advice and encouragement. His dedication to scholarship and excellence have been, and always will be, a source of inspiration to me.

I am also indebted to Professor Rusandrè Hendrikse, my co-promoter. His insightful comments and expertise in the field of morphology and linguistics in general enabled me to add more substance to my work. I also appreciate the insightful discussion with Britta Zawada on morphology.

My special thanks also go to a number of other people who helped me directly or indirectly to bring this work to fruition. Among these are: Professors Bernd Heine and Wilhelm J.G Möhlig of the University of Cologne in Germany, who assisted me in my research during my visit of six months to the Afrikanistik Institut; Professor Dick Hayward of the University of London (SOAS), who was my research adviser during my three months' visit at the Centre of African Studies; Professor John Harris of the University College of London for his assistance with regard to phonology; and Dr Philip Baker, a guest scholar of the Centre of African Studies (SOAS) for his insight with regard to orthographic reforms of African languages. The support from colleagues in the Department of African languages and from the Venda Language Section in particular, is highly appreciated.

I sincerely thank the DAAD for funding my research visit to the University of Cologne and the Oppenheimer Fellowship which enabled me to do research at the University of London (SOAS).

Finally, I would like to thank my wife Livhuwani for putting up with the strain and my children Mulalo and Rolivhuwa who had to miss the much-needed company and care of their beloved father.

ABSTRACT

This thesis addresses the problem of the lack of a systematic approach to the modernisation of the indigenous languages of South Africa, with particular reference to Venda. Thus, a systematic approach is proposed in this study for the development of modern terminology in Venda. This approach is based on the canonical model for language planning. In this model, terminology development should follow the following four steps: (1) analysis of the terminological needs of the situation, (2) preparation of a plan and strategies for research, (3) implementation of terminology in practice by means of suitable policies, and lastly, (4) evaluation and constant updating of terminology.

Within the canonical model for language planning, different models or frameworks are proposed. First is the theoretical model, which follows the pragmatic approach rather than a purist approach and takes into consideration other extralinguistic factors such as the nature of the special subject field, the needs of the target users and the socio-cultural context. The pragmatic approach is divided into two phases, namely the borrowing phase and the indigenisation phase. In the borrowing phase the borrowed terms are incorporated into the language with immediate effect and these terms may be replaced by indigenous terms in the indigenisation phase where less specialised communication is used.

In the indigenisation phase, different language internal term formation strategies were identified, namely semantic shift, derivation, compounding, paraphrasing, initialisms, acronyms, clipping and new word manufacture. It was established that the use of these term formation strategies in Venda requires linguistic expertise,

technical expertise and cultural expertise. Accordingly, a sociolinguistic approach is recommended rather than a purely linguistic approach.

Lastly, a model of practical terminology work and a model for cooperation and coordination are proposed for terminology work in this language. With regard to the former, various steps that should be followed in terminology work are outlined. In the latter model various language agencies, such as government departments, parastatals and non-governmental organisations that may be involved in the modernisation of this language are identified. A framework in which these agencies could cooperate and coordinate their terminology work is proposed.

Key terms

canonical model, compounding, compression strategies, derivation, health care internationalisms, language modernisation, language planning, loan translation loanwords, semantic shifts, term formation strategies, terminology.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This study focuses on language modernisation, which is one of the important dimensions of language development (cf. Ferguson 1968). Modernisation is a dynamic process, characteristic of all languages - all languages change with time and may have to adapt to modern changes that occur in the societies in which they are used. Although this change may occur naturally, the need may also arise for a language to be developed through conscious and deliberate effort to make it suitable for modern communication. In this way, language modernisation becomes an aspect of language planning (cf. Haugen 1966a, 1966b, Kloss 1969, Fishman 1974a, 1983a, Cooper 1989, Daoust 1991).

Planned language modernisation efforts have been carried out in various countries such as Norway, Denmark, Finland, Iceland, Israel, Hungary, India, the former Soviet Union, Korea, Japan, etc. (cf. Nahir 1984). Japanese, for example, has been transformed into one of the most highly technical languages in the world through conscious and deliberate planning. Similar processes are underway for developing languages such as Hindi in India, Bahasa Indonesia in Indonesia, Somali in Somalia, Amharic in Ethiopia, Swahili in East Africa. Afrikaans in South Africa underwent this process earlier in the 20th century.

In different languages modernisation takes a number of forms. According to scholars such as Ferguson (1968) and Fishman (1974a) language modernisation

may involve different aspects such as terminology development and the development of register styles, new literature genres and grammar books. This study will focus mainly on terminology modernisation. The development of modern terminology in African languages such as Venda, Ndebele, Sotho, Northern Sotho, Swati, Tsonga, Tswana, Xhosa and Zulu has become a matter of urgency due to the changed status of these languages following the new language policy which has accorded them official status at national level.

1.2 The research problem

The problem of modernising the indigenous languages of South Africa and the need for deliberate and systematic intervention to solve this problem have been raised in a number of studies (cf. Morris 1985; Mtintsilana & Morris 1988; Mtuze 1990; Benjamin 1994). The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) also points to the need to promote the development and use of these indigenous languages, which were neglected in the past. Therefore, the problem currently is not whether deliberate intervention is justified or not, but how it can be done with maximum efficiency and within a minimum period (Reagan 1990).

It is regrettable, however, that up to now, despite the new language policy's emphasis on the need for the development of the official languages, very little effort has been made towards the establishment of a framework for the modernisation of the Venda language. This state of affairs becomes a cause for serious concern when one considers that in the past most of the developments in the language "took place without anything like an overall language plan or strategy to guide them" (Prinsloo 1985:25). As a result, modernisation activities such as the creation of new terminologies appear to have been done in most cases

in an *ad hoc* manner, i.e. without being guided by general theoretical and methodological principles. The lack of such principles has resulted in a number of problems in the modernisation of the Venda language. These problems may be seen to occur at two levels, i.e. at the macro-linguistic level as well as the micro-linguistic level. At the macro-linguistic level, the main problem was the misconception that modernisation can be equated with terminological modernisation. This misconception has led to a one-sided development of the language, since other aspects of language modernisation, such as register styles and relevant literary works and publications were ignored. Problems at the linguistic micro-level have to do with the actual linguistic aspects, that is, the development of terminology and register styles. As already mentioned, the focus of this study will be on terminology development. However, terminology development will be viewed from a broader perspective than a purely linguistic perspective, taking into consideration the role of other extralinguistic factors such as sociocultural, political, economic and religious factors.

The first problem which may be identified at the micro-linguistic level has to do with term formation strategies. In Venda there are no clear principles that provide guidance with regard to the choice and use of the different term formation strategies. As a result, the choice of term formation strategies appears to be based on intuitive knowledge rather than on well-researched facts. The choice of term formation strategy demands much more research, since it is not only based on linguistic factors, but also on other factors such as political, socio-cultural and religious factors. In languages such as Somali, Hebrew and Swahili, for example, the use of language internal term formation strategies is preferred, since it boosts national confidence by showing that the language is perfectly adequate to express modern concepts and describe new objects instead of being dependent on

borrowing from other languages such as English, Italian or Arabic (cf. Caney 1984). In all these languages there are well-established principles which clearly indicate that language internal strategies should be considered first and borrowing later (cf. Massamba 1989). The lack of guiding principles in Venda has led to heavy reliance on borrowing and the underutilisation of other language internal term formation strategies (cf. Madiba 1994). This indiscriminate and unguided borrowing has tended to result in the pollution, rather than development of the language.

The fact that borrowing is the default strategy leads to further problems with regard to the type of borrowing that should be used, that is, either internationalisms, loanwords or loan translations. A further problem is the choice of the source language(s) for borrowing. Which language(s) should be used as the source for internationalisms and loanwords? Thus far, there are no clear principles to guide terminologists in this regard. It is therefore common to find terms with the same meaning borrowed from both English and Afrikaans denoting the same concepts. Borrowing from two different source languages clearly results in the creation of synonyms, which are not acceptable in term formation, where the ideal situation is a one-to-one correlation between term and concept. The use of borrowing in Venda is also marred by the lack of guiding principles for the adaptation of borrowed terms. It is not yet clear to what extent internationalisms and loanwords should be modified. The lack of guidelines has resulted in serious inconsistencies in the way borrowed terms were modified in the language (cf. Madiba 1994). There is a need, therefore, to establish principles that will provide guidance in this regard. For example, in languages such as Swahili it is recommended that internationalisms be incorporated without modification of the form, whereas loanwords should be made to conform to the linguistic structure of

the target language. There should also be clear guidelines for the use of loan translation, especially with regard to the question whether the newly formed term should conform to the morphosyntactic pattern of the source language, thus imposing a new pattern in the language, or whether it should follow the morphosyntactic pattern of the target language.

The use of language internal term formation strategies also leaves much to be desired. First, the use of Venda language internal resources for term formation has not yet been fully explored. It is not yet clear which term formation strategies are more productive in term formation. Terminologists should have a good knowledge of the target language's morphological and syntactic structure so that they can manipulate the existing word forms to create new terms. In derivation, for example, terminologists should be aware of the language's derivational potential. In using strategies such as compounding there should be clear guidelines with regard to the combination of different word forms and the morphosyntactic rules which should guide such a process. The lack of such principles has led to the creation of terms that were later rejected by the target users for being too artificial, cumbersome and inexpressive (Fourie 1994a). Semantically, these terms are, in most cases, not compatible with the idioms of the subject for which they were coined.

The problems discussed above point to the need for the establishment of a theoretical model or framework for the modernisation of the Venda language. The establishment of such a model requires more research in areas such as the theoretical aspects of word formation, term creation, efficient production methods including computerisation, attitudinal research and research needs. These considerations have never been the subject of any scientific study in Venda. This

study aims at addressing some of these aspects, while at the same time identifying others for further research.

The second problem which has bedevilled terminology modernisation in Venda is the lack of coordination among the various institutions involved with terminology development (cf. Mtintsilana and Morris 1988). It appears that many institutions in Venda have in the past established their own *ad hoc* terminology bodies to deal with terminology problems in their own domains. The problem with these institutions is that most of them never submitted their terminologies to the Venda Language Board, which was the national language body. For various reasons there was no proper coordination. First, there was no clear framework for terminology work, that is, from term creators to the standardising body and from this body to the target users. Second, the Venda Language Board was discredited since it was perceived as an institution established to promote and uphold the apartheid system and Bantu Education. There has been much discussion in the literature on apartheid language policies (Hartshorne 1987, Marivate 1992, Cluver 1992) and the role played at the time by the Language Boards. Furthermore, the Venda Language Board was inefficient and all its members were part-time. Now that apartheid has been removed and new democratic language structures such as the Pan South African Language Board and the Provincial Language Councils have been established, there is a need to establish a framework for the coordination of terminology work for Venda.

From the foregoing, it is clear that the modernisation of Venda requires well-researched theoretical frameworks to provide guidance with regard to the use of different term formation strategies, as well as a model of cooperation and coordination in terminology work. Thus, the aims of this study are:

- (a) To identify productive term formation strategies in Venda and to establish principles that underlie their use. The identification of these strategies is essential since no study until now has focused on term formation in this language. It is the assumption of this study that the Venda language has experienced an enormous expansion in its lexicon over the past two decades, despite the lack of systematic effort to modernise the language. This spontaneous development was due to the socio-economic and political changes that took place in the region. For example, when Venda was declared an ‘independent’ homeland in 1979 following the Bantustan policy, the Venda language was exposed to new functions even though there was no systematic effort to prepare the language for the new functions. Thus, an analysis of the existing terms will contribute to a better understanding of its linguistic resources for term formation and the speakers’ preferences with regard to the use of different term formation strategies in various domains.
- (b) To provide theoretical and practical frameworks or models for the modernisation of the Venda language. As indicated, problems with modernisation in the Venda language are due to the lack of well-designed frameworks based on basic research in various interrelated domains. The establishment of these frameworks will require the identification of various strategies. The term **strategy** is used in two senses in this regard. First, this term is used to refer to an overall plan of making deliberate choices in the implementation of a terminology development programme. Second, it refers to the various ways of manipulating the different term formation patterns to create new terms, that is, it refers to the standardisation term formation patterns as well as to the creation of links between term-creating

institutions in order to avoid duplication and the prioritisation of domains in which new terms must be created. Thus, in some instances, the term ‘term formation strategies’ will be used interchangeably with ‘term formation patterns.’

The hypotheses on which the study is based are as follows:

- (a) The methods for the development of modern terminologies are universal (Caney 1984). The term formation strategies established so far in various studies include, borrowing, compounding, derivation, loan translation or calquing, semantic shift, blending, clipping and conversion. However, depending on their social context, languages have different preferences as to the use of these word formation patterns (Ferguson 1977). Venda has a wide variety of word formation patterns to choose from for its modernisation.
- (b) The Venda language has the linguistic and cultural capacity for modernisation. Venda has a linguistic structure which allows the formation of the new terminologies through word formation methods such as semantic shift, derivation, compounding, and compression strategies such as clipping and the creation of acronyms. With regard to the cultural context, Venda society has over the past two decades changed radically due to the socio-economic, political and religious changes that have taken place in South Africa as a whole (cf. Madiba 1994). Therefore, the modernisation of the Venda language is in line with changes in other spheres of society.

- (c) The choice of term formation strategies is determined by the domain of use or special subject-field for which the terms are developed. (Caney 1984; Fishman 1987). Certain domains require highly specialised languages and a high degree of intertranslatability across languages. In these domains the use of borrowing strategies such as internationalisms may be more preferable than indigenous term formation strategies. Furthermore, the choice of term formation strategies should be sensitive to the needs of target users within a particular domain.
- (d) Language modernisation is influenced by social, economic, political, religious and cultural factors (Rubin 1971; Fishman 1974a, 1983a; Okonkwo 1977; Jernudd 1982; Neustupny 1983; Bamgbose 1991; Marivate 1992). Social factors have mainly to do with speakers' attitudes towards their language. The economic variable is also important in modernisation, since it determines the cost of implementing the plan. Political variables may be defined as the way in which modernisation advances the interest or ideology of a particular political party (Rubin 1973; Cluver 1993). Religious factors may also play an important role in modernisation. For example, in the modernisation of Hindi, Sanskrit is preferred as the source of borrowed terms, since it is seen as the language of religion. The same principle applies to the modernisation of Hebrew and Arabic (Fishman 1983a).

1.3 The concept 'language modernisation'

Before defining language modernisation, it is expedient to understand the meaning of the term 'modernisation' in general. Black (1966:7) defines modernisation as:

the process by which historically evolved institutions are adapted to the changing functions that reflect the unprecedented increase in man's knowledge, permitting control over his environment, that accompanied the scientific revolution.

The changes to which Black (1966) is alluding occur in various social disciplines. However, each discipline within the social sciences approaches the modernisation process from its own expert point of view. Weiner (1966) gives a clear illustration of how modernisation is viewed in different disciplines of the social sciences. In economics, for example, "modernisation has to do with man's application of technologies to the control of nature's resources in order to bring about a marked increase in the growth of output per head of population" (Weiner 1966:3). To the politicians, on the other hand, modernisation has to do "with the ways in which governments increase their capacity to innovate and to adapt to change to make policies for the society" (Weiner 1966:3). Sociologists and social anthropologists view modernisation in terms of changes that take place in society. Thus, it can be seen that modernisation is viewed as a process through which less developed societies acquire the characteristics of more developed societies.

Language is also affected by modernisation. As Rustow (1975:45) puts it, "the linguistic implications of modernisation all arise from wider and closer communication: more distant trade, more frequent migration, faster and further spread of ideas. In modern society more people talk to more others than ever before. And not content merely to speak and to listen, they spread the word in print, transmit it by radio waves, and preserve it on tape." Such rapid changes in the use of language require that the language be deliberately subjected to certain

forms of development by means of systematic and conscious intervention, hence 'language modernisation'.

However, the use of the term 'modernisation' is criticised by some scholars. The main criticism against the use of this term is that it alludes to the perception of some languages as traditional vis-a-vis more modern languages. However, as Cooper (1989) indicates, this process not only occurs in developing languages, but also in the languages of developed, modern societies. For example, no-one can ever suggest that Canada is not a developed country, yet in areas like Quebec, the modernisation of French is a real issue. According to Ferguson (1968:32) this term should be used merely to refer to the development of a language by expanding its lexicon through the addition of new words and expressions, and the development of new styles. In his words language modernisation is:

the process of its (language) becoming the equal of the other developed languages as a medium of communication, it is in a sense the process of joining the world community of increasingly intertranslatable languages recognised as appropriate vehicles of modern forms of discourse (1968:32).

Ferguson's definition is focused on the modernisation of developing languages. In these languages modernisation is mainly characterised by a desire to develop the language in order to achieve intertranslatability with one or another crucial modernised language of wider communication (cf. also Fishman 1974a). This makes the language suitable for use in new or extended domains as a vehicle for modern communication (D'Souza 1986). The language that should be used as the model, that is, the one that the target language should be modelled on, differs

from language to language. In Africa for example, English is preferred as the model language in most of the Anglophone countries, and French in most of the Francophone countries.

The term 'language modernisation' will be used in this study in Ferguson's sense, that is, to refer to a process whereby a language is made suitable for communication of the modern topics and forms of discourse through conscious and systematic intervention. However, the focus of this study will be on terminology modernisation.

1.4 The significance of the research

This study is in line with the new language policy of official multilingualism adopted in the country. As indicated earlier, all of the nine major indigenous languages have been accorded official status at national level. This change of status requires that these languages be developed in this area of terminology to make them suitable for the new role which was previously fulfilled by English and Afrikaans. The significance of the present study derives from this need to develop the indigenous languages. Accordingly, the study will attempt to identify strategies and frameworks that may be used for the modernisation of Venda.

The study will also make an important contribution towards a general theory of language planning. Language planning may be defined as the pursuit of "solutions to language problems through decisions about alternative goals, means, and outcomes to solve these problems" (Rubin 1971:477). Language modernisation deals with delicate and complex social contexts that commonly surround it (Fishman 1983a, Cooper 1989). The fact that language modernisation differs from

language to language due to different social contexts makes it unnecessary to justify the significance of this study (Ferguson 1977).

1.5 The research methodology

This study will attempt to establish a theoretical model for the modernisation of the Venda language which is based on a language planning framework. The use of a language planning framework in the development of new terminologies is important for various reasons. First, it allows the wider consideration of other factors involved in the modernisation of a language such as social, political, economic, religious etc. Second, the project of modernising the Venda language within a language planning framework provides a systematic means not only for the development of new terminologies, but also for the comparison of the process with other language planning cases around the world. The experience of the development of languages such as Swahili, Amharic and Somali may be very useful. Third, research and theory which have been used for language modernisation during the past two or three decades may be used as sources for guidance. This may include principles embodied in the Universal Decimal Classification (UDC) systems recommended by such international organisations as the International Organisation for Standardisation (ISO), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO), British Standard Institute (BSI), American National Standard Institute (ANSI), etc. (cf. Felber 1980 for a discussion on these principles).

The establishment of the proposed model will require a good theoretical knowledge of the various word formation patterns of Venda. Accordingly, the various term formation strategies will be discussed in detail and the use of these

strategies and their preferences in various domains will be assessed. This assessment will be based on the assumption that the choice of word formation patterns is influenced by the subject field or the level of communication. The terms will be selected from a wide variety of sources, the three principal sources being the *Muvenda Journal*, the *Venda Terminology and Orthography no.3* (1972) and terminology lists compiled by the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology. However, other sources such as *Thohoyandou*, a newspaper, school text books, news bulletins and advertisements of Radio Venda and Radio Thohoyandou, government circulars and parliamentary speeches of the previous Venda homeland government, are consulted when necessary. The Venda terminology lists compiled by the National Language Services of the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology are used to identify the term formation strategies in special subject fields.

The data collected will be analysed to determine the extent to which the various term formation strategies have been used. Specialists in the various fields will be consulted for their views on the types of strategies that may be suitable for the creation of terms in their fields (Mwansoko 1990; Adegbija 1995). Since the researcher is a mother tongue speaker of the language, introspection will be used to check the data.

Finally, the study will make suggestions regarding the bureaucratic organisations dealing with the modernisation of Venda and how terminology work can be coordinated in these institutions. This is important because lack of coordination also affects the standardisation of the word formation patterns (Adegbija 1995). Another important area is the involvement of the speakers of the language in the creation of the new terminologies (Ferguson 1968; Adegbija 1995). Speakers of

the language have an important role to play in the creation of new terminologies. As Emenanjo (1991:161) puts it:

language modernisation requires co-operation between the common speakers of the language on the one hand, and the elite made up of linguists and educationists on the other hand (...). The common speakers contribute their knowledge of the language, their enthusiasm and their ability to organise support at the community level.

The problem in the past has been the fact that the government or its agencies did not involve the language users or the people for whom the terms were created, and instead a top-down approach was adopted by which terms were imposed on the speakers (Madiba 1992). Although some scholars have suggested a bottom-up approach as an alternative, a combination of these two approaches will be preferred in this study (cf. Makoni 1993). Thus the language development agencies should consult or cooperate with people at grass-roots level to a certain extent, but where this is not feasible they should have the right to take certain initiatives.

1.6 Research organisation

Chapter Two consists of a review of the literature on language modernisation, viewed from a language planning perspective.

Chapter Three will focus on the historical development of the modernisation of the Venda language. The modernisation of Venda may be divided into two phases, namely the missionary period and the colonial period (i.e. the early

colonial rule of the British and the rule of the Union (later the Republic of South Africa), particularly the Nationalists government that came to power in 1948.

In **Chapter Four** the use of borrowing for term formation will be analysed. Accordingly, the use of borrowing strategies such as internationalisms, loanwords and loan translations will be discussed. The **fifth chapter** will focus mainly on the use of language internal term formation strategies such as semantic shift, derivation, compounding, paraphrase, initialisms, acronyms, clipping and new word manufacture.

In **Chapter Six**, an attempt will be made to establish a theoretical framework or model for the modernisation of the Venda language. This model will be based on the language planning framework. **Chapter Seven** contains the conclusion.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

2.1 Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to review the literature on language modernisation with a view to identifying patterns that may be applied to the modernisation of Venda. As indicated in the previous chapter, this study is concerned mainly with planned language modernisation rather than with spontaneous modernisation. Planned language modernisation is typically used when one speech community comes into close contact with another which is technologically more advanced. Fast, planned modernisation of vocabulary and registers is needed in these cases to avoid massive borrowing. Thus, language modernisation is viewed here from a language planning perspective.

The term **language planning** was first used in the literature in a systematic way by Haugen (1959) (cf. Karam 1974:104). However, Haugen acknowledges the fact that the term was introduced by Uriel Weinreich during a seminar held at Columbia University in 1957 (Cooper 1989:29). Ever since Haugen used the term and gave his definition of it (Haugen 1959, 1966a, 1966b), there has been an increased interest among scholars in language planning issues such as language modernisation. Consequently, a considerable amount of literature has been written on this topic. The following sections will be a review of this literature. We will begin by looking at the literature on language planning in general, and then at the literature on language modernisation will be analysed.

2.2 Language planning

The term ‘language planning’ has been defined by various scholars in different ways. Haugen (1959:8) regards language planning as “the effort to guide language development in the direction desired by the planners.” This definition clearly identifies the possibility of non-linguistic agendas underlying language planning. Thus, a more cynical view of language planning is the question: For whom can it be undertaken - is it for the good of the language planners or for the sub-group of the population that they represent, or is it for the good of the language itself? These non-linguistic agendas are often hidden by drawing attention to what is considered to be more neutral or value-free language development activities, such as preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance and upliftment of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community (Haugen 1959:8). Haugen’s definition of language planning was influenced by his study of the ongoing effort in Norway to modernise and promote the development of the national language (cf. Hornberger 1989:5). Haugen describes how Norway dealt with reconciling *Landsmål* (today called *Bokmål* - book language), a ‘national language’ designed to be entirely Norwegian, and *Riksmål* (today called *Nynorsk*- neo-Norwegian), a ‘state language’ with Danish and Norwegian components (Haugen 1959)

The language planning activities which Haugen outlines in his first definition (i.e. Haugen 1959), as he also realised later, have some shortcomings in that they mainly concern the result of language planning rather than the process itself. Thus, he then (in Haugen 1966a:512) defined language planning as the “exercise of judgement in the form of choices among available linguistic forms”, and also as “the evaluation of linguistic change.” He further broadens the scope of language

planning to include all forms of what is commonly known as “language cultivation, and all proposals for language reform or standardisation”(Haugen 1969:701). From these definitions it may be observed that Haugen sees standardisation as the main focus of language planning. According to Cluver (1993:41) language standardisation can be defined as:

a language planning process that changes one variety of a speech community into the preferred variety for use in written form and in all formal domains. In the process the variety is codified or the existing code is further systematised.

In this definition it may be observed that language standardisation is mainly focused on the written language. This view differs from that of scholars such as Bloomfield (1933) who regarded the spoken language as the most important yardstick. This definition also alludes to such aspects of language standardisation as codification. The standardisation approach to language planning is defined by Gorman (1973:73) as follows:

The term language planning is most appropriately used in my view to refer to coordinated measures taken to select, codify and in some cases, to elaborate orthographic, grammatical, lexical, or semantic features of a language and to disseminate the corpus agreed upon.

From this definition it is clear that Gorman regards the term ‘language planning’ as most appropriate when used for standardisation. Like those of Haugen (1959, 1966a, 1969), Gorman’s definition is process-oriented. That is, it is focused on outlining the activities that are the main concerns of language planning. These

activities include norm selection, codification, elaboration and acceptance, and are central to most views on language planning today. As a consequence, a language that has been standardised has been written down (graphicised), normalised, and refined as representing an amalgam of its dialects. It has been updated to express contemporary issues (modernised) (Eastman 1983:121). The standardisation approach has dominated the language planning activities of the 1960s and 1970s.

The scope of the meaning of language planning has since broadened significantly in terms of both the activities and the actors involved (Moeliono 1986). The orientation to language planning thus changed from seeing planning chiefly as a tool of standardisation to seeing it as the study of language problems and their solutions (Eastman 1983:110). Rubin (1971:218) elaborates on this observation as follows: “Meanwhile, the components of language planning are rationalised further so that the different stages of the process are identified and analysed within a framework where language planning focuses upon the solutions to language problems.” Thus language planning is regarded by some scholars as “a political and administrative activity for solving language problems” (Jermudd and Das Gupta 1971:196). This view of language planning is also supported by Fishman (1973:24) who regards language planning as the “organised pursuit of solutions to language problems, typically at national level.”

It is clear from the foregoing that language problems were the main focus of language planning efforts. This approach became known as the language-as-a-problem approach and it dominated the language planning studies and activities of the 1960s and 1970s. This approach will be discussed in detail in the next section.

2.2.1 The language-as-a-problem approach to language planning

As already mentioned, this approach to language planning focuses mainly on problem solving, that is, it seeks to identify language problems and formulate alternatives for solving them (Rubin and Jernudd 1971:XVI). Thus, according to scholars such as Haugen (1972:512) language planning “is called for wherever there are language problems. If a linguistic situation is felt to be unsatisfactory, there is room for a program of LP.” Where language planning focuses on standardisation, for example, the lack of a standardised language or the existence of other language varieties which compete with the chosen standard is viewed as a problem which can be solved by means of conscious and deliberate planning. Thus, the aim of language planning in this regard would be to choose a standard form of a language, to affirm its identity and to set it off from other languages and to strive continually for a reduction of differences within it (Weinreich 1953:315).

Although this approach to language planning is supported by several scholars, its use is not without controversy. The first controversy is with regard to the question of what constitutes a language problem. The second question is: How are the language problems identified, and by whom? The last question relates to the resolution of these language problems. The following discussion will attempt to address some of these questions. We shall begin by looking at the first question.

2.2.1.1 What are language problems?

The problem of identifying language problems has been the concern of most language planning studies (cf. Rubin 1973:287; also see Fishman 1974a, Karam 1974, Jernudd and Das Gupta 1971, Bamgbose 1991). The quest to identify

language problems is based on the assumption that language problems are a universal phenomenon which occurs in a large variety of forms (Neustupny 1983:1).

Although the identification of language problems has received much attention in language planning literature, there seems to be a problem with regard to the definition of this concept. According to Haugen (1966a), a language problem arises when there is a feeling that a linguistic situation is unsatisfactory. This vague view is further specified by Okonkwo (1977:40) for whom a language problem arises when there is a perception that a particular language situation is not the 'normal' state of affairs, and also when there is an awareness of an ideal or at least a better state of affairs and a feeling that it is possible to change such an unsatisfactory condition to the direction of the 'ideal'. The problem here is clearly how to define 'normal' or 'ideal'. What is 'normal' or 'ideal' in one community may be viewed differently in another community. For example, a language planner trained in the European school tends to see monolingualism as the norm and multilingualism as a problem whereas an African language planner might see monolingualism as a problem and multilingualism as a norm. Thus, as Jernudd (1991:127) observes, what is regarded as a language problem is accounted for in terms of what planners concerned want to influence or improve.

2.2.1.2 Typology of language problems

Various types of language problems have been identified in the language planning literature. According to Christian (1984) language problems cover a broad continuum from a speaker's mis-statement in discourse to the choice of official language(s) in a multinational nation. Language problems identified so far in the

language planning literature may be divided into two main categories: linguistic and non-linguistic problems.

Linguistic problems may be regarded as those problems that are mainly concerned with the structure of the language or its use. The early studies on language planning were mainly focused on the linguistic problems that have to do with the structure of the language. Haugen's (1966b) model of language planning, for example, is primarily based on solving linguistic problems such as the problem of how to select a language norm, how to achieve language stability, how to make the language suitable for new functions, and how to get the norm or innovation accepted by the target community (cf. Fishman 1973:24).

Another typology of linguistic problems was given by Neustupny (1970). Neustupny also identifies similar linguistic problems, except that he adds the problem of language differentiation. Thus the difference between these two typologies is easily reconcilable, according to Fishman (1973:24), since the problem of differentiation may be regarded as merely a repetition of Haugen's first problem of norm selection. Accordingly, the problem of differentiation has to do with the effort to set the selected norm apart from the other varieties or to further increase the distinction between the selected norm from the other languages or language varieties.

A slightly different set of language problems is the one identified by Ferguson (1968), namely: graphisation, standardisation, and modernisation. He defines 'graphisation' as the reduction of the language to writing and 'standardisation' as the development of a norm which overrides regional and social dialects. 'Language modernisation', as indicated in the previous chapter, is regarded as the

development of intertranslatability with other languages in a range of topics and discourse characteristics of industrialised, secularised, structurally differentiated 'modern' society (Ferguson 1968:32). Although Ferguson has discussed these aspects as processes in language development, there is no doubt from his essay that the lack of any of these features in a language constitutes a problem in the development of that language.

As Bamgbose (1987) observes, Ferguson's approach to language planning is very similar to that of Haugen. In Ferguson's approach one aspect of 'graphisation' may be seen as an aspect of 'codification of form', 'modernisation' may be seen as 'elaboration' and 'standardisation' may be seen as corresponding to 'selection', 'codification' and 'acceptance'. For this study it is important that Ferguson identified language modernisation as a problem. A close analysis of the other two typologies shows that language modernisation appears in each of them, but named by different terms, e.g. as 'code elaboration' (Haugen 1966a), 'language expansion' (Neustupny 1970), and as 'language intertranslatability' (Ferguson 1968).

Whereas earlier studies on language planning were mainly focused on the linguistic problems or problems that have to do with internal aspects of the language (that is, codification, orthography development, modernisation, etc.), later studies, especially those that focused on languages of developing countries of Asia and Africa, led to further refinement and broadening of the concept of language planning.

The studies on language problems in developing countries became the focus of a Conference on Language Problems held in 1966, which led to the publication of

a volume in 1968 entitled *Language problems of the developing countries* edited by Joshua Fishman, Charles Ferguson and Das Gupta. In this volume, an attempt was made to identify the problems of developing nations and to compare them with those of developed nations. Consequently it was realised that the language problems of developing nations differ from those of the developed nations. In the developing nations, language problems take the form of general problems, such as the choice of official languages for nation-building, the promotion of literacy to accelerate development, etc. (Neustupny 1983:1). Thus, the scope of language problems was broadened to include some of these problems. This broadening of the scope of language problems led to a shift in the conceptualisation of the so-called language problems. Karam (1974:108) has the following to say in this regard:

regardless of the type of language planning, in nearly all cases the language problem to be solved is not a problem in isolation within the region or nation but is directly associated with the political, economic, scientific, social, cultural and /or religious situations.

It is clear from the foregoing that language planning may be carried out to achieve non-linguistic goals. According to Cooper (1989:35) these non-linguistic goals include the protection of consumers' rights, promotion of scientific exchange and technological development, national integration, political control, economic development, protection of the interest of the elite, the minority groups and mass mobilisation of national or political movements. In Canada, for example, the language problem in the province of Quebec, where the move to replace English with French in official domains and work places was not motivated by linguistic factors, but by the aim to redress unequal access to work opportunities. The

official status given to the use of English is viewed by French-speaking Canadians as effectively depriving them of access to better positions in work places while benefiting English-speaking Canadians.

Thus the question may be raised whether language problems should then be divided into purely linguistic problems and non linguistic problems. According to Okonkwo (1977) such a bifurcation of language problems is based on the false assumption that some language problems are 'pure', whereas others are not. This view is supported by studies of other scholars such as Alisjahbana (1976); Okonkwo (1977) and Fishman (1983a) who state unequivocally that purely linguistic problems do not exist, since even orthographic or lexical modernisation problems which may appear to be purely linguistic, occur within and are integral to a social or cultural context. In this way, "language problems are to be seen within the social and political framework" (Rubin 1973:5). Thus, in most cases, linguistic problems are symptoms of real problems within the fuller social context of the language. In view of this interdependence between the structural and cultural elements of language in society, it is futile to view language problems in isolation from other societal problems. Where this view of language problems is maintained, language planning is considered as a means to pursue ideological, political, social or economic interest (Weinstein 1990). The Quebec case referred to above is a good example of how language planning may be used to tackle other social problems indirectly (cf. De Vries 1991:42). The most intriguing problem, however, is that if the problems are not linguistic in nature, how do they get rooted in problems of communication? It is therefore important to establish how these non-linguistic problems project themselves into discourse or communication. As Jernudd (1991, 1993) observes, since non-linguistic problems do not form a direct

part of the communication process, they have to be introduced into discourse in order to become problems of language.

Therefore, any attempt to provide solutions to language problems should go beyond the language itself to the community in which the language is used. Consequently, language planning scholars have proposed a number of different approaches to the solution of language problems. These alternative approaches will be discussed in the next section.

2.2.1.3 Alternative language planning approaches for the treatment of language problems

As stated above, language planning seeks solutions to language problems or language-related problems (Fishman 1973). To this end language planners should make clear decisions regarding the problems they intend to solve, the goals they would like to achieve, the alternative means to be used to achieve these goals, and the expected outcomes of such a process (Fishman 1974a). Accordingly, scholars have adopted different approaches to the resolution of language problems (cf. Neustupny 1968, 1974, 1983; Kloss 1969; Rubin and Jernudd 1971, Rubin 1973, Garvin 1973, Jernudd 1991, 1993). These approaches differ according to what are perceived as language problems, the language level on which these problems occur, and the means to solve them.

According to Haugen (1966a) language problems, as already mentioned, occur on two levels: the function of the language and the language structure or code. On the functional level, the main problem concerns the selection of the standard variety or standard language, especially in situations where several dialects or languages

are used. Once this selection has been done, planning may be focused on solving the problems that have to do with the development of the structure of the language. This involves the codification of such a language and elaboration of its function. This bifurcation of language problems has led to a two-pronged approach to the treatment of such problems. Neustupny (1974) for example, proposed a language problem treatment model comprising a policy approach and a cultivation approach. The policy approach deals with problems such as the selection of a national language, standardisation, literacy and orthographies, as well as the stratification and allocation of language (i.e. the code varieties and their geographic and functional distribution). The cultivation approach, on the other hand, has to do with the treatment of problems related to the code aspect of language, such as the question of language correctness, style, and function of linguistic levels (cf. El-Mouloudi 1986:27). Neustupny suggests that the policy approach is typical of developing or third-world countries, whereas the cultivation approach is used in developed or technologically advanced countries. But this view has been refuted by scholars such as Daoust (1984, 1991) who explicitly shows that the language problems of countries like Canada require a policy approach, yet Canada is one of the developed or technologically advanced countries. In the U.S.A, debates are raging on about the question of language policy, which needs revision to accommodate the use of other languages, such as Spanish.

Kloss (1969) also adopt this two-dimensional approach to language problems, although he uses different terms. Kloss (1969) regards Neustupny's policy approach as status planning, and the cultivation approach as corpus planning. According to Kloss, status planning is mainly focused on determining the position of the language and its relationship to other languages, whereas corpus planning

deals with problems relating to the structure of the language. These two terms, that is, status planning and corpus planning have been adopted by most scholars and students of language planning, and the concepts they denote have become almost a standard norm in language planning. However, recently some scholars, such as Moeliono (1986) and Cooper (1989), have proposed a third dimension of language planning. Moeliono (1986) refers to this dimension as 'language cultivation'. According to him, language cultivation has mainly to do with the spread of the standard or official language in order to acquire more speakers. This type of language planning is also identified by Cooper (1989), who preferred to use the term 'language acquisition'. The term 'language acquisition' appears to be more appropriate than the term 'language cultivation', which may be easily confused with the cultivation approach discussed earlier on. According to Cooper (1989) this type of planning is essential in countries like Israel, where there is a need to promote the acquisition of Hebrew by many Jewish people who returned home from the diaspora without knowledge of the language. In South Africa too, this type of planning has been recommended by the Language Planning Task Group in its report entitled *Towards a national language plan for South Africa: final report of the Language Plan Task Group* (hereafter LANGTAG Report 1996).

Recently, a different approach to the solution of language problems has emerged. This approach has become known as the 'management approach'. The management approach to language planning was first proposed by Jernudd and Neustupny (1987). This approach has probably been borrowed from the management sciences. Fishman (1987:409) also hinted at this approach to language planning and emphasised the need for a clear distinction between this model and other types of language planning models. Although the management approach is similar to other approaches in that it also takes language problems as

its point of departure, it differs from them with regard to the way in which such problems are resolved. According to Jernudd (1991, 1993) the language management model, unlike the other approaches, seeks to explain and describe (i) what the language problem is; (ii) whose problem it is; and (iii) how language problems arise out of discourse and how they affect discourse; (iv) how they project into discourse if they arise from non-linguistic interest or from systematic linguistic principles (cf. Jernudd 1993:140; also, Jernudd and Neustupny 1987).

According to Jernudd (1993) the management approach represents a shift from finding optimal strategies for government-initiated action to an interest in explaining how individuals manage language in communication and use this as a starting point for community-wide management. The novelty of this model lies in the fact that it provides a theory of intervention to solve language problems. The language managers are involved in solving problems or in offering solutions for language inadequacies that language users in the general community have noted and evaluated in discourse, and that require adjustment. Thus, in this model the speakers are part of the whole process of language planning, starting from the identification of the problems which need attention to the solutions that should be provided. In this way the language management model differs from other language treatment models which are in most cases 'top-down' in nature, that is, models in which language users are viewed as mere recipients of innovations that originate from the language planning authorities or actors (Jernudd 1991, 1993). However, as Jernudd (1991, 1993) indicates, even in this model, some particular group of people may be given the authority to find and suggest systematic and rigorous solutions to language problems potentially or actually encountered by members of the group concerned, provided such intervention is guided by the principles discussed above.

From the foregoing, it may be observed that the resolution of language problems is a complex process. It is a process that should take account of the whole social context of language problems and language planners should therefore adopt a sociolinguistic approach to language planning as recommended by scholars such as Fasold (1984). This approach differs from the one proposed by scholars such as Tauli (1974:54) who adopted an **instrumental approach** to language planning and accordingly regarded language planning as the methodological activity of regulating and improving existing languages. This approach sees languages as tools that can easily be improved through conscious efforts or replaced with better languages. Thus, according to him

a language and its components can be evaluated, altered, corrected, regulated, improved, and replaced by others, and new languages and components of a language can be created at will (Tauli 1974:51).

Eastman (1983:157) criticises this approach on the grounds that it ignores social variables of direct relevance to language. This approach discounts the symbolic value of language and language attitudes (Fasold 1984:250) as exemplified in such questions as what happens to speakers whose languages are regulated? Or how are improved languages accepted by their speakers. The idea that a community can replace its language without experiencing any social problems ignores the reality that such a step will have serious implications for many members of that community. Consequently, the sociolinguistic approach is favoured by most language planning scholars since it gives recognition to social problems that are connected with the language. This approach is based on the notion that language is a resource that can be used to improve social life. Thus, language is seen as a means to address problems in other spheres of community life. Hence planning for

language change is mainly focused on identifying the linguistic alternatives that are most likely to improve a problematic situation. However, the extent to which planners will succeed in solving language problems, or other language-related problems, will depend on the actual planning process. Like any other type of planning, a language planning process has distinctive features which will be discussed in the next section.

2.2.2 The language planning processes

Language planning has distinctive features emanating from its nature as a deliberate and organised intervention to solve language problems or language-related problems. First, there should be an authorised agency, and this agency should follow certain steps in dealing with language problems. Accordingly, the issue of who does language planning will be discussed first, and then the steps that should be followed in the planning process.

2.2.2.1 Who does language planning?

MB

According to Rubin and Jernudd (1971:XVI) language planning is carried out “by organisations that are established for such purpose or given a mandate to fulfil such purposes.” Earlier definitions formulated by scholars such as Haugen (1966a:512) indicate that language planning involves the exercise of judgement in the form of choices between available linguistic forms or the evaluation of linguistic change by language academies and committees (Haugen 1969:701). According to Weinstein (1980:55) language planning is an activity that should be carried out mainly by government or its agencies: “Language planning is a government authorised long-term, sustained and conscious effort to alter a

language function in a society for the purpose of solving communication problems." The assumption that language planning is carried out by a government or its agencies, and usually at the instance of a central authority, is also supported by Jernudd and Das Gupta (1971:196):

The broadest authorisation for planning is obtained from the politicians. A body of experts is then specifically delegated to the task of preparing a plan. In preparing this, the experts ideally estimate existing resources and forecast potential utilisation of such resources in terms of developmental targets. Once targets are authorised by the legislature and are implemented by the organisational set-up, they are authorised in turn by the planning executive. The implementation of the tasks may be evaluated periodically by the planners.

From this passage it is clear that the government has an important role to play in language planning, from policy level to its implementation. Tollefson (1981:176) gives a detailed discussion on government intervention in language planning. According to him, the government can adopt either a centralised approach or a decentralised approach to language planning. The centralised approach to language planning is characterised by the dominance of central government in the ordering of priorities and the establishment of resources. The established goals are meant for the national population rather than merely some portion of it. Nevertheless, Tollefson indicates that in some instances planning may be focused on a particular section of the national population, with the central planners taking direct responsibility for the distribution of resources at the national level. The decentralised approach is the opposite of the centralised approach. In this

approach, planning is done and controlled by local agencies. A typical example of this kind of planning is that of minority groups having autonomy and a budget to regulate their own affairs (Tollefson 1981:177). Very often, such language planning efforts are aimed at making an impact on the central agency and protecting the rights of the minority group.

NB The language planning activities that are not governmental are regarded not as language planning, but language treatment (cf. Neustupny 1974, 1983; Jernudd 1982). This view has been criticised by scholars such as Bamgbose (1989, 1991) who cites examples of the role of individuals such as Ivor Aasen and Ben Yehuda in the development of the Norwegian language(s) and Hebrew respectively. There are also many examples of non-governmental organisations which have played an important role in language development.

NB While it is a truism that individuals and non-governmental institutions have an important role to play in language planning, it is very doubtful that the language planning problems of the developing or less developed languages can be resolved without government intervention. It seems most of the problems experienced in these languages require authoritative government intervention. Although it is true that individuals or organisations may play a role in language planning, without government backing these bodies may experience problems regarding the implementation of language planning. The implementation of language planning programmes usually requires the endorsement of the policy makers or authoritative bodies (Christian 1984:107). According to Bamgbose (1989, 1991) any language planning effort whose implementation requires government authorisation falls within the sphere of government planning irrespective of whether it was carried out by individuals, or by a private institution or organisation.

2.2.2.2 How is language planning done?

The question of how language planning in general is actually effected has been the subject of many language planning studies (Haugen 1966a; Jernudd 1973, 1991, Neustupny 1974; Fishman 1974a; Christian 1984; etc.). According to Neustupny (1983:2) language planning is a systematic, rational, theory-driven activity. These characteristics of language planning are reiterated in Christian's (1984:197) definition: "Language planning is an explicit and systematic effort to resolve language problems and achieve related goals through institutionally organised intervention in the use and usage of languages."

As a systematic process, language planning is characterised by certain features. Rubin (1971:218-219) outlines four steps of this process: **fact-finding, planning, implementation and evaluation**. There seems to be consensus among Western scholars that these four steps distinguish language planning from other types of language treatment. Accordingly these features constitute what is generally known as the 'canonical model' of language planning. Each of these features will be briefly discussed below.

(1) *Fact-finding*

According to the canonical model, any language planning activity should be preceded by fact-finding. In this process of fact-finding, information is gathered about the situation in which the plan is to be effected. Accordingly, an investigation should be made into the existing setting to ascertain the problems, constraints, tendencies, etc. that characterise the target language setting (Rubin

1971:219). Demographic and attitudinal data on the target language situation should also be gathered in this initial stage (Bokamba 1995:15).

Although fact-finding plays such an important role in modern language planning, it appears to be a problem in the African context. According to Bamgbose (1987; 1989), most of the language planning practices in Africa are not based on researched facts. Such a lack of fact-finding may be observed in countries such as Kenya where the decision to introduce the use of Swahili by the President, Jomo Kenyatta was made without prior research on its feasibility and implementation strategies. A further example is the introduction of the new orthography in Somalia by its military government. In all these instances decisions were taken without considering the language situation and other language-related factors or the implications of implementing such policies. What is clear is that these decisions are in most cases aimed at achieving non-linguistic ends. The problem that faces language planners in these countries is whether they should follow this requirement of fact-finding or not. Scholars such as Chumbow (1987) consider fact-finding to be essential even in situations where arbitrary decisions have been made. The situation may be re-analysed and some strategies be found to correct the situation.

(2) Planning

In this sub-phase the actual planning is done. The planner establishes the goal, selects the means (strategies) and predicts the outcome (Rubin 1971:219). The cost-benefit analysis is also considered (Thornburn 1974; Jernudd 1974; Bokamba 1995:15).

With regard to language planning goals, it should be realised that language planning may be carried out for both linguistic and non-linguistic goals. The non-linguistic goals may be political, social, and economic in nature. After the language planning goals have been defined, the next step is to devise strategies that may be used to achieve those goals.

Another important aspect in the planning sub-phase, is that the outcome should be predicted in advance, which means that language planning should be future-oriented. In language planning this appears not to be easy since human language behaviour is not like other commodities which are easily accessed or measured (Bamgbose 1989). The nature of human language behaviour also makes it difficult to undertake cost/benefit analyses of the language planning process. In most cases, the benefits of a language planning project are not measured in terms of monetary value, but through other forms of benefit such as socio-cultural or political development.

(3) Implementation

Implementation is in principle and practice concerned with the effective implementation of the plan prepared by language planners. Adegbija (1995:109) regards implementation as “the life-blood of any language planning programme.” The strategies devised during the planning phase are put into operation.

(4) Evaluation

Evaluation has to do with the assessment of the plan so as to ascertain if it has worked. The concept of evaluation was first introduced in language planning by

Rubin (1971). Evaluation may be seen as the matching of outcomes of a language planning programme with the predicted outcome (Rubin 1971; cf. also Bokamba 1995). Planners need to know if their reinforcement of a language change has succeeded or if the change has been accepted (Eastman 1983).

While it is clear that evaluation is indispensable for language planning, the problem is how this should be done. According to Chumbow (1987:19) every stage of language planning should be evaluated independently and within the context of the overall planning enterprise.

Language planning without evaluation, that is “without concern for criteria of success, without examination of alternatives, without cost-benefit concerns (...), without self-correction in methods on the basis of demonstrated experience (...) is trivial, self-indulgent and self-righteous, but it is also *needlessly* ignorant and trivial” (Fishman 1974a:21).

From the foregoing, it is clear that the four steps are viewed as essential for language planning and they form the pillars of the ‘canonical’ model. However, there has been a lot of criticism on the practicability of this model. Rubin (1983), for example, warns that in practice this model of language planning procedures is an exception rather than a normal phenomenon. It is very seldom that planning matches this model. In Africa, for example, this model has been criticised by scholars such as Bamgbose (1987, 1989, 1991) and Chumbow (1987) on the grounds that it is far removed from most of the language planning practices in Africa. Gorman (1973), for instance, was hesitant to use the term ‘language planning’ for language practice in Kenya, where Swahili was declared the official language of the government without any of the language planning procedures

discussed above. Nevertheless, Chumbow (1987) emphasised the fact that the language planning procedures discussed above are essential for successful language planning efforts and should therefore be adhered to even in Africa.

2.2.2.3 A few concluding remarks on the language planning theory

From the foregoing, it may be observed that most studies on language planning (Rubin & Jernudd 1971; Jernudd & Das Gupta 1971; Fishman 1974a; Karam 1974; Neustupny 1983) are based on the language-as-a-problem approach. While this approach has been given high recognition by these scholars, some scholars such as Cooper (1989) criticise it. In his view, those definitions which are framed in terms of the solution of language or communication problems obscure a fundamental point about language planning, namely that it is typically, perhaps always, directed ultimately towards non-linguistic ends. However, he acknowledges the fact that the definitions of language planning as the solution of language problems are not wrong, but are misleading - "they deflect attention from underlying motivation for language planning" (Cooper 1989:35). These definitions overlook the fact that "in nearly all cases the language problem to be solved is not a problem in isolation within the region or nation, but is directly associated with the political, economic, scientific, social, cultural, and/or religious situation" (Karam 1974:108). These variables served as primary motivations for language planning.

The language-as-a-problem approach, which received more acceptance among European scholars, is criticised by Third World scholars such as Khubchandani (1975:163) and Bamgbose (1987:9). These scholars regard this approach as handicapped since it emphasises 'language inadequacy' for which remedial action

is required. A further problem with this approach relates to what may be perceived as a language problem. Accordingly, what is a language problem to one scholar or community may not be regarded as a problem by another scholar or community. For example, to most Western scholars, linguistic heterogeneity is viewed as a problem which requires some form of treatment. Thus, planning in this context will be aimed at solving this problem by establishing one common language and one standard language variety. However to scholars from multilingual countries heterogeneity may not be seen as a problem, but as a resource for development. It is because of this fact that scholars such as Khubchandani (1975:163) and Bamgbose (1987:9) recommend an adaptation model which takes into account both the assets and the inadequacies of the language in question. Bamgbose (1987:9) clearly indicates that the path to national development for many developing nations may not necessarily be via this Western idea.

Although the language-as-a-problem approach to language planning has received such criticism, most scholars, including Bamgbose (1991) seem to agree that language problems are at the centre of language planning efforts. This approach, therefore, will be used in this study but in its broad sense, that is, including problems that are not linguistic in nature. At the same time, the resourceful nature of languages will also be taken into consideration.

The adoption of the language-as-a-problem approach raises the question of how language problems are resolved. Accordingly, the canonical model of language planning has been recommended, despite the criticisms by some scholars such as Bamgbose that it is not suitable for developing countries of Africa. Despite these criticisms, there seems to be unanimity among the various scholars that the model

may be used more successfully with regard to corpus planning than with regard to status planning. The canonical model has been successfully used in dealing with corpus language problems of countries such as Sweden (eg. Swedish Language Committee, Swedish Centre for Technological Terminology), Israel where the Hebrew language was modernised (e.g. the Academy of Hebrew language) and South Africa, where Afrikaans was modernised and elaborated (e.g. the SA Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns). Thus, despite the shortcomings discussed above, the canonical language planning framework will be used for this study on language modernisation.

2.3 Planned language modernisation

Following the emergence of language planning as a discipline of study, language modernisation has become the focus of many studies during the past four decades (cf. Haugen 1959, 1966a, 1966b; Ferguson 1968, 1977; Rubin and Jernudd 1971; Gorman 1973; Fishman 1974a, 1983a; Alisjahbana, 1976; Fodor and Hagège 1983a, 1983b, 1984, 1989, 1990, 1994). The six volumes edited by István Fodor and Claude Hagège constitute a significant contribution to the study of language modernisation. These six volumes include many essays on language modernisation which provide insight into both theory and the practice of language modernisation. From these volumes it is increasingly clear that planned language modernisation efforts have been carried out in various countries.

This spread of language modernisation practices is also attested by case studies on language modernisation such as Haugen (1959, 1966a) who focused on the modernisation of the Norwegian language(s), Alisjahbana (1976) who focused on the modernisation of Bahasa-Indonesia, Macanamara (1971) who discussed the

role of modernisation in the revival of Irish, Fellman (1974) and Nahir (1978) who examined the revival and modernisation of Hebrew, Khubchandani (1984), D'Souza (1986) and Daswani (1989) who focused on the modernisation of the Indian languages (Hindi), Andrzejewski (1983) and Caney (1984) who focused on the modernisation of Somali, Whitely (1969), Polome (1980a, 1980b), Mwansoko (1990, 1991) and Abdulaziz (1989) who discussed the modernisation of Swahili, etc.

From the studies mentioned above, it is clear that many scholars consider language modernisation as an important component of language planning. Thus articles on language modernisation featured prominently in major language planning works such as *Language conflict and Language planning: the case of Modern Norwegian* by Einar Haugen (1966b), *Language Problems of Developing Languages* edited by Charles A. Ferguson et al. (1968); *Can language be planned?* edited by Joan Rubin and Börn H. Jernudd (1971); *Language Planning: Current Issues and Research*, edited by Joan Rubin and Roger Shuy (1973); *Advances in language planning*, edited by Joshua A Fishman (1974b); *Progress in language planning*, edited by Cobarrubias and Fishman (1983), etc. In fact, in some studies (Haugen 1959, 1966a, Ray 1963) the focus is almost exclusively on language standardisation, of which modernisation forms a major component.

In these studies different approaches to language modernisation were adopted. These approaches vary from viewing language modernisation as a purely linguistic exercise which deals with laundry lists of words to a holistic approach in which political, social, economic and cultural aspects are considered. Although several scholars have contributed to the emergence of the holistic approach to language

modernisation, Fishman's contribution is outstanding. In the next section, this approach will be discussed and Fishman's contribution will be scrutinised.

2.3.1 A holistic approach to language modernisation

Joshua A. Fishman, as already pointed out in the foregoing discussion, has contributed significantly to the study of language modernisation. In his view, language modernisation constitutes an important aspect of corpus planning, and should therefore be done within a language planning framework. Within this framework, corpus planning is defined as the "authoritative creation of new terms, at least for the purpose of daily life; including daily technology. Such planning involves the authoritative allocation of resources" (Fishman 1987:409). However, the idea that language can be developed authoritatively through conscious and deliberate efforts were not without opposition. In the 1960s, Fishman faced opposition from several scholars, especially descriptive linguists who were against any intervention in the development of language. Fishman (1983a:107) has the following to say with regard to this opposition:

In the late 1960s, when I and a small number of colleagues were enabled to spend a year at the East-West Centre planning the International Study of Language Planning Processes, the most common reaction to our efforts on the part of linguists and linguists-in-training was 'It can't be done!' Corpus planning was viewed as akin to lashing the seas or chaining the winds at best, and unsavoury meddling in 'natural process' at worst.

According to him, this opposition to corpus planning was mainly influenced by scholars such as Hall (1950) who favoured the view that the languages be left alone to develop naturally. Contrary to this viewpoint, Fishman maintains that language can be developed through conscious and deliberate effort. Thus, according to him (Fishman 1974a:25), the question whether language planning can be done is more of a rhetoric question. To him, “the problem to be solved in the future is not whether language should or can be planned (since it obviously could be planned by those inclined to do so because of larger societal developments with which such planning is always interrelated), but rather how to do so most effectively in connection with pre-specified criteria for success” (Fishman 1974a:25). Fishman regards language planning as merely an attempt to influence usage more rapidly, more systematically and more massively. To him language planning need not be seen as more threatening than the other types of planned socio-cultural changes.

Although the attitudes towards language planning changed in the 1980s, the question of how language modernisation should be done remained contentious. As Fishman (1983a) indicates in his article entitled *Modelling rationales in corpus planning: Modernity and Tradition in images of the good corpus*, published in a volume edited by Cobarrubias and Fishman (1983), the attitudes of scholars who opposed language development through deliberate and conscious effort changed within a decade from total rejection of corpus planning to viewing it as “nothing more than an exercise in lexical innovation or lexical substitution” (Fishman 1983a:108).

Fishman rejected this approach to language modernisation, and thus attempted to establish a theoretical framework for this language planning process. He adopted

the language-as-a-problem approach already discussed, viewing the lack of development in some languages, especially languages of developing countries as a problem which requires deliberate intervention and systematic planning. However, according to him, language modernisation problems consist of far more than the lexical and grammatical features alone. These problems include the lack of conversational and written styles and certain types of literatures, and new registers which may be needed for use in newspaper reporting, government reports, legal briefs, textbooks, advertisements, and promotion of technological and scientific development (Fishman 1974a:24). However, as Fishman (1968) pointed out in his article, entitled *Sociolinguistic and the language problems of the developing countries*, the manner in which these problems manifest themselves in developed countries may differ from that in developing countries.

In developed communities, the languages are well developed to meet the modern communicative needs of their speakers. The need for new terms or register styles in these languages arises only when there is a new invented object which requires designation or new concepts arising from research (also cf. Ferguson 1977:26). Since the new object or concept frequently originates in these communities, it is easy to name it in the language(s) of these communities.

In developing communities the modernisation problem is more complex. The languages in developing countries not only face the problem of designating new objects invented in the community, but face what Ferguson (1968, 1977) regards as the problem of 'intertranslatability'. In his state of the art paper entitled *Language planning and language planning research: the state of the art* Fishman (1974a) elaborates on the concept 'intertranslatability'. According to him intertranslatability is the main goal of language modernisation in developing countries. The intertranslatability problem arises when a language lacks terms or

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word formation patterns to give equivalent translation to terminology already in use in languages of technologically more advanced speech communities. Thus language modernisation in these languages is motivated by the desire “to render as adequately and as effortlessly in one’s language that which is already accurately and easily expressible in one or another crucial language of wider communication” (Fishman 1974a:24, also see Ferguson 1968). In this way, languages of developing countries are considered to be deficient communication systems with all the unprecedented disadvantages of the latecomers (Fishman 1974a:84), and thus these languages are viewed from an evolutionary perspective. The evolutionary approach to language modernisation is criticised by scholars such as Khubchandani (1984:72) because it implies that the developing languages will always lag behind the languages they are emulating, and it is thus obvious that “by the time the vernaculars have finished struggling to acquire the credibility of developed languages, the latter will have moved onto additional heights, such as usage with computers, space satellites and so on.” In fact Khubchandani (1984:174) is generally dissatisfied with the manner in which the language planning problems of developing nations are viewed from a European perspective and is critical of the attempt to duplicate the European experience in other parts of the world. He feels that this kind of approach may be rejected by the developing world in favour of oral mass communication in the local traditional style. Khubchandani’s criticism should not be taken as a total rejection of language modernisation, but as an objection to the way it has been done, especially by people outside the community.

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Whereas the modernisation problems in developed countries may be resolved without conscious and deliberate intervention, those of the developing countries require systematic planning. In his theoretical framework for language

modernisation Fishman recommends a holistic approach, that is, an approach that considers both the linguistic and non-linguistic aspects of language modernisation. According to him, language modernisation, even though it is mainly concerned with terminology development, does not intrinsically deal with a problem of language per se (Fishman 1983a). He regards the view that corpus planning is nothing special, that “lexicons represent a somehow dispensable, trivial, and entirely uninteresting and expendable facet of the total language process” as being faulty. Contrary to this view, Fishman (1983a) indicates that lexicons are functionally indispensable and conceptually integrated aspects of the language process, and as such they require thorough planning which is sensitive to socio-cultural-political factors. In his article *Language modernisation and planning in comparison with other types of national modernisation and planning*, Fishman (1973) attempted to demonstrate that language modernisation may be compared with planning in other types of modernisation. The language planning framework makes it possible for planners to consider the different aspects of dealing with the modernisation problems of a language. Thus, language modernisation should be sensitive to planning in other-than-language disciplines.

In sum, it may be concluded from the foregoing that Fishman has made a significant contribution with regard to the development of language planning framework to language modernisation and the emergence of a holistic approach to language modernisation. With regard to the language planning framework, language modernisation should incorporate the four features and follow their order in the canonical model, that is, it should begin with **fact-finding**, which is then followed by **planning**, **implementation** and **evaluation** in that order. These steps have been discussed in more detail in the previous sections and they provide a more systematic and practical way of modernising a language. In the following

section, an attempt will be made to show how these four steps may be applied to language modernisation.

2.3.2 Language modernisation procedures

As already mentioned, language modernisation problems in developing societies require well-researched strategies which clearly outline the techniques that may be used to find required solutions and the ways in which such alternative solutions may be evaluated (Rubin and Jernudd 1971; also Fodor 1975). Thus, the language planning framework provides a systematic and strategic means of solving modernisation problems of a language such as Venda. In fact, according to Cabré (1999:49 cit. in Auger 1986) terminological development “only makes sense within a framework of general language planning.”

In this language planning framework language modernisation should thus be seen to be characterised by four features of the canonical model, that is, fact-finding, planning, implementation and evaluation. Since language modernisation deals with more practical aspects of language planning, such as terminology development, there is a need to identify the steps that are involved in this process. Cabré (1999:49) identifies eight successive stages that should be followed in language modernisation:

- (1) Analysis of the terminological needs of a situation in accordance with the overall situation, and selection of the most suitable strategies for intervention.
- (2) Preparation of a terminological research plan adapted to the needs of the environment in question.
- (3) Preparation of terminology with the participation of relevant users.
- (4) Standardisation of the prepared terminology.

- (5) Choice of the most suitable format and presentation for the prepared terminology.
- (6) Implementation of the terminology in practice by suitable policies.
- (7) Monitoring the use of terminology.
- (8) Constant updating of terminology.

These eight stages are in accordance with the four features of the canonical model discussed earlier on in this chapter. The first stage above has to do with fact-finding. Stages 2-5 fall within the planning phase of the canonical model. Stage 6 is implementation. The last two stages, 7 and 8, constitute the evaluation phase. Since Cabré's (1999) stages are more elaborate, they will be adopted for this study, although with some modification. We shall begin by looking at the first stage.

Stage 1: Analysis of the terminological needs of the situation

As already indicated, this stage has to do mainly with fact-finding. Fact-finding in this phase involves gathering of information with regard to 1) terminology needs, 2) the existing word formation patterns and speakers' attitude towards them, 3) the subject field conceptual system, and 4) the extralinguistic factors that may influence acceptance of the newly developed terms.

With regard to needs analysis, it is important to know that the acceptance of newly developed terms also depends on whether there is a need for such terms. Therefore, needs analysis should be conducted before any attempt is made to develop terms for a particular domain (Bangbose 1989; Adegbija 1995). There should be a study and record of terms that already exist in the various domains, as well as of concepts for which new terms are desirable. This would not only avoid unnecessary duplication of effort but will also save the wastage of coining new

terms where they already exist. Mutahi (1986:113) also emphasises the need for fact-finding following his observation of a small medical dictionary project in Nairobi.

After assessing the terminology needs, other factors such as the word formation patterns that are already in use in the language and the attitude of the speakers towards them may then be assessed. The attitudinal surveys are important in view of the fact that some “members of some target populations doubtlessly adopt academy-produced and academy-sponsored neologisms and use them exclusively thereafter for particular referents, [yet] others reject all such creation with particular glee and steadfastness” (Fishman 1974a:24). Thus, there is a need for empirical and theoretical research into factors that are conducive to the success or failure of language modernisation. According to Fishman (1974a), there are factors that underlie the usage readiness or opposition of the target users of these products of ‘academe’. In this way, both linguistic and extralinguistic factors should be taken into consideration in the fact-finding stage. When all these factors have been considered, the subject field to be elaborated may then be scrutinised to establish the conceptual framework that should be followed in developing new terms.

Stage 2-5: Preparation of terminological research plan and strategies

Stages (2) to (5) above have to do with the planning phase. As already indicated, after the fact-finding is completed, the term planners or developers may then begin with the planning phase. In this phase decisions are made with regard to the goals for language modernisation and the strategies to be used. With regard to goals, it should be clear as to what the planners want to achieve with such a process. In most cases, language modernisation is aimed at promoting intertranslatability, that

is, at enabling the language to express concepts that are already expressible in other developed languages. However, language modernisation may be carried out for non-linguistic purposes such as the replacement of a colonial language with an indigenous one, empowering its speakers by equipping the language with terms for use in domains such as science and technology, etc.(Nahir 1984).

After establishing the goals, planners or terminologists should identify strategies and principles for term formation and standardisation. The international principles may provide some guidance. Some of these principles may be found in works of scholars such as Wüster. In his publication *Die Internationale Sprachnormung in der Technik* (International Standardisation of Languages in technology), Wüster (1931) established terminology principles which were later adopted and elaborated by the special Committee on terminology under the International Federation of National Standardising Association (ISA). This task was later continued by the International Standardisation Organisation (hereafter ISO) Technical Committee 37. This body has thus far prepared about seven documents outlining the principles and methods of terminological modernisation. These principles include the following:

- Technical concepts should be given in the language of origin where such names could not be adopted in other languages. The concepts from the international languages may also be used in their original form or with as little modification as possible, provided the root of the original word is preserved.
- Technical terms should be taken over from other languages in their original form (or with as few modifications as possible) and the definition at any rate with the preservation of the root of the original word.

- ✓ ● In those cases in which the adoption of the new term in its original form (possibly with slight modifications) proves impossible, national technical dictionaries should include these terms in the language of origin next to the national terms.
- ✓ ● The tradition of basing most new technical terms on Greek, Latin and modern language roots should be continued.
- Care should be taken to ensure that the grammatical form of the terms suits the language for which they are intended.
 - The terms should be as concise as possible, so long as they can be understood.
 - The terms should be precise, i.e. they should accurately reflect the concepts which they are representing.
- ✓ ● The terms should be consistent, i.e. they should be created following regular morphological patterns.
 - Acronyms or abbreviated terms should be avoided, especially if the corresponding full terms are sufficiently concise.
 - Formation of terms through semantic expansion should be avoided, unless the terms so formed are used in subject fields which are sufficiently remote to avoid ambiguity.
 - The terms should preferably not have (unnecessarily many) synonyms or homonyms. They should also not be polysemous within the same subject field.
 - The terms should be constructed in such a way that they permit maximal derivational productivity.
- ✓ ● The presentation of the terms should be 'systematic', i.e. according to a conceptual classification, and with definition of all the terms.

These principles provide guidelines to term formation as well as the standardisation of the existing terms in a language. However, as ISO/R704 warns,

the use of these principles may in some instances conflict with one another. Therefore, each language has to give priority to those principles which are suitable for the modernisation of its terminology and do not conflict.

Furthermore, in this planning phase, a decision should be made with regard to terminology working methods. There are two basic methods that may be used in this regard, namely **the translation method** and **the conceptual method**. In the translation method, a list of technical vocabularies is compiled by listing terms in one language-the source language-and giving the equivalents in another, that is, the target language. Used the other way round, terms may be listed in the target language and then given equivalents in the foreign language. This approach has been used for the Indonesian or Malaysian languages (Mwansoko 1990). The translation method is mostly used by the developing languages or languages of developing countries.

The second method, which is the conceptual method, differs from the translation method in the sense that it takes the concept as its point of departure and, as such, is more systematic. This method starts with the systematisation and definition of the source concepts within a specific subject field. One such systematisation follows the Universal Decimal Classifications (UDC). After the identification of the systems of concepts, terms can then be assigned to them. The advantage with this method is that it allows related concepts and terms to be grouped together.

Furthermore, a decision should be made in this phase regarding the term formation strategies that may be used in the development of modern terminologies. Various studies have pointed to the fact that these methods are universal (cf. Caney 1984). These may be divided into two types: borrowing, which may be divided into

internationalisms, loanwords and loan translations, and language internal methods such as semantic shifts, derivation, compounding, compression (clipping and acronym) and word manufacture. These methods of word formation will be discussed in detail later in chapters 4 and 5.

However, it is important to point out here that although these methods are universal, their choice may differ from language to language (Ferguson 1977). Such a choice is influenced by both linguistic and non-linguistic factors. A comparative study on the development of terminologies in Bahasa Indonesia, Hindi, Chinese and Swedish by Ferguson (1977:27) shows how these factors have influenced the choice of the various strategies in these countries. For example, whereas Hindi shows no problem of structural change, Hebrew does not have the prerequisite structural pattern for the formation of compounds and derivation. Chinese has relatively free compounding but has no derivational affixes at all (Ferguson 1977:27). These languages also show distinctive patterns with regard to borrowing or foreign language sources. Each of these languages has favourite sources for neologisms such as historical 'classical' languages in the community literary and/or religious heritage, or special dialects, registers or styles in the contemporary language, or foreign languages with which the community is in contact (Ferguson 1977:27). Hindi and Indonesian and Hebrew all borrowed linguistic forms from English which is regarded as the immediate source of international vocabulary. Hindi and Indonesian also draw terminologies from sources such as Sanskrit and Perso-Arabic. When borrowing is resorted to as a strategy for language modernisation, a clear choice should be made with regard to the source language(s). This will be discussed in more detail in chapter 4.

In Chinese, the calquing strategy is preferred to borrowing. This is because of both linguistic and non-linguistic factors. With regard to linguistic factors, the Chinese writing system does not lend itself easily to integrating words written in other scripts or to representing foreign words phonetically. The non-linguistic factors concern the Chinese traditional culture which is more self-centred, (i.e. it does not lend itself easily to foreign influences) (Coulmas 1992:267). Whereas Chinese prefers to use the language-internal resources to create new terminologies, Japanese and English are good examples of languages that are open for borrowing. From the foregoing, it is clear that production strategies have to deal with the two opposing goals (i.e. modernity and authenticity). Nevertheless Fishman (1983a) regards the presence of both poles important for successful modernisation, provided a compromise is made between these two opposing poles (cf. Cooper 1989).

The last factors that should be considered in the planning phase of language modernisation are the expected outcomes and the cost/benefit factors. Although the language planning framework requires that the outcomes should be predicted in advance, in language modernisation this is not always possible. It is not easy to predict the outcome of the language modernisation products since there is not a theory as yet that will show which words are likely to be accepted, and which are likely to be rejected, or with respect to the characteristics of the speakers or writers who are most likely to adopt them (Cooper 1989:153). The fact that certain words are accepted in a language without any question, while others are rejected, shows that language modernisation is a very complex process. Although there is great limitation in predicting the results of the newly formed words, the chances of acceptance may be maximised by making the language modernisation plan conform to the natural forces at work in society (cf. Fasold 1984:262). With

regard to cost-benefit analysis, it is possible to estimate the cost of the project but it is not easy to determine the benefits of such a project. The benefits may however be measured according to the social or economic impact which such a language modernisation project will have on the lives of its speakers (Thornburn 1971).

Stage 6: Implementation of terminology plan in practice by suitable policies

After the fact-finding and planning phases, the language modernisation programme may be implemented. However, the implementation of a language modernisation programme is not without its problems. As Fishman (1974a) points out, the main problem in most cases, is the lack of research in this area to guide the planners about how to implement such programmes, particularly in relation to a variety of social settings. Thus the success of implementing the modernisation programme also depends on other aspects of language planning, such as policy formulation, fact-finding, and prior planning (Jernudd 1973).

Studies by Fainberg (1974) and (Samsom 1988) on the modernisation of Hebrew and Swahili respectively, are quite illuminating with regard to the implementation of language modernisation programmes. Both of these studies attempt to show the problems of disseminating the automobile terms or car-parts terms and their acceptance by the people for whom they were created. These studies tackle the difficult question of who accepts and who rejects 'academese', that is, "knowing and not knowing, using and not using, liking and disliking" of certain terms by the speakers of a language (Fishman 1974a:24). Fainberg (1974:595) explains the complexity of implementing new terms as follows:

Giving names and fixing terms is one thing, but implementing and disseminating them is quite a different thing. Every word, as every creature, seems to be born with its own fate. There are words which seem to catch on the moment they are invented. Nobody seems to know how and why they spread as they do. Sometimes a word is uttered, or appears in print somewhere, and in a short while it is so widely accepted that it is not even felt to be a 'new-born creature'. Everybody accepts it and uses it in a most natural way. On the other hand there are words that though they have been conceived with great care, though much thought has been devoted to them, though they are based on good, indigenous roots, and forms, yet they never catch on and nobody uses them naturally.

Both Fainberg (1974) and Samsom (1988) established that most of the terms created by the language planning bodies were not so successfully adopted by the speakers for whom they were intended. Fainberg (1974:500) found that most of the mechanics use borrowings from the source languages such as German and English rather than coined words, or else they use what he regards as 'slang'. This confirms what Ferguson says: "The planner proposes but the community disposes" (Ferguson 1966, cit. in Fainberg 1974:495). Furthermore, Fainberg also establishes that the dissemination of terms is more effective in formal places (also cf. Fasold 1984). He also comes to the following conclusion with regard to the implementation of modern terminologies: "neologisms should be presented in the most direct way and no lists published or publicised in a neutral, or non-controlled and non-demanding way seem to be of any use" (1974:515). The difficulty of corpus planning implementation is also alluded to by Fishman (1983a). According to him, this area of planning has been characterised by 'notorious' failures. Thus

the works of some of the corpus planners were ridiculed by the targeted speakers since these works were either not up to standard or not sensitive to the drifts and pressures of the speech communities concerned (Fishman 1983a).

The success of implementing a language modernisation programme is seen by some scholars as dependent mainly on the reinforcement thereof by government or its agencies (Eastman 1983:147, Bamgbose 1991). For example, the success of the Turkish orthographic reform is seen as mainly the efforts and initiatives of the Turkish president, Atatürk. Governments with their massive institutions can play an important role in enforcing the implementation of a language planning programme. However, governments too, whether totalitarian or not, may have limitations, particularly when it comes to influencing the spoken language (cf. Fishman 1983a). According to Adegbija (1995) the implementation of a modernisation programme requires marketing strategies rather than using force. In this approach, the development of terms should be guided by the needs of the speakers. However, terms may be developed in anticipation of the needs that may arise in the foreseeable future. The compilation of terminology lists and dictionaries, even though they contribute to the dissemination of the newly developed terms, do not guarantee their acceptance by the speakers of the language.

Stages 7 and 8: Monitoring the use of terminology and constant updating of terminology (evaluation)

In language modernisation it is important to monitor the use of terminology. According to Adegbija (1995) constant evaluation is an essential condition for any lexical elaboration and marketing process in which success and effectiveness are

required. Evaluation for language modernisation may be done in various ways. First, evaluation should be done on the existing terminologies, that is, terms that entered the language spontaneously before the new terminologies were implemented (Mutahi 1986; Emenanjo, 1989). Second, the extent to which already approved and introduced lexical terminology has taken root or accepted should be evaluated. (Adegbija 1995:114). The prospects for the success of the lexical modernisation programme may be tested beforehand by publishing new terms or by trying them out on a limited number of people to see how readily they take to them. Further tests may be carried out in lectures, class instruction and general conversations. Eastman (1983) suggests micro-sociolinguistic surveys as a means of evaluating the interrelationship between language and social structure. In this way the use of certain linguistic forms may be correlated with variables such as social status, economic class, sex differences, ethnic differences, etc. Third, strategies used in the dissemination of such terms need to be scrutinised too. Lastly, the attitudes of speakers of a language towards official neologisms and normativisms can be evaluated (Fainberg 1974:515).

To sum up, language modernisation may be divided into four phases, namely the fact-finding phase, planning phase, implementation phase and evaluation phase. These four phases, as shown above, are essential for any language modernisation programme.

2.3 Conclusion

In this chapter a review of the literature on language modernisation was done. From this literature it is unequivocal that language modernisation may be approached from a language planning perspective. Accordingly, the chapter began

by reviewing the literature on general language planning. Various definitions of language planning were considered. These definitions seem to be influenced by factors such as: Who does language planning? What are the aspects of language planning? How is language planning done? (cf. Cooper 1989). Accordingly, it is difficult to find one single definition which accounts for all these aspects. Thus, Cooper (1989:45) developed a more general definition which tries to avoid the pitfall of being too specific: "Language planning refers to deliberate efforts to influence the behaviour of others with respect to the acquisition, structure, or functional allocation of their language codes." This definition was adopted for our study. However, other definitions were considered to show the historical development of this discipline.

In this review an attempt was made to give a chronological overview of the development of language planning as a discipline of study, beginning with the standardisation approach to language planning propagated by scholars such as Haugen (1966a, 1966b, 1969) up to recent studies of scholars such as Jernudd (1993) who advocated a management approach to language planning. However, since the focus of this study is mainly on the use of a language planning framework for language modernisation, studies of scholars such as Fishman (1974a, 1983a) are quite illuminating. Accordingly, a review of Fishman's works with regard to language modernisation was undertaken. The aim of such a review was to identify the steps that should be followed in language modernisation. Fishman's (1974a, 1983a) articles contributed significantly to the use of the language planning framework for language modernisation. Until the 1970s, the idea that language modernisation could be done through deliberate and systematic effort was still inconceivable to most linguistic scholars. Against this view Fishman (1974a) argued convincingly that planning can be done for any aspect of

language, including modernisation. Whereas the view that language modernisation cannot be done through conscious planning changed in the 1980s, a new problem arose with regard to scholars who viewed language modernisation as something that could be done anyhow by anyone. In dealing with this mistaken view, Fishman (1983a) argued strongly that language modernisation involves more than just a compilation of term lists. He maintained the view that language modernisation has to take into consideration other extralinguistic factors such as socio-political and religious factors if its products are to be accepted by the target users. In this way language modernisation should follow the four basic steps of language planning: fact-finding, planning, implementation and evaluation. An attempt was made to show the application of these four steps to language modernisation. It was recommended that Cabré's (1999) procedures be adopted in applying this framework. Accordingly eight stages were identified in this regard. The first stage has to do with an analysis of the terminological needs of the situation. Stages 2-5 are focused on the preparation of terminological research plans and strategies. Stage 6 has to do with the implementation of the terminology in practice by means of suitable policies. In the last two stages, that is stages 7-8, the focus is on monitoring the use of terminology and constant updating of terminology (evaluation).

The application of this framework has been tried out in several other languages. Thus, the use of this language modernisation framework is recommended for Venda. As indicated in chapter 1, the lack of such a framework has led to several problems in the modernisation of the Venda language. These problems will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter where an historical overview of the modernisation of Venda will be given.

CHAPTER 3

THE MODERNISATION OF VENDA: AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the history of the modernisation of Venda. It begins with an historical outline of the development of the Venda language. Like any other language, the Venda language has developed new terminologies to meet the communicative needs of its speakers from immemorial times. Much of this development took place largely through spontaneous means. Thus, specific traditional terminologies have in the past been developed for use in domains such as hunting, cattle farming, grain farming, food preparation, storage, as well as for religious and cultural matters. In each of these domains terms were developed with highly restricted and very specific meanings. The strategies used in the development of terms in these domains offer an explicit base which can be used to further modernise the Venda language.

When the Vhavenda came into contact with Western culture a new planned phase in the development of the Venda language occurred. This planned modernisation of the Venda language may be divided into two phases: (i) the missionary period and (ii) the colonial period. The latter phase may be divided into the early colonial period, the period of the Union Government, and the period under the National Party Government. An attempt will be made to establish the various strategies that were employed for the modernisation of the Venda language during each of these different periods. We shall begin by looking at the missionary period.

3.2 The missionary period

The first missionaries to work among the Venda people were the Berlin missionaries. These missionaries, as will be shown in this section, played an important role in the planned development of the Venda language. Accordingly, we shall begin by providing some background information on them, and then discuss in detail their role in the development of the Venda language.

3.2.1 The Berlin Missionaries: some background information

The Berlin Missionary Society was established as early as 1824 in Germany. Its first trained and ordained missionaries were solemnised in May 1833. However, before this time, a number of missionaries were trained in the Janicke Seminary with the financial support of the Berlin Missionary Society, and were sent to South Africa through the London Missionary Society. This Seminary was closed down following the death of Janicke in 1827. After the closure of this seminary the Committee of the Berlin Missionary Society decided to take on the task themselves, hence the initiative to send missionaries to South Africa (Zöllner and Heese 1984:14).

The first five missionaries to be sent to South Africa in 1833 by the Berlin Missionary Society were Gustav Adolf Kraut, (who was a clerk in a commercial firm), August Ferdinand Lange (a weaver), Reinhold Theodor Gregorowski (a teacher), Johannes Schmidt (a carpenter) and August Gebel (a theologian). From the foregoing, it is clear that the missionaries were from diverse vocational backgrounds, and were given further training in modern languages such as English and Dutch during their missionary training. Accordingly, the five missionaries

were first sent to Barmen to learn Dutch before they were sent out. They were also offered a course in what was then referred to as 'heathen' languages (Zöllner and Heese 1984:15).

The five missionaries arrived in Cape Town in 1834 with the goal of establishing mission work in Botswana. However, their work was initially restricted to the Cape for a longer time. It was only in the 1860s that Berlin missionary work was expanded to the Transvaal. The fact that missionary work was initiated in this area was due to Merensky and Grützner, who after their unsuccessful expedition to the Swazi chief decided to turn to the north, where they came into contact with the Bapedi of the Eastern Transvaal. This was the beginning of the missionary work done by the Berlin Missionary Society in Northern Transvaal. Several mission stations were established, such as Blaauwberg, Mphome and Botshabelo (Botshabelo was established following the persecution of missionaries and their converts by Chief Sekhukhune). It was from these mission stations that missionaries such as Beyer and Baumbauch undertook evangelistic visits from time to time into the regions further north, including Venda (Du Plessis 1912:50-51). The visit to Venda led to the invitation of the missionaries by Chief Ligegise Tshivhase to establish a mission station in the Tshivhase area (Gründler 1901, Mathivha 1985).

Subsequent to this visit, Rev. Carl Beuster was sent to Hatshivhase in 1872 where he established the first mission station at Maungani. Beuster was born in Liebenwalde, Brandenburg - Prussia on 7 July 1844 (Kruger 1977 cit. Mathivha 1985:42). He was sent out to South Africa in 1870. Before coming to Venda, he first worked among the Bapedi as an assistant missionary at Modille and Ga-Matlala in the Pietersburg District (Mathivha 1985; Kruger 1977). It was during

this time that he became conversant with one of the Sotho languages, namely Pedi. However, it seems he acquired a knowledge of Pedi or Sotho even before he came to South Africa since this language was declared an ecclesiastical official language of the Berlin Missionary Society (Harries 1988:50, Van Rooy 1971). This Pedi background influenced Beuster in his approach to the development of the Venda language, as will be demonstrated.

Two years later Beuster was joined by Rev. Erdmann Schwellnus who established the second mission station at Tshakhuma in 1874. Schwellnus came from Lutkomandscheit in Litane (Germany) (cf. Mathivha 1985). At Tshakhuma, Schwellnus was assisted by Meister, who came to join him in 1890. While he was at Tshakhuma, Schwellnus undertook an expedition in 1889 to Zimbabwe (previously known as Rhodesia or Mashonaland) (Mathivha 1985:51). This visit to Zimbabwe was significant for the development of the Venda language since it partly explains why Schwellnus used some Shona words and expressions in his works on the development of Venda. Schwellnus's missionary work among the Venda people lasted until 1894 when he and his family were recalled back to Germany. Two of his four sons, Theodore Schwellnus and Paul Erdman Schwellnus, were born in Venda and learned to speak Venda as their second language from childhood. When their parents went back to Germany, these two young men were as fluent in the Venda language as any native speaker of the language (Van Rooy 1971:28). They spoke German only at home with their parents, and Venda outside. It is due to this strong background in the Venda language that the two brothers were able to work on the development of the Venda language as (near) mother tongue speakers after their return from Germany. More on their contribution to the development of the Venda language will be discussed later in this chapter.

After Schweltnus's return to Germany, Wessman was sent to replace him. In 1905 he was succeeded by Sontag. Sontag died in 1919 and was succeeded by Rev. L. Giesekke. Although these missionaries clearly played a significant role in spreading Christianity among the Venda people, our main focus is on their role in the development of the Venda language.

3.2.2 The contribution of the Berlin missionaries in the development of the Venda language

Language was of paramount importance to all missionaries who came to Africa. The missionaries believed in the strong link between language and culture (Harries 1988). They regarded language as a major determinant of modes and patterns of thinking. According to scholars such as Meinhof (1915:20), the soul of a people can be studied in its tales, fables, proverbs and songs. Accordingly, language was regarded as of the highest value to everyone who had any dealings with the speakers of a language. Thus Meinhof (1915:21) maintained that to influence the African people, their languages must be penetrated by European knowledge and become filled with the spirit of Europe and become the vehicle of European thought.

The Berlin Missionaries, as it may be observed from the views expressed by Meinhof (1915), were influenced by both linguistic and non-linguistic factors in their approach to the development of the Venda language. Their approach was determined by the following three underlying factors:

(1) Their own linguistic history

The Berlin Missionaries came from a country which was not only characterised by the use of one language, namely German, but the use of one dominating variety as the standard norm. The rise of standard German, or what is today referred to as High German, was due to Martin Luther who selected the variety spoken at the Dresden Court as a basis for his translation of the Bible into German. Accordingly, the Bible had the effect of spreading this variety as the standard or received form to other parts of Germany.

The missionaries seemed to have been greatly influenced by a simplistic neo-Renaissance view, according to which European thinking, language and culture were considered to be superior to those of countries in Africa, which were regarded as uncivilised. Thus, the European model was transferred to and imposed on these countries. Accordingly, the Lutheran Missionaries regarded their language as a model for the development of Venda. This approach implied that there should be one standard variety which would become the norm, and that norm was to become the only acceptable variety for written purposes and for use in schools and the church. The standardisation of the Venda language will be discussed in more detail later in this section.

(2) The Biblical story of the tower of Babel (multilingualism)

The Berlin Missionaries were also influenced by the Biblical view which equates multilingualism with the curse of God. According to the Biblical story of the tower of Babel, God punished the heathens by diversifying their language into different languages to prevent them from understanding each other. Thus, the missionaries

saw it as their task to unify the languages of the communities in which they worked. By selecting one variety, translating and developing biblical materials in it, the missionaries hoped that the different varieties of the Venda language would be consolidated into one language, or that the chosen variety would dominate the rest.

(3) Mission politics

The involvement of the missionaries with the development of African languages, although motivated by religious factors, was to a certain extent also motivated by political factors. The missions were involved in several political activities. First, the missionaries were instrumental in drawing linguistic boundaries around the communities in which they operated. It is an established fact that in most cases these missionary fields became colonial states under the control of the country from which the missionaries came. As can be observed from the *Berliner Missionberichte* (1861:174 cit. in Wright 1971:17), the Berlin missionaries believed that in “a country where God’s judgement has broken the people politically, the seed of evangelism is most conveniently sowed, that is, where the missionaries enjoy the legal protection of the colonial government.” Although the Berlin Missionary Society criticised the London Missionary Society for involving itself into political activities and maintained that its activities were apolitical, its missionaries in South Africa indirectly assisted the South African Republics to establish their authority over the African people. Their rationale for taking this action was that the evils of colonialism were less than the evils of despotic chiefs (Wright 1971:17).

Accordingly, these missionaries wanted the colonial government's support in dealing with Africans whom they considered to be still 'barbaric' and 'uncivilised'. Thus, according to Van der Merwe (1984:165), "the Berlin missionaries considered their primary task to be the Christianisation and education of the 'Bantu' to become civilised and useful citizens of the state in which they lived." In their mission to civilise and turn the Africans into useful citizens of the state, the missionaries encouraged the subjection of the African ethnic groups under the Zuid Afrikaansche Republiek (hereafter ZAR). The subjection of the ethnic groups under the ZAR was important to them since it would provide them with security and protection, especially in view of the fact that these groups, unlike those in other parts of Africa, were not under German colonial rule.

The political ideology of the Berlin Missionaries may be further observed from their language policy. These missionaries favoured a language policy which encourages the use of vernaculars instead of the colonial language or a lingua franca. Although it is a truism that in promoting the use of indigenous languages the missionaries were motivated by the desire to preach the gospel quickly and to win souls easily, this policy was not without political implications. The colonial government preferred the use of colonial languages over the indigenous languages. To convince their colonial masters to accept their policy of using indigenous languages, the missionaries also advanced a political argument. The political orientation of the Berlin missionaries may be clearly observed from a petition of the Committee of the German Protestant Missionaries which was sent to the Colonial Department in 1904. In this petition, the members opposed the use of the German language in the colonies on the following grounds:

The German language could easily become a danger for the colony since it leads to the development of a conceited, demanding and easily dissatisfied race, as the natives hear much from the European which has a harmful effect and feel tempted to consider themselves as equal to them...With the understanding of the language of the foreigner his personal authority also vanishes (Alteherger-Smith 1978:75).

Furthermore, the missionaries warned that when the native population could read and understand German they would also have access to German newspapers and magazines which would allow them to understand colonial policies and even see what was planned. German scholars such as Carl Meinhof also supported this political argument. At a Colonial Congress held in Berlin in 1905, Meinhof gave the following warning with regard to the use of the German language by native people:

The African, in general - except for a few charming exceptions - is not lacking in intelligence, and I have known many who could read and write German quite well... But one should be aware of the consequences... As soon as the native can read and write German he can also understand German conversations and read certain German publications. This naturally does not have the effect that he considers himself as a German... this opinion should soon be taken away - but as much as he can, he would use the information gained to teach his people the plans of the Germans and the political and moral situation in Germany (Alteherger-Smith 1978:75).

Although the foregoing may seem particular to German colonies, there is no doubt that the Berlin missionaries in South Africa had the same fears. It is because of this fear that, despite the many years spent by the Berlin missionaries among the Venda people, they never encouraged the learning of German. Instead, it was the missionaries who learned the Venda language. As Whitely (1969:55) put it, “there are two main reasons why one should learn the language of another man: in order to trade with him, or to have power over him, religious or political.” The missionaries used their knowledge of the indigenous languages to gain both religious and political power over the native people.

The missionaries viewed language as constituting the basis upon which a new society in the heart of the tribal ‘Bantu’ community would develop in the collective spiritual life (Harries 1988:42). Central to such a society is the existence of a standard language.

3.2.2.1 The standardisation of the Venda language

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The first challenge that faced the early missionaries in using the Venda language to preach the gospel was the lack of one standard form. Never before had there been a single standard language, either in spoken or written form. In fact, there was no need for such a language since each variety of the language was sufficient for communication in the particular section of the community. As Harries (1988:41) points out, African communities had no need for a common language. “Their pre-capitalist economic activities were too restricted and localised to require the development of a language that would facilitate and defend their commercial transaction.”

The lack of one standard language and the existence of different varieties was viewed by the missionaries such as Beuster and Schwellnus as a problem and as having the potential of dividing into linguistic groups what could be seen as one speech community. Furthermore, this linguistic situation, as already mentioned, was unacceptable to them since they associated multilingualism or the existence of many language varieties with the biblical myth of the tower of Babel, in which multilingualism is inflicted on people as a punishment. Therefore developing one unifying language would erase this fault (Harries 1988:49). A further problem of too many language varieties or dialects is that it is difficult to learn the language, especially for the missionaries. As Paul Berthoud, one of the Paris Missionaries who worked among the Tsonga people (the Gwamba) remarked, the existence of many dialects of one language was viewed as slowing down the progress of learning a new language since one would have to learn all the numerous different dialects in order to understand conversation among the general populace (Harries 1988:34). Thus, according to the missionaries, the establishment of one standard form would facilitate their learning of the indigenous language. Furthermore, the establishment of one standard language was justifiable in terms of financial factors. The financially starved missionary societies could not afford to produce biblical materials in more than one variety.

The standardisation of the Venda language was initiated by Beuster, who chose the Tshiphani dialect, which is the dialect spoken around Hatshivhase, the area where he first arrived, as the standard form. This dialect was chosen on the grounds that it was considered to be the least influenced by other foreign languages or other dialects (Van Warmelo 1989, Venda Terminology and Orthography no.3 (1972)). But, as was the case in many other African countries, the missionaries often simply adopted the language variety spoken in areas where

they had established their mission work. The standardisation of the Venda language was purely the initiative of the missionaries who believed that by establishing a standard language they could be able to purify and order the language into an organic whole (Harries 1988:40).

The standardisation of the Venda language marked the emergence of one mission language which was to be spread to the whole Venda community. The various dialects/ language varieties were to be subordinated to this central, dominant language. It was hoped that by turning dialect speakers away from their varieties, which were viewed by the missionaries as the embodiment of the traditional beliefs and superstitions of the pagan society, the speakers of these dialects would be transformed and would shift their political loyalty away from the chief towards the mission (Harries 1988:44-45).

To achieve the above-mentioned objectives, the selected standard variety had first to be reduced to writing, hence the codification of the Venda language.

3.2.2.2 The codification of the Venda language

As already indicated, the Venda language, like most indigenous languages in Africa, had not been reduced to writing yet when the German missionaries arrived in 1872. Thus, the first missionaries, Beuster in particular, had to begin by working out a writing system for the language. The establishment of the writing system for the Venda language was motivated by several factors. First, the missionaries wanted to enable the indigenous people to read the Bible in their own language. In this way the reading of the Bible would lead to people 'conversion

without incurring much cost as was the case when the Word had to be spread solely by word of mouth.

Second, it would help to cultivate or establish the standard form out of many varieties. It was the missionaries' strong belief that once the spoken language is reduced to writing, the other non-standard varieties would disappear with time (Harries 1988:44).

Third, the missionaries viewed the written form of a language as a powerful weapon to change the nature of the society concerned. Since language was viewed as a vehicle of the people's culture, that is, of their beliefs and superstitions, the missionaries hoped that the establishment of a purified standard language would not only contribute to the change of the indigenous society, but would also change the people's loyalty to the chiefs who relied mainly on the oral form of communication. Thus, the missionaries hoped that the printed variety of the language would gradually push the oral varieties into the background. (Harries 1988:44). Furthermore, the written language was desirable to the missionaries since it is not as susceptible to change as the oral languages, but is more bound by rules and is therefore more stable.

However, the establishment of the writing system for the Venda language was not without problems. The main problem, and perhaps the most serious one, was the missionaries' lack of knowledge about the language and the lack of sufficient training in designing orthographies for the African languages. This was a common problem for most missionaries who worked on indigenous languages in Africa. When these missionaries were confronted with a wide range of puzzling sounds in the languages they encountered, they often resorted to values in English or some

other European language's Roman alphabet. As Bamgbose (1978:46) rightly observes, such an approach resulted in errors and inconsistencies in most of the orthographies of the African languages. The Berlin missionaries were no exception.

Their effort to establish the writing system for the Venda language will be discussed in more detail in the next section.

3.2.2.2.1 Development of Venda orthography

As already mentioned, the missionaries had no prior training in designing orthographies for the African languages. Thus, in developing the Venda orthography, German missionaries such as Beuster were greatly influenced by the orthographic system of their mother tongue. What the Church Missionary Society in German provided were only the guidelines contained in *Rules for reducing Unwritten Languages to Alphabetical Writing in Roman Characters*. For African languages, these rules culminated in what became commonly known as the Standard Alphabet, established by Richard Lepsius during the 1850s. The Standard Alphabet was a collection of symbols devised to make it possible to give an unambiguous representation in writing of any or all languages (Kemp 1981:8). This orthography is characterised by several factors. First, it is based on the principle that every simple sound should be represented by a single sign (Lepsius 1863:9 cit in Kemp 1981:50). Accordingly, when an originally simple sound changes by assimilating into a double one, it continues to be regarded in writing as a simple sound. For example, the Venda double sounds such as **ts** and **dz** are regarded as single sounds. This use of digraphs to represent certain letters has invited criticisms from scholars such as Kemp (1981:18), who attributed this

shortcoming to Lepsius's lack of explicit phoneme theory at his disposal. According to Kemp, Lepsius's standard alphabet was not aimed at conveying every subtle shade of difference of sound but only the essential ones.

A further characteristic of the Lepsius orthography is the use of diacritics to distinguish certain letters. Accordingly, about 17 diacritic marks were used above characters, and 14 were used below the basic characters. These diacritic symbols were used for both vowels and consonants. As already indicated, underlining was used on top of long vowels and underneath the vowels to mark open vowels, e.g. ā, ē, ī, ō, ū and e and o respectively, etc. With regard to consonants, certain diacritic marks were used to denote phonetic classes, for example the acute accent for palatalisation (**b'**, **d'**, **g'**), the superscript dot for guttural (**ñ**) or back guttural (**ḳ**, **g̣**), the subscript line for lingual (**ṭ**, **ḍ**), and the subscript dot for cerebral (**ṭ̣**, **ḍ̣**). Lepsius also introduced **h** to represent aspiration of stops (Kemp 1981:72-73).

From the foregoing, it is clear that the Lepsius orthography could not be used for African languages without some form of adaptation. In the next discussion, an attempt will be made to show the extent to which the different missionaries who attempted to establish the Venda orthography were influenced by the Standard Alphabet. Accordingly, four stages may be identified in the development of the Venda orthography, namely, (i) the orthography proposed by C.F. Beuster, (ii) the orthography proposed by C. Meinhof, (iii) the orthography of the Schwellnus brothers, and lastly, (iv) the orthography that is used today (cf. Mathivha 1972). We shall begin by looking at the orthography proposed by Beuster.

(i) The orthography proposed by Beuster

As the first missionary to come to Venda, Beuster, faced the mammoth task of reducing to writing the Venda language which from time immemorial had only existed in the oral form. However, like most of the missionaries at the time, Beuster had no prior training in designing the orthography of a language. As a consequence, in transcribing the Venda language, he seems to have relied on his knowledge of the writing symbols of his mother tongue, that is, German. This strategy was used by most missionaries when faced with the challenge of designing the orthographies for the indigenous languages. It is an established fact that the orthographies designed by the missionaries from London reflected much of the English alphabet, whereas those designed by the German missionaries reflected the German alphabet (cf. Bamgbose 1978). Beuster made further use of the letters or symbols already in use in the Pedi orthography. The use of these German and Pedi letters or symbols may be observed from the following passage, which is one of Beuster's early Bible translations:

Movoso oa makolene o fana na mbeo ea mustard ee mothu a e rola a e zoala eaone, e vaho eone thuku kha mbeo dzote, honno e tši hola ea va kholoane kha meroho eote. Oa va mori zūnone zoa makolene zoa da zoa fata zūtāha matāvene aoo.

Mafongo haea ndi tšifanyiso tšo ambga nga Morena Yesu mose Morena Yesu a tši tšimbela šangone, a tši funa o vodza vathu zoa movoso oa makolene na o naka hao, o va a tši anza o va vodza nga zūfanyiso, ndi nga molando oane o va a tsi eta nga o ralo. O funa one va pfese, ene o deva ore a hona momoe o no gonyaho makolene, o nga o vo dza Nikodemus, o re: "a hona o gonyaho makolene arali a se o tsaho makolene." O funa o re laedza nga zoa šangone zūne ra sa zū deva re kone o pfesa, re tende, re de re volongoe"

(Muvhuso wa makoleni u fana na mbeu ya ‘mustard’ ye muthu a i rola a i zwala yone i vhaho yone tshukhu kha mbeu dzothe, huno i tshi hula ya vha kha miroho yothe. Yo vha muri zwinoni zwa makoleni zwa da zwa fhatā zwiṭaha matavhini awo.

Mafhungo haya ndi tshifanyiso tsho ambwa nga Murena Yesu musi a tshi tshimbila shangoni, a tshi funa u vhudza vhathu zwa muvhuso wa makoleni na u naka hawo, o vha a tshi anza u vha vhudza nga zwifanyiso, ndi nga mulandu wone o vha a tshi ita nga u ralo. O funa one vha pfese, ene o divha uri a huna muṭwe o no gonyaho makoleni, o nga o vhudza Nikodemus, u re: “ a huna o gonyaho makoleni arali a si o tsaho makoleni”. O funa u ri laedza nga zwa shangoni zwine ra sa zwi divhe uri ri kone u pfesesa, ri tende, ri de ri vhulungee”)

(A translated text of Matthew 13:31-32 published by Gründler 1897:95)

From this translated passage, a few observations can be made with regard to Beuster orthography. First, Beuster was influenced by both German and Pedi in choosing letters or symbols for vowels. The use of the vowel ü, in words such as *zūtaha* ‘bird nests’, *zūfanyiso* ‘parables’, *zūno* ‘now’ attests the influence of German orthography. Further influence of German orthography may be observed in the use of vowel combinations such as *ea*, and *oa*, to represent semi-vowels *y* and *w*. The use of vowel combinations to represent semi-vowels may also be observed in the orthography of Pedi or Sotho languages in general. In the words *movoso* ‘kingdom’, *makolene* ‘heaven’, *tšimone* ‘field’, *-deva* ‘know’, and *šango* ‘country’ the Pedi vowels *o* and *e* are used instead of the vowels *u* and *i* which are now used in the current Venda orthography. The use of the consonants *tš* and *š* also resembled Pedi orthography. Thus, according to Beuster orthography, the vowel *o* represented the current Venda vowels *o* and *u*, and the vowel *e* represented *e* and *i*.

Further observations with regard to the influence of German on Beuster's orthography may be made with regard to consonants. The use of the consonants **pf**, in Beuster's orthography is also due to the influence of German orthography. In German, this letter is used in words such as 'Pfennig', etc. The influence of German in the writing of Venda may further be observed in the following loanwords used: 'Ost', 'West', 'Nord', 'Suid', and 'Kristo' (Gründler 1897:97). In these loanwords, Beuster used consonant clusters which were characteristic of European languages such as German and Dutch.

In certain instances Beuster had to invent new symbols, especially where there was no letter from either German or Pedi which could be used. As Baker (1997) pointed out, the problem with Venda is that it has an unusually large set of sounds. Thus Beuster used the strategy of underlining to distinguish between the bilabial sounds **f** and **v** from their denti-labial counterparts **f** and **v**. He also used the double letter **ll** to distinguish between the dental lateral sound **l** and its alveolar counterpart. In other instances, consonant-vowel combinations were used to represent certain letters, for example, **nzo**, **zü** and **ntso**.

From the foregoing it may be observed that Beuster's orthography had several shortcomings, which could be ascribed to his lack of knowledge of the Venda phonological system. The Venda phonology only became known after a study by Meinhof in 1901 which was published in his book *Das Tši-venda*. Thus, Meinhof, unlike Beuster, was in a better position to design the orthography of the language. More on his contribution to the development of the Venda language orthography will be said in the next section.

(ii) The orthography proposed by C.Meinhof

Meinhof was a renowned German scholar of African languages. He was introduced to the Venda language by the Schweltnus brothers who went to Germany for study. With their thorough knowledge of the Venda language which to them was like their mother tongue, they provided Meinhof with material for his phonetic and phonological analysis of the Venda language. As already indicated, the findings of his studies were published in his book *Das Tši-venda*. In this book Meinhof analysed the Venda orthography and introduced new reforms.

Meinhof was greatly influenced by the Lepsius Standard Orthography in his approach to the orthographic reform. Thus, he made extensive use of diacritics to improve Beuster's orthography, which relied heavily on combinations of letters. For instance, he introduced the use of diacritics such as the inter-dental diacritic [^] to mark dental sounds, an underline sign to mark certain fricative sounds and a dot symbol to mark the velar nasal sound. These changes may be observed from the following examples:

Beuster	Meinhof		
d	<u>d</u>	<u>d</u> ana	'derog. child'
f	<u>f</u>	<u>f</u> asi	'down'
l, ll	<u>l</u>	<u>l</u> idou	'a big elephant'
n	<u>n</u>	<u>n</u> owa	'snake'
n	<u>ṅ</u>	<u>ṅ</u> anga	'doctor'
t	<u>t</u>	<u>t</u> o	'eye'
th	<u>th</u>	<u>th</u> anga	'roof'

By using diacritics, Meinhof was able to make distinctions between sounds that were not distinguishable in Beuster's orthography. He replaced the letters **ntso** and

nzo with **nts** and **nz** respectively. Meinhof's orthography was further refined by the Schwellnus brothers who used it in their written works.

(iii) Orthography proposed by the Schwellnus brothers

The most significant improvement on the Venda orthography was made by the Schwellnus brothers, Theodore Schwellnus and Paul Erdman Schwellnus. These two brothers benefited greatly from Meinhof on matters concerning orthography. Their contribution was mainly in the stabilisation of Meinhof's orthography. To this end, they produced several publications in Venda. To mention a few, there was *Die Verba des Tšivenda* which appeared to have been inspired by *Das Tšivenda*, and *Ndede ya Luambo lwa Tshivenda*. A major contribution in this regard was the completion of the Bible translation in 1938 by Paul Erdman Schwellnus. The orthography used in this Bible translation was an improvement on the previous orthographies in many ways. First, it was an improvement on Beuster's orthography, which relied heavily on Pedi symbols. Second, it was an improvement on Meinhof's symbols, which relied heavily on diacritics, especially for vowels. Schwellnus managed to reduce the Venda vowels to five. Consider the following examples:

Vowels:

a	as in <i>maṭhakhe</i>	'climax'
e	as in <i>mulenzhe</i>	'leg'
i	as in <i>linda</i>	'guard'
o	as in <i>goni</i>	'eagle'
u	as in <i>mubvumo</i>	'sound'

From these examples, it is clear that all the diacritic marks used by Beuster and Meinhof to mark certain vowels such as **o** and **e** were removed. With regard to consonants, diacritic marks were removed from some consonants, but retained in others. Consider the following examples :

Consonants:

f	written as <u>f</u>	<i>malofa</i>	‘blood’
v	written as <u>v</u> or vh	<i>yura</i> or <i>thavha</i>	‘arrow’ or ‘stick’
ts	written as ts	<i>tsitibo</i>	‘lead’

(Wörterverzeichnis der Venda-Sprache 1918)

From these examples, it may be observed that the Schwellnus brothers made a few improvements on Meinhof`s orthography. First, they attempted to remove the use of underline sign to letters such as v and f by adding the letter **h** and they changed the letters **š** and **tš** to **sh** and **tsh** respectively. The problem with this innovation is that the letter **h** represents aspiration according to Lepsius`s orthography and its use in Venda words such as *thavha* (mountain) seems to point to this fact. The use of the letter **h** in letters such as **fh** and **vh** and as an aspiration marker for letters such as **th** and **tsh** creates some confusion. This problem will be discussed in more detail in the next section where an appraisal of the current Venda orthography will be made.

(iv) The present Venda orthography

The development of the Venda orthography remained the task of the missionaries for a long time. The publication of the Bible translation in 1938 was a milestone in the development of the Venda orthography, and it was an indicator that the Venda orthography had come of age. The Venda orthography remained relatively

unchanged ever since this publication until today. It was only during the 1950s that the South African government became interested in improving the orthography of the language. As will be shown later in this chapter, this move was motivated by political factors, that is, the apartheid ideology which demanded that the indigenous languages be used as a medium of instruction. This task of developing the African languages was first carried out by the Native Language Committees, which were later changed into Language Boards for each language in 1962, following Hendrik Verwoerd's Bantustan policy. The Venda Language Committee, later known as the Venda Language Board, did very little with regard to the orthography reform of the Venda language. The Board adopted the orthography that had been used by PE Schwellnus in the translation of the Bible, even during the so-called 'independent' period. The following is a table of the current orthography:

Bila-bial	Dental	Dentil-abial	Alveo-lar	Pala-tal.	Velar	Labio-Alveo-lar	Labio. Palatal	Labio Velar
ph	pf	ṭh	th	thy	kh	tsw	phw	khw
p	pf	ṭ	t	ty	k	dzw	pw	kw
b	bv	ḍ	d	dy	g	sw	bw	gw
fh	f	ṇ	ts	tsh	x	zw	mw	nw
vh	v	ḷ	dz	dzh	ñ			
m			l	sh	ng			
mb			r	zh				
w			s	ny				
			z					
			l					
			n					
			nd					

From this table, several shortcomings may be observed with regard to the present Venda orthography. These shortcomings include the use of diacritics, trigraphs and inconsistency in marking processes such as aspiration. These shortcomings will be discussed in the next section. An attempt will also be made to suggest solutions to these problems, particularly the problem of diacritics.

(i) The problem of diacritics

As already indicated the use of diacritics on certain letters constitutes a problem to the present Venda orthography. There are two types of diacritics: the subscript and the superscript. The subscript diacritic is used for the dentals whereas the

superscript dot is used for the velar nasal. The dental mark is used to distinguish the dental consonants from their alveolar equivalents, eg.

t	=	ṭ
th	=	ṭh
d	=	ḍ
nd	=	nḍ
n	=	ṇ
l	=	ḷ

The superscript dot distinguishes the velar nasals from their alveolar equivalents, eg.

n	=	ṇ
---	---	----

The use of diacritics in a language creates problems in using the language for modern communication, especially in its written form. First, diacritics pose technical problems, especially when using machines such as typewriters and computers. Although certain modern keyboards or computer programmes may contain some diacritic symbols, most of these machines or programmes do not have these diacritics. Even with those that provide for these symbols, one has to strike two or more keys to write the letter and this may be time consuming and tiresome. This procedure is also cumbersome and it slows down typing speed. In Venda where both the subscript and superscript diacritics are used, the procedure of writing such letters is quite complicated. Even when writing by hand, diacritics pose some problems. They are cumbersome to write since the pen must either leave the paper, interrupting the left-to-right flow, or they must be added after the rest of the word has been written, with the risk that they may be omitted.

(ii) Digraphs and trigraphs

The second problem with the present Venda orthography is the extensive use of digraphs and trigraphs. About eighteen digraphs and seven trigraphs are used in the Venda orthography. While the use of digraphs seems to be quite acceptable, the extensive use of trigraphs undoubtedly requires some attention (cf. Mann and Dalby 1987:216; Baker 1997:117). The main disadvantage of orthographies that make extensive use of combinations of two or three letters to represent a single phoneme is that considerably more printing space is required than with orthographies in which every phoneme is represented by a single segment (Baker 1997:134). Baker (1997) further indicates that in languages such as Xhosa and Venda, which make extensive use of trigraphs, “one-segment-per-phoneme orthographies could produce economies of space in excess of 30 per cent.” Furthermore, the use of di- and trigraphs complicates literacy teaching in that learners must identify clusters of letters as well as individual letters (Baker 1997:135).

(iii) Inconsistencies in the marking of aspiration

In Venda orthography, the letter **h** is used to mark aspiration. However, this letter has not been used consistently. There are aspirated sounds which are written without this letter, and there are sounds which have an **h** yet are not aspirated sounds. Consider the following examples:

Aspirated	Non-aspirated
ph	fh
th	vh

kh	sh
th	zh.

From these examples it is clear that the use of **h** is inconsistent, and as such it could cause problems. It is interesting that the use of this letter with the fricative sounds was introduced by Giesekke in the 1930s. Other scholars like Beuster and Meinhof used an underline sign under each letter. As Baker (1997) indicates, if a language has contrasting plain and aspirated occlusives, and if the latter are given digraphic representation consisting of the letter representing the corresponding plain occlusive **h**, it is internally inconsistent to employ the letter **h** in other digraphs representing non-aspirated phonemes. In letters such as **pf**, **ts**, **tsw**, and **pw** the letter **h** is not used to mark aspiration, whereas these are in fact aspirated.

From the foregoing, it may be argued that the present Venda orthography requires reform. However, since this study is not concerned with orthography per se, it may not be possible to deal with all the problems and to provide solutions. Only the diacritic problem will be addressed since it has a direct bearing on the modernisation of this language, especially with regard to the use of modern technology in writing the language.

(vi) A proposal for Venda orthography reform

As already mentioned above, the Venda orthography requires reform with regard to diacritics. So far there has been little systematic effort to deal with this problem. Most of the attempts were mainly on an *ad hoc* basis. The absence of a concerted effort to deal with the problem has led to individuals or organisations adopting their own strategies to replace the diacritics. The most common strategy has been

to ignore the use of diacritics. In some instances, diacritics are written incorrectly, that is, they are written under or on top of a wrong letter, or not written correctly. In other instances there are conventions designed to replace the diacritics. These conventions include (1) the use of the underlinesign for a dental subscript, (2) the use of a special character, (3) the use of an extra letter and (4) the doubling of the same letter. We shall begin by looking at the first one:

(1) The use of the underline sign: _

The use of the underline sign to represent the dental sounds in Venda has been proposed by scholars such as Lestrade (1927-1929:273). According to him this solution is preferable since the underline sign is readily available and is cheaper to use. This alternative way of writing diacritics was used by Venda Radio Bantu of the SABC in their terminology lists, namely, *Verklarende woordelys. Afrikaans-Engels-Venda (Mutevhe wa maipfi a talutshedzaho)*, vols. 1 and 2, compiled for use in news translations and other broadcasts. In the front matter of these terminology lists, the compilers explain the reason for using the underline sign instead of the dental diacritic sign. The use of the underline sign may be illustrated by the following examples:

Present	Underline sign
$\underset{\cdot}{t}$ ($\underset{\cdot}{t}$ amba)	\underline{t} (\underline{t} amba) ‘wash’
$\underset{\cdot}{t}h$ ($\underset{\cdot}{t}$ h $\underset{\cdot}{t}$ avha)	\underline{th} (\underline{th} avha) ‘stab’
$\underset{\cdot}{d}$ ($\underset{\cdot}{d}$ ana)	\underline{d} (\underline{d} ana) ‘hundred’
$\underset{\cdot}{n}$ ($\underset{\cdot}{n}$ ama)	\underline{n} (\underline{n} ama) ‘meat’
$\underset{\cdot}{l}$ ($\underset{\cdot}{l}$ inngo)	\underline{l} (\underline{l} inngo) ‘mango’

Whilst the underline sign may be easily typed, it cannot be used for the velar nasal. An alternative way should be found to distinguish the velar nasal from the dental or alveolar nasal.

(2) The use of special characters

The use of special characters to replace diacritics in languages such as Venda was first proposed by the International African Institute, based at SOAS (London). This proposal was based on the Africa Alphabet (a.r.a) which was introduced in the publication called *Practical Orthography for African Languages* (1930). In this publication, the use of diacritics is severely criticised and discouraged. According to Baker (1997:116) the following special characters may be used to replace the Venda diacritics.

Present symbols	Special characters
ṅ	ŋ
ṭ	θ
ṭh	t
ḍ	d
ḷ	λ

Although special characters are good in that each letter may be represented by a separate letter, they have been criticised and were rejected in most languages because they were considered to be very artificial and difficult to write both by hand and by typing. In Nigeria, Bamgbose (1978) shows how the special characters were rejected in languages such as Yoruba and Igbo. Another example of the language where the special characters were rejected is Shona. Most of the special characters introduced by Doke (1931) were later replaced by digraphs.

In Venda, the use of special characters may create more problems than the existing diacritics since these characters are not included on most existing typewriters and computer programmes.

(3) The use of an extra letter

In order to deal with the problem of diacritics, some scholars proposed the use of an extra letter to represent a diacritic sound. Mathivha (1972) recommended that the extra letter *l* be used to represent a dental diacritic. Accordingly, this will result in the following representations:

Present symbols

ṭ (*ṭạṭa*)
ṭh (*ṭhạṭha*)
ḍ (*ḍala*)
ṇ (*ṇama*)
ḷ (*ḷa*)
ṇ (*ṇanga*)

Suggested symbols

tl (*tlatla*) 'argue'
tlh (*tlhatlha*) 'roast'
dl (*dlala*) 'be full'
nl (*nlama*) 'meat'
ll (*lla*) 'eat'
nx or *nh* (*nxanga/ nhananga*)
 'doctor'

According to Mathivha (1972) the suggested symbols are preferable since they can be easily written by means of modern devices such as typewriters, and it will not be necessary to make special characters in the printing of Venda books. He further suggested that the phonetic symbols be retained in the study of phonetics as such but that in the practical orthography the suggested symbols should be used (Mathivha 1972:419).

This strategy has also been used by some international scholars when faced with the problem of diacritics in Venda. For example, Heine (1997:8) in his article on grammaticalisation in his Venda examples, represented the dental diacritic with the letter **h**:

ṭ > **th** as in *thodha* ‘look’
ḍ > **dh** as in *dhou* ‘come to’

In these examples, the dental diacritic is represented by the letter **h** and the author provided a footnote to explain its usage. The replacement of the dental diacritic with either the letter **l** or **h** is not acceptable since these letters are already in use in the language. The letter **h** is used in most cases as the aspiration marker, so it cannot be used again to mark a dental diacritic. When using the extra letter to represent a diacritic the basic principle is that such a letter should not be in use in the language.

(4) The use of a double letter

The use of a double letter, as already indicated, appears to provide an alternative solution to the use of diacritics, especially the dental diacritic in Venda. Consider the following examples:

Current

ṭ “*ṭamba*”
tḥ “*tḥaṭha*”
ḍ “*ḍala*”
ḷ “*ḷela*”
ṇ “*ṇama*”

Double letter system

tt “*ttamba*” ‘wash’
tth “*tthattha*” ‘roast’
dd “*ddala*” ‘full’
ll “*llela*” ‘eat for’
nn “*nnama*” ‘meat’

In all these examples, the dental diacritic [ʰ] is replaced by adding an extra letter which is the same as the first one. This strategy is used for the Venda Orthography in Zimbabwe (cf. Mutasa 1995). The advantage of this strategy is that it can save time since it eliminates the problem of inserting the diacritic sign after the letter has been written or typed. However, this strategy is not without some shortcomings. Its main shortcoming is that it increases the number of letters which may demand more space. A further problem in using the double letter strategy is with regard to the velar nasal **ŋ**. This letter may not be represented by double letter **nn** since it has already been used to represent the denti-labial **ɲ**. To deal with this problem, an underline sign which can be written or typed with ease may be used. Another alternative may be to use a special character **ŋ**, but the problem with this solution again is the non-availability of the character on the keyboards. Another strategy is to add another letter which is not commonly used in Venda to the alveolar nasal **n**. In Zimbabwean orthography, for example, the velar nasal is represented by the letter **ng**. The problem with this letter in Venda is that it is already in use in the language. Thus, to distinguish it from **ng**, the letter **ngg** may be used to represent the velar nasal.

From the foregoing discussion it may be realised that there are several alternatives to deal with the problem of diacritics in Venda. The last alternative, i.e. the use of a double letter is recommended for Venda. In the following section an attempt will be made to show how this proposed orthography reform can be implemented in this language.

(5) Implementation strategies

The implementation of a language reform programme requires proper planning. Various strategies may be used, depending on the strategies used in implementing other programmes in other domains. Whereas in some languages the reform programmes are implemented by decrees (e.g. Somali), in others language reforms are implemented through democratic means. The latter approach appears to be appropriate for our context since our language policy is based on democratic policies. Accordingly, the **alternative model** is recommended for the implementation of the proposed orthography reforms. According to this model, various options should be provided to users. This model is recommended by scholars such as Baker (1997). A good example of a language which has adopted this model is German. In German the standard orthography has three letters which occur with the umlaut: **ä**, **ë**, and **ö**. Since these letters are not available on all typewriters or word processors, they may be written as **ae**, **oe**, and **ue**, respectively. German orthography also features a special character **ß**, but similarly provides for this to be written as **ss** on machines that lack this character. By these means, German can always be written satisfactorily, even on machines that have no diacritics and special characters (Baker 1997:133).

For Venda, two alternatives may be suggested: the continued use of diacritics for people who prefer them or have advanced programmes to represent them with no difficulty, and the use of double letters to those who have difficulty in using the diacritics.

3.2.2.3 Lexical modernisation

The use of the Venda language for writing purposes marked the beginning of a new era in the history of the development of the language. The Venda language was subjected to a more formal and institutional development. Its development became the duty of the new owners, the missionaries who viewed the indigenous languages as 'their' languages with 'their' orthography (cf. Harries 1988:43). As already mentioned, the main reason why missionaries transcribed the African languages was to spread the gospel. However, such a purpose could not be realised without developing the terminology of the language to make it capable of expressing the new concepts brought along with the new religion. Accordingly, the missionaries considered the development of new terminologies as one of their priorities.

In their task of developing the terminology of the Venda language the Berlin Missionaries, like other missionaries elsewhere, were influenced by several factors. First, their approach was greatly influenced by the 'primitive language theory'. As pointed out in the beginning of this chapter, the African languages were viewed as primitive dialects that had not yet developed grammatically and lexically to express concepts that emanated from the so-called civilised and Christian countries of Europe. Thus, the missionaries considered it their duty to elucidate the structure of the basic language and understand the derivations of dialects before starting to translate the Bible (Clammer 1976:15 cit. in Mühlhäuser 1996:140). As a consequence, the missionaries adopted a paternalistic attitude towards the indigenous people. Ohly (1987) finds this attitude unacceptable. In his view, the idea that African languages are not

developed grammatically and lexically appears to have no basis since the scientific research points to the contrary. The lexical divergences or shortcomings in comparison with advanced European languages in a field like technology are, according to him, due to cultural differences. African languages, too, are more advanced in certain domains where European languages are deficient. Ohly (1987:13) illustrates this view by giving an example of the Herero language which has rich colour -terminologies that can only be rendered through descriptive terms in European languages, and in no way does this indicate that European languages are primitive or inferior.

The second theory which influenced the missionaries in developing the African languages was the 'deficient theory'. According to this theory, the vocabularies of African languages were viewed as repositories of wickedness and moral degradation. This view is expressed more vividly by one missionary's report published in the Hawaiian Newspaper *The Friend* about the state of vocabulary of the Micronesian languages spoken in the Pacific:

While the languages of Micronesia and other heathen nations or tribes are destitute of words and phrases to convey correct ideas of God and moral subjects generally, yet those same languages abound with words and terms respecting disgusting subjects and forbidden thoughts. Their vocabularies are wonderfully prolific in unchaste and impure words and terms... How painfully the mind of the missionary is tried, when he would translate the Bible into

the heathen language. He finds that their languages are wanting in their words and terms required for translation.

(Mühlhäuser 1996:140-141)

The view was also shared by missionaries who worked on the African languages. It is not surprising, therefore, that these missionaries adopted a puristic approach in developing terminologies for the African languages. They considered it their duty to purify the indigenous languages, first by ignoring all the terms which they regarded to be impure, and second by developing new terms even in areas where indigenous terms already existed. According to them, this approach was significant since it would enable them to exercise control and power over the conceptual world of the 'new society' or the 'new people emerging from darkness' (Harries 1988:44). Scholars such as Meinhof (1915), for example, strongly felt that the African languages must be penetrated by European knowledge and become filled with the spirit of Europe and a vehicle of European thought. It is due to this puristic approach that the missionaries ignored the social and cultural context in their terminology development of the African languages. For example, Harries (1988:43) clearly indicates how words recorded in some Thonga bilingual dictionaries were isolated from their social context with new meanings derived from European culture imposed on them.

The Berlin Missionaries too, were influenced by a puristic attitude in their approach to the development of the Venda language. Accordingly, they used various strategies to avoid the influence of the social and cultural context of the Venda language in developing new biblical terms. In his doctoral thesis entitled *Language and culture in the communication of the Christian message as*

illustrated by the Venda Bible, Van Rooy (1971) discusses some of these strategies. The missionaries used term creation strategies such as semantic shift, borrowing, compounding and derivation. As Van Rooy(1971) indicates, the use of these term creation strategies by the missionaries has several shortcomings. These shortcomings will be shown in the next sections where a detailed discussion of each term creation strategy employed by the missionaries will be given. We shall begin by looking at semantic shift.

(a) Semantic shift

This method of term formation involves a change in the meaning of words to express new concepts. This change may occur in various ways. First, the indigenous word, while retaining its original meaning, may acquire an additional meaning. This shift of meaning is commonly known as meaning extension. Secondly, the meaning of the indigenous word may be narrowed down. Lastly, the original meaning of the indigenous word may be changed completely and be replaced by a completely new meaning. The missionaries have used these strategies of meaning shift in developing biblical terms in Venda. However, it is important to note that in most cases these meaning shifts were aimed at isolating the indigenous terms from their social and cultural context. This phenomenon may be clearly observed from the following biblical terms used by Schweltnus in his Bible translation:

Indigenous terms	Original meaning	Extended meaning
<i>u tenda</i>	'to agree'	(to believe)
<i>u rembuluwa</i>	'to turn back'	(to repent)

<i>tshivhi</i>	‘evil’	(a sin)
<i>muitazwivhi</i>	‘evil doer’	(a sinner)
<i>tshilalelo</i>	‘supper’	(Holy Communion)
<i>tshidzimu</i>	‘offering to gods’	(an offering to God)
<i>tshiṭhavhelo</i>	‘offering to gods’	(an offering to God)
<i>mudzimu</i>	‘ancestor/god’	(God)
<i>u luga</i>	‘to be kind’	(to be righteous)
<i>vhuloi</i>	‘witchcraft’	(any evil practice)
<i>muloi</i>	‘witch’	(anyone who does evil)
<i>malamba</i>	‘payment’	(a reward)

From these examples, it may be observed that the indigenous words have been used in isolation from their cultural context. For example, to a Venda person the word *u tenda* ‘to agree’ does not involve any serious commitment or a change of life as it is used in a Christian context. As Van Rooy (1971:93) indicates, this term “does not necessarily mean that one means what one says. One can *tenda* ‘agree’ with one’s mouth while heartily disagreeing with the statement made or having no intention whatsoever to fulfil what one has just promised to do. This is not regarded as dishonesty, but is a matter of politeness.” Van Rooy further indicates that the use of the term *u tenda* has serious repercussions in denoting the Christian concept of ‘believing’. From his evangelistic work among the Venda, he observed that every Venda person when confronted with the gospel would always say *Ndi khou tenda* ‘I admit the truth of what you say’. According to him what these people really mean by this is that “I believe that God exists, and I have no objection to the fact that he exists. I suppose that the rest of what you are talking about is true also” (Van Rooy 1971:100). As a result these people will never commit themselves to the faith preached to them.

The use of the term *mudzimu* to refer to God also resulted in some confusion since this word is used within the Venda cultural context to refer to ‘an ancestral spirit that continues to live after a person’s death’. The use of this term by P.E. Schwellnus has no justification at all. As Van Rooy (1971:136) indicates, the use of the term *mudzimu* to refer to God may be criticised for several reasons. First, from a Christian point of view, the use of this term causes semantic confusion since it also refers to ‘ancestral spirit’. Second, none of the attributes of God are present in this concept. According to Van Rooy (1971:137), this term is also grammatically not acceptable since it belongs to the noun class *mu-/mi-*, which is usually used to denote non-personal ‘living’ objects. Furthermore, this term is connected with many other concepts in the Venda culture. For example, it may be used to refer to a goat, a cow or as a designation of the representative and embodiment of the ancestral spirits to which the *mpambo* ‘sacrificial beer’ is offered, some very old persons, and cultural practices such as *domba* ‘an initiation school for girls’, etc. (Van Rooy 1971:137). Thus, the use of this term may cause serious confusion, especially where the context is not well comprehended. In written form, to clear this confusion, the term referring to ‘ancestral spirit’ is written with a small letter on the first letter of the word *mudzimu*, whereas that for God is written with a capital letter. But in spoken form this distinction is not possible.

From the foregoing, a question may be raised as to whether in using this term, Schwellnus was aware of all these implications. It seems Schwellnus was mainly influenced by its Sotho counterpart *Modimo*. If he had made a thorough study of the Venda conceptualisation of God, and how God is referred to in the Venda culture he would have chosen a better term. In the Venda language, there are several terms that are used to refer to God. The term *Mwali*, for example, is used

to refer to God. This term is also used in Shona to refer to God. It is not clear why Schwellnus and other missionaries did not wish to use this term. Perhaps one reason why they did not favour this word was because the term *Mwali* is used in some contexts to refer to the god of the Venda who was a human being with supernatural powers. Another term that could have been used is the term *Mungu*. This name is also found in Swahili, and it means God. It seems this word was also used by the Venda people to refer to God in the remote past. For example, the Venda refer to a cluster of stars which is often seen in the sky during the summer night as *Mulalamungu*, ‘a place where God sleeps’, implying that God is called *Mungu*. Thus, the use of the word *Mungu* for God would have been more appropriate than *Mudzimu* which is often confused with *mudzimu*, ‘an ancestral spirit.’

Another interesting example of a word used outside its cultural context in the examples given above, is the word *muloi* or *vhuloi*. According to the Venda culture, the word *muloi* refers to a person who practices witchcraft, that is, a person who wakes up during the night and walks stark naked to bewitch other people using magical powers. This view of witchcraft differs radically from the biblical one which regards a witch as any person who practices magic, uses medicine to kill or harm others, but does not necessarily have the powers to walk during the night into other people’s houses and bewitch them. This misunderstanding led to conflict between the missionaries and the communities, especially when people accused of witchcraft were expelled from the community, and were given refuge or welcomed at the mission stations. In accepting these people, the missionaries were just acting on their belief that a witch or sorcerer can repent and get saved like any other sinner. This view was contrary to the view of a witch in the Venda culture. According to the Venda culture, the only way to

deal with a witch is to eliminate him/her from society, either by expulsion or death (Van Rooy 1971:180).

Another term related to witchcraft which the missionaries could not accept was the term *thuri* 'polecats'. This term could have been used to refer to evil spirits since the Venda regard 'polecats' as coming from the witches who in this context may be comparable with the devil. Instead, the missionaries decided to use the compound term *muyamuvhi* 'bad spirit'. The use of this term to refer to an ancestral spirit was considered not proper by many Venda speakers. According to the Venda culture, a bad spirit is an ancestral spirit that bewitches people or causes sickness or misfortune. All the other ancestral spirits are considered to be good spirits. The missionaries on the other hand could not use the indigenous term *thuri* 'polecats' since that would be acknowledging the existence of witchcraft as claimed by the Venda people. It is interesting to note that this term also created problems for the translators of the New Venda Bible Translation. In this New Venda Bible Translation, the term *muyamuvhi* has been replaced by the term *thuriwa* which means 'that which has been sent'. Consider the following passage from Matthew 12:43, 44 and 45.

Thuriwa arali i tshi bva muthuni i budekanya masoga i tshi toda ha u awela i si hu wane. Ya konou ri: 'Ndi do vhuielela nduni yanga ine nda bva khayo.' ...Zwenezwi i mbo yo dzhia dziriwe thuriwa dza 7 dza vuhali u fhira yone.

(When a demon is cast out of a person, it goes in the desert looking for a place to live in, and it does not find it. Then it says to itself: 'I will go back to my house from which I came.' ... It then goes and recruits other demons which are seven times stronger than itself).

In this passage, the word *thuriwa*, ‘that which has been sent’, is used twice. In Venda culture this term is a synonym for *thuri* ‘polecats’. In fact the translators should have used the term *thuri* ‘polecats’, rather than *thuriwa*, ‘that which is sent’, or the alternative would be to use the most common borrowed form *madimoni* ‘demons’. The avoidance of this latter term reveals another factor of denominational or spiritual affiliation. It is clear from this example that the translators do not belong to a denomination which believes in the existence of demons, and this is why the term *madimoni* ‘demons’, just like *thuri* ‘polecats’, was avoided.

From the foregoing examples, it is increasingly clear that the missionaries were influenced by various extralinguistic factors in their use of the different term formation strategies in Venda.

(b) Borrowing

In developing the new biblical terms, the missionaries also made use of the borrowing strategy. Borrowing was used for various reasons. First loanwords were used to fill the terminology gaps in the language. However, in some instances, borrowed terms were used even when there were indigenous equivalent terms in the language. Consider the following examples:

- u rerela* ‘to speak to ancestors and utter a spell’ (to pray)
- u phasa* ‘to approach the ancestors with water or medicines to’ (to pray)
- u sema midzimu* ‘scolding the gods’ (to pray)

Words such as *u hwelwa*, *urerela*, and *u phasa* could not be used by the missionaries because they were considered to be loaded with cultural meanings which may pollute the language of the Bible. These terms could not be used in the Bible since they refer to ancestral worship which was in contradiction to the Christian faith of the missionaries. The term *u rerela* has only been used in the Old Testament of the Bible to refer to worship of the gods. The Sotho loanword -*rapela* 'pray' was then used by missionaries instead of the indigenous term -*rerela*. This loanword was borrowed from Sotho *go rapela*. However, this loanword in Venda has a more restricted meaning than its counterpart in the source language, that is, Hebrew or Greek. In Venda this term denotes a form of communication which is formal. As Van Rooy (1971:171-172) observes, it implies that prayer only takes place in a formal situation, and spontaneous communication, such as talking to God when one is walking alone, may not be regarded as prayer. It is due to this fact that other terms such as *u amba na Mudzimu* (to talk with God), *u humbela* (to ask), *u luvha* (to pay homage) are now used to refer to prayer in the modern churches.

The use of borrowing for purposes of purism may be further observed in naming. The new converts were expected to change their traditional names, which were regarded to be heathen or pagan, and to adopt so-called Christian names. Accordingly, Biblical names such as *Dafitha*, *Simisoni*, *Amusi*, *Solomoni*, *Maria*, *Adamu*, *Efa*, *Mateo*, *Mariko*, *Yosef*, *Egipte*, *Farao*, *Yohane*, became very common among the new converts who abandoned their indigenous names. The acquisition of a new name was a sign that one had been sanctified. The problem with these names, or perhaps with the use of borrowing strategy in general, was the adaptation of these terms to the Venda language system. As already indicated in the previous discussion, missionaries such as Beuster did not have knowledge of

the Venda phonological systems and as a result loanwords such as *Kristo* 'Christ', *Nord* 'north', *West* 'west' and *Suid* 'south' were incorporated into the language without modification (Gründler 1897:7). Further observation with regard to the adaptation of loanwords may be made from the following foreign names given to the new converts: *Yosef*, *Mateo*, *Mariko*, *Yohannes*, *Paulo*. Names such as *Yosef*, and *Yohannes*, for example, did not follow the Venda syllable structure of open syllables. It is not surprising that in the New Versions of the Venda Bible, the spelling of these names was changed. For example, the name *Paulo* is now written in the New Version of the Venda Bible as *Paulosi*, *Mateo* as *Matiosi*, *Mariko* as *Marikosi*, *Yohane* as *Johanisi*, following the way in which these names are pronounced by the speakers of the language.

Further cases of borrowing may be observed from the following examples taken from the Venda Bible. Most of these loanwords were borrowed because of the lack of an equivalent indigenous term in the Venda language:

<i>Murena</i>	< So. Morena 'Lord',
<i>phutheo</i>	< So. phuthego 'a congregation'
<i>thembele</i>	< Eng. temple
<i>aletare</i>	< Eng. alter
<i>veine</i>	< Eng. vine
<i>zwidina</i>	< Afr. steen 'brick'
<i>tshede</i>	< Afr. geld 'money'
<i>sheleni</i>	< Eng. shilling
<i>masetha</i>	< Eng. cents
<i>silivhere</i>	< Eng. silver
<i>muneri</i>	< Afr. meneer 'mr'
<i>tshineri</i>	< Afr. meneer 'mr'
<i>tshitasi</i>	< Afr. stasie 'station'
<i>katekasima</i>	< Afr. katkisasie 'catechism'

<i>evangeli</i>	< Afr. evangelie ‘evangel’
<i>muapositola</i>	< Eng. apostle
<i>mufarisei</i>	< Eng. pharisee

From the above examples, it may be observed that several languages were used as source languages for loanwords, whether directly or indirectly. However, in some instances, a few cases of loans from Greek and Hebrew may be found. It seems the missionaries did not have a clear policy on the use of the source language for the borrowed terms, except that borrowing from other non-standard varieties was not encouraged since that would pollute the standard church language.

In sum, it is clear from the foregoing discussion that the use of borrowing was preferred by the missionaries, especially in the translation of the Bible above other word formation patterns. The use of this strategy was facilitated by cultural changes that were taking place in Venda society as a result of the missionaries’ influence and westernisation. As already mentioned, the Berlin missionaries saw heathenism as something that should not only be uprooted in the language, but also from the society or the culture of the people. Thus, cultural conversion was considered important. To achieve this objective, the cultural practices relating to clothing, forms of labour, agriculture, modes of belief and worship were to be changed (Fielder 1996). As was the case in other mission fields, the Berlin missionaries demanded of the new converts visible signs of change, that is, women should wrap their waists and drape something substantial across their breasts, men were expected to wear clothing instead of girding their loins. Furthermore, all aspects of traditional African marriage such as polygamy were prohibited (cf. Fielder 1996). To this end new converts were therefore required to leave their

society and come to live in the mission stations where they would be trained in the new way of life. In this way the mission stations eventually became the centre for (western-style) agriculture, domestic craft, health care, education, etc. The training of these new converts increased the demand for more terms and registers for use in these domains.

(c) Compounding

Missionaries such as Schwelnus made extensive use of compounding, which is a very common word formation pattern in German. The use of compounding may be clearly observed from the Bible, especially in books such as Proverbs and Psalms. In translating the Bible, P.E. Schwelnus used different compounding strategies. In some compounds he made use of the compounding strategies already existing in the language, but in others, he used strategies that were new to the language. In Venda a common way of forming compounds is to combine two or more words or stems. In some instances, reduplication of the same word is used. Consider the following examples:

(i) Reduplicative nouns

These are nouns that are formed by reduplicating the whole noun or stem in full. Consider the following examples:

mudzimu-mudzimu
ṭadulu-ṭadulu

‘the true god’
‘the true heaven’

This type of reduplication is very rare in Venda. The normal way of forming reduplicative nouns in Venda is to repeat the stem without the prefix, especially where the stem is more than one syllable long (Poulos 1990). Accordingly, the noun *mudzimumudzimu* should be compounded as *mudzimudzimu*, and *ṭadulu-ṭadulu* as *ṭaduluḁulu*.

(ii) Noun and Noun [N + N]

This type of compound noun is formed by using a noun and a noun, or the nominal stems. Consider the following examples:

mafhungongoho ‘truth’

<*mafhungo* ‘news’+ *ngoho* ‘truth’

Muyamukhethwa ‘Holy Spirit’

<*Muya* ‘Spirit’ + *mukhethwa* ‘Holy’

Mudzimumutshidzi ‘God the Saviour’

<*Mudzimu* ‘God’+ *Mutshidzi* ‘Saviour’

munnamufulufhedzei ‘a faithful man’

<*munna* ‘man’ + *mufufufhedzei* ‘faithful’

tsolo-khagala ‘open criticism’

<*tsolo-* ‘criticise’+ *khagala* ‘open’

In these examples, both components of the compounds are nouns. This way of forming compounds is very common in Venda, and Schwellnus used this strategy very effectively.

(iii) Verbal form and Noun [V + N]

Another way of forming compounds in Venda is to combine a verb and a noun. Although not many compounds are formed in this way, the following examples serve to illustrate how this strategy was used by the missionaries:

- mudziawzivhi* 'a regular sinner'
 <-dzia 'do always' + *zivhi* 'sinner'
mudziavhutshinyi 'evildoer'
 <-dzia 'do always' + *vhutshinyi* 'evil'
mudziauzwifha 'always lying'
 <-dzia 'do always' + *u zwifha* 'to lie'
muitazvivhi 'sinner'
 <-ita 'do' + *zivhi* 'sins'
dzingandevhe 'deaf person'
 <-dzinga 'deaf' + *ndevhe* 'ear'

From these examples, it is important to note the consistent and productive use of the verb *-dzia* 'do always' which indicates that the action denoted by the verb is carried out regularly.

(iv) Verbal form and Adverbs [V + Adv.]

This type of compound is formed by combining a verbal form and an adverb. In the translation of the Bible, Schwelnuš used the following examples:

- | | |
|-------------------------|---|
| <i>mu-ambela-u-sili</i> | (a spokesperson-for-foreigners) 'a kind person' |
| <i>mu-ṭoda-zwizhi</i> | (a desire-for-many) 'a greedy person' |
| <i>mu-vusa-a-kale</i> | (reminder-of-the old) 'an unforgiving person' |

(v) Noun and Adjective [N + Adj.]

In forming compounds, Schwellnus also made use of a combination of a noun and an adjective. Consider the following examples:

mafhungo-madifha ‘good news’
 <*mafhungo* ‘news’ + *madifha* ‘good’
tsimbi-tsetha ‘silver steel’
 <*tsimbi* ‘steel’ + *tsetha* ‘silver’
muyamuvhi ‘evil spirit’
 <*muya* ‘spirit’ + *muvhi* ‘evil’

(vi) Phrases and other sentence structures

In Venda, phrases or sentences may be used to form compounds. Schwellnus made extensive use of this strategy of forming compounds. Consider the following examples from his Bible translation:

mu-nyadza-wa-hawe
 (underminer-of-his relative) ‘an arrogant person’
mu-piringanya-zwa-mutani
 (a mixer of things of his family) ‘a person who causes confusion at home’
mu-amba-zwi-re-hone
 (a speaker-of-the truth) ‘a trustworthy person’
vha-amba-mathavha-sa-pfumo
 (speakers-of-painful words) ‘people who hurt others with their words’
mu-endela-na-vhatali
 (a visitor to the wise) ‘a person who walks in company of wise people’
mu-nyadza-tshanda-tshi-nguvhoni

(an underminer of the hand in the blanket) 'a person who is against bribery'

tshi-tevhela-u-ḍi-hudza

(a follower of his pride) 'a proud person'

fhungo-vhuya-ḷi-bva-kule

(good-news-from-far) 'rare good news'

mu-ṭangula-khotsi-na-mme

(a robber of father and mother) 'a person who robs his/her parents'

mu-nwisa-mbilu-nanḍoni

(a sinker of heart to the fire) 'a person who indulges in worries'

mu-teledza-u-shuma

(a person who is lazy to work) 'a lazy person'

From the examples above, it may be observed that although some of the compounds are according to the Venda word formation pattern, others are very artificial, especially the long ones. Compounds such as *mu-amba-zwi-re-hone* 'a speaker of the truth', *vha-amba-maṭhavha-sa-pfumo* 'speakers of painful words', *mu-endela-na-vhaṭali* 'a visitor to the wise' and *mu-nyadza-tshanda-tshi-nguvhoni* 'an underminer of the hand in the blanket (bribery)' are very artificial. The authors should have used ordinary words or phrases instead of trying to form artificial compounds. For example, the possessive construction *ṭhanzi ya ngoho* 'a true witness' may be used for *mu-amba-zwi-re-hone* and a phrase, *vhane vha amba zwi vhaiṣaho* 'those who speak things that hurt' for *vha-amba-maṭhavha-sa-pfumo*. The example *mu-endela-na-vhaṭali*, is quite interesting because it is not only artificial, but does not seem to convey the intended meaning. This compound is intended to denote a person who 'is accompanied by wise people', but this compound gives the wrong meaning of 'a person who also visits the wise people'. The last example, *mu-nyadza-tshanda-tshi-nguvhoni*, is very artificial and meaningless. The second part of this compound, *tshanda-tshi-nguvhoni* 'the hand is in the blanket' is not correct. The correct compound is *tshandanguvhoni*

‘bribery’, and by infixing *-tshi-* in the middle of this compound, Schweltnus renders it meaningless. It seems Schweltnus tended to believe that any combination of words in a language may be used to form compounds. A further problem is the excessive use of compounds in one sentence, and as such the sentence becomes semantically overloaded. For example, *Mu-thola-tsilu, mu-thola-muendi, ndi mudzimba wa mu-pfula-zwothe* ‘an employer of a fool, an employer of a traveller, is a hunter who shoots at everything’ (Proverbs 26:10) which simply means ‘a person who just employs anyone’. This sentence is semantically overloaded to the extent that it is difficult to understand its meaning. In fact, the extensive use of compounds in the Book of Proverbs makes it one of the most difficult books in the Bible. It is interesting, however, to note that most of the compounds used in the Book of Proverbs have been replaced by simple words and phrases in the New Venda Bible translation, namely *Bivhili khethwa ya mafhungo madifha* (1998). Consider the following examples:

Old Version

mu-lamba-u-vhudzwa

‘a person who refuses to listen’

mu-nyadza-wa-hawe ‘an underminer
of his/her relative’

mu-ita-zwivhi ‘a doer of sins’

mu-bula-mazwifhi a speaker of lies’

mu-wana-mashudu ‘a founder of luck’

mu-tama-tuvhu ‘a lover of beer’

munna-mufulufhedzei ‘a man who is
faithful’

mu-tangula-khotsi-na-mme ‘a robber

New Version

a sa tendi u laiwa ‘a stubborn person’

a no sasaladza wa hawe ‘a person who
scoffs/undermines his/her fellow person’

mutshinyi ‘a sinner’

ane a zwifha ‘a liar’

wa mashudu ‘a lucky person’

a no funesa midifho ‘a person who likes
nice things’

ane a fulufhedzea ‘a faithful person’

of his/her father and mother'

ane a tswela vhabebi 'a person who robs his/her parents'

mu-pika-mbilu-yawe 'a person who trusts his/her heart'

ane a difulufhedza 'an arrogant person'

vha-goda-vhashai 'scoffers of the poor'

vha seaho vhashai 'people who laugh at poor people'

mu-teledza-u-shuma 'a person who is lazy to work'

mubva 'a lazy person'

It is interesting to note that most of the compounds used by Schwellnus have been replaced by relative constructions, possessive constructions and simple words. In the last example above, for instance, the noun *mubva* 'a lazy person' is used in the New Version to replace Schwellnus's long compound *mu-teledza-u shuma* 'a person who is lazy to work'. As Van Rooy (1971:32) rightly observes, it is due to these shortcomings that most of the compound nouns created by Schwellnus failed to be recognised as acceptable Venda.

Swellnus also made use of prefixes such as *ra-*, and *ne-* to form compound words such as *Randalamo* 'Everlasting one' and *Nemulalo* 'Owner of peace'. The prefix *ra-* in Venda means 'father or owner of' whereas the *ne-* is a contracted form of the word *mune* 'owner of'. The use of the prefixes *ra-* and *ne-* is also very restricted in the Bible. Again this may be regarded as an indication of the lack of knowledge regarding this word formation pattern in Venda. This lack of knowledge, as will be shown in the next section, may be further observed in his use of the derivation method of term creation.

(d) Derivation

In creating terms for new Christian concepts, the missionaries also made use of derivation. Accordingly, new terms were derived by modifying the form of the existing words in Venda. Consider the following examples:

<i>u pfumedzanya</i> ‘to reconcile’	<	- <i>pfumelwa</i> ‘reconcile’
<i>u lugisa</i> ‘to make righteous’	<	- <i>luga</i> ‘be kind’
<i>lutendo</i> ‘faith’	<	- <i>tenda</i> ‘agree/believe’
<i>mukhethwa</i> ‘a righteous person’	<	- <i>khetha</i> ‘select’
<i>Mudzimuni</i> ‘in/to God’	<	- <i>mudzimu</i> ‘God’

The forms given above are derived forms. Although verbs such as *-tenda* ‘believe’, *-khetha* ‘choose’, *-pfumela* ‘reconcile’, *-luga* ‘righteous’ are indigenous to the language, their derived counterparts, namely *lutendo*, *mukhethwa*, *u pfumedzanywa*, and *u lugisa* appear to have been introduced by the missionaries. As already discussed under semantic shift, the derivation of words such as *lutendo* is not without problems. According to the rules of derivations and their meaning in the *lu*-class, this word should mean ‘the habit of readily consenting to everything’. But since it is a coined word which does not have a clearly defined set of meanings in everyday speech, it has acquired a meaning in Church language of ‘steadfastness’ in Christian life. *U na lutendo* means something like ‘he is steadfast in the face of persecution’ (Van Rooy 1971:93). Another interesting example is the derivative form *u lugisa*. In Venda, *u luga* may be a virtue that one is born with or a character that was moulded by other people. With regard to the latter sense, it is common to hear a person say *Ndi do mu lugisa* (I will put him/her right) in Venda, which means to put a person right by using punitive measures. The last example is the word *mudzimuni*. The use of this impersonal locative form

to refer to God is regarded by Van Rooy (1971:149) as very unfortunate “since the form *-ni* is used in connection with persons when a speaker does not refer to a particular person, but to the place where they stay, in a very vague and indefinite sense”. According to him, the use of this word strengthens the idea of a vague impersonal spirit world to which God belongs.

e) Terminology development in non-religious books or documents

Although in the foregoing, considerable focus was evident on the use by missionaries of the various term formation strategies to develop religious terminology, missionaries also wrote non-religious books that contributed significantly to the modernisation of the Venda language. The first non-religious book was the *Spelboek ea Tšiwenda* published by C.F. Beuster in 1899. This book was meant to teach the people how to read and write the Venda language. In 1904 the Schwellnus brothers, Th. Schwellnus and P.E. Schwellnus, published a book called *Die Verba des Tšivenda*. In this book a long list of Venda verbs was written down with their German equivalents. Although this book was an important contribution to the development of the Venda language, its main aim was to assist foreigners, especially Germans, in learning the Venda language. In 1913, Th. Schwellnus, helped by Phineas Mutsila, published a book called *Ndede ya luambo lwa Tshivenda*. In 1918 P.E. Schwellnus published another book called *Wörterverzeichnis der Venda-Sprache* in which German nouns and other words are given their Venda equivalents. Again, the book was intended for German speakers since the Venda people were not taught German. As from the 1930s, several school books were published. These include *Mudededzi wa vhana vhaṭuku, A* by Mrs E.D. Giesekke and *Mudededzi wa vhana Venda* by P.E.

Schwellnus. Although these publications contributed to the development of the Venda language, a very significant contribution was made by the publication of *Luvenda grammar* by P.E. Schwellnus in 1933. In this book, which dealt with the grammar of the Venda language, Schwellnus gives an analysis of Venda words, classifying them in accordance with the rules used in classical grammar of the early 20th century. In his classification of words Schwellnus coined the terminology which formed the basis of contemporary/ current grammar. The book covered many aspects of language study such as the parts of speech, moods, syntax, conjugation, rules of writing Venda, synthesis, analysis, intonation and rhythm in poetry. In this book Schwellnus introduced many new linguistic terms to the Venda language. The following are just a few examples of the linguistic terms which he developed:

(1)	grammar	<i>phendaluambo</i> ‘analysis of language’
	vowel	<i>pfalandothe</i> ‘a sound that is audible alone’
	semi-vowel	<i>pfalanyana</i> ‘a sound that is slightly audible’
(2)	sound	<i>pfala</i> ‘audible’
	pronouns	<i>masala</i> ‘place holders’
	diminutive	<i>thukhufhadzo</i> ‘diminution’
	compound nouns	<i>mabadakani</i> ‘conjoined nouns’
	adjective	<i>litululi</i> ‘a qualifier’
	verb	<i>liiti</i> ‘doer of action’
	nasal	<i>nyungi</i> ‘a sound that resonates’
	explosives	<i>thathaba</i> ‘explosive’
	fricatives	<i>tsuvha</i> ‘pass smoothly’
(3)	syllables	<i>madungo</i> ‘joints’
	noun	<i>dzina</i> ‘name’
	prefixes	<i>dziṭhoho</i> ‘heads’
	tenses	<i>zwifhinga</i> ‘time’
	consonants	<i>themba</i> ‘a sound that is dependent’

- | | | |
|-----|--------------|---|
| (4) | conjugation | <i>u dubekanya maambele</i> ‘arranging idioms sequentially’ |
| | noun classes | <i>dzitshaka dza madzina</i> ‘types of names’ |

What is interesting about these examples, is that in contrast with the Bible translation, Schwellnus used mainly language internal term formation processes. Rather than borrowing, he used language internal word formation processes such as compounding in the examples in (1), derivation in the examples in (2), semantic shift in the examples in (3), and lastly, paraphrasing in the examples in (4). The use of language internal term formation strategies is very relevant here, since this grammar book was written for the elementary teaching of the Venda language. However, in some instances, Schwellnus was not able to give the Venda equivalents of some grammatical terms. These terms were written as they are in English. The following are a few examples: ‘bilabials’, ‘denti-labials’, ‘dentals’, ‘alveolar’, ‘velars’, ‘aspirated sounds’, ‘unaspirated sounds’, ‘vocalisation’ etc.

In these examples, Schwellnus used English terms without any modification. These terms were only replaced by indigenous terms later by authors such as T.H.M. Endemann and E.F.N. Mudau who published some works on Venda grammar during the 1940s.

Another important contribution to the lexical modernisation of the Venda language by the missionaries was made by Schwellnus in his book *Mutakalo*, a book on hygiene published in 1939. This book introduced into the Venda language several terms regarding hygiene. The following are a few examples:

- (1) *duda* 'cold'
tshifumbu 'measles'
- (2) *luhoṭola* 'cough'
vhuongelo 'hospital'
tshitshimbili 'ulcer'
- (3) *khinini* 'quinine'
kastroli 'kastrol'
- (4) *ṅowanatsela* 'tape-worm'
ṅowakhulu 'dysentery'
muthivhakhulo 'disease that blocks the throat'
- (5) *lukanda lwa nga ngomu* (the inside skin) 'dermis'
lukanga lwa nga nṅa (the outside skin) 'epidermis'
vhulwadze ha tshithavhi tsha khanani (a disease of pain in the chest)
 'pneumonia'

In the examples in (1) Schwellnus used a semantic shift strategy. In these examples the meaning of the indigenous terms has been extended to express the new concept. In (2) derivation has been used and borrowing in (3). In (4) and (5) Schwellnus used compounding and paraphrase respectively. These strategies will be discussed in more detail later in this chapter and also in chapter 5.

3.1.2.4 Concluding remarks

From the foregoing discussion, it is clear that the missionaries, especially the early missionaries, had difficulties in using indigenous term formation strategies such as semantic shift, compounding and derivation, since they did not know the morphology of the language very well. In using these term formation strategies,

missionaries such as the Schwellnus brothers relied mainly on their intuitive knowledge of the language, since there was no recorded information regarding the word formation patterns in Venda or the morphology of the language. The existing studies focused mainly on the phonology of the language, for example *Das Tši-venda* published by Meinhof in 1901. Thus, the early missionaries' approach to terminological development was not based on morphological analysis of the language.

Whilst it is true that the missionaries attempted to compile terminology lists (or what they refer to as dictionaries), these terminology lists were not very useful in terminology development since their main purpose was to help non-Venda speakers to learn the language. However, despite this lack of terminology codification, the Venda language had already developed terms that were used for mining and trading of gold, iron, and copper, and also for utensils such as hatchets, spears, hoes, bows, etc. It is an established fact that the Venda people were involved in trading these minerals and artefacts with the Portuguese, the Dutch and other neighbouring states long before the arrival of the missionaries (Ralushai 1977). Thus, the language had already developed terms for these objects. An analysis of these terms might have provided the missionaries with some understanding of the Venda term formation strategies. Further insight into the term formation strategies might have been gained from an analysis of the underlying structure of the nomenclatures for plants, animals, insects, etc. Most of the names of plants, for example, are compounds that could have provided missionaries such as P.E. Schwellnus with a framework for using this word formation pattern in his development of the biblical and linguistic terms.

3.3 The colonial period

In many parts of Africa, colonisation played a dominant role in the modernisation of African languages as African cultures were influenced by those of the colonial powers. The colonisation of the Venda may be divided into two periods: the early colonial period and the late colonial period. We shall begin by looking at the early colonial period.

3.3.1 The early colonial period

The early colonial period involves both the Afrikaners and the British. With regard to the former it is important to note that although the arrival of Europeans to South Africa (the Dutch in this case) dates back to 1652 when Jan van Riebeeck arrived at the Cape, the Venda people only made contact with the descendants of these colonists in the first half of the nineteenth century (Blacking 1967:16). Before that time, the Venda only had trade contacts with the Portuguese and the Arabs at Delagoa Bay. The concept of colonisation was unknown to them until the arrival of the Voortrekkers in 1836 under the leadership of Louis Trichardt. As was the case with other Voortrekkers, Louis Trichardt wanted to establish a white settlement on Venda soil, and to subjugate the Venda people under the authority of the whites. However, this was not easy since the Venda people were antagonistic to such a settlement (Nemudzivhadi 1977). In order to gain access to land and to establish his settlement, Louis Trichardt took advantage of the conflicts that were going on between Mpofu's sons, namely, Ramabulana and Ramavhoya, who were fighting over succession to the chieftainship. With the support of Louis Trichardt, Ramabulana managed to defeat his brother Ramavhoya

and killed him. As a way of showing gratitude, he promised Louis Trichardt and his men a gift of any land they would like to occupy in his tribal territory (Nemudzivhadi 1977:15). However, Louis Trichardt decided to proceed to Delagoa Bay fifteen months after this agreement.

Commandant Hendrik Potgieter and his followers arrived in Venda in 1849. They established the first town in Venda at Ouderdorp, and Ramabulana welcomed them, although with great suspicion (Nemudzivhadi 1977:17). This town began to flourish, and later became known as Schoemansdal. From this town the Voortrekkers began to exert their influence and authority over the Venda by appointing the first Native Commissioner, Joao Albasini, a young Portuguese trader from Ohrigstad who came with them. He was given the authority to collect tax from the Venda people. These taxes entailed five cattle or five pieces of ivory or 35 pieces of copper or a tax of 20 leopard hides per male. Every hut had to pay a goat and a sheep. According to Nemudzivhadi (1977:17), “the institution of taxation which was foreign to the economic and political life of Venda and which was intended to be a form of subjugation was a further source of friction”. Ramabulana died in 1864, but this friction increased under Makhado who succeeded him. This growing tension and suspicion came to a head when Makhado attacked Schoemansdal in 1867 and the Voortrekkers were forced to abandon the town. The abandoning of this town, which had been the centre of western civilisation in the Northern Transvaal for eighteen years, restricted the influence of the European culture on the Venda people and their language. It took the Voortrekkers a long time to re-establish themselves in Venda country. Their attempt to re establish their settlement became a lost cause when the Boer Republics were annexed by the British imperial government in 1877.

Subsequent to the annexation of the Boer Republics by Britain and Sir Theophilus Shepstone's visit to the Soutpansberg area, the Venda country was subjected to the British imperial rule. The Venda country was divided into districts which were ruled by commissioners. During this time the Venda language was influenced by the changes introduced in the political system, the economic system, the education system, etc. For example, during this period such words as *khomishinari* 'commissioner', *pholisa* 'police' and *tshitiiriki* 'district' were borrowed into the language. However, the creation of these new terms was spontaneous. The terms were adopted as the speakers needed to describe the new concepts. Further borrowing occurred with regard to monetary terms. Consider the following examples:

<i>disheleni</i>	<	ten-shillings
<i>bonndo</i>	<	Afr.pond 'pound'
<i>thubobo</i>	<	two bob (i.e. two shillings)
<i>hafukoroni</i>	<	half-a-crown
<i>tiki</i>	<	tickey
<i>sheleni</i>	<	shilling

Although these monetary terms were changed later to the new South African currency of rands, the Venda speakers continued to use the old British terms up to this day. Thus, the term *disheleni* is used, inter alia, to refer to the present-day *rannda*. But in terms of value the two are not equivalent. The value of 'ten-shillings' is much more than that of a 'rand'. The same discrepancy occurs between *bonndo* 'pound' and *thurannda* 'two rand'. Nowadays a pound has a much higher value than two rand. The term *masheleni* 'shillings' is used to refer to money in general. The introduction of these terms shows how a language develops spontaneously to meet new communicative needs.

The British rule over the Transvaal was short-lived. It came to an end following the conclusion of the Pretorius Convention in 1881, at the conclusion of the Anglo-Transvaal war. A few years after the withdrawal of the British, the Voortrekkers made another effort to re-establish their authority in the Soutpansberg area. In 1884 General Piet Joubert, who succeeded Kruger as Commandant-General, visited the Soutpansberg area with a view to re-establishing the Voortrekkers' authority and to protect the whites who remained behind after the withdrawal of the Voortrekkers from Schoemansdal following their defeat by Makhado. After these visits in 1885, a law was passed whereby the President of the ZAR was declared to be the supreme chief with powers to appoint and vest chiefs with limited criminal jurisdiction and unlimited civil jurisdiction in disputes between them. The carrying of firearms, which was a common practice among the chiefs, was forbidden unless permission was granted by the president of the ZAR (Du Plessis 1979:21). However, some of the Venda chiefs, such as Mphephu, refused to be subjected to the ZAR rule and continued to be antagonistic to European settlement in their land. This eventually led to the Mphephu-Boer war in 1888. In 1899, Mphephu was defeated. This defeat marked the final subjection of the Venda people to white rule. The victory of the Boers over the Venda was short-lived since they too were defeated by the British during the Anglo-Boer war of 1899-1902. Thus, the ZAR could not establish its full authority over the Venda. Consequently, this period was of little significance for the development of the Venda language through deliberate and conscious effort. It was only during the period of the Union Government, or the South African Government as it was later called, that deliberate and conscious efforts were made to develop the African languages. The development of the Venda language during this period will be discussed further in the next section.

3.3.2 The modernisation of the Venda language during the period of the South African Government (i.e. the Union Government)

The Union Government (henceforth referred to as the South African Government) was established in 1910. For the first time the whole country was put under one central government even though there were provincial governments. The central government included the English-speaking population and the Afrikaners, with blacks not represented. Thus, this period not only entrenched whites in a position of power but also enhanced the status of their languages. According to the Union Government Constitution (Section 137), English and Afrikaans (the latter still referred to as Dutch then) were recognised as national official languages. Accordingly these languages were to be treated on an equal footing and had to enjoy equal freedom, rights and privileges. Thus, these two languages became dominant, and were regarded as bearers of the dominant new culture and as the key to prosperity and superiority. In 1925 Afrikaans was recognised as an official language in the place of Dutch. On the other hand African languages received no official recognition. As such most of the development in these languages continued to be done by the missionaries.

It was only during the 1930s that the South African Government attempted to involve itself with the development of the African languages. However, this involvement was mainly focused on the standardisation of orthographies. Cluver (1996a:74-78) provides a detailed discussion on government efforts to standardise the Nguni languages' orthographies, as well as those of the Sotho languages. However, very little was done for Venda during this period, except that a subcommittee for Venda was created by the Central Orthography Committee

formed by the Advisory Committee on Bantu Studies and Research in 1928. The task of developing the Venda language remained largely the responsibility of the missionaries and some linguists (Van Warmelo for example, who published a bilingual dictionary in 1937 and a terminology list entitled *Teo dza Tshivenda* in 1958). Since Venda was not an official language, the Union Government did not really do much towards its development.

The initiative to develop the Venda language, including other African languages, was started by the National Party Government following its victory in the 1948 election. The role of the National Party government in the development of Venda will be discussed in the next section.

3.3.3 The role of the National Party government in the modernisation of Venda

After coming to power in 1948, the Nationalist government pursued a policy of apartheid that was aimed at creating nation-states for the Afrikaners and for each ethnic group in South Africa. The Afrikaners believed in language as a marker of identity, and accordingly they used language as one of the criteria to classify the people of South Africa into ethnic groups and, where necessary, to regroup and relocate them into separate geographic areas. This policy resulted in people being forcibly removed from urban areas to Bantustans where their languages were spoken by the majority of the population, or from one Bantustan to another (Benjamin 1994:99; cf. Seegers 1996:119 also). For example, the Tsonga-speaking people were forcibly removed from the Venda areas to a newly created Bantustan called Gazankulu. In instances where there was no clear

correspondence between the language and the geographic area, a new geopolitical 'homeland' had to be created. The creation of the Lebowa homeland is a case in point. This homeland was created for the Northern Sotho speaking people in the Northern Transvaal (Cluver 1996a). It is ironic that these removals and regrouping was carried out under the pretext of protecting the right of Africans to maintain their own culture and as a "defence of tribal life against assimilationist pressures" (Seegers 1996:118). The purpose, albeit not overt, was to entrench and perpetuate tribal ethnicity, i.e to effectively fossilise black communities and consign them to a developmental oblivion. However, the National Party's strategy to promote tribal ethnicity through language did not bear much fruit since linguistic nationalism was virtually non-existent among the African communities.

The involvement of the apartheid government with the development of the African languages was further motivated by the introduction of Bantu Education under the Bantu Education Act which was passed in 1953 in accordance with the recommendations of the Eiselen Report (1951). This report was brought out by the Commission on National Education which was created in 1949 and chaired by Dr W.W.M Eiselen. The main task of this Commission was to investigate the language use in education and to make recommendations. In its report, the Commission recommended that the government takes over schools from the missionaries and that the mother tongue be introduced as the medium of instruction, first at primary school level and then later at secondary level (Hartshorne 1987:89). As may be observed from Clause (921) of the Eiselen Report (1951), the language issue was central to this new system of education:

- That the generally accepted principle, viz. the use of the language which the child understands best (the mother-tongue) as a medium of instructions, should be applied in Bantu education.
- That all education, except in the case of a foreign language, should be through the medium of the mother-tongue for the first four school years.
- That in order to expedite the change-over to the proposed procedure committees should be appointed to compile the terminology which will be necessary in the teaching of all primary school subjects through the medium of the Bantu language.
- That these committees or other committees also be entrusted with the compilation of suitable terminology for all secondary school subjects.
- That as this terminology, together with the necessary manuals, become available, the principle of mother tongue medium of instruction be introduced gradually in the secondary schools.
- That where secondary subjects, for example history, do not require an extensive technical terminology the teachers should be encouraged to start as soon as possible to teach these subjects through the medium of the mother-tongue. The pupils again should be encouraged to use this language in writing their examination papers.

From the above items, it is clear that the Eiselen Commission was strongly in favour of mother-tongue instruction up to the secondary level. However, it is also

evident from the following passage that the major obstacle to this policy was the lack of adequate modern terminologies in the African languages:

The languages of the Bantu speaking people of the Union are characterised by great flexibility and power as media of expression, capable of defining and describing the most intricate nuances of abstract thought... they lack for the greater part all the specialised technical vocabularies which have developed in European languages as a result of the rise of scholarship and science. As a consequence, their numerical system is awkward and stumbly just as the Romans' system was ill adapted to advanced mathematics.

(Eiselen Report 1951:9)

It is against this background that the Commission recommended the establishment of terminology committees to be responsible for the development of the required terms for teaching. Subsequently, the language committees were set up and by 1954 these committees started to function in the various languages. In setting up these committees, the government was guided mainly by its ideology of apartheid, that is, each language had its own language committee. The only drawback with this approach was that languages such as Zulu and Xhosa or the Sotho languages which by then had a combined or joint committee, were to have separate committees. The same approach was followed for the Sotho languages: a combined committee was dissolved, and separate committees were established for each Sotho language. The Venda Language Committee produced its first terminology list in 1958 and was edited by Van Warmelo. This terminology list

included terms coined for use in schools. This terminology list was followed by the *Terminology and Orthography no.3* (1972) which was more elaborate.

The status of these committees evolved with the changing political status of the homelands. As the homelands acquired semi-independent status, so too the language committees acquired more status and later became known as the Language Boards. In 1970 the nine language committees established for the relevant languages became autonomous within the jurisdiction of the homeland governments (Cluver 1996a). These language boards were charged with the following responsibilities:

- (1) To develop and maintain the main orthography for each language.
- (2) To liaise with public broadcasters
- (3) To liaise with the newspapers
- (4) To liaise with the Bible Society
- (5) To work on place names
- (6) To work on the language curriculum
- (7) To promote the culture associated with a particular language
- (8) To make recommendations on prescribed books - particularly for secondary schools and colleges

(Cluver 1996a:79)

By establishing these autonomous language boards for each homeland, the apartheid government not only succeeded in balkanising the African communities, but also succeeded in delegating away its responsibility for developing the African languages. The question that may be asked here is whether these language boards were sufficiently equipped to execute the task assigned to them. It is an established fact that although the Language Boards contributed in some ways to the development of the African languages, they were not sufficiently equipped for

such a task. The first weakness of these boards is evident in their composition. The Venda Language Board was composed of a Chairperson, Vice-Chairperson, Secretary, and additional members representing the tertiary institutions and parastatals such as the SABC. Although the Board included some academics from tertiary institutions, most of them had no training in terminology development. The Government always had a representative or representatives on the language boards. Before 1979, when Venda was granted so-called independence, the South African government used to have a representative on the board. Then later it was the homeland government representative(s). The inclusion of the government representatives either from the central government or the homeland government in these language bodies led to the politicisation of the language development process, and their work was met with prejudice.

Furthermore, the Venda Language Board could not achieve much in the area of terminology because its members worked part-time. Thus the Board only met once or twice a year, for not more than a week. When one considers the tasks which the board had to carry out, there is no doubt that the board could not be efficient, especially in view of the fact that terminology development only constituted one aspect of their function. From the minutes of the Language Board, it is clear that more time was spent on book reviews and prescription of literature books for schools than on terminology issues. The fact that to date there are only few editions of one published trilingual glossary, namely the *Venda Terminology and Orthography list*, is a clear indication that the board did not achieve much in this area of terminology development.

The Board's work on terminology development was handicapped further by the lack of linguistic expertise. As already indicated, very few members of the Board were trained linguists, and even those members who were linguists were not trained in terminology and terminography. Thus, when it came to developing new terminologies, these members relied mainly on their intuitive knowledge rather than on scientific knowledge of the various word formation patterns. Accordingly, there were no clear guidelines on how each word formation pattern or borrowing should be used. An analysis of the terms published in the *Venda Terminology and Orthography no.3* (1972) attested to this fact. The intention here, however, is not to analyse all the word formation patterns used in this terminology list, but rather to cite only a few examples. From this trilingual glossary, the following term formation strategies may be identified: borrowing, compounding, and semantic shift.

Borrowing has been used extensively in the *Venda Terminology and Orthography no.3* (1972). This is not surprising because where there is no understanding of the principles of terminology work, term developers tend to resort to borrowing. In using borrowing, the term developers considered loanwords and loan translations. The use of loanwords reveals several shortcomings. First, there were no clear guidelines with regard to the choice of the source language(s). In the trilingual glossary, English was used first, and then Afrikaans followed by Venda equivalents. Consider the following examples:

English	Afrikaans	Venda
abstract pattern	abstrakte patroon	<i>paṭeronikhumbulelwa</i> (Afr.) <i>phathenikhumbulelwa</i> (Eng.)
academic	akademies	<i>akademi</i> (Afr.)

acre	akker	<i>egere</i> (Afr.)
foreman	voorman	<i>foromane</i> (Afr.)
apron	voorskoot	<i>fasikoṭi</i> (Afr.)
ark	ark	<i>areka</i> (Afr.)
axle	as	<i>asi</i> (Afr.)
belt	band	<i>bann̄da</i> (Afr.)
brick	baksteen	<i>tshidina</i> (Afr.)
bridge	brug	<i>buroho</i> (Afr.)
camp	kamp	<i>gamba</i> (Afr.)
captain	kaptein	<i>kapuṭeni</i> (Afr.)
card	kaart	<i>garaṭa</i> (Afr.)
cargo	vrag	<i>furaha</i> (Afr.)
carpet	tapyt	<i>ṭapiṭa</i> (Afr.)
compound (living quarter)	kampong	<i>kompo</i> (Afr.)
farm	plaas	<i>bulasi</i> (Afr.)
number	nommer	<i>nomboro</i> (Afr.)

(Venda Terminology and Orthography no.3 (1972))

From these examples, it may be observed that both English and Afrikaans were used as sources for Venda loanwords (the source language is not indicated in the original list). In the first example, the Venda equivalents were based on both English and Afrikaans forms. This may be regarded as an indication of the problem that confronted the term developers in choosing either one of the two source languages. However, in cases where only one language was considered it is not clear what influenced such a choice. While it may be true that Afrikaans was considered as the source language in some terms because it was the language through which those concepts were introduced to the speakers of the language (in domains such as farming for example), in other cases the choice was motivated by political factors, that is, the intention to reduce the influence of English and to encourage the dominance of Afrikaans. This view is also shared by Maumela and Mathivha who served on the Board for a long time. According to Maumela, the

white officials, especially those who represented the central government, encouraged borrowing from Afrikaans rather than from English or other African languages. With regard to the latter fact, this is not surprising since it was the strategy of the apartheid government to encourage ethnic division through language. The common approach used in other languages such as Swahili is to consider terms that exist in the language's dialects or other related languages before going to extraneous languages that do not belong to its family (Mwansoko 1990).

The second problem with regard to the use of borrowing has to do with the adaptation of loanwords. Again, an analysis of the loanwords given in the *Venda Terminology and Orthography no.3* (1972) shows that the board had no clear policy or rules to provide guidance to term developers in adapting loanwords. This is attested by the fact that some loanwords were adapted completely to the Venda linguistic structure, yet others were incorporated without any modification. Consider the following examples:

- | | | |
|-----|------------|--------------------|
| (1) | sulphate | <i>sulfate</i> |
| | alto | <i>alto</i> |
| | applique | <i>applique</i> |
| | article | <i>artikili</i> |
| | asteroids | <i>asteroide</i> |
| | astigmatic | <i>astigmatiki</i> |
| (2) | albam | <i>alibamu</i> |
| | alcohol | <i>alikoqli</i> |
| | alphabet | <i>alifabeta</i> |
| | atlas | <i>atilasi</i> |

(3)	theorem	<i>theorema</i>
	theory	<i>theori</i>
	thermometer	<i>themometa</i>
	thermostat	<i>themositata</i>

From the examples in (1), it may be observed that the loanwords were either not adapted or were not adapted according to Venda word formation rules. A word such as *applique* has been incorporated without any modification. In terms such as *sulfate*, *artikili* and *astigmatiki* certain consonant clusters, viz. /sl/, /rt/, and /st/ were not modified according to the rules of Venda phonology whereas those under (2), viz. /lb/, /lc/, /lph/, and /tl/ were adjusted to fit into the Venda syllable structure. The loanwords under (2) were completely adjusted to the Venda sound system. However, from examples under (3) it may be observed that some of the adaptations are not correct. In these examples vowels have been inserted to adjust syllables which do not end with a vowel. In the term *theorema* the vowel [a] is added to the final syllable. It is not clear what influenced the choice of the vowel [a]. One would expect a back vowel [u] to be added instead of vowel [a] because of the influence of the bilabial consonant [m]. Again, this shows the lack of the phonological knowledge on the part of the term developers. The phonological adjustment and the principles that should be followed in the adaptation of loanwords in Venda will be discussed in more detail in chapter 4.

Beside loanwords, term developers of the Venda Language Board also made extensive use of loan translations. The following are a few examples taken from the *Venda Terminology and Orthography*no.3 (1972):

(1)	public administration	<i>ndaulo ya vhathu</i> 'administration of people'
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by order of	<i>nga ndaela ya</i> ‘by instruction of’
by return of post	<i>nga poswo i vhuyaho</i> ‘by post which returns’
for reference purposes	<i>-itela zwa ndaedzo</i> ‘for purposes of the message’
in accordance with	<i>hu tshi tevhelwa</i> ‘following’
in lieu of	<i>vhudzuloni ha</i> ‘in the place of’
in terms of	<i>hu tshi tevhelwa</i> ‘following’
officially redirected	<i>humisa tshiofisi</i> ‘return officially’
to apply in writing	<i>humbela nga u riwala</i> ‘request by writing’
to create a vacancy	<i>u vhumba poswo/vhuimo</i> ‘to create a position’
to open correspondence	<i>thoma u riwalela</i> ‘to start writing’
(2) arms forward stretch	<i>zwanda phanda, tswi!</i> ‘hands forward straight’
arms lower	<i>zwanda fhasi, ru!</i> ‘hands lowered down’
arms sideways stretch	<i>zwanda matungo, tswi!</i> ‘hands stretched sideways’
arms upward stretch	<i>zwanda ntha tswi!</i> ‘hands up straight’

From the examples above, it may be observed that loan translations were used to provide equivalents to English concepts that are used in different domains. The loan translations under (1) are used in domains such as administration whereas those under (2) are used in the police service. The use of loan translation is advantageous in that these word forms are more transparent than loanwords. As such they are conducive to the emergence of a register for a particular domain. For example, the loan translations under (2) form part of the register used in the police service, and as such they may only be understood by the person who is familiar with the police service, especially the police training methods.

However, the creation of registers through translation is a debatable issue. According to scholars such as Schiffman (1992:5), registers cannot be developed by translating another language's vocabulary. According to him, the creation of registers involves certain preferred rhetorical devices, abbreviatory conventions and particular syntactic patterns such as passive constructions. Schiffman (1992) further indicates that registers are constructed in use, that is, they are developed primarily by a community of language users as they attempt to solve a certain communicative task. Thus, according to him registers cannot be developed by bureaucrats, nor can they be imposed from outside the speech community.

The last term formation strategy that has been used extensively in the *Venda Terminology and Orthography no.3* (1972) is compounding. The strategies used here are not very different from those discussed in the previous section under the missionaries. Therefore only a few examples will be given to illustrate how this method was used in creating technical terms:

- (1) **Noun + Noun:** *nnḁumurotho* (*nnḁu* 'house' + *murotho* 'cold')
 'coolroom'
vhutshilotshedza (*vhutshilo* 'life' + *tshedza*
 'light') 'civilisation'
dzomomulambo (*dzomo* 'mouth' + *mulambo*
 'river') 'estuary'
- (2) **Noun + Verb:** *vhukoloriniwa* (*vhukolo* 'drawing' + *-riniwa*
 'named') 'chlorination'
pfunzothendwa (*pfunzo* 'education' + *-tendwa*
 'to be believed') 'doctrine'
- (3) **Noun + qualificative:** *musinaseḁtha* (*musina* 'copper' + *seḁtha* 'silver')
 'brass'
tsimbitswuku (*tsimbi* 'iron' + *tswuku* 'red')
 'copper'

gumotuku (*gumo* 'end' + *tuku* 'small')
'minimum'

gumofulu (*gumo* 'end' + *fulu* 'maximum')
'maximum'

(4) Verb + adverbs:

muhanyahotthe (*-hanya* 'live' + *hotthe*
'everywhere') 'cosmopolitan'

mbalofhasi (*-vhala* 'count' + *fhasi* 'below')
'denominator'

tsumbadevhula (*-sumba* 'point' + *devhula*
'north') 'compass'

(5) Noun + ideophones:

mulayotibe (*mulayo* 'law' + *tibe* 'covered')
'bill'

tsahaphudu (*tsaha* 'saw' + *phudu* 'cut through')
'compass-saw'

niwalakhau (*niwala* 'write' + *khau* 'abbreviate')
'script writing'

mafhungotevhe (*mafhungo* 'sentence' + *tevhe*
'follow') 'serial'

tsahakhuye (*tsaha* 'saw' + *khuye* 'bend')
'coping-saw'

tshifhingande (*tshifhinga* 'time' + *nde* 'exact')
'on time'

muniwaloxtume (*muniwalo* 'writing' + *xtume*
'joined') 'cursive'

(6) Verb + Noun:

phirisadudo (*-fhirisa* 'transfer' + *vhududo*
'heat') 'conduction'

nzivhanyedziso (*-dzivha* 'prevent' + *nyedziso*
'copying') 'copyright'

tsumbaphanzi (*-sumba* 'show' + *phanzi*
'accident') 'danger sign'

ndumalulimi (*-luma* 'bite' + *lulimi* 'tongue')
'interdental'

(7) Pseudo-compounds:

nemudagasi (*ne-* 'owner' + *mudagasi*
'electricity') 'electrician'

nevhatambi (*ne*-‘owner’+*vhatambi* ‘players’)
‘coach/ trainer’

netshiombo (*ne*-‘owner’+*tshiombo* ‘drum
stick’) ‘drummer’

ramavhengele (*ra*-‘owner’+*mavhengele*
‘shops’) ‘shopkeeper’

mapendane (*ma*- ‘mother’+ *pendane* ‘paint’)
‘painter’

The examples given above illustrate how the term developers employed different strategies in using compounding. In using this method, term developers appear to have been sensitive to the underlying morphosyntactic structure of the language. It is interesting to note that this is the only term formation strategy that was provided with guidelines in *Venda Terminology and Orthography no.3* (1972). It seems the Venda term developers, unlike the missionaries who were not first language speakers of the language, had a fair knowledge of the language’s morphology. Thus, they were able to create compounds that are sensitive to the language’s morphosyntactic structure. In the examples under (7) it is interesting how the term developers effectively used prefix morphemes such as *ra*-, *ne*- and *ma*- to form new terms. This type of compounding will be discussed further in chapter 5.

Besides the Venda Language Board, there were other bodies which contributed to terminology development of the Venda language, namely the Venda Language Bureau and Radio Bantu of the South African Broadcasting Corporation. The Venda Language Bureau was established in 1971. Its objectives included promotion of the development of the Venda language and its literature, the documentation of the history of the Venda people, the promotion of traditional music, arts and food. The Bureau worked hand in hand with the Venda Language

Committee. The Bureau established a journal called *Muvenda* which appeared every three months. In this journal the list of new words developed by the Venda Language Committee was published for comment from the public. The significance of this journal is that it also included terms that were not found in the *Venda Terminology and Orthography no.3* (1972) list, since the list was mainly focused on terms used in primary schools.

The introduction of the Venda radio broadcasting service of SABC Bantu Services also contributed significantly to the development of terminology in the Venda language. The radio broadcasts demanded more terminology to express new concepts in news reading and sport programmes. This task was assigned to the Language Section of the SABC which worked in conjunction with the Venda Language Board. This Language Section managed to publish four volumes of trilingual glossaries. In these trilingual glossaries, the source list was compiled in Afrikaans, followed by the English and Venda equivalents. Again, the use of Afrikaans as the source language led to the dominance of this language in the newly created terms. Consider the following examples:

<i>muofisiri</i>	<	Afr. offisier	cf.	Eng. officer
<i>iri</i>	<	Afr. uur	cf.	Eng. hour
<i>litere</i>	<	Afr. liter	cf.	Eng. litre
<i>mitere</i>	<	Afr. meter	cf.	Eng. metre
<i>ledere</i>	<	Afr. letter	cf.	Eng. letter

In this way an Afrikaans world view gradually penetrated the Venda culture via new terms. Nevertheless, the terminology contained in these lists is an important contribution to the development of the Venda language. The only shortcoming of these lists is that they were not regularly updated.

After Venda became independent in 1979 a bilingual newspaper, *Thohoyandou*, was introduced. This newspaper also contributed significantly to the development of the Venda language with regard to terminology. As a bilingual newspaper, it included several articles in the Venda language. The only problem was that very little effort was made to document the terms used in this newspaper so as to standardise them. The fact that there were no sources to provide ready-made terms meant that the editors developed terms when the need arose. This way of terminology development obviously led to inconsistencies. For example, various terms were used in this paper to refer to the concept 'independence' following the granting of independence in 1979. This concept was referred to as *phendephende* (a loan adaptation from Eng. 'independence'), while others used native words such as *vhudilangi* 'self-control', or *vhudivhusi* 'self-rule', or *mbofholowo* 'freedom'. The adaptation of the loan word 'independence' as *phendephende*, for example, is not modelled on the pronunciation of the source term. This loanword may not be acceptable to speakers of the language who have knowledge of the pronunciation of this term in the source language.

However, although not much deliberate and systematic effort was made to develop new terms during the apartheid period, the use of the language in domains such as government, as in government reports, legislatures, official documents such as identity documents, the Venda government group scheme, licences (drivers' and trade licences), etc. increased the demand for terms. The political changes with the concomitant socio-economic changes were so sudden that the demand for new terms increased radically. Thus new terms were developed on an *ad hoc* basis according to individual or institutional needs, and within a short time. This way of developing terminology does not result in full coverage of the concepts of a particular domain. Furthermore, although these terms were used in different texts,

they were not standardised and readily available to the public since they were not systematically disseminated in official lists.

From the foregoing discussion, it may be observed that although the apartheid language policies and practices promoted the use of the African languages in various domains, very little effort was made to develop new terminologies or to codify them. In the absence of the official documentation of terms it became difficult to standardise the newly created terms and to identify the domains which needed more terms. It is due to this fact that to date there is a serious imbalance in the lexical development of the Venda language. That is, it concentrates on development for school purposes on a primary level while ignoring other and more advanced branches of knowledge necessary for the lexical growth of this language.

3.4 Conclusion

The deliberate and conscious development of the Venda language started with the Berlin Missionaries in their efforts to adapt the language to be used as a suitable medium of communication for spreading the gospel. Consequently, the Venda language was standardised and reduced to writing. Various orthographies have thus far been used. The first orthography was created by Beuster, followed by an improved one by Meinhof, and that of the Schwellnus brothers. The present orthography evolved from all these orthographies. Although this orthography is considered to be the most stable one by scholars such as Lestrade (1927-29), the use of diacritics is becoming more and more an issue of concern. Some Venda scholars such as Mathivha (1972) strongly feel that the use of diacritics requires revision. The use of diacritics has become a serious problem, especially for

computer use since there are hardly any programmes which are designed specifically to cater for these diacritics. As a result, their use is neglected in most government official documents. Thus, the revision of orthography is one more task to be undertaken in the modernisation of the Venda language. An attempt was made in this study to provide a solution to the problem of diacritics. It was recommended that double letters be used for diacritics.

The missionaries further contributed to the lexical modernisation of the Venda language through their writings and publications. Many biblical and secular terminologies were developed to treat different topics covered in their publications. The lexical modernisation of the Venda language was later taken over by the colonial government. The colonial period may be dated back to the Mphephu-Boer War after which the Venda people were subjected to ZAR rule. However, it was the British occupation which significantly impacted on the Venda language. The Afrikaners resumed full control after the establishment of the Union Government. Significant intervention in the development of the Venda language came after the National Party took power in 1948. National Party rule continued until 1994 when the new democratic government was formed. During the apartheid era, deliberate efforts were made by the government to develop the African languages such as Venda as part of its policy to promote apartheid. As Eastman (1992:96) points out: "One might argue that sensible language planning could not take place in an apartheid situation." The development of Venda during the apartheid era was handicapped by the following factors:

- Language development was seen by the African elites as a manifestation of apartheid policies, and they therefore did not actively participate in this

process. Those who participated were considered as collaborators to the system. Thus, language development became an imposed process.

- The development of African languages by the apartheid government was also seen as an attempt to impose linguistic nationalism to the different African population groups. Thus, the African communities encouraged the use of English in domains such as education in order to promote nationalism, i.e. the integration of different African population groups.
- Language development was done by people who had no training in this field, and such people worked part-time. This made their work too slow to be of any significance.

Nevertheless, this period witnessed some progress in the development of terms for primary schools. The *Venda Terminology and Orthography no.3* (1972) is one such achievement. In other domains such as science and technology, the language remained underdeveloped compared to other languages like English and Afrikaans. Furthermore, during this period very little research was done in Venda on the various word formation patterns that may be used for the modernisation of the language.

From the foregoing discussion, the use of certain word formation patterns was highlighted, but more research is needed with regard to their standardisation. An attempt will be made in the next two chapters to establish principles that may be used for the standardisation of these word formation patterns in Venda.

CHAPTER 4

BORROWING

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter various strategies used in the terminological modernisation of the Venda language during the missionary and colonial periods were identified. One of these strategies is borrowing, which may be defined as a process whereby a word or frozen phrase from another language is imported into the vocabulary of a given language (Cluver 1993:4). In some literature, the term 'borrowing' has been used, *inter alia*, to refer to other concepts such as interference (cf. Weinreich 1953). The use of this term is not preferred by all scholars (e.g. Chimhundu 1982) since it implies a process which takes place haphazardly. Thus, the notion of interference does not seem to be relevant to a situation where borrowing occurs through deliberate and conscious planning. In a situation where borrowing is carried out through deliberate and conscious planning, care is taken to avoid the borrowing of linguistic aspects such as foreign word-order patterns, relative clause formation, new phonemic inventory, new phonological rules, and new morphemes (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:18).

In the science and technology domains borrowing is the norm rather than the exception. This is mainly because the technical culture is a 'foreign' culture in most societies, especially developing countries. Thus, the new scientific and technical knowledge from the developed countries is transferred to these developing countries

through concepts. In most cases these concepts are taken over with their linguistic labels. It is at this point that term developers or planners may influence the manner in which the foreign concepts and terms should be incorporated into the recipient language. Thus, term developers should make several decisions. First, they should decide on the type of borrowing that should be used. Secondly, they should have a clear understanding of how each of these borrowing methods is used for term formation. In the previous chapter (chapter 3) it became clear that term developers in Venda during the missionary and the colonial periods did not have enough knowledge of how this method should be used. Thus the aim of this chapter is to offer a theoretical discussion of this method and to establish principles that may provide guidance to term developers. In establishing these principles, both linguistic and extralinguistic factors will be considered. We shall begin by looking at types of borrowing.

4.2 Forms of borrowing

As already shown in chapter 3, borrowing may be divided into different forms, namely **internationalisms**, **loanwords** and **loan translations (calques)**. However, other typologies are found in the literature. For example, scholars such as Haugen (1950:213-214) divide borrowing into **loanwords**, **hybrids** or **loanblends**, and **loan translations** or **semantic loans**. The distinction between loanblends and loan translations or calques is regarded by some scholars as insignificant and unnecessary since the term 'loan translation' may be used to include 'loanblends' (Connor 1972).

The choice of any of these types of borrowing is crucial in the development of technical languages. As Cluver (1987:20) indicates, technical languages vary according to the needs of their users, even though as individual varieties they tend to be more homogeneous than the common language. Thus, it is possible to arrange technical languages on a scale that ranges from international to colloquial (Cluver 1987:25). At the international end of the scale there may be languages used in disciplines such as physics, chemistry and botany. At the other end of the scale are technical languages used in disciplines such as sports, public administration and agriculture (Cluver 1987:25). Accordingly, the use of internationalisms will be preferable in highly internationalised disciplines, and loanwords and loan translations may be used in disciplines that are not highly internationalised, or that are at the colloquial end of the scale. In the next section, an attempt will be made to show how the various types of borrowing may be used for term development to meet these various needs of the users. We shall begin by looking at internationalisms.

4.2.1 Internationalisms

Internationalisms may be regarded as “linguistic elements common to the vocabularies of several languages” (Braun 1989:159). The question here is whether the number of languages in which the term is used is the sole criterion. According to Ulrich (1975:63 cit. in Braun 1989:159), if a term is to be regarded as an internationalism, it should be used in “many national languages, current internationally, [and be] comprehensible without translations”. An internationalism should thus have international status. However, it seems the criteria used to determine internationalisms vary from language to language. In Bangla (a language

spoken in Bangladesh), for example, there is a pragmatic rule that a term is acceptable as an internationalism if it exists in a similar form in at least six other languages (Hug 1985 cit. in Sager 1989:24). “By such a rule words like telephone, computer, frequency or modulation are adopted as international words” (Sager 1989:24). In the European languages, the identification of internationalisms does not seem to be a problem. For a word to be regarded as an internationalism, it should occur in two or more international languages like English, German and French. Thus the following terms are regarded as internationalisms on these grounds (Braun 1989:157):

German	English	French
baseball	baseball	base-ball
golf	golf	golf
cockpit	cockpit	cockpit
boxen	boxing	boxe
abstrakt	abstract	abstrait
konkret	concrete	concret
aktiv	active	actif

Although there are minor variations in the spelling of some of these terms, the decisive factor is whether a speaker or reader is able to recognise these words as identical linguistic signs in the three languages.

In developing countries the identification of internationalisms appears to be a problem. It seems the main criterion to determine internationalisms in the languages of these countries is the prestige of the source language. In Sub-Saharan Africa, the prestigious language is either French or English. Words borrowed from any of these languages are regarded as part of the international vocabulary. This is mainly so

because of the speakers' limited knowledge of and access to other international languages, and as such it becomes difficult to determine whether a loan is an internationalism or just an ordinary loan. However, in technical language the main issue is not whether the term is an internationalism or an ordinary loanword, but the fact that it provides access to international scientific and technical knowledge. This access to international scientific and technical knowledge may be provided by means of an international language. Since all technical languages are designed from the outset to be international, all loans from international languages should serve this purpose.

Although the use of internationalisms is inevitable in technical languages, very little is known about the use of this borrowing strategy in Venda. In fact, in this language, there has been no scientific study of internationalisms. Internationalisms have always been treated within the rubric of loanwords. The question, therefore, is whether this method is suitable for the Venda language or not. If so, how should it be used and what are its advantages? As to the first question, there is no doubt that the use of internationalisms is relevant to any technical language. Perhaps what could be a problem is whether this community (the Venda community) has already developed a subculture in this area of technology. It is an established fact that in most developing countries, technological development is mainly focused on intermediate (medium) technology rather than on high-level technology. However, even for this intermediate level, internationalisms are relevant and they should not be frowned upon.

In Venda, several internationalisms may be identified from the *Venda Terminology and Orthography no.3* (1972), even though they are not marked as such. Consider the following examples in the domain of music borrowed from Latin: *allegro, alto, accelerando, staccato, tempo, brasso, crescendo, diminuendo, soprano, contralto, troppo*, etc. As Blacking (1967) indicates in his study of Venda children's songs, the Venda language does not have terms for most of the Western music concepts. Thus, these terms were borrowed along with their concepts. The terms were incorporated without modifying their spelling. However, some music terms from the same source language were modified. In some instances these terms were replaced with the indigenous terms. Consider the following examples:

- | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|
| (1) | <i>basi</i> | < | Eng. bass |
| | <i>basuni</i> | < | Eng. bassoon (cf. fagoti < Afr.fagot) |
| | <i>khii</i> | < | Eng. key |
| (2) | <i>mudu</i> | < | Eng. beat |
| | <i>laula</i> | < | Eng. conduct |
| | <i>vhuveveru</i> | < | Eng. discord |
| | <i>muduvhili</i> | < | Eng. duple time |
| | <i>mutevhetsindo</i> | < | Eng. rhythm |
| | <i>phikhulano</i> | < | Eng. round |
| | <i>mulavhelesi</i> | < | Eng. supertonic |
| | <i>nyongolodzo</i> | < | Eng. suspension |
| | <i>mubvumopfareledzwa</i> | < | Eng. sustained sound |
| | <i>khokhovhi</i> | < | Eng. tie |
| | <i>thoni/khalo</i> | < | Eng. tone |
| | <i>muratho</i> | < | Eng. transition |
| | <i>thandulanya</i> | < | Eng. transpose |

English is used as the source language in all these examples. In examples under (1) the borrowed terms were adapted to the Venda language structure, whereas in the

examples under (2) indigenous terms were used to replace the foreign terms. It is not clear what motivated these replacements. In most cases the replacement of internationalisms is motivated by extralinguistic factors such as political factors. A good example of the influence of political factors is the replacement of the internationalism 'television' in German with the indigenous term *Fernsehen* (television), despite the fact that the internationalism exists and is in use in other European languages, e.g. English 'television', French 'télévision', Dutch 'televisie', Spanish 'televisión' (Braun 1989:165). By developing its own indigenous term, German wanted to distinguish itself from other European countries and express its national identity. The replacement of internationalisms in Venda does not seem to have been motivated by political factors; instead it seems to be due to the need for transparency, that is the use of the indigenous terms which are widely understood. The replacement of borrowed terms with indigenous terms in Venda will be discussed later in chapter 6.

From the foregoing, it is clear that there is a need for a policy or theoretical framework to guide the term developers in using internationalisms in Venda. Such a policy should be informed by both linguistic and extralinguistic factors. With regard to the former, the linguistic characteristics of the donor language should be taken into consideration. For example, the use of internationalisms in European languages is made possible by the linguistic characteristics of these languages. Languages such as French and English are said to have a high degree of foreign components since they are hybrid languages, and as such the terms from these languages are easily integrated into many other European languages. Furthermore, the use of internationalisms in the European languages is made easier because of the

similarities that exist in their internal semantic structure possibly because of the teaching of Latin in schools throughout Europe (Korle'n 1969:9 cit. in Braun 1989:163). Non-linguistic factors such as the historical context are also conducive to the successful use of this type of borrowing.

Another factor is the prestige of the source languages. Latin and Greek, and lately English and French, have more prestige, and thus they have donated more internationalisms than any other European language. However, as shown above, internationalisms from languages such as Latin and Greek have no chance of being integrated into the Venda language system, even in technical languages, unless they are borrowed indirectly via English. The reason for this is that these two languages are not known to the Venda community. Furthermore, these languages are not considered prestigious as is the case in Europe. The only language which the speakers are always in contact with and which they consider prestigious is English.

With regard to the last question, that is the advantage of absorbing internationalisms into developing languages such as Venda, it is an established fact that internationalisms play an important role in the development of terms in fields such as science and technology. The use of internationalisms in these domains should be seen within the ongoing attempts in the international community to unify the special languages (Nebodity 1989, Braun 1989). According to Nebodity (1989:168) and Braun (1989:166) the use of internationalisms has several advantages. First, it can improve the understanding of subject specialists across language boundaries because these specialists could easily acquire a reading knowledge of technical texts in a foreign language. Secondly, internationalisms can help to facilitate communication

between members of different language communities. Thirdly, the difficulty of translating terms may be eliminated and concomitant mistakes avoided. Lastly, internationalisms may contribute significantly towards foreign-language acquisition and teaching. Because of these envisaged advantages, there is a general trend in most countries to replace indigenous alternatives with internationalisms. For example, in Indonesia native words such as *zat lemas* ‘nitrogen’, and *ilimu pasti* ‘mathematics’ were replaced by the technical term commission, the Pusat Bahasa, with the internationalisms *nitrogen* and *matematika* respectively (cf. Sager 1989).

In a nutshell, the success of using internationalisms as a method of term formation in Venda will depend on the understanding of the linguistic and extralinguistic factors discussed in the foregoing. With regard to the issue of the source language, English may be used since it is currently the vehicle of modern science and technology that emanates from the West, and it is the language through which most of the specialists in Venda have received their education and with which they are always in contact. It is also easier to adapt some of these internationalisms to the language structure depending on the needs of the target users. The integration and adaptation of borrowed material will be discussed further in the next section on loanwords.

4.2.2 Loanwords

A loanword may be defined as a linguistic form incorporated into a language from another language. It is an established fact that words or lexical items are more susceptible to borrowing than other linguistic forms such as morphemes or phonemes. In using the strategy of borrowing for terminology development,

especially through loanwords, several factors need to be considered: First, there is the question of deciding on the source language(s) for the loanwords. What principles should guide the planners in their selection of the source language(s) for loanwords? Second, is the question whether loanwords should be indigenised and, if so, to what extent? What are the guiding principles governing the indigenisation of the loanwords in a language? The last question that needs to be considered is the effect of borrowing on the recipient language. The question of selecting the source language will be considered first.

4.2.2.1 The question of choosing the source language(s)

Studies on the use of borrowing for term formation (Ferguson 1977, Jernudd 1977, Lowenberg 1983, Cooper 1989, Mwansoko 1990) unequivocally show that the selection of the source language(s) for loanwords is a serious problem which requires investigation. Although some of these studies dealt with this question, there is as yet no generally accepted framework. Consequently the challenge for each language is to establish its own principles regarding the choice of the source language(s). This fact may be illustrated by case studies of the principles followed in the following languages: Hebrew, Bahasa Indonesia, Swedish, and Swahili.

With regard to the first three languages, that is Hebrew, Bahasa Indonesia and Swedish, the findings resulting from Jernudd's (1977) investigation on the sources of terminology innovation in these languages will form the basis of our discussion. The results of this research were published in his article *Linguistic Sources for Terminological Innovation: Policy and Opinion*. In this study, Jernudd attempted to

establish not only the source languages for loanwords in these languages, but also the factors that underlie such choices. In his study of the selection and preferences of the source languages in Bahasa Indonesia, Jernudd (1977) came to the following conclusions:

- (1) Bahasa Indonesia favoured non-indigenous sources for borrowing such as English, German, Dutch and French as primary sources including the classical languages, such as Latin and Greek. The reasons given for the preference of these languages included the need for education, the need to support the advancement of science in Indonesia, the need to follow scientific progress, and the need to conform to frequency of usage.
- (2) Another factor which came out very clearly in this research is that Bahasa Indonesia has not turned to any single source for borrowing terms (cf. Cooper 1989). Instead, the choice of the source language was based on the subject matter or domain of use. For example, English and German were preferred as languages of technology, while Latin and Greek were preferred as languages of the arts, medicine and chemistry. Sanskrit was preferred for literary, cultural and other scholarship terms.

Jernudd's (1977) findings were later corroborated by Lowenberg (1983) who conducted a further investigation into the controversy surrounding the choice of the source language(s) for borrowing into Bahasa Indonesia. In his investigation, Lowenberg considered questions such as the following: "Should lexical items be borrowed (1) from foreign languages through which the Indonesian languages have

traditionally been modernised, particularly Sanskrit, or (2) from modern European languages, principally English as the present internationally dominant code of modernisation?” His findings were not different from those of Jernudd (1977). He established two divergent views with regard to the source languages for borrowing in Bahasa Indonesia: “One faction argues for using principally resources from the foreign languages traditionally used in Indonesia, especially Sanskrit. The other faction favours the use of borrowing from European languages, mainly English” (Lowenberg 1983:75). This controversy, as Jernudd (1977) pointed out, was only resolved by choosing the source language according to the domain and the function of the loanword. In fact, Lowenberg (1983:83) established that this strategy was employed even in ‘spontaneous’ borrowing.

The findings for Hebrew were just the opposite to those for Bahasa Indonesia. In Hebrew, the selection of the sources for borrowing was mainly influenced by ideological factors. This can be observed from the following conclusion made by Jernudd (1977):

- (1) Israel quite definitely prefers a fully Hebrew terminology derived from classical or modern Hebrew sources.
- (2) English was not preferred at all. Instead, borrowing from classical languages such as Latin and Greek was found tolerable.

From Jernudd (1977) ’s findings, two divergent approaches to the selection of the source languages for loanwords may be identified, that is, a **policy of practicality** and the **purist approach**. In the first approach, the guiding principle is the function

of the loanword, that is, a loanword is borrowed because of the function it has in the language, not because of its source language. This approach is favoured by scholars such as Ferguson (1977), who regard the function of the loanword as the most important factor that should be considered in borrowing, rather than the language from which it has been borrowed. However, this approach is in direct conflict with the **purist approach**, where borrowing is regarded as polluting the language. In this approach, borrowing from certain languages may be tolerated but totally forbidden from other languages, especially borrowing from languages which do not belong to the same language family as the target language. However, as Jernudd (1977) indicates, most problems are ideological.

Jernudd (1977) criticised the purist approach to terminological innovation on the ground that it is not based on pragmatism. While language planning bodies such as the Hebrew Academy are influenced by their struggle to establish the Hebrew language as a national language for Israel, such a view might do much harm to the language, especially with regard to modern technical terminologies. In some languages purism only applies to certain languages. In Turkish, for example, borrowing from European languages was encouraged and this was in accordance with the “Sun-Language theory”. This theory claims that Turkish is the language of the oldest cultures, dating back to the stone and iron ages. Thus it is the source of all languages, including languages such as French, German, and English. Although this theory was later dismissed for being empirically unfounded, it contributed significantly to the borrowing of loanwords from European languages, since these words were not regarded as alien, but as authentic elements of language (Doğancay-Aktuna 1995:236). However, on the other hand, borrowing from languages such as

Arabic and Persian was discouraged and the language was purged of loans from these languages.

With regard to Swedish, Jernudd (1977:222) established that the language has adopted a more liberal approach to the choice of the source languages for loanwords. In this language, foreign languages are to be used as sources for borrowing whenever it is necessary, and indigenous sources are to be used wherever possible.

In African languages such as Swahili, principles have been laid down to give guidance to term developers in their selection of the source languages for loanwords. According to the Terminology and Dictionary Committee (TDC) principles, in choosing the source for terms first priority should be given to nonstandard varieties, and then consideration may be given to other Tanzanian Bantu languages and other African languages (excluding Arabic). Other foreign languages such as English should be considered as the last resort (Mwansoko 1991:59). Again, one may observe from these principles that the choice of the source language(s) for borrowing is influenced by purism. Thus, Mwansoko (1990:136) has this to say with regard to these principles:

The emphasis on the greater use of Swahili, its nonstandard varieties and other Bantu and non-Bantu languages prior to borrowing from foreign languages can only be interpreted for being based on nationalistic purism because little lexicographic research into the Swahili nonstandard varieties and the other indigenous languages has been done so far to enable them to be used as productive resources of

technical terminologies. In addition, most of these languages are not used in the subjects for which words are sought.

From the foregoing, it is thus clear that the choice of Swahili varieties as the primary sources of the loans is influenced by extralinguistic factors such as the promotion of nationalism rather than by linguistic factors. But, as it may be observed from Mwansoko's (1990) study, these principles do not seem to work in practice. Instead, more loans are borrowed from English which is considered prestigious and the language of modern technology.

In Venda, as shown in chapter 3, loanwords have mainly been borrowed from English and Afrikaans. These two languages have been used as sources of loanwords in both spontaneous and planned borrowing. The choice of these languages as sources for loanwords in the Venda language may be attributable to both linguistic and extralinguistic factors. With regard to linguistic factors, the major factor is the contact between these two languages and the Venda language. Since the two languages, especially English, are already advanced in modern terms for subjects and domains such as science and technology terms, the Venda language has adopted many terms from these languages to fill its conceptual and terminology gaps. Thus, the contact between Venda and these languages has led to the adoption of modern concepts expressed in these languages. This phenomenon has been observed in several other languages and is influenced by extralinguistic factors.

These non-linguistic factors include, *inter alia*, the nature of contact, the prestige of the source language, the level of education and the degree of bilingualism among the

speakers of the recipient language. These factors serve to explain why English and Afrikaans were preferred as the sources for the new terms instead of the other indigenous languages. The history and the nature of the contact between Venda and these languages were discussed in chapter 3. With the diminishing status of Afrikaans, not much borrowing is taking place from this language. As already indicated, there is now a tendency to replace loanwords from Afrikaans with English loans. The question now is whether term developers should follow this trend and focus mainly on English as the source language for new terms. Thus, there is a need to formulate a clear policy in this regard. An attempt to formulate such a policy will be made in chapter 6. The formulation of such principles will be based on the insights drawn from the foregoing discussion, that is, the choice of the source language(s) should be determined by both linguistic and extralinguistic factors. The extralinguistic factors are equally important to the integration of loanwords in Venda, and this will be the focus of the next section.

4.2.2.2 Integration of loanwords

When borrowing is used as a strategy for term development, a decision should be made with regard to the indigenisation of loanwords. The loanwords may be incorporated with or without the modification of their form. The question is, what determines any of these approaches? From the works of various scholars, it is clear that such a decision is influenced by both structural and extralinguistic factors. Structural factors include factors such as the compatibility between the linguistic structure of the source language and the recipient language. Loanwords are likely

to be incorporated without modification in languages that have similar structures, and to be modified in languages that have incompatible linguistic structures.

With regard to extralinguistic factors, the nature of contact may also determine whether the loanwords should be incorporated with or without modification. Where the contact is intensive, loanwords are likely to be incorporated without modification or with minor adjustments (Thomason and Kaufman 1988). Another factor that contributes to the incorporation of loanwords without modification is a high degree of bilingualism. A further precipitating factor is the high level of education, especially where the source language has been the medium of instruction. Thus, the term developers should take these factors into consideration before they decide whether to incorporate the loanwords with or without modification.

Where loanwords are to be modified, a further decision should be made as to how far to indigenise them, that is, how to modify their pronunciation, their spelling, or their affixes to suit the structure of the borrowing language (Cooper 1989:151). In Swahili, for example, there is a clear policy which requires all loan terms (whether borrowed from the Bantu or non-Bantu languages or foreign languages) to conform to Swahili phonological and grammatical structure, and this should be done in a more consistent manner, following established and regular morphological patterns (Mwansoko 1991:59).

In his M.A thesis entitled *A linguistic survey of adoptives in Venda*, Madiba (1994) made an in-depth study of the adaptation of loanwords in Venda. In this study it has been established that loanwords, whether borrowed spontaneously or through

conscious planning, are adapted to the Venda linguistic structure. Thus, this study provides some insight and understanding on how borrowing may be used for term development in Venda. However, the major shortcoming of this study is that it adopted a purely linguistic approach and is descriptive in nature. As shown above, extralinguistic factors play an important role in borrowing and the formulation of rules that guide its use. Accordingly, the study of loanwords and their adaptation should be done within the domain of sociolinguistics. This approach has been propagated by scholars such as Fishman (1983a), Cluver (1989) and Hsia (1989). Cluver (1989:200) severely criticises the structuralist approaches to technical languages and propagates the adoption of a sociolinguistic approach. He has the following to say in this regard:

In the structuralist approach to technical languages researchers assumed (implicitly) that there was one (unitary) phenomenon to be analysed and one method to be used. In the sociolinguistic approach we assume that the phenomenon of language is richly varied...In the creation of new technical languages for members of minority speech communities, we have to consider the attitudes of the speakers towards their language and its status when it comes to deciding whether terms should be borrowed, translated, created or adapted from the common language.

Hsia (1989:308), whilst acknowledging the importance of linguistic explanations for the adaptation of loanwords, clearly points out that such explanations are not very useful if they are isolated from other extralinguistic factors. She has the following to say in this regard:

In studying the adaptation of loanwords, a knowledge of the differences in the structure of the participating languages enables one to predict the form of adaptation that is likely, but again extralinguistic factors determine whether the adaptation should take place (among bilinguals) as well as the extent of that adaptation.

In fact, according to her (Hsia 1989:309) socio-cultural factors are more important than structural factors in borrowing. Without the knowledge about these factors it is impossible for term developers or language planners to postulate rules with absolute predictive reliability.

The integration of loanwords to different levels will be discussed in the following sections. Madiba (1994) conducted a detailed research on the integration of loanwords to the phonological, morphological and semantic levels of the Venda language. Thus, it is not intended here to give another detailed discussion of the adaptation of loanwords to these levels. Instead, the focus will be mainly on the establishment of principles that could serve as guidelines for term developers in adapting loanwords in Venda. It is the assumption of this study that the adaptation of loanwords in term formation is not very different to that of the general language. The difference may only occur as a result of the level of communication in which the terms are used for and preference of the users of the terms. Accordingly, most of the principles established in Madiba's (1994) study will be adopted here. We shall begin by looking at phonological adaptation.

4.2.2.2.1 Phonological adaptation

When words are borrowed into a language they are subjected to various phonological treatments. Madiba (1994) carried out a detailed research on the integration of loanwords to this level. He established that phonological adjustments to loanwords in Venda occur on the segmental, syllabic and tonal levels. We begin by looking at the changes that occur on the segmental level.

(a) Changes that occur on the segmental level

Venda has borrowed most loans from English and Afrikaans. These languages have phonemic inventories that differ from those of Venda. Thus, in adopting loans from these languages, Venda could either import the foreign sound or replace it with the indigenous sound. This latter process is commonly known as sound substitution. Substitution has been used in Venda to deal with foreign sounds that do not occur in the language's sound inventory. These substitutions do not occur haphazardly and Madiba (1994) identifies different substitution patterns in Venda. It is important to realise that substitution not only depends on linguistic factors, but also on extralinguistic factors. Without considering extralinguistic factors it is difficult to explain why certain languages incorporate foreign sounds into their sound inventory whereas others do not. Venda, for example, does not seem to accept foreign sounds in its sound inventory, instead these sounds are replaced with the indigenous ones.

Substitution in Venda occurs in both vowels and consonants. We shall begin by looking at vowel substitution.

(i) Substitution for vowels

As already mentioned, Venda has fewer vowels than English and Afrikaans, from which it borrowed most loanwords. Most of the vowels in these two languages do not occur in the Venda sound inventory. The vowels that have equivalents are in most cases taken without change. Madiba (1994:157-167) has made an in-depth study of the substitution of the foreign vowels in Venda. Therefore, in this section only a few examples will be given to illustrate the principles that may be followed in term formation. Consider how the vowels: /æ/, /ɜ/, /ʌ/, /ɑ/, /ɒ/, /ʊ/, and /ɛ:/ are replaced by indigenous vowels in Venda:

- | | | | |
|-----|--------------------|---|-------------------------|
| (1) | English /æ/ | > | Venda [a] or [ɛ] |
| | acids | > | <i>esidi</i> |
| | aids | > | <i>eidzi</i> |
| | allergy | > | <i>aledzhi</i> |
| | ambulance | > | <i>ambulese</i> |
| | anatomy | > | <i>anathomi</i> |
| | cancer | > | <i>khetsara</i> |
| | cramp | > | <i>khiremphe</i> |
| (2) | English /ɜ/ | > | Venda [ɛ] |
| | term | > | <i>themo</i> |

	germ	>	<i>dzheme</i>
	cell	>	<i>sele</i>
	firm	>	<i>feme</i>
(3)	English /ʌ /	>	Venda [a]
	drug	>	<i>diraga</i>
	thrush	>	<i>thirashi</i>
	conjunctiva	>	<i>khonzhakitiva</i>
(4)	English /ɑ /	>	Venda [a]
	catarrh	>	<i>cathara</i>
	carbon	>	<i>khaboni</i>
	carbohydrate	>	<i>khabohaidireiti</i>
(5)	English /ɒ /	>	Venda [ɔ]
	antitoxin	>	<i>antithokizini</i>
	alcohol	>	<i>alikoholi</i>
	coffee	>	<i>kofi</i>
	conjunctiva	>	<i>khonzhakitiva</i>
(6)	English /ʊ /	>	Venda [u]
	sugar	>	<i>tshugela</i>
	pudding	>	<i>phudini</i>

From the foregoing, it may be observed that all the foreign vowels have been adapted to the Venda vowel system. These substitutions may be explained by both linguistic and extralinguistic factors. More on the linguistic factors has been said in Madiba (1994). According to him, the substitution of foreign sounds is due to the **native segment inventory constraints** and **phonological processes** such as vowel

assimilation and assimilation to the onset consonants (see Madiba 1994 for more discussion on these phonological processes). However, these linguistic explanations are not sufficient without taking into consideration the extralinguistic factors. For example, the occurrence and the non-occurrence of the foreign sounds in a language may be explained by linguistic factors such as the differing strengths, or the weakening of the native segment inventory constraints. As these constraints weaken they eventually give way to the occurrence of foreign sounds, in which case these explanations may not be complete without considering the extralinguistic factors. The question here is: What weakens **the native segment inventory constraints**? The weakening of these constraints is probably due to extralinguistic factors such as the nature of contact with the source language(s), the level of education and the degree of bilingualism. Thus, the non-occurrence of foreign vowels in Venda loanwords may be attributable to these extralinguistic factors. The contact between Venda and source languages such as English and Afrikaans is not very intensive. Bilingualism in these languages is only confined to a few speakers, particularly those who are educated or who work in the urban areas (cf. *Statistical report no.1 of 1993-Population Census 1991*). According to Thomason and Kaufman (1988) the incorporation of foreign phonemes in the recipient language only occurs where the contact between the source language and the recipient language is very intensive, and also when there is a high degree of bilingualism.

(ii) Substitution for consonants

Substitution also occurs in consonants, and then mainly in the foreign consonants which do not have equivalents in the recipient language. In Venda, all the foreign sounds are replaced by the indigenous sounds. Madiba (1994:180-199) made a detailed study of consonant substitutions in Venda and found that substitution in Venda occurs for foreign sounds such as th[θ], [ð] and l [l]. The substitution of these sounds may be illustrated by the following examples:

- (1) **The English sound th [θ]** > **Venda [th] or [s] or [t]**
- | | | |
|---------------------|---|-----------------------|
| theatre | > | <i>thietha</i> |
| thrush | > | <i>thirashi</i> |
| stethoscope | > | <i>sitethosikoupu</i> |
| chemotherapy | > | <i>khemothirapi</i> |
| thermometer | > | <i>themometha</i> |
- (2) **The English sound th [ð]** > **Venda [d] or [ɖ]**
- | | | |
|----------------|---|-------------|
| weather | > | <i>wɛɖa</i> |
| leather | > | <i>ɭɛɖa</i> |
- (3) **The English lateral sound l [l]** > **Venda [ɭ] or [r]**
- | | | |
|------------------|---|------------------------------------|
| ambulance | > | <i>ambulese</i> (tap/dental) |
| allergy | > | <i>aledzhi</i> (lateral/dental) |
| alcohol | > | <i>alikhoholi</i> (lateral/dental) |
| cholera | > | <i>kholera</i> (lateral/dental) |

In all these examples, foreign sounds have been replaced by indigenous sounds. As in the case of vowels, the substitution of these consonants follows certain regular patterns. The English [θ] is either replaced by [th] or [s] and sound [ð] by [d] and [ɗ]. In some instances the original sound may be reproduced without modification, especially where the contact with the source language is intensive and there is a high degree of bilingualism. A high level of education may also lead to a situation where educated people would like to display their status by using the original sound rather than the indigenous terms. In this way a need may arise to import the sound [θ] into Venda. This sound may be written in Venda as **thy**[θ], that is, a voiceless dental fricative sound. But the problem with such a representation is that this sound may be confused with the alveo-palatal sound **thy**[tjh] which is used in words such as - *thyethyenyea* 'laugh loudly'.

In view of these various factors it is not possible to formulate predictive rules for the type of substitution that will occur. The insight that can be drawn from these substitutions is that a foreign sound is usually replaced with an indigenous sound that is phonetically closest to it, and that extralinguistic factors may override linguistic factors in determining the substituting sound.

(b) Changes that occur on syllabic level

When loanwords with a syllable structure that is not compatible with that of the recipient language are borrowed, these syllables are adjusted accordingly to conform

to the canonical-syllable shape or structure of the recipient language. Madiba (1994) clearly shows how these adjustments have occurred to Venda loanwords from English and Afrikaans. These languages have a syllable structure which is different from that of Venda. A syllable in Venda may consist of a vowel (V), a consonant and a vowel (CV), and a syllabic nasal (C). No other sequence of sound segments constitutes an acceptable syllable in Venda. Consequently, the loanwords from English and Afrikaans are made to conform to the Venda syllable structure. These adjustments occur in both vowel sequences, or in the so-called diphthongs and consonant sequences. We shall begin by looking at the diphthongs.

(i) Diphthongs

According to Madiba (1994:178) diphthongs are not a characteristic of the Venda language. As such, diphthongs in English and Afrikaans loanwords are adjusted to conform to the Venda syllable structure. Consider the following examples:

(1a)	Eng. /ai/	>	Ve. [a+i]
	virus	>	<i>vairasi</i>
	typhoid	>	<i>thaifoidi</i>
	hymen	>	<i>haimeni</i>
	iris	>	<i>airisi</i>
	fluoride	>	<i>fuloraidi</i>

(1b)	Eng. /ei/	>	Ve. [e+i]
	Aids	>	<i>eidzi</i>
	migraine	>	<i>maigireini</i>
	protein	>	<i>phurotheini</i>
	caffeine	>	<i>khafeini</i>
	cocaine	>	<i>khokheini</i>
(1c)	Eng. /oi/	>	Ve. [o+i]
	join	>	<i>dzhoini</i>
	poison	>	<i>phoiseni</i>
	adenoid	>	<i>adenoidi</i>
(1d)	Eng. /aʊ/	>	Ve. [a+u] or [ɔ]
	menopause	>	<i>menophosi</i>
	pound	>	<i>paundu</i>
	account	>	<i>akhauthu</i>
(2)	Eng. /ei/	>	Ve. [ɛ]
	paper	>	<i>phepha</i>
	cable	>	<i>khevhele</i>
	cake	>	<i>khekhe</i>

From these examples, it may be observed that various strategies have been used to deal with diphthongs in Venda. The first strategy is illustrated by the examples under (1). In these examples, diphthongs have been replaced by vowel sequences /ai/, /ei/, /oi/ and /au/ in Venda. These vowel sequences do not constitute diphthongs because each vowel constitutes a separate syllable. However, as Madiba (1994) indicates, some scholars such as Poulos (1990) argue that these vowel sequences may

constitute diphthongs in fast speech. But when one considers the examples under (2) where the diphthong /ei / has been replaced with a single vowel, it is clearly shown that diphthongs are not easily accepted into the Venda phonological system.

The substitution of diphthongs in Venda seems to be very consistent, and predictable to the extent that two rules can be formulated. The substitutions in examples under (1) may be explained by a **resyllabification rule**. According to this rule, the source diphthong is reanalysed into two separate syllables in Venda. The examples under (2) may lead to the formulation of a rule called the **vowel truncation or shortening rule**. This rule results in the elimination of one vowel of the diphthong. For more discussion of the choice of the vowel that is eliminated see Madiba (1994:172-176).

(ii) Consonant clusters and closed syllables

Syllabic adjustments in Venda also occur in consonant clusters and closed syllables (for more information on these adjustments see Madiba 1994:200-216). The following examples may serve to illustrate how these adjustments occur in Venda:

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------|---|-------------------------------|
| (1) | Eng. protein | > | Ve. <i>purotheini</i> |
| | Eng. professor | > | Ve. <i>mupurofesa</i> |
| | Eng. bronchus | > | Ve. <i>buronkhaisi</i> |
| (2) | Eng. flu | > | Ve. <i>fuluu</i> |
| | Eng. flannel | > | Ve. <i>fulanele</i> |
| | Eng. fluoride | > | Ve. <i>fuloraidi</i> |

- (3) Eng. **trauma** > Ve. ***thiroma***
 Eng. **drip** > Ve. ***diripi***
- (4) Eng. **prescription** > Ve. ***phirisikiripushini***
 Eng. **printer** > Ve. ***phirinha***
- (5) Eng. **discharge** > Ve. ***-tshatsha***

From these examples, it may be observed that consonant clusters have been adjusted by inserting a vowel between them. This vowel is commonly known as the epenthetic vowel. However, the question is, what determines the choice of this vowel? In the examples under (1) and (2) the consonant clusters /pr/, /br/ and /fl/ were separated by inserting an epenthetic vowel [u]. The choice of this vowel is determined by the preceding consonants, which in these examples are bilabials or consonants that are produced with the involvement of lips. Accordingly, the **onset consonant assimilation rule** may be formulated to explain these changes. The influence of this rule may be further observed in the examples under (3) where the epenthetic vowel [i] is inserted after all the non-labial onset consonants (For more examples with regard to the operation of this rule, see Madiba 1994:200-212).

Further adjustment of consonant clusters may be observed in examples under (4) and (5). The examples under (4) are interesting in that the front vowel is used instead of the back vowel. One would expect a back vowel to occur because of the **onset bilabial consonant rule** discussed earlier on. In this case the choice of epenthetic vowels has been influenced by the **vowel assimilation rule** or **vowel copy**.

Accordingly, the epenthetic vowel is a copy of the vowel in the succeeding syllable. In the example under (5) the consonant cluster was adjusted by eliminating one of the consonants that constitute the clusters, or even the whole syllable as in *-tshatsha* ‘discharge’. In all the other examples the consonant [s] is dropped. These changes may thus be described by means of what is referred to as the **extra-syllabic consonant truncation rule**, that is, the deletion of one or more consonants that constitute a cluster. As it may be observed from the examples given above, this rule applies mainly with adjustments to verb roots or stems.

The last type of syllabic adjustment is that of closed syllables, that is, syllables that end with a consonant. As it may be observed from the following examples, loanwords with closed syllables are adjusted to conform to Venda syllable structure:

Eng. protein	>	Ve. <i>phurotheini</i>
Eng. acid	>	Ve. <i>esidi</i>
Eng. clinic	>	Ve. <i>kilniki</i>
Eng. herpes	>	Ve. <i>hepisi</i>
Eng. iris	>	Ve. <i>airisi</i>
Eng. pad	>	Ve. <i>phede</i>
Eng. cell	>	Ve. <i>sele</i>

In these examples, a vowel is added to make the loanwords conform to the Venda syllable structure. The choice of this vowel is influenced by the vowels of the preceding syllable, hence **vowel assimilation**.

From the foregoing discussion it may seem that all the consonant clusters are adjusted to the Venda syllable structure and that certain rules may be formulated to describe the changes that occur; however, in some instances consonant clusters are incorporated without change. Consider the following examples taken from the *Venda Trilingual Dictionary* compiled by Wentzel and Muloiwa (1982):

- (2) *posmasta* < Eng. postmaster
 muprofita < Eng. prophet
 histori < Eng. history
 Khristo < Eng. Christ
 muapostola < Eng. apostle

In these examples, consonant clusters /st/, /pr/ and /khr/ were retained in Venda. However, it should be mentioned that these consonant clusters were adjusted in most of the loanwords in this dictionary. Although there are few of these examples, they are significant since they illustrate a trend that is developing, especially now that there is increased contact with the source language(s) and an increase in bilingualism. The trend to retain consonant clusters has been observed in other languages such as Swahili (Whiteley 1967) and Shona (Chimhundu 1982, Bernsten and Myers-Scotton 1993). The retention of clusters in the recipient language clearly shows that the adaptation of loanwords is not just a technical or linguistic exercise that has no social significance. Bernsten and Myers-Scotton (1993) observed this phenomenon in Shona, finding that the trend to retain clusters and closed syllables is influenced by social factors such as the prestige of the source language, in this case English, the degree of bilingualism, and the level of education of the recipient

language's speakers. Thus, the fact that in Venda there are few cases of loanwords being incorporated without the adjustment of consonant clusters shows that despite the prestige factor, the level of contact and degree of bilingualism has not yet reached a point where it can affect the sound system of the language. As indicated in chapter 3, this is attributable to the fact that the Venda people only came into contact with Europeans during the first half of the nineteenth century, and they remained relatively isolated from western influence for a long time.

The crucial question now is: How should term developers deal with consonant clusters in Venda? Should they incorporate them into the language or should they adjust them? It seems there is no clear-cut answer to this question. The most important principle is for term developers to be flexible, that is, to adapt the consonant clusters to the Venda syllable structure whenever possible, and to retain them when necessary. With regard to the former approach, the principles discussed in the foregoing may serve as guidelines but not as a clear rule.

(c) Adjustment on tonal level

Languages may differ according to whether they are tonal or non-tonal. Non-tonal languages such as English and Afrikaans use stress instead of tone. An interesting question here is what happens when a tonal language borrows words from a non-tonal language. Studies on loanwords in languages such as Northern Sotho (Kruger 1965), Shona (Chimhundu 1982), Xhosa (Britz 1983), Yoruba (Awobuluyi 1994),

Herero (Ohly 1994), have shown that loanwords from non-tonal languages are assigned tones when they are incorporated into the tonal languages. Madiba (1994: 216-221) has discussed the tonal assignment to Venda loanwords in detail. According to him tonal assignment in Venda follows certain regular patterns. There is a correlation between stress and tonal assignment. Stressed syllables from English and Afrikaans are realised as high tone in Venda. However, in some instances, other factors such as tonal spread, morphological and semantic factors may influence the tonal assignment to loanwords. The following are a few examples taken from Madiba (1994):

- | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------|---|--------------------------|----------|
| (1) | Afr .kamp | > | Ve. <i>gámmbà</i> | ‘camp’ |
| | Afr. pampier | > | Ve. <i>bámmbíri</i> | ‘paper’ |
| | Afr. winkel | > | Ve. <i>vhéngélè</i> | ‘shop’ |
| | Afr. kamer | > | Ve. <i>kámàrà</i> | ‘room’ |
| | Eng. driver | > | Ve. <i>ḍíráivà</i> | |
| | Eng. truck | > | Ve. <i>ṭhírákhá</i> | |
| | Eng. drama | > | Ve. <i>ḍírámá</i> | |
| | Eng. gravel | > | Ve. <i>gìravhulo</i> | |
| | Eng. flying machine | > | Ve. <i>fuláimatshinì</i> | |
| (2) | Eng. jam | > | Ve. <i>dzhámú</i> | |
| | Afr. boek | > | Ve. <i>búgú</i> | ‘book’ |
| | Eng. bag | > | Ve. <i>bégé</i> | |
| | Afr. motor | > | Ve. <i>módór`o</i> | ‘car’ |
| | Afr. skool | > | Ve. <i>tshikóló</i> | ‘school’ |

(3)	Eng. typist	>	Ve. <i>mùthaiphi</i>
	Eng. planner	>	Ve. <i>mùpulani</i>
	Eng. machine	>	Ve. <i>mùtshini</i>
	Eng. apple tree	>	Ve. <i>mùapula</i>
	Eng. stamp	>	Ve. <i>tshìt_˩emembe</i>
	Eng. station	>	Ve. <i>tshìt_˩itshi</i>

In the examples under (1) there is a clear correlation between English and Afrikaans stressed syllables and high tone in Venda. This correlation may also be found in Venda dictionaries such as Wentzel and Muloiwa (1982), and in Van Warmelo (1989). This phenomenon has also been observed in other tonal languages. Awobuluyi (1994), for example, also made the same observation in Yoruba. In this language, **initial high tone** normally does not occur in vowel-initial words of two or more syllables. But in loanwords such as *omo*, ‘a brand name for a detergent’, *ayoonu* ‘pressing iron’, *aloomu* ‘alum’ and *efesu* ‘Ephesus’, high tone occurs in this forbidden word initial environment. Although Awobuluyi (1994) did not explain why this is the case, it may be suggested that this violation of the tonal rule which prevents the occurrence of high tone on the initial position of words beginning with a vowel may be due to **stress-tone relationship**.

The examples under (2) show that the tonal assignment to certain syllables is influenced by tone spread. In this case, the last non-stressed syllables are realised as high tone due to the influence of high tone in the preceding syllable (see Madiba 1994:217 for further discussion of these tonal changes). The examples under (3) show the influence of morphological factors. In Venda noun prefixes are marked with a low tone. Thus, stressed syllables are interpreted as prefixes in Venda, for

example the loanword *mutshini* ‘machine’ where the first syllable **ma-** becomes the prefix *mu-* with a low tone (see Madiba 1994:234 for more discussion in this regard). The last examples are relevant to terminology work since they deal with meaning specialisation through tone. It seems that tone is used to distinguish certain loanwords from the indigenous words that share the same form (see Madiba 1994:112 for more examples and discussion).

4.2.2.2 Morphological adaptation

In this section we shall be looking at the morphological adaptation of loanwords in Venda. Madiba (1994:224-262) makes an in-depth study of the adaptation of loanwords on this level. From his study it is clear that loanwords are adapted to the Venda grammatical structure, that is, the Venda morphology and syntactic structure. It is an established fact that the grammar of a language is more resistant to change than other language aspects such as lexical items (Thomason and Kaufmann 1988). Thus, the Venda language morphology and syntax remained relatively unaffected despite the fact that the language has borrowed a fairly large number of loanwords from languages that have a different grammatical system.

The focus of this section will mainly be on morphological adjustment since we are mainly dealing with term formation. Accordingly the morphological adaptation of different parts of speech, namely nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs will be

discussed. We shall begin by looking at borrowed nouns since this word category constitutes the largest group.

(a) Morphological adaptation to borrowed nouns

It is an established fact that grammatically the borrowed word is subjected to the system of the recipient language (cf. Bloomfield 1933, Weinreich 1953, Madiba 1994). Borrowed nouns are thus adapted to Venda morphology (cf. Poulos 1990, Madiba 1994). The morphology of the Venda noun has been discussed in a number of studies (Poulos 1990, Madiba 1994:232-240). As is the case in most other African languages, the noun in Venda, is formed by a **noun prefix** and a **nominal stem**. Through these prefixes, the nouns may be classified into various **noun classes**. Accordingly, when a foreign noun from a language that does not have these morphological features is borrowed into the Venda language, it is assigned a prefix, and thereby is allocated to a particular noun class. We shall begin by looking at the allocation of class prefixes or what will be regarded as **affixation of noun prefixes**.

(i) Affixation of noun prefixes

As already mentioned, all nouns in Venda should have a prefix, and this prefix belongs to one noun class or another. The main question is what determines the choice of a prefix for a particular loanword. There are various factors that serve as criteria for the assignment of prefixes to borrowed nouns (cf. Madiba 1994). In his

study, Madiba (1994) identifies three factors that influence the allocation of a noun prefix to loanwords, namely **conversion of an initial element to an independent prefix** (or what has been commonly known as phonological **analogy**), **semantic content**, and **the zero prefix principle**. These principles provide guidelines for term developers to adapt loanwords in Venda. As Madiba (1994) indicates, these principles are reliable and have also been observed in other African languages such as Swahili (Whiteley 1967), Shona (Chimhundu 1982), and Zulu (Koopman 1994). We shall begin by looking at the first principle.

1) Conversion of an initial element to an independent prefix

According to this principle, foreign nouns are borrowed as nominal stems, and are then assigned a class prefix on the basis of their initial consonant. In other words, prefixes are sought for in the initial sound elements of the source word. This initial sound is then approximated to the specific class prefix. Madiba (1994) illustrates how this principle works in Venda. Consider the following examples:

Eng. machine	>	Ve. <i>mutshini</i> (3) <i>mitshini</i> (4)
Eng. stitch	>	Ve. <i>tshĩtĩtshi</i> (7) <i>zwiĩtĩtshi</i> (8)
Eng. scheme	>	Ve. <i>tshikimu</i> (7) <i>zwikimu</i> (8)

In the first example the noun prefixes were allocated on the basis of the close similarity between the initial consonant of the borrowed noun and the first consonant of the Venda class prefix. In last the two examples the prefix of the loanwords was assigned on the basis of the similarity between the initial consonant and the initial sound of this prefix. Although this principle seems to be effective in the allocation of certain noun prefixes to loanwords in Venda, in other loanwords such as *maila* < Eng. mile, *tshintshi* < Eng. change and *tshisi* < Eng. cheese this rule does not seem to apply. Other factors, such as semantic factors, seem to determine the class to which the borrowed noun should be assigned. These semantic factors will be discussed in the next section.

2) Allocation of class prefixes on the basis of semantic content

As indicated in the foregoing, loanwords may be assigned to prefixes on the basis of their meaning. Madiba (1994) discussed these semantic principles in detail and showed that this principle is responsible for the allocation of noun classes to most of the loanwords in Venda. The role of the semantic factors in the allocation of noun prefixes and the subsequent categorisation of these nouns into noun classes, has been the focal point of many studies on Bantu nouns.

It is an established fact in the literature that noun prefixes carry semantic significance (Denny and Creider 1986, Poulos 1990). As a result, some borrowed nouns are assigned to certain prefixes on the basis of their meaning. For instance, borrowed

nouns that refer to human beings may, according to this criterion, affix the noun prefix *mu-* of **Class 1** in the singular and *vha-* of **Class 2** in the plural. Consider the following examples:

Eng. engineer	>	Ve. <i>muinzhiniere</i>
Eng. president	>	Ve. <i>muphuresidennde</i>
Eng. professor	>	Ve. <i>mupurofesa</i>
Afr. ry	>	Ve. <i>mureili</i> 'driver'
Eng. evangelist	>	Ve. <i>muevangeli</i>

There are, however, some loanwords which denote human beings but which are not assigned to this class (cf. Chimhundu 1982). Some of these borrowed nouns, as will be seen below, are assigned to class **5** and others to class **7** and **9**:

Eng. judge	>	Ve. <i>dzhadzhi</i>	(5)
Eng. driver	>	Ve. <i>diraiva</i>	(5)
Eng. teacher	>	Ve. <i>thitshere</i>	(5)
Eng. inspector	>	Ve. <i>tshipikitere</i>	(7)
Eng. doctor	>	Ve. <i>dokotela</i>	(5/9)

From the examples given above, it may be noted that the semantic approach in its traditional framework may explain the allocation of some of the borrowed nouns, but in other nouns it cannot (see Madiba 1994). It is clear from the above examples that although they all denote human beings, the loans are allocated to different classes, namely classes **1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10**. It should be realised here that even in

indigenous nouns, human beings are not allocated to one specific class. Although such nouns are found mainly in classes 1 and 2, they are also found in other classes. As has been argued in Madiba (1994), the allocation of prefixes to borrowed nouns is not determined by linguistic factors only. Extralinguistic factors such as perception appear to influence the choice of a prefix to be allocated to a borrowed noun. Thus, Madiba (1994) adopted a cognitive approach propounded by Denny and Creider (1986) and supported by scholars such as Hendrikse and Poulos (1992). This approach has been discussed in more depth in Madiba (1994). Here we shall only illustrate how this approach can provide guidance to term developers in allocating prefixes to borrowed terms.

The significance of the **cognitive approach** to term formation lies mainly in the fact that it explains how speakers of a language perceive objects and systematise the referents of their noun universe. The speakers' perception seems to categorise their noun universe according to the following parameters: **concreteness, attribution, spatial orientation** and **abstractness**. In the process of sorting and categorising concepts, the concepts for concrete objects are easily comprehended by most senses since they can be seen, heard, touched, smelt and tasted. In most cases loanwords are brought in along with their referents, and as such the perception of these objects may influence the choice of a prefix to be allocated to such a noun. For example, the Afrikaans loanword 'steen' may be allocated to different class prefixes in Venda according to attributes such as shape and size:

- Afr. steen > Ve. *tshidina* ‘small and thick brick’
 > Ve. *kudina* ‘small brick’
 > Ve. *ludina* ‘thin brick’
 > Ve. *lidina* ‘big brick’

In his study of the allocation of prefixes to loanwords in Swahili, Whitely (1967), came to the conclusion that the decision of the speaker to allocate a given loan to a particular noun class depends on factors such as size. Thus, according to him nouns that denote large things are often allocated to class 5/6 and small things to 7/8.

Although the parameter of attribution may be very useful in allocating loanwords to different class prefixes, this parameter may be unreliable in some instances. In Venda, for example, the parameters of concreteness and abstractness may cause some problems in term formation. As Madiba (1994:245) indicates, some loanwords that denote concrete objects are allocated to class prefixes that denote abstract things. This may be illustrated by examples such *vhurukhu* < Afr. broek ‘trouser’ and *vhurifhi* < Afr. brief ‘letter’. The choice of the prefix in these examples has been influenced by phonological factors. However, the parameter of abstractness appears to be productive with regard to terms denoting modern professions. Consider the following examples:

- | | | |
|----------------------|---|-----------------|
| <i>vhunese</i> | < | Eng. nursing |
| <i>vhuthitshere</i> | < | Eng. teaching |
| <i>vhudokotela</i> | < | Eng. doctor |
| <i>vhusipikiṭere</i> | < | Eng. inspection |

<i>vhuinzhiniere</i>	<	Eng. engineering
<i>vhulekhitshara</i>	<	Eng. lectureship
<i>vhuphuresidennde</i>	<	Eng. presidency

All the terms in these examples have to do with names of professions, and all of them were allocated the prefix: *vh-*. This principle works consistently, and the allocation of the noun prefix to borrowed nouns denoting professions may thus be predictable.

3) Allocation of adoptive nouns to a zero prefix class

This principle was discussed in detail in Madiba (1994). According to this principle, borrowed nouns that cannot be identified with any class prefix are allocated to noun classes that have no overtly marked prefixes. According to various studies of African languages, these classes include **classes 1(a), 5 and 9** (cf. Whiteley 1967, Chimhundu 1982). According to Chimhundu (1982:66) borrowed nouns are allocated to **1(a)** if the referent is human and to **5 & 9** if the referent is non-human. The following are examples of nouns that belong to these classes.

(1)	Eng. captain	>	Ve. <i>khephutheni</i> (cl.1a, & 9)
	Eng. referee	>	Ve. <i>refiri</i> (cl.1a, & 9)
(2)	Eng. acid	>	Ve. <i>esidi</i> (cl.9)
	Eng. Aids	>	Ve. <i>eidzi</i> (cl.9)
	Eng. allergy	>	Ve. <i>aledzhi</i> (cl.9)
	Eng. glove	>	Ve. <i>gilavu</i> (cl.5)

It is interesting to observe that some of the examples under (1), for example ‘referee’ and *khephutheni* ‘captain’, may fall into more than one class. These nouns are placed in **class 1a**, probably because they denote human beings, but they are also allocated to **class 9** according to the **zero prefix** principle which requires that borrowed nouns such as these, with no clear perceptual cues for their classification

should be put in this class. Thus, the allocation of these two nouns to class 1a is due to semantic factors.

(b) Morphological adaptation of loanwords in other word categories

As indicated in Madiba (1994:251-262), borrowing in Venda also occurs in other word categories such as adjectives, verbs, adverbs, and conjunctives. These word forms are also adapted to suit Venda morphology. We shall begin by looking at the morphological adaptation of adjectives.

(i) Adjectives

The adaptation of adjectives, especially colour terms, is not so different from that of nouns. Like nouns, adjectives are formed by an adjectival prefix and an adjectival stem. However, as Madiba (1994:251) observed in his study, some borrowed adjectives, especially the colour terms, do not seem to adhere to the morphological structure of the Venda language. For example, colour adjectives such as *buluu*

'blue', *girini* 'green', *buraweni* 'brown', *meruni* 'maroon', *inki* 'pink', and *gireyi* 'grey', unlike the indigenous ones, have no marked prefix.

A further observation in this word category may be made with regard to the adaptation of the numerals. This is one of the problematic areas since Venda, like most of the African languages, has too few number terms. Thus, despite the fact that a number system has been developed from native words, a lot of foreign words are borrowed, especially for large numbers. The adaptation of these numbers is determined by both phonological and morphological patterns. For example, *disheleni* 'ten shillings', *thubobo* 'two bob' and *milioni* 'million' are allocated to noun class 9 since they have no overt prefix.

(ii) Verbs

As indicated in our discussion of the nouns, terms may be borrowed into the target language as verb roots or stems and may then be subjected to the morphological rules to suit the morphological structure of the language. For example, the Afrikaans words *werk* 'work', *tolk* 'interpret', *leer* 'learn', *saag* 'saw', etc. are borrowed as roots: *-vhereg-*, *-dolog-*, *-ler-*, *-sah-* respectively. These roots can then be assigned various verbal prefixes and suffixes. The affixation of prefixes and suffixes has been discussed in detail in Madiba (1994) and will therefore not be repeated here.

An interesting phenomenon in the adaptation of verbs is the derivation of verbs from borrowed nouns. Consider the following examples:

<i>-khanikha</i> ‘repair a car’	<	<i>makhanikhe</i> ‘mechanic’
<i>-thotsha</i> ‘use a torch’	<	<i>thotshi</i> ‘torch’
<i>-potsola</i> ‘run away’	<	<i>zwipotso</i> ‘sports’
<i>-sondaha</i> ‘attend Sunday service’	<	<i>Sondaha</i> ‘Sunday’
<i>-guroza</i> ‘buy grocery’	<	<i>gurozari</i> ‘grocery’
<i>-phuravethava</i> ‘temporary teaching’	<	<i>phuraivethe</i> ‘unqualified teacher’
<i>-khuwafhala</i> ‘europeanised’	<	<i>mukhuwa</i> ‘european’
<i>-phurega</i> ‘impregnates’	<	<i>phurege</i> ‘pregnant’
<i>-bandida</i> ‘imprisoned’	<	<i>bandidi</i> ‘prisoner’

These examples are an illustration of a derivation process which is not common to Venda. In this language the common process is the derivation of nouns from verbs, not the other way round. This process is common to languages such as English where new terms are created through back formation. However, it is interesting to note that this process does not only apply to English loanwords, but that it also occurs in Sotho loanwords such as *-khuwafhala* ‘Europeanised’ < *mukhuwa* ‘European’. This process raises a question regarding the widely accepted view that back formation does not occur in African languages. It is not clear whether this process is restricted to loanwords, or whether it can also occur in indigenous terms. This issue cannot be dealt with here since the focus here is on loanwords. Separate research will be required to deal with this issue.

4.2.2.2.3 Semantic adaptation

When loanwords are borrowed they already possess meanings of their own. This original meaning may be retained or modified when they are taken over. In most cases, the original meaning is modified to suit the semantic needs of the recipient language. Various strategies may be used to this end. In Venda, Madiba (1994:90-102) identified the following semantic strategies: **meaning correspondence** (i.e. the incorporation of loanwords without a change of meaning), **meaning extension** (i.e. the extension of the original meaning) **semantic narrowing** (i.e. the narrowing down of the original meaning) and lastly **semantic change** (i.e. a complete change of meaning). No detailed discussion of these semantic strategies will be given here since they have already been discussed in Madiba (1994:90-102). The main purpose here is to illustrate the use of these strategies for term formation.

(a) Meaning correspondence

The purpose of borrowing in technical languages is to express foreign concepts in the target language with the original terms (Madiba 1994:91-92). Accordingly, concepts are in most cases taken over with their terms. The following are a few examples:

Eng. computer	>	Ve. <i>khomphiutha</i>
Eng. printer	>	Ve. <i>phirintha</i>
Eng. screen	>	Ve. <i>tshikirini</i>
Eng. keyboard	>	Ve. <i>khiyibodo</i>

The original meaning has been retained in all these examples. However, this original meaning will only be retained so long as the usage of the term remains restricted to specialists. Even here the term may begin to acquire additional meanings or lose certain meaning features. These semantic changes will be the focus of the next sections.

(b) Semantic broadening

In using this semantic strategy the meaning of the loanword is broadened, but the meaning of the source word is retained. Madiba (1994: 92-98) identified various ways in which the meaning of loanwords can be broadened in Venda. First, a loanword may acquire additional meaning. Consider the following examples:

Ve. <i>tshidimela</i>	<	Eng. steamer
Ve. <i>nyamunaithi</i>	<	Eng. lemonade
Ve. <i>gese</i>	<	Eng. gas
Ve. <i>tshekasi</i>	<	Eng. checkers

In these examples, the original meaning has been extended. For instance, in the source language the term 'steamer' was used to a specific type of train, that is, a train that uses a steam engine. The term 'train' borrowed into Venda as *thireni* from Afrikaans word 'trein' (train), is used for more modern trains. Both terms, that is, *tshidimela* 'steamer' and *thireni* 'train', are used interchangeably as synonyms in Venda. Thus, the speakers' conceptualisation of a train seems not to be based on

what propel its movement, but its appearance and function. The same applies to the other two examples. The semantic adaptation of these last two examples has been discussed in detail in Madiba (1994).

In technical language this semantic strategy may not be preferable. When terms acquire additional meanings they become less specific, and they may become everyday language words, that is, they become determinologised. For example, the meaning of the word *tshidimela* has become less specific in Venda in that it refers to 'steam engine train', 'goods train' and 'electric train'.

Secondly, meaning can be broadened through metaphorical extensions and idiomatic expressions (see Madiba 1994 for more discussion on this). These two semantic strategies do not seem to be relevant to term formation since they result in synonymous sense relations in the borrowing language.

(c) Semantic narrowing

This semantic strategy is the opposite of semantic broadening. In this strategy, the original meaning of the loanword is retained, but in a much more restricted or narrow sense (see Madiba 1994:98-99). An interesting example in Venda is the loanword *mubomo* (cf. Afr. boom). In Afrikaans this word refers to trees in general, but in Venda the word is used to refer to a 'bluegum tree' only. Thus, an everyday language word has become a term with a specific meaning in the target language.

This process where an ordinary word becomes a term is referred to by some scholars as ‘terminologisation’ (Picht and Draskau 1985). In fact, according to them, terminologisation may be treated as a type of word formation. In technical language this strategy may be very productive. The only shortcoming of this strategy is that as soon as these terms are used by the general public they lose their specific meaning and become generalised.

(d) Semantic change

Semantic change differs from the other types of meaning shifts in that in this type there is a radical shift of the original meaning to a new one. However, there could still be traces of the original meaning (cf. Louwrens 1993, Madiba 1994:99-100). This kind of meaning shift may be illustrated by the loanword *tshigidi* ‘gun’ from Afrikaans word ‘skiet’ which means to shoot. The original meaning has been changed to refer to an instrument instead of the action. In Afrikaans there is a word for a rifle, which is ‘geweer’ (see Madiba 1994 for more examples).

4.2.3 Loan translation or calques

As has been indicated earlier, the use of the term **loan translation** includes what has been referred to in some studies as **semantic loans** and loanblends. This term is used by scholars such as Sager (1989) and Abdulaziz (1989) to refer to the literal translations of foreign expressions into the borrowing language. Haugen (1950:214)

defines the term loan translation as the “combination of two constituents into a compound expression with a new meaning of its own not derivable by simple addition of the two or more parts.” It is clear from this definition that Haugen’s main focus is on form.

According to Sager (1989) **loan translations** may be divided into two types according to their degree of integration into the target language, namely **total or integral loan translation** and **partial loan translation**. These two types differ mainly in their forms. In the first type only indigenous forms are used, whereas in the second type one component of the loan translation may be foreign to the recipient language. Examples of these two types are the following: the word ‘cold war’ is translated into Swahili as *vita baridi*. In this example, all the components of the source word have been replaced by the Swahili forms, hence it is classified as an integrated loan translation. A good example of the partial loan translation is the Anglo-Hindi ‘hybrid’ word such as *krshi bank* ‘an agricultural bank’ and *janta-party* ‘people ’party’ (cf. Sager 1989). In both examples the first component of the word is translated into Hindi, whereas the second component has retained its original English form.

Two approaches may be adopted in using this method for term development,: **the word-for-word translation approach** and the **semantico-conceptual equivalence approach**. We shall begin by looking at the first approach.

4.2.3.1 Word-for-word translation approach

This type of loan translation is literal, that is, it is based on a word-for-word substitution of the lexical components of the source word, which in most cases is a compound. However, this substitution depends on the lexical rules of the target language and the resulting translation may show structural changes. In some instances such changes may necessitate some syntactic reordering of the compound elements in accordance with the target language requirements. Examples of this type of loan translations in Venda are:

- (1) *Buthano la lushaka* ‘National assembly’
-vhuthana ‘gather’ + *lushaka* ‘nation’
(Literally: a gathering of the nation)
- (2) *tshiimo tsha shishi* ‘state of emergency’
tshiimo ‘state’ + *shishi* ‘emergency’
(Literally: a time of trouble)
- (3) *mudzulatshidulo* ‘chairman’
-dzula ‘seat’ + *tshidulo* ‘chair’
(Literally: the seater of the chair)
- (4) *mulayo wa phalamennde* ‘act of a parliament’
mulayo ‘law’ + *phalamennde* ‘parliament’
(Literally: law of a parliament)

- (5) *biriki ya muya* ‘air brake’
biriki ‘brake’ + *muya* ‘air’
 (Literally: brake of air)
- (6) *tshisefamuya* ‘an air cleaner’
-sefa ‘sift’ + *muya* ‘air’
 (Literally: a sifter of air)
- (7) *mutshimbidzamushumo* ‘master of ceremony’
-tshimbidza ‘run’ + *mushumo* ‘function’
 (Literally: the runner of the function)
 (Venda Terminology and Orthography, no.3 (1972))

From the examples above, it may be observed that only one part of the compound has been translated. The other component has been incorporated as a loanword. However, there are compounds where both components have been translated. The following are a few examples:

- (1) *thinwaipfi* ‘parts of speech’
-rina ‘name’ + *ipfi* ‘word’
 (Literally: naming of words)
- (2) *dzinambumbano* ‘compound nouns’
dzina ‘name’ + *-vhumbana* ‘mould’
 (Literally: names that are moulded together)

- (3) *fhungombumbano* ‘compound sentence’
fhungo ‘sentence’ + *vhumbana* ‘mould’
 (Literally: sentences that are moulded together)
- (4) *fhungotserekano* ‘complex sentence’
fhungo ‘sentence’ + *serekana* ‘mixed’
 (Literally: sentences that are mixed together)

While the examples above are more acceptable to the language, there are other loan translations which sound very artificial. Consider the following examples from the *Venda Terminology and Orthography no. 3* (1972):

- (1) *tshinamofulani* ‘a flannel patch’
tshinamo ‘patch’ + *fulani* ‘flannel’
 (cf. *tshinamo tsha fulanele*)
- (2) *tshikhalamaina* ‘minor interval’
tshikhala ‘distance’ + *maina* ‘minor’
 (cf. *tshikhala tshituku*)
- (3) *tshikhalamedzha* ‘major interval’
tshikhala ‘distance’ + *medzha* ‘major’
 (cf. *tshikhala tshihulwane*)
- (4) *tshikalamedzha* ‘major scale’
tshikala ‘scale’ + *medzha* ‘major’
 (cf. *tshikalo tshihulwane*)

- (5) *tshikalamaina* ‘minor scale’
tshikalo ‘scale’ + *maina* ‘minor’
 (cf. *tshikalo tshiṭuku*)
- (6) *sifheretshiroma* ‘roman figures’
sifhere ‘figures’ + *tshiroma* ‘roman’
 (cf. *sifhere dza tshiroma*)

(Venda Terminology and Orthography no.3 (1972))

In these examples the loan translations are very artificial and do not seem to have a clear meaning. The use of the terms *maina* ‘minor’, and *medzha* ‘major’ is not acceptable since they do not exist in the language and have indigenous counterparts, namely, *tshiṭuku* ‘small’ and *tshihulwane* ‘big’.

4.2.3.2 Semantico-conceptual equivalence approach

In this approach the focus is on coining indigenous terms that characterise a semantic significance of the source concept (Labousse 1984 cit. in Sager 1989:23). The new indigenous term is not necessarily modelled morphologically on the foreign term. Although the morphological composition may be determined or analysed, this only serves as a stimulus for more or less original indigenous creation (Okonkwo 1977). The problem in using this approach has been the fact that foreign words, especially technical terminology, are socio-culturally motivated, and as such they represent individual language conceptual systems that may make these terms difficult to

translate into the recipient language. Consequently various strategies are used by recipient languages to deal with this difficulty.

Sager (1989) identifies two strategies that are used in this approach: (1) folk-etymological neologism, and (2) definitional, descriptive and functional periphrastic renditions. Folk etymology has been used in languages such as Swahili to translate foreign ideas. For example, the word *ndege* 'bird' in Swahili is used to refer to an 'aeroplane'. In Zulu and Xhosa, various folk-etymological terms were used successfully to denote foreign concepts, for example the word *usiba* 'feather' is used to refer to a 'pen' (Louw 1983). According to Louw (1983), when the Xhosa adopted this concept, it was used to refer to 'a type of pen made of a feather'. But this term is now used to refer to any type of pen, whether steel or plastic.

In Venda a good example of this strategy is the term *malogwane* 'a leader of *tshikona*' which is now used to refer to 'a soccer referee'. This term is quite acceptable in the language since like the person referred to originally, a soccer referee is also involved with controlling a group and also uses a whistle or a horn. Lack of connection and association between new and old referents and the concepts for which they stand, may result in the rejection of the term by the target users (Fourie 1994a).

Where the folk-etymological neologism is not readily available the second strategy, that is the use of definitional or descriptive terms for the borrowed concepts, is

employed. According to Abdulaziz (1989) these translated expressions (1) should give a clear, precise meaning; (2) like their counterparts, should possess the formal and categorial properties of the original expression. He further indicates that loan translation should aim at three things, namely consistency, specificity and productivity. Furthermore, term translation should consider all the concepts in a given field. Failure to adhere to these principles will lead to a situation where term planning becomes an exercise of translating a highly productive system with unrelatable single expressions (Abdulaziz 1989).

4.2.3.3 Concluding remarks on the use of loan translation strategy

When using this strategy of terminology development there should be clear guidance as to the choice of any of the two approaches discussed above. Certain countries have adopted specific policies with regard to loan translations. In Bahasa Indonesia, for example, the guidelines for neologisms issued by the Indonesian Technical Terminology Commission explicitly discourage the **word-for-word approach** to loan translation in favour of the one that uses indigenous words to translate the foreign concepts, that is, **the semantico-conceptual equivalence approach** (Sager 1989). In Venda, and perhaps in most African languages of South Africa, no clear decision or guideline has been provided for the choice or use of any of these two approaches.

4.3 Conclusion

In this chapter an attempt was made to show how borrowing can be used as a strategy for terminology development. This method can be used in three ways, namely, **internationalisms**, **loanwords** and **loan translations**. With regard to loanwords several principles may be formulated. One fundamental principle is that loanwords should be made to conform to the linguistic structure of the recipient language, that is, they should be adapted to the phonological, morphological and semantic structure of the Venda language. Further principles may be formulated with regard to the integration of loanwords to these levels. With regard to phonological adaptation, it was established that the adaptation of loanwords occurs on the segmental, syllabic and tonal level. The regularity of these adaptations is such that the following principles or rules may be formulated.

- (1) On the segmental level, the **phonetic approximation** and **assimilation rules** were identified as being responsible for the substitution of foreign sounds.

- (2) On the syllabic level, diphthongs, consonant clusters and closed syllables are adjusted by means of the various rules. In the case of diphthongs the **resyllabification** and **vowel truncation rules** were identified for Venda. With regard to consonants, the **epenthetic vowel** and **extra-syllabic**

consonant truncation rules were identified, and it was also established that in some cases **consonant clusters may be tolerated**.

- (3) On the tonal level, tone assignment on loanwords is determined mainly by the **stress-tone relationship rule**.

The last considerations relating to adaptation of loanwords were the morphological and semantic adaptations. With regard to the former, the main focus is on the adaptation of the borrowed nouns. Here it was established that borrowed nouns are adapted to the morphology of the Venda noun, that is, they are affixed with a prefix. This affixation of noun prefixes in Venda is determined by three rules: **conversion of an initial element to an independent prefix, semantic content of the borrowed noun**, and lastly, through **the zero prefix principle**. Regarding semantic adaptation, it was established that in Venda the semantic content of the loanwords can be **broadened, narrowed** and in some instances **changed completely**.

The chapter was concluded with a discussion of the other two types of borrowing, that is, **loan translations** or **calques** and **internationalisms**. In using loan translation for term development, two approaches were identified: **the word-for-word translation approach** and the **semantico-conceptual equivalence approach**.

CHAPTER 5

LANGUAGE INTERNAL TERM FORMATION STRATEGIES

5.1 Introduction

In chapter 3 it was established that besides borrowing, the Venda language makes use of language internal word formation strategies such as semantic shift, derivation, and compounding to enrich its lexicon. It was further observed that the use of these strategies for term formation in this language was not based on well-researched principles. Thus, during the missionary and colonial periods term developers relied mainly on their intuitive knowledge of the language to develop new terms. As indicated in chapter 1, it is the contention of this study that the use of term formation strategies should be based on well-researched principles. Accordingly, an attempt will be made in this chapter to identify the productive language internal strategies in Venda and to establish the principles that underlie their use. These term formation strategies will be discussed from a sociolinguistic perspective, which is relevant to the language planning framework proposed for this study. This approach has been propagated by scholars such as Fishman (1983a), Cluver (1989) and Cabré (1999). According to Cluver (1989:252) term formation should be based on three factors: linguistic expertise, technical expertise and cultural expertise.

Linguistic expertise has to do with the ability of a terminologist to manipulate the phonological, morphological, semantic and syntactic structures of the language to create new terms. In using the different strategies, a terminologist should also have

a knowledge of basic terminology principles such as precision, economy, and appropriateness (Tauli 1968, Sager et al. 1980). Technical expertise, on the other hand, requires a terminologist to have a good background knowledge of the subject field for which terms are developed. However, where a terminologist is not competent in the field, the help of subject specialists may be sought. Lastly, term creation also requires cultural expertise. Thus, terminological corpus planning should be sensitive to socio-cultural factors as well. Although the role of these socio-cultural factors in term formation will be discussed, the main focus will be on linguistic strategies.

The chapter begins with an overview of the linguistic strategies that are used in term formation in general. The object of this overview is not to provide an in-depth discussion of the term formation strategies, but to identify the productive strategies that may be used for term formation in Venda. Such an overview is necessary due to the fact that no study to date has concentrated on term formation in Venda. Studies on Venda grammar such as Ziervogel et al. (1981) and Poulos (1990) merely discuss a few aspects of word formation without identifying term formation strategies. The only study that has focused on word formation in Venda is Musehane (1995) which provides a detailed discussion on compounding. However, as will be shown later, this study does not focus on term formation and is mainly descriptive in nature. The usefulness of these studies is that they provide a taxonomy of primary word formation patterns in Venda, which may be useful for term formation.

The term formation strategies identified in this overview will then be discussed with a view to demonstrating their productivity in Venda. The health care domain will be

used to illustrate the role of both linguistic and extralinguistic factors in term formation in this language. The chapter will be organised as follows: Section 5.2 will be an overview of term formation strategies in general. This will be followed by section 5.3, which focuses on term formation in the health care domain. Lastly, the use of term formation strategies in health care will be illustrated.

5.2 An overview of term formation strategies

The strategies for term formation are universal (Caney 1984). According to Sager et al. (1980); Sager (1990, 1997), Cluver (1989) and Cabré (1999) the following term formation strategies occur: semantic shifts, derivation, compounding, paraphrasing, conversion and compression (initialism or abbreviation, clipping, and acronyms). Cabré (1999) classifies these strategies into three types, namely semantic methods, functional methods and formal methods. Semantic strategies only involve the modification of the meaning of the existing indigenous words to express new concepts, whereas functional strategies involve a change in the grammatical function of an indigenous word. This latter strategy is common in languages such as English where nouns may be used as verbs without a change in their form. The last type, which is the formal strategy, may involve the modification of both the meaning and the form. A typology of term formation strategies is presented in the following table:

TYPES	Semantic Methods	Functional Methods	Formal Methods
1. Semantic shift	X	-	-
2. Derivation	X	-	X
3. Compounding	X	-	X
4. Paraphrasing	-	-	X
5. Conversion	-	X	-
6. Compression:			-
6.1 Initialism	-	-	X
6.2 Acronym	-	-	X
6.3 Clipping	-	-	X

As may be observed from the above table, the use of most term formation strategies involves the modification of both meaning and form. Thus, Cabré's (1999) classification may fail to make a clear distinction between strategies such as derivation and compounding, which involve both semantic and formal modification. However, according to Cabré's classification strategies such as semantic shift may be distinguished from conversion which involves the modification of function, or compression strategies which involve a change of form only. The discussion of the term formation strategies in Venda will not follow Cabré's (1999) typology exactly. Rather, each term formation strategy will be discussed separately, taking into consideration the semantic, formal and functional modifications highlighted in Cabré's (1999) typology.

5.2.1 Semantic shift

This method involves a change to the meaning scope of an indigenous word. The meaning of the indigenous word is modified to designate the new concept without changing its form (Sager 1990, Cabré 1999). The indigenous word may be modified in any one of the following ways: semantic extension, narrowing of meaning and meaning change.

5.2.1.1 Semantic extension

In this strategy the meaning scope of an indigenous word is extended to include the new referent. The new meaning is added to the indigenous word without the loss of its original meaning. In term formation, semantic extension usually involves the use of metaphorical extensions. In this context the function of metaphors may be seen as “to plug lexical gaps, to give a label and a name to new concepts, new experiences, new objects” (Goatly 1997:92). Accordingly, foreign concepts are designated by transferring the meaning of the terms already known to the speaker. The transfer may be made on the basis of analogy. In Venda, for example, the concept of a car and its parts is new. Thus, the parts of the human body which are already known to the speakers of this language are used effectively to denote the parts of the body of a car, that is, a car is construed as if it were a human body. Therefore, the parts of a car are named using the terms for human body parts. The following are a few examples of this type of metaphorical extensions:

<i>thoho</i>	'head'	for	'the front part of a car'
<i>mutumbu</i>	'body'	for	'the middle part of a car'
<i>maṭo</i>	'eyes'	for	'the lights of a car'
<i>mala</i>	'intestine'	for	'the engine of a car'
<i>zwienda</i>	'shoes'	for	'the tyres of a car'
<i>ningo</i>	'nose'	for	'the pointed front part of a car'
<i>tshirahu</i>	'buttocks'	for	'the back part of a car'
<i>muṭana</i>	'back'	for	'the upper part of a car'

From these examples, it may be observed that the original meanings of the indigenous words, namely those of body parts, have been extended to refer to parts of a car. For example, the word *thoho* 'head' may be used to refer to 'the front part of a car' whereas the word *maṭo* 'eyes' is used to refer to the lights. A further observation may be made with regard to the use of euphemistic terms as a strategy for meaning extension. For example, the use of the term *tshirahu* 'back part' instead of the term *tshivhunu* 'anus' is due to the fact that the latter is a taboo word in Venda. Thus, it can be observed in this example that the use of semantic extension may be constrained by socio-cultural factors.

The use of semantic shift for term formation has the advantage that the new concepts may be easily understood since they are expressed by indigenous terms which the target users may be familiar with. However, this strategy is criticised by some scholars on the grounds that it may result in terms with parallel reference in special languages and general languages. For example, the meaning of the term *mala* may mean 'intestine' in general language and 'an engine' in the special language of mechanics. Thus, one term is used to refer to more than one sense, and this is not acceptable in term formation. Normally, a term should only have one sense or

concept. For this reason, the use of this strategy is not recommended for languages such as Swahili (cf. Mwansoko 1990, 1991).

5.2.1.2 Narrowing of meaning

This semantic strategy may be seen as the opposite of semantic extension. This type of semantic shift involves the narrowing of the original meaning of the indigenous word; in other words, the indigenous word which originally may have had several meanings, loses all the other meanings and retains only one meaning which expresses the new concept. This process whereby a word becomes a term is commonly referred to as terminologisation (Picht and Draskau 1985). In English for example, the meaning of the term 'printer', which in general language refers to 'something that prints' has following the advent of computer age, been narrowed down to refer to 'the part of a computer system that produces printed matter' (Cabr e 1999:94). Although this strategy is not commonly used in Venda, a few examples may be cited.

muri 'tree' for 'dagga'
dwadze 'big sickness' for 'AIDS'

In the first example, the word *muri* 'tree', which normally refers generically to any tree, is used in a more specific context to refer to a specific plant, 'dagga'. The use of the term *muri* for 'dagga' instead of the common term *mbanzhe* is motivated by extralinguistic factors. This term is used to conceal the existence of a product, especially from the police, who may arrest the users. In the second example, i.e. *dwadze* 'disease (derog.)', which generally refers to any type of disease, the motivation seems to be the lack of an equivalent linguistic term and the fact that

AIDS is perceived as a disease which includes many other diseases and which is seen as the most dangerous. In this way the meaning of the indigenous word *dwadze* ‘disease (derog)’ is narrowed down and becomes more specialised.

5.2.1.3 Semantic change

This type of semantic shift differs from the other two in that it involves a complete change of meaning of the original word. The original meaning of an indigenous word is replaced with a new meaning. In English, for example, the word ‘washer’ which used to refer to ‘a person who washes or a machine that washes’ has acquired a new meaning of ‘a flat disk used to relieve friction or prevent leakages’ (Cabré 1999:94). Thus, the specialised use turns the word into a term.

In Venda, this strategy for term formation is employed in a rather special way. It involves the revival of archaic words which are then given a specialised meaning which differs from the original one. A good example of this strategy is the word *gwaimane* which used to refer to an ‘ugly, dirty, sluggish girl’ and is now used mostly in the radio broadcasts to refer to ‘high quality things or prestigious people’. This word has completely shed its original meaning. However, this strategy may not provide a quick solution to term formation since not many archaic words in Venda were written down and can therefore not be easily revived.

In sum, it is clear from the foregoing that semantic shift strategies may be used productively to create new terms in a language. However, the use of this method of term formation is criticised for lack of precision since it may result in the formation

of synonyms or parallel references to concepts in general language. For example, the word *thumbu* may be used in its general sense to refer to 'stomach' in Venda, but it can also be used to refer to 'pregnancy'. Thus, the semantic shift strategy is considered by some scholars such as Mwansoko (1990) to be inappropriate, since the terms created through this strategy lack precision. But, according to scholars such as Sager (1990:20) and Marshad (1984), the problem of the lack of precision in terms that have a parallel reference to words in the general language may be improved by taking the context into consideration. When the terms become standardised and are used in a relatively fixed conceptual framework, or in a specific subject field, the target users should be able to deduce the relevant sense. As Cluver (1989:278) rightly points out, even terms with highly specialised meanings may not convey the intended meaning when used in isolation.

5.2.2 Derivation

Derivation is one of the most widespread methods of terminology development in the languages of the world. In this term formation strategy productive morphological devices such as affixes are used to derive terms from root morphemes. These affixes may be divided into three types: prefixes, infixes and suffixes. Accordingly, the use of these affixes results in three processes of derivation, namely, prefixation, suffixation and infixation. For Venda, only prefixation and suffixation are used for term formation.

5.2.2.1 Prefixation

As Cluver (1989:279) rightly observes, African languages tend to use prefixes more than suffixes in term formation. This is not surprising since most of the terms formed in these languages are nouns. These nouns are used to denote new entities and processes and operations. The following are a few examples to illustrate how prefixes are used to modify the meaning of the indigenous words to express new concepts:

mu-dededzi ‘teacher’

< *mu* (cl.pref.1)+ *-dededz-*(root)+*i* (suffix)

vhu-dededzi (1) ‘teaching profession’

< *vhu* (cl.pref.14)+ *-dededz-* (root)+*i* (suffix)

vhu-dededzi (2) ‘thin teachers’

< *vhu* (cl.pref.14)+ *-dededz-* (root)+*i* (suffix)

The first observation from these examples is that terms may be created by deriving nouns from verbal roots. In this case a noun prefix is affixed to a verbal stem. In the term *mudededzi* noun Class prefix *mu-* has been assigned to the verbal stem *-dededza* ‘teach’. The second strategy is to derive nouns from other nouns by changing the class prefix. In the two examples, the noun prefix *vhu-* has been used to modify the existing word *mudededzi* ‘teacher’ by adding the attribute of ‘thinness’. The last example shows how prefixation may be used to create new terms. By using this prefix it is possible to distinguish the concept *mudededzi* ‘teacher’, which is an entity, from the abstract noun *vhudededzi* ‘teaching profession’. In Venda, nouns may be derived from other word categories, such as verbs, ideophones, pronouns and adjectives by means of affixation:

(1) Nouns derived from adjectives

As may be observed from the following examples these nouns are derived from adjective stems by assigning different noun prefixes to them:

- vhudanya* ‘thickness’
 < *-denya* ‘thick’ (adj.)
mutswu ‘black one’
 < *-tswu* ‘black’ (adj.)
tshidenya ‘thick thing’
 < *-denya* ‘thick’ (adj.)

In these examples, the noun prefixes are assigned according to the semantic characteristics of the concept to be denoted. Thus, the prefix *vhu-* in the first example has been used to express abstractness, and *mu-* in the second example denotes a human being. The prefix *tshi-* in the last example denotes the attributes of the entity referred to. These prefixes may be used to create terms such as *vhudanya* ‘witchcraft’ and *mutswu* ‘evil one’. In terminology these terms may be regarded as homonymous to the ones given above since they express different concepts.

(2) Nouns derived from ideophones

These nouns are referred to as de-ideophonic nouns. Consider the following examples below:

- thuthuthu* ‘motor-cycle’
 < *thu! thu!thu!* ‘exploding noise’

thothotho ‘Venda traditional brewed whisky’
 < *tho!tho!tho!* ‘a noise made by falling drops of water’

The de-ideophonic noun *thuthuthu* ‘motor-cycle’ has been derived from the ideophone *thu* which onomatopoeically resembles the exploding sound made by a motor-cycle. The second example, *thothotho* ‘Venda traditional brewed beer’, has been derived from the ideophone *tho* which resembles the sound made by the falling of water drops from the pot to the container when this beer is brewed.

(3) Nouns derived from pronouns (depronominalisation)

In Venda nouns may be derived from absolute pronouns by affixing a noun prefix to a pronoun. This may be illustrated by the following examples:

<i>vhunṅe</i> ‘the self’	<	<i>nṅe</i> ‘me’
<i>vhueṅe</i> ‘his/her being’	<	<i>eṅe</i> ‘he/she’
<i>vhurine</i> ‘our being’	<	<i>rine</i> ‘we’

From these examples it may be observed that only the prefix *vhu-* is used in this kind of derivation. As already mentioned, the use of this prefix is not surprising since these words denote abstract concepts.

5.2.2.2 Suffixation

Suffixes may be used productively to derive new terms in a language. Languages such as English use suffixes more than prefixes to derive new terms (Cluver

1989:279). Although in African languages these affixes are not used as often as prefixes, they are productive in developing certain terms. Suffixes in Venda may be divided into nominal and verbal suffixes. The use of nominal suffixes in term formation may be observed from the following terms denoting masculinity and femininity in cattle and goats in Venda:

- (1) *thomu* ‘a type of male head of cattle with black patches all over’
thoriwana ‘a type of a female head of cattle with black patches all over’

tsheka ‘a black he-goat with black and white colours’
tshekana ‘a black she-goat with black and white colours’

tshubwa ‘a type of male beast without horns’
tshubwana ‘a type of beast without horns’

- (2) *mudededzi* ‘a teacher’
mudedekadzi ‘a female teacher’

From these examples it may be observed that different nominal suffixes have been used to derive new terms. In the examples in (1) the suffix *-ana* has been used productively to create terms denoting types of cattle and goats. In the examples in (2) the suffix *-kadzi* has been used to derive the term *mudedekadzi* ‘female teacher’ from the word *mudededzi* ‘teacher’.

Verbal suffixes may also be used to derive new terms. Consider the following examples of terms:

-kethana ‘elect each other’
 <- *keth-*(root) + *-an-*(reciprocal extension) + *a*
-kethisa ‘cause or help to elect’

<- *kheth*-(root) + *-is*-(causative extension) + *a*
-khethela ‘elect on behalf of’
 <- *kheth*-(root) + *-el*-(applicative) + *a*

In these examples it is clear that verbal extensions may be used productively in Venda to derive new terms from already existing terms in the language. The use of these derivation strategies in term formation will be discussed further in section (5.3.2.2).

5.2.3 Compounding

5.2.3.1 The term ‘compound’

Compounding is another productive term formation strategy that has been used in most languages of the world. The term ‘compound’ has been defined in the literature in various ways. In English, for example, scholars such as Marchand (1960:11) define a compound as “a combination of two or more words into a morphological unit.” Thus, Marchand defines a compound according to its morphological form. Other scholars such as Jersperson (1954) have adopted a semantic view of compounding. Accordingly, a compound is defined as a combination of two or more words where the meaning of the unit is not identical to that of the constituents. Thus, the meaning of the whole cannot be deduced from the meaning of the elements of a compound. Both of these approaches have shortcomings. The morphological view of compounding is criticised by scholars such as Bauer (1978:49) on the grounds that in some languages compounds are formed by stems rather than words. In German, for example, one does not speak of word composition, but of stem composition

(Bloomfield 1933:229). The problems with the semantic view as the only criterion are numerous. First, there are compounds whose meanings can be deduced from the meanings of their parts. Consider the following examples:

muvhulahazwikhokhonono ‘insecticide’ [Cl.pref.3 [+V +N]]
 < *vhulaha* ‘kill’ + *zwickhokhonono* ‘insects’
tsumbavhulwadze ‘symptom’ [Cl.pref.9 [+V + N]]
 < *sumba* ‘point’ + *vhulwadze* ‘sickness’

Thus, the meaning of the compound *muvhulahazwikhokhonono* ‘insecticide’ in Venda, may be inferred from the two components of this compound, namely, - *vhulaha* ‘kill’ + *zwickhokhonono* ‘insects’ which means ‘a chemical which kills insects’. In the second example, *tsumbavhulwadze* ‘symptom’ is formed by two parts < *sumba* ‘point’ + *vhulwadze* ‘sickness’ since the compound means ‘signs of sickness’. From these examples, it may be observed that the more transparent the meaning of the elements, the easier it is to infer the meaning of the compound.

In view of the shortcomings discussed above, a compound should be defined according to its morphological and semantic characteristics. Accordingly, a compound may be defined as a syntagmatic unit with a meaning which may either be a combination of the individual meanings of the component parts or “an idiomatic or free rendering of the meanings” of both components (Poulos 1990:74, cf. also Sager 1990:76). As Sager (1990:76) rightly points out, the important requirement in terminology is that “the new entity created must represent a respective concept.”

5.2.3.2 Formal strategies

The use of formal strategies in compounding requires that term developers should have a clear knowledge of the word categories that exist in the target language, and of the morphosyntactic principles that govern their combination. In Venda, the identification of the word categories is found in studies such as Westphal (1946), Ziervogel et al. (1981) and Poulos (1990). Poulos (1990:10) identified the following word categories and their subcategories for the Venda language: the noun, the pronoun (absolute, reflexive and quantitative), the demonstrative, the qualificative (adjective, possessive, relative and enumerative), the verb, the copulative (identifying, descriptive, associative and locational), the adverb, the ideophone, the interjection, the conjunction, and the interrogative. These studies also show how some of these word categories may be combined to form larger units such as compounds. But it is Musehane's (1995) study on *The nominal compound in Tshivenda* which clearly identified the combination possibilities that may occur in Venda. According to Musehane (1995) the following combinations may be possible:

- (1) noun+noun as in *liivhathavha* 'mountain dove'
< *liivha* 'dove' + *thavha* 'mountain'
- (2) noun+adjective as in *munnamutswu* 'a type of medicine'
< *munna* 'man' + *mutswu* 'black'
- (3) noun+verb as in *maandalanga* 'authority'
< *maanda* 'power' + *langa* 'control'
- (4) noun +possessive as in *mahekhadzi* 'a type of divine dice'
< *mahe* 'stones' + *khadzi* 'aunt'
- (5) verb + noun as in *tshuriwahaya* 'homework'
< *-shuma* 'work' + *haya* 'home'
- (6) verb +adverbs as in *mutshakavhili* 'cyclone'
< *-tsha* 'sunrise' + *kavhili* 'twice'

- (7) verb + pronoun as in *muluvhisahothe* ‘governor’
<-*luvhisa* ‘govern’ + *hothe* ‘all places’
- (8) verb + verb as in *nzulatshinya* ‘parasite’
<-*dzula* ‘live’ + *tshinya* ‘spoil’
- (9) verb + ideophone as in *niwalakhau* ‘shorthand’
<-*niwala* ‘write’ + *khau* ‘cut’

5.2.3.3 Semantic strategies

Besides formal strategies, a terminologist should be aware of the semantic strategies that may be used to designate new concepts. Semantic factors have an important role to play in compound formation. In fact, it is the desire to express new concepts in a language which leads to compounding. As already indicated, compounding involves two or more words/stems. In term formation each element of a compound term carries some semantic significance. Where two elements are involved, one of the component parts is a nucleus. In some studies, this principal form is referred to as the ‘head’. According to Sager (1997), the head (or what he regards as the nucleus) of a compound indicates the category to which the concept belongs.

The second element of a compound term is a ‘determinant’, which serves to indicate the criterion for the subdivision of the category. In this way, it can help to “specify greater detail or indicate a purpose, the means by which an operation is carried out, the object to which a process is applied, or the time, place, or other circumstances that becomes a distinctive integral feature of the new concept” (Sager 1997). However, as Cluver (1989:276) rightly observes, not all compounds clearly show the head and determinant relationship. According to him, the second element in English compounds such as ‘hand-up’, ‘cut-out’, and ‘switch over’ is not a head as is the

case with other compound terms. But where the two elements occur, term developers are able to build a terminology system in which the head indicates the category to which the concept belongs while the determinant indicates the criterion for the subdivision of the category (Sager 1990). With reference to the head, it is possible for term developers to distinguish between compound terms which designate objects, properties, processes and operations (Sager 1989; 1997).

In dealing with compounds which designate objects or entities, it is important to consider the salient attributes of the objects to be named. According to Okonkwo (1977:320) a term developer needs to consider the following questions in order to identify such attributes:

- What is the function of the entity to be named?
- What are its striking physical characteristics?
- What emotion does it evoke?
- What is it related to or associated with?

By means of these questions term developers may be able to identify the following attributes: function or purpose, manner of production or application, appearance, behaviour, and some other peculiarities (cf. Awobuluyi 1994:36). The following examples from Venda illustrate how compound nouns may be formed by considering the function of the entity denoted:

mulindakhotho 'warden'
 < *-linda* 'guard' + *khotho* 'prison'
mulangavundu 'premier'

- < *-langa* 'control' + *vundu* 'province'
mulangadzulo 'speaker'
 < *-langa* 'control' + *dzulo* 'seating'
mulangammbi 'army general'
 < *-langa* 'control' + *mmbi* 'army'

In all these examples the first component of the compound is a verb which denotes the action, while the second component is the noun which denotes the object of the action. Each of the attributes mentioned above may be further divided into sub-categories. For example, the attribute appearance may be further divided into substances, materials, products or apparatus.

5.2.4 Paraphrases

When term developers are confronted with a new concept which they cannot express with any of the term formation strategies discussed in the foregoing, they resort to paraphrasing. In most cases, paraphrases take the form of a definition of the original concept.

pneumonia	<i>vhulwadze ha tshiṭhavhi khanani</i> 'a disease which causes pain in the chest'
veins	<i>dzitsinga dza malofha a u vhuya</i> 'tubes for blood that comes back'
arteries	<i>dzitsinga dza malofha a u bva</i> 'tubes of blood that goes out'

(Schwellnus 1939:49 & 81)

The use of paraphrasing in these examples can be ascribed to the lack of equivalent terms in the language. Although this strategy, like compounding, is criticised for

giving rise to terms that are unnecessarily long, it is productive in knowledge engineering. Through this strategy, the foreign concepts may be easily described. Later, when the speakers have comprehended the new concept well, they may replace the phrase with a shorter term or reduce its form by means of compression strategies. These compression strategies will be discussed in the next section.

5.2.5 Compression

The term ‘compression’ has been used by scholars such as Sager (1990, 1997) to refer to “any form of shortening of an expression form by means of abbreviation, clipping, acronyms, etc.” Other scholars such as Cabré (1999:93) refer to these strategies as ‘truncation’.

5.2.5.1 Initialisms

In **initialisms** a complex term is truncated by deleting all the elements of a complex term except the first letters. The following are a few English examples:

SAA (South African Airways)
 SAPS (South African Police Services)
 SANDF (South African National Defence Force).

In all these examples only the first letter of each word has been retained. The use of this strategy is not very common in Venda. Most of the initialisms in the language have been transferred from other languages such as English and Afrikaans. Thus, only a few initialisms have been created from the language itself:

n.z. (na zwiñwevho)	‘et cetera’
n.u. (ndi uri)	‘that is’
	(Muvenda 1972:13-14)

In the first example the letter **zw** should have been used for *zwiñwevho* ‘et cetera’ instead of the letter **z**. Thus in using this strategy in Venda, terminologists should decide whether to take the letters representing the whole sound or just the first of these letters.

5.2.5.2 Acronyms

This strategy is closely related to initialism. However, in this strategy “words referring to the name of an organisation, company or a scientific concept may be reduced to their initial letters alone which together represent sounds that form perfectly acceptable syllables and hence can be pronounced as words” (Katamba 1994:182). Thus, the difference between acronyms and initialisms is that acronyms constitute words like ‘Aids’, and ‘Unisa’ which are pronounceable whereas in initialism each letter is pronounced separately. In Venda this strategy has not been used productively for term formation.

5.2.5.3 Clipping

Clipping is another compression strategy which is productive in term formation. This strategy also involves the shortening or omission of syllables or letters from any part of the word. Phrases too, if they are felt to be too long, may be contracted by deleting some of their components, namely certain syllables or a whole word. The remaining

components are then joined together to form one word which is relatively short. In English, for example, the use of clipping may be observed from examples such as ‘stagflation’ and ‘bionic’ which were derived from ‘stagnation + inflation’ and ‘biological’ + ‘electronic’ respectively. In term formation, clipping is motivated by the need to use terms that are economical, that is, terms that save space and time.

In Venda this strategy is productive in creating names for places and rivers. The following are a few examples:

<i>Phiphidi</i>	* <i>philiphilimadi</i>
<	<i>philiphili ya madi</i> ‘cliffs of water’
<i>Tshifudi</i>	* <i>tshifumadi</i>
<	<i>tshifu tsha madi</i> ‘trap of water’
<i>Mboḍi</i>	* <i>mbombomelamadi</i>
<	<i>mbombomela nga madi</i> ‘sink because of water’
<i>Muloḍi</i>	* <i>molongamadi</i>
<	<i>mulonga wa madi</i> ‘hole of water’
<i>Ngwedi</i>	* <i>ngwenamadi</i>
<	<i>ngwena ya madini</i> ‘champion of the water’
<i>Dzimauli</i>	* <i>dzimaulima</i>
<	<i>dzima u lima</i> ‘place without land for cultivation’
<i>Fundudzi</i>	* <i>funduwadzivha</i>
<	<i>funduwa dzivha</i> ‘lake that turns over’
<i>Thengwe</i>	* <i>thavhanngwe</i>
<	<i>thavha ya nngwe</i> ‘mountain of tigers’

The terms marked by an asterisk represent an intermediate stage before the newly truncated term is formed. This strategy has also been used in creating linguistic terms such as *thatsuvha* ‘affricate’ < *tha(thaba ya) tsuvha* ‘a sound comprises a plosive and a continuant sound’.

5.2.6 New word manufacture (coinage)

In this method a totally new word is created *ex nihilo*, with no morphological, phonological or orthographic motivation whatsoever (Bauer 1983:239). As Bauer (1983) observes, very few words have been formed through this method. In English, the use of this method may be observed mainly in brand names such as 'Kodak'. Attempts have also been made to use computer programmes to create new terms, but very few of these terms really attain to currency, for example 'nylon', 'dralon', and 'rayon' in English.

This method does not seem to be productive in African languages since in most cases term formation is concerned mainly with concepts that come into the language through existing foreign terms rather than terms created for the concepts that originated from the speech community. This method has been tried for African languages such as Swahili by scholars such as Temu (1984), but with little success.

5.2.7 Concluding remarks

From the foregoing it may be observed that terminologists in Venda have a wide range of language internal strategies to choose from in developing new terms in this language. However, such a choice is determined by several linguistic and extralinguistic factors. With regard to linguistic factors, the use of certain strategies such as compounding may be constrained due to the morphosyntactic structure of the language. In Swahili, for example, as Abdulaziz (1989) indicates, the use of

compounding in term formation has several constraints. However, as will be shown later in this chapter, this strategy is very productive for term formation in Venda.

The use in Venda of the term formation strategies discussed above will be illustrated in the following section. For the purpose of this discussion we will consider the domain of health care. The choice of this subject field has been influenced by several factors. First, the health care domain is interdisciplinary in nature. That is, it involves disciplines such as psychology, medicine, pharmacy, social work, dentistry, nursing, etc. Thus, since the choice and use of term formation strategies are determined by the special subject field, the health care domain provides an opportunity to determine the productivity of different term formation strategies in these disciplines. Furthermore, health care communication usually takes place in a specific socio-cultural context. The role of extralinguistic factors in term formation in Venda may be easily determined if the characteristics of the specific socio-cultural contexts are understood (cf. Kreps and Kunimoto 1994).

5.3 Term formation in the health care domain

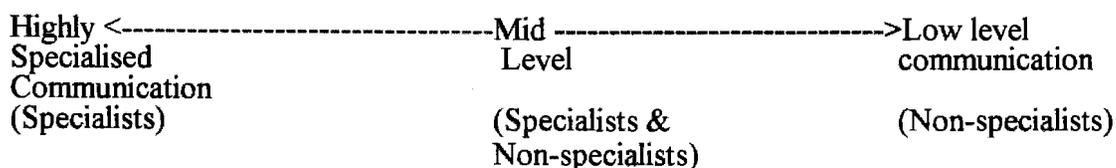
Several scholars have contended that term formation should be carried out according to the nature of the subject field. According to Sager et al. (1980:243) subject fields such as the natural sciences have developed their own nomenclatures which are different from those of the social sciences. Since the focus here is on health care terminology, it is important to begin by determining the nature of health care language.

5.3.1 The nature of the health care special language

According to Sager (1990) a special subject language may be defined as a language used for specialised communication, usually by highly qualified subject specialists like engineers, physicians, lawyers, etc. A special subject language is considered to be different from the general language used for general communication. Furthermore, unlike general language, special subject languages are used more self-consciously. According to Cabré (1999:59) special languages may further be characterised by other particulars such as the type of interlocutors, the situation, the speakers' intentions, the contexts in which a communicative exchange occurs, and the type of exchange.

Although some distinctions can be made between special languages and the general language, scholars such as Picht and Draskau (1985) and Cluver (1989) still maintain that this difference is mainly a matter of degree rather than kind. The difference between general language and special languages only seems to be clear for high levels of communication where there is a higher degree of specialisation, but at lower levels this difference becomes fuzzy. The highest level has to do with the communication between experts and the lowest level concerns the general purpose information meant for the layman. The intersection between general language and special language occurs at this low level. Thus, scholars such as Cluver (1989) regard special languages as occurring on a continuum with a highly specialised field at one end and the less specialised field at the other. Accordingly, subject fields such as experimental sciences and mathematics may be seen to be more specialised than the social sciences which involve non-specialists. It is at the lexical level that the degree

of specialisation may be clearly observed. Unlike general language, special languages use terms with more specific meanings than basic vocabulary. Again, the problem may arise with regard to lexical items that occur at the borderline area between general language and special language (Cabr  1999:73). This situation is unavoidable because even terms themselves may become determinologised in certain contexts by attaining general meanings due to high frequency of usage. Thus, a question may be raised as to whether such communication that employs less specialised lexical items could still be regarded as special language. According to Cabr  (1999:65) the text or communication should still be considered as belonging to a special language, even when it is aimed at a general audience and its degree of specialisation or abstraction is lower. In this way the use of special languages may be considered to constitute a continuum ranging from the highly specialised to less specialised forms of communication. Therefore, a multifaceted approach should be adopted even when terms are developed for one subject field. Health care special language, for example, may be seen to occur on different levels of communication, that is, highly specialised communication between experts, intermediate communication, that is, communication between specialists and non-specialists, and lastly, communication at the lower level between non-specialists. This continuum may be illustrated as follows:



Thus, in developing the nomenclature of a language, planners should first consider the nature of the subject field and the level of communication on which the terms are

to be used. The type of terminology developed for specialists will differ from that intended for use by non-specialists.

This differentiation of the levels of communication according to the degree of specialisation also affects the choice of the term formation strategies to be used. Accordingly, it is highly probable that the indigenous term formation strategies that are less transparent will be used in highly specialised communication, whereas those that are more transparent will be used at lower levels of communication. A further assumption may be made with regard to the role of extralinguistic factors on the different levels. Highly specialised communication may be less affected by socio-cultural factors than the communication at lower levels. In the following section the validity of these assumptions will be tested by investigating the term formation strategies used in the health care domain, as well as the factors that underlie their use. This investigation will be based on health care terms in the two terminology lists, namely, the *Basic Health terms draft list* (1997) and the *Multilingual Aids terminology list* (1999) prepared by the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (hereafter DACST). These terminology lists form the data for this study since they were prepared for use by non-specialists and the terms used in them are predominantly indigenous. Therefore, these terms will enable us to identify the productive linguistic strategies that may be used for term formation in Venda and the role of other extralinguistic factors, such as linguistic taboos. However, it should be noted here that the terms used in these lists may not necessarily reflect all the strategies that are available for term formation in Venda. Therefore, where the terms in the two lists are inadequate to illustrate a particular strategy, reference will be made to terms in other domains and sources.

5.3.2 Term formation strategies

An analysis of the two DACST terminology lists reveals that all the term formation strategies, except new word coinage, have been used for the creation of health care terms in Venda, though to varying degrees. In the following sections each term formation strategy will be discussed separately to assess its productivity. It is the assumption of this study that the degree of productivity of each of these term formation strategies will depend on both the linguistic factors (that is, the linguistic capacity to create new terms) and extralinguistic factors such as societal linguistic taboos. We shall begin by looking at semantic shifts.

5.3.2.1 Semantic shift

It is clear from the two DACST Health terminology lists (Appendix A) that semantic extension has also been used to create new terms. The following are a few examples:

Indigenous word	Original meaning	Extended meaning
<i>vhudzimu</i>	godliness	vagina (genitals)
<i>thanga</i>	seeds	glands
<i>mbumbelo</i>	container for moulding clay pots	womb
<i>gumba</i>	egg	ovary
<i>tshitungulo</i>	traditional protective emulet from ancestors	penis
<i>madasi</i>	things that are underneath	testis
<i>malofha</i>	blood	sperm

The use of semantic extensions in these examples may be explained by several factors. First, it may be observed from these examples that semantic shift has been used where there is no equivalent term in the Venda language. For example, terms such as ‘womb/uterus’, ‘glands’, ‘cervix’ have no equivalents in the Venda language. Thus, the indigenous term *mbumbelo*, which was originally used to refer to a piece of clay on which potters mould clay pots and *thanga* ‘seeds’ which in general language refers to ‘seeds’ in a general sense, have their meanings extended to denote the new concepts. It appears from these examples, that the success in using this semantic strategy for term formation depends on how the indigenous term can be made to reflect the new concept from the source language in a more acceptable and transparent way for target users. If the indigenous term does not provide a successful and acceptable meaning shift between the source and the new concept it may be rejected by the target users. The way in which one concept is understood in terms of another has been considered by scholars such as Fourie (1994a:14) and Heine, Claudi & Hunnemeyer (1988:18) to be metaphorical in nature. The metaphorical nature of semantic extension may be illustrated by the example *mbumbelo* which expresses the English concept ‘womb/uterus’. In this example, it is easy to understand the nature of this part of the body which is used to carry a foetus when it is likened to the container on which a clay pot is moulded.

Second, the use of terms such as *vhudzimu*, *tshitungulo* and *malofha* was not only motivated by the lack of an equivalent indigenous term, but also by socio-cultural factors such as linguistic taboo. As already mentioned, it is taboo in Venda to refer to sex organs such as vagina, penis, and sperm by their respective indigenous terms.

Accordingly, the euphemistic terms are used instead of the tabooed terms. In the example above the euphemistic term *vhudzimu* 'godliness' is used instead of the tabooed term *nnyo* 'male or female genitals'. The same applies to the use of other terms such *maḁasi* 'underneath' instead of *matshende* 'testes', and *malofha* 'blood' instead of *vhutonya* 'sperm'. In Venda, it is not acceptable to refer to sexual activities or sex organs by the existing terms. Thus, euphemistic terms such as *vhudzimu* 'godliness' for 'vagina', *tshitungulo* for 'penis', and *maḁasi* 'the underneath' for 'testis' are used (cf. *Multilingual Aids terminology draft list (1999)*)

From the foregoing, it may be observed that the use of metaphorical extensions is very productive for term formation in Venda. This productive use of metaphorical extensions may be observed from terms used to denote the female reproductive organs and system. The use of metaphorical extensions for concepts relating to a female person's reproductive organs is first due to the lack of equivalent terms in the Venda language, and secondly due to linguistic taboo. Accordingly the 'snake' metaphor is used to describe the female reproductive organs, especially the internal parts such as the uterus. The uterus is regarded as a 'snake'. It seems this metaphor was based on the comparison of the appearance of the female reproductive organs which are tube-like or snake-like, extending from the vagina to the uterus. Thus, if a woman is suffering from any ailment that has to do with the internal reproductive organs or system, she would normally say: *Ndi na ṅowa* 'I have a snake'. This snake may be said 'to be biting' *u luma*, a woman is feeling internal pains that have to do with these reproductive organs. When a female person menstruates, it is said that *ṅowa i khou tamba* 'the snake is washing'. If she becomes pregnant, it is said that *ṅowa yo fara* 'the snake has caught', but if she miscarries it is said that *ṅowa yo*

litsha ‘the snake has loosened’. If a woman keeps on giving birth to one sex, and a different sex is desired, it is said that *ḡnowa i fanela u rembuluswa* ‘the snake must be turned around’.

However, in some instances, especially in denoting disease concepts, semantic extension may take the form of metonymy. In fact, according to Goatly (1997:57) “metonymy provides foundations of which the metaphorical edifice is built.” In this type of semantic shift the meaning of an indigenous word is extended metaphorically to designate a new concept. Goatly (1997:59) identifies different types of metonymic relationships like **Cause (Subject) = Effect (Verb)**, **Activity (Verb) = Place (Location adverbially)** and **Contents (Subject/Object) = Container (Locational adverbial)**. The **Cause = Effect** and the **Place = Activity** extensions may be observed in Venda in terms referring to diseases. For example, instead of giving the name of the disease, a person may rather refer to the part of the body affected by the disease. Possessive construction cases such as *Ndi na ḡthoho* ‘I have a head’, *Ndi na maḡo* ‘I have eyes’ and *Ndi na thumbuni* ‘I have in the stomach’ are used to refer to ‘headache’, ‘eye disease’ and ‘diarrhoea’ respectively. In this way, the part of the body is mentioned instead of the actual ailment. For example, instead of saying *Ndi na ḡthoho* ‘I have a head’ one should actually say: *Thoho yanga i a rema* ‘my head is aching’. The shortcoming of using this strategy is that several diseases may occur in one part of the body. For example, there are many HIV-Aids related diseases that could occur on the skin, namely, herpes simplex, zoster, candida, Kaposi’s sarcoma, folliculitis, seborrhoeic dermatitis, sepsis, warts, etc. (Evian 1993:34-34). These diseases are commonly referred to as *malwadze a lukanda* ‘skin diseases’, and this may be too general to convey the desired concepts.

From the foregoing, it may be observed that semantic shift strategies have been used effectively to denote concepts that have to do with reproductive organs and the reproductive system. Through this strategy, the speakers of the language have been able to construct a systematic conceptual framework of the female reproductive system, and these terms are still preferred by most speakers, especially the elderly, in dealing with matters relating to sex and reproduction. A further observation may be made with regard to the role of socio-cultural factors in term formation in this domain. The disregard of socio-cultural factors such as linguistic taboos may result in the rejection of the created terms by the target users. Fishman (1983b:3-4) has the following to say in this regard:

It is a devastating mistake to assume that corpus planning merely requires the interplay and coordination of linguistic expertise and technological expertise, devastating certainly if one's goal is not merely to do corpus planning (i.e. not merely to create a nomenclature...) but to have it accepted (i.e. to have it liked, learned and used). If the latter is our goal (and anything less strikes me as a travesty) then cultural expertise in all its ramifications is called for as well.

In dealing with the tabooed subjects euphemistic terms were used instead of the existing equivalent terms. The use of euphemistic terms may result in synonyms which are regarded as a violation of the basic terminology principle of monosemic words, that is, the one-concept-one-term principle. But compliance with this principle without considering the socio-cultural factors may have serious repercussions for the acceptance of such terms, especially by non-specialists. A case

in point here, is what happened in one workshop on Aids which was organised for teachers in the Johannesburg area in 1999. In this workshop the presenters decided to use the purely scientific terms in explaining the Aids disease, that is, sexual activities that result in its transmission, sexual organs that are involved, use of male and female condoms, etc. Most participants felt offended by the use of the scientific terms, as a result decided to leave the hall before the end of the session. It seems that despite the widespread use of condoms, some people still consider the use of terms such as 'condom' either in borrowing or in code switching as embarrassing or insulting. For this reason euphemistic terms such as *gaweni* 'overall', and *mabutsu* 'boots' or 'CD' (used mainly by young people) are used to refer to condoms. It seems that the use of semantic shift is unavoidable when developing terms to be used by non-specialists or in the less specialised domains.

Although semantic extension seems to be productive and preferable in term formation in Venda, it is criticised for creating synonyms which violate constraints on special language or the international principles of terminology. It is said to affect the precision of terms since one term may be used to refer to more than one concept. This may be problematic in subfields such as medicine and diseases which require precise terms. However, as indicated in various publications (Sager 1990, Cabré 1999), the monosemic principle of one term one concept in terminology is nothing more than just an ideal, it does not seem to apply equally well in all circumstances.

5.3.2.2 Derivation

Derivation is a productive strategy in the development of new terms in Venda. An analysis of the health care terms in the two DACST terminology lists shows that the Venda language uses various derivational processes to form new terms. As already indicated, derivation involves the creation of new terms in the language by combining affixes with a lexical root. All the derivational processes discussed in (5.2.2) have been used productively in the creation of health care terms.

From the two terminology lists, it may be observed that most of the terms are nouns. This is not surprising since in most cases the concepts that need to be designated in terminology are names of entities, attributes, properties and processes. Further observation may be made with regard to prefixation. Prefixation seems to be used more extensively than suffixation. In the following section, the use of these prefixes and suffixes in deriving nouns from other nouns, pronouns, adjectives, verbs, and ideophones will be discussed. We shall begin by looking at the derivation of nouns from other nouns.

(a) Derivation of nouns from other nouns

As already mentioned, terminologists may derive a noun from another noun by merely changing its prefix. The use of this strategy may be observed in the derivations of the noun *vhalwadze* ‘patients’ from the noun *mulwadze* ‘patient’ by replacing the prefix *mu-* (cl.1) with the prefix *vha-* (cl.2).. From the noun *vhalwadze* ‘patients’ it is possible to derive the following nouns by only changing its prefix:

<i>vhulwadze</i>	patients (plural & diminutive noun)
	< <i>vhu-</i> (cl.pref.14) + <i>-lwadz-</i> (root) + <i>-e</i> (suffix)
<i>vhulwadze</i>	disease (abstract noun)
	< <i>vhu-</i> (cl.pref.14) + <i>-lwadz-</i> (root) + <i>-e</i>

The prefix *mu-* (class 1) has been used in the first example. Different prefixes have been assigned to the other nouns which follow this one to express different meanings. In the second example the prefix *vhu-* is used to denote the attributes of the entity *mulwadze* ‘patient’. As already mentioned, the prefix *vhu-* may be used to express attributes such as longness, narrowness and thinness (cf. Poulos 1990:6). The last example is quite interesting since it refers to the concept of ‘disease’ rather than a person. Thus, prefixes may be assigned to nominal stems to express different functions such as grammatical gender (i.e. prefixes denoting singular and plural), to indicate the attributes of the referent (i.e. size, shape, etc.), behaviour, diminution, abstractness, derogation and augmentation. As indicated in chapter 4, noun prefixes may be assigned to new terms according to a conceptual framework, that is, according to whether such terms refer to concrete things, attributes, spatial orientation and abstraction.

The second strategy used to derive nouns from other nouns, though to a lesser extent, is suffixation. As mentioned earlier, there are three types of nominal suffixes which are productive in term formation in Venda, namely diminutive, gender and locative suffixes. The use of these suffixes in primary word formation in Venda has been discussed in detail in Musehane (1995). Therefore, only the use of these suffixes for term formation will be illustrated in the following examples:

- (1) *vhupundunyana* ‘a smaller type of blisters’
 <*vhupundu* ‘blisters’ + *nyana* ‘small’
nowana ‘intestine worms’
 <*nowa* ‘snake’ + *ana* ‘small’
lukandakandana ‘membrane’
 <*lukanda* ‘skin’ + *ana* ‘thin’
- (2) *vhuongeloni* ‘in the hospital’
 <*vhuongelo* ‘hospital’ + *ni* ‘locative suffix’
thumbuni (lit.in the stomach) ‘diarrhoea’
 <*thumbu* ‘stomach’ + *ni* ‘locative suffix’

In the examples in (1) it may be observed that the diminutive suffixes *-nyana* and *-ana* modify the meaning of the nouns *vhupundu* ‘blisters’ and *nowa* ‘snake’ with regard to diminution. However, these modified nouns may be considered as separate terms since they express the new concepts of ‘a specific type of blisters’ and ‘intestine worms’. In the example under (2) the locative suffix *-ni* is used to derive locative nouns from basic nouns. Again, the suffix *-ni* is used to derive new terms such as *thumbuni* ‘diarrhoea’ from the basic noun *thumbu* ‘stomach’.

Besides nominal suffixes, verbal suffixes may be used in the derivation of deverbative nouns. Verbal extensions are used in this process to derive verbs from other verbs, and the extended verbal stems are then nominalised by affixing a noun prefix. These suffixes include *-is-*, *-el-*, *-an-*, *-uluw-* etc. Consider the following examples:

- tshiliso* ‘disease caused by eating mutilated food’
 < *-l-* (root) *is-* (causative) + *-a* ‘cause to eat’
dundelo ‘bladder’

- < *-rund-* (root) *el-* (applicative) *+-a* 'urinate'
ndalano 'intercourse'
 < *-lal-*(root) *-an-* (reciprocal) *+-a* 'sleep each other'
mutambulwo 'urine'
 < *-tamb-*(root) *-uluw-* (reversive) *-a* 'urinate'

From these examples it is clear that the verbal extensions may be used productively to create new terms in Venda.

(b) Derivation of nouns from verbal forms

In this strategy a noun prefix and a suffix are added to a verbal root to form a noun. For example, the noun *zwidzizivhadzi* 'drugs', has been derived from the verb root *-dzizivhadz-* 'cause to lose consciousness' by adding the prefix *zwi-* and the suffix *-i*. Such nouns are commonly referred to as deverbative nouns and their basic form, as shown above, comprises a prefix, verb root and suffix(es). However, in assigning the suffixes, especially the terminative vowel, it is not clear what determines the choice of the vowel. In the deverbative *zwidzizivhadzi* 'drugs' the suffix is *-i*. However, other deverbatives such as *dundelo* 'bladder', and *ndalano* 'intercourse' end with the suffix *-o*. The question therefore is whether it is possible to find a systematic way of assigning these suffixes to the newly derived deverbative nouns.

Studies made in other languages such as Swahili may throw some light on this issue. In his study of the use of these suffixes in Zairean Kiswahili, Batibo (1988) established that the choice of these suffixes in derivative nouns is not accidental, but is largely and systematically determined by semantic features. For example, the suffixes *-a* and *-o* are said to be **imperfective** because they are generally associated

with nouns that denote objects, phenomena, actions or processes that are not firmly established or well-defined. On the other hand, suffixes *-i* and *-e* are said to be **perfective** because they are generally associated with nouns which denote objects, phenomena, activities or processes that are well established. Suffixes *-a* and *-i* are said to be **agentive** because they are associated with nouns that imply force or the source of the actions which they represent. However, as Batibo himself indicates, the establishment of clear regularity and systematicity in the use of suffixes to express different semantic categories requires a more extensive and quantitative investigation.

In Venda too, this issue has not been thoroughly investigated. However, in studies such as Westphal (1946), Poulos (1990) and Musehane (1995) a few observations were made. It was established that in the derivation of deverbative nouns the suffix *-i* is used mainly to denote **agents** as may be observed from the examples such as *zwidzizivhadzi* ‘drugs’. The suffix *-o*, on the other hand, is used to indicate processes and instruments that are the objects of the action denoted by the noun. This fact may be illustrated by examples such as *dundelo* ‘bladder’, *tsukanyo* ‘digestion’, *nzinzivhadzo* ‘process of drugging’, and *zwidzulo* ‘seats’. The suffix *-e* may be used to indicate mannerisms as in the examples *malafhele* ‘manner of medication’, *kuṭhavhele* ‘manner of injecting’, etc. By taking these few guidelines into consideration, term developers may to some degree be able to assign suffixes to deverbative nouns in a more systematic way.

In sum, it is important to note that although nouns may be derived from verbs in Venda, it is not common to derive verbs from nouns, or to use conversion strategy as evidenced in languages like English. It is only in loanwords that verbs may be

derived from borrowed nouns (see chapter 4 for more about this issue). It is not possible to establish here why this derivation process is not applicable to indigenous words. This will require a separate study, perhaps involving factors such as cognition.

(c) Derivation of verbs from other verbs

New terms may be created in Venda by deriving verbs from other verbal forms. This derivation is mainly based on verbal extensions. The use of verbal extensions to modify the meaning of the verb roots in Venda has been discussed extensively in Poulos (1990). Therefore, only a few examples will be given below to illustrate the use of this strategy for term formation:

- ṭhavha* ‘inject’: *-ṭhavh-el-a* ‘inject for’
 <-ṭhavh-(root) +el-(applicative)+-a
-ṭhavh-iw-a ‘to be injected’
 <-ṭhavh-(root) +iw-(passive)+-a
-ṭhavh-e-a ‘to be injectable’
 <-ṭhavh-(root) +e-(neuter)+-a
-ṭhavh-is-a ‘to help/ force to be injected’
 <-ṭhavh-(root) +is-(causative)+-a
-ṭhavh-an-a ‘inject each other’
 <-ṭhavh-(root) +an-(reciprocal)+-a
-ṭhavh-es-a ‘inject (excessively)’
 <-ṭhavh-(root) +es-(intensive)+-a
-ṭhavh-ulul-a ‘inject again’
 <-ṭhavh-(root) +ulul-(reversive)+-a

From the above examples it may be observed that the meaning of the verbal root can be radically extended by means of verbal extensions. By using the verbal extensions

-el- -iw-, -e-, -al-, -is-, -ul-, -an-, -es-, etc. the semantic field of injecting can be fully mapped out. Thus, according to Cluver (1989:284) the semantic load of the suffix in technical languages is high and more exact than in the general language.

From the foregoing discussion, it becomes increasingly clear that although derivation is preferred by most African scholars for term formation, it requires a thorough knowledge of the linguistic system of both the source language and the target language. In African languages most of the term developers do not have this expertise. Furthermore, the use of this method requires a good understanding of the concepts and the conceptual system of the different terms. This derivation strategy may be used productively for a type of secondary term formation which according to Sager (1997:27) should come "when a designation is changed at a later date as a result of monolingual revision of a terminology, [...] for the purpose of producing a standard document."

Furthermore, the use of derivation for term formation may be constrained by attitudinal factors. As Fishman (1983a) indicates, target users may find the newly created terms laughable. It takes a high degree of nationalism for the speakers of a language to be proud of newly created terms. Another problem to the use of derived terms is that target users may find it difficult to understand the new concepts even though they are expressed by indigenous forms. Target users may have a problem of understanding the concepts even though they are denoted by indigenous terms. Socio-cultural factors too, may constrain the derivation of certain terms. In Venda, for example, the use of the deverbative noun *tshihole* 'a cripple' < *tshi-holefhali* 'a thing that is crippled' in the two DACST Health terminology list is now considered

improper, that is socially unacceptable, mainly because of the prefix *tshi-* which seems to indicate that disabled people are not normal people and are therefore classified as objects. As such the use of prefixes *mu-* (Class1) and *vha-* (Class 2) was recommended. Again, it was considered grammatically unsound to refer to these people as *muhole* ‘disabled person’ and *vhahole* ‘disabled people’ respectively. Rather, the correct form of referring to them is now considered to be *muholefhali* ‘one who is disabled’ or *vhaholefhali* in the plural. Thus, in using derivation for term formation, linguistic as well as extralinguistic factors should be considered.

The derived indigenous forms may be combined to form larger units such as compound terms. Compounding will be discussed in the next section.

5.3.2.3 Compounding

In the two DACST health terminology lists, compounding has been used extensively to create new terms. This method involves the use of formal as well as semantic strategies. We shall begin by looking at the formal strategies:

(a) Formal strategies

In using this strategy term translators employed the compound strategies identified in section (5.2.3.2), that is, noun+noun, noun+verbal forms, noun+adjectives, verbal forms and other word categories (nouns, adverbs, pronouns, verbs, ideophones).

These combinations will be discussed below and will be illustrated by the examples taken from the two DACST terminology lists:

(1) The noun + noun compounds

As shown in chapter 3, two nouns may combine to form a compound noun. The nouns may be juxtaposed to each other with or without a change in their form. Consider the following examples:

thangamulomo 'palate'
 < *thanga* 'roof' + *mulomo* 'mouth'
ndumurotho 'coolroom'
 < *ndu* 'house' + '*murotho*' 'cold'
dalindulu 'yellow fever'
 < *dali* 'malaria' + *ndulu* 'gall'
tshitungulomafanedza 'dildo'
 < *tshitungulo* 'penis' + *mafanedza* 'artificial'

From these examples, it may be observed that nouns can be combined in various ways to form compound terms. In the first example *thangamulomo* 'palate' the nouns which constitute the elements of this noun were used without modifying their form.

(2) Noun + verbal forms compounds

Nouns may be used with verbal forms to form a compound. This is the most common strategy used in forming compound terms in Venda. In this strategy a compound noun is formed by placing the noun first, followed by the verbal form. We shall

begin by looking at the examples of compound terms with the noun as the first element:

maditsireledzi ‘amniotic fluid’

<*madi* ‘water’ + *-tsiredza* ‘protect’

nowagudu ‘rheumatism’

<*nowa* ‘snake’ + *guduba* ‘move around’

Although the verb + noun compound pattern is productive in term formation in Venda, not much use was made of this strategy in the two DACST Health terminology lists. This strategy was used productively in other terminology lists such as the *Venda Terminology and Orthography no.3* (1972). The following are a few examples from this terminology list:

mutanganyokhakhisa ‘addition puzzle’

<*mutanganyo* ‘addition’ + *-khakhisa* ‘confuse’

pfunzokhumbulelwa ‘abstract teaching’

<*pfunzo* ‘education’ + *-humbulelwa* ‘imagined’

mbalokhumbulelwa ‘abstract number’

<*mbalo* ‘numbers’ + *humbulelwa* ‘imagined’

vhukoloriniwa ‘chlorination’

<*vhukolo* ‘decoration’ + *-riniwa* ‘named’

pfunzothendwa ‘doctrine’

<*pfunzo* ‘education’ + *-tendwa* ‘to be believed’

khorotheekhiswa ‘circuit court’

<*khoro* ‘court’ + *-tekiswa* ‘to be moved around’

nundothomoli ‘claw-hammer’

<*nundo* ‘hammer’ + *-tomola* ‘pull out’

muriwaloṭume ‘cursive’

<*muriwalo* ‘handwriting’ + *-ṭume* ‘joined’

In these examples the first element is the noun, which is followed by the verbal form. The noun may be either a basic noun or a deverbative noun. On the other hand the verbal form may be either a verbal stem or an ideophone that has been derived from the verb. It is important for a term developer to note the changes that occur in some verbal forms during compounding. In compound nouns such as *mutanganyokhakhisa* ‘addition puzzle’, *pfunzokhumbulelwa* ‘abstract teaching’, *mbalokhumbulelwa* ‘abstract number’, *vhukoloriniwa* ‘chlorination’, *pfunzothendwa* ‘doctrine’, *khorotheekhiswa* ‘circuit court’ it may be observed that the verbal forms have been further modified by means of verbal extensions such as *-is-*, *el*, *-w-*, and *-iw*. In the last example, more than one verbal extension has been used, namely *-is-* and *-w-*. Thus, a terminologist may use several verbal extensions in a compound to express different concepts. In examples such as *pfunzokhumbulelwa* ‘abstract teaching’, *mbalokhumbulelwa* ‘abstract number’, *pfunzothendwa* ‘doctrine’ and *khorotheekhiswa* ‘circuit court’, the verbal stem has been influenced by the homorganic nasal of the first noun. These are some of the morphophonological changes that a term developer should take into consideration when using the formal strategies of compounding. (cf. chapter 4)

(3) Noun + adjective compounds

In this type of compound a noun is used together with the adjective. The noun is always the first component and an adjective constitutes the second. This may be observed from the following examples:

n_owakhulu ‘dysentery’
 < *n_owa* ‘snake’ + *khulu* ‘big’
l_il_al_ihulu ‘colon’
 < *l_ila* ‘intestine’ + *l_ihulu* ‘big’

From these examples it may be observed that the adjective qualifies the noun.

(4) Verbal form + other word categories

Verbal forms in Venda may be used with other word categories to form compounds. These word categories include nouns, verbal forms and adverbs. We shall begin by looking at verbal forms with nouns.

(i) Verbal form + noun

As indicated above, compounds may be formed by combining a verbal form and a noun. But in this case, the verbal form always constitutes the first component. It is clear from Appendix (A) that this compounding strategy has been used more than any other. The following are a few examples:

zwid_amurahu ‘afterbirth’
 < *-da* ‘come’ + *murahu* ‘after’
tsumbav_hulwadze ‘symptoms’
 < *-sumba* ‘point’ + *vhulwadze* ‘sickness’
tshithivhelazwitshili ‘antibody’
 < *-thivhela* ‘prevent’ + *zwitshili* ‘bacteria’
tshifhelisamulimo ‘antidote’
 < *-fhelisa* ‘stop’ + *mulimo* ‘poison’

In these examples the verbal form constitutes the first component of the compound noun. The second component in all the examples is a noun. The verb expresses the action whereas the noun denotes the object of that action. The same syntactic relation may be observed from the last example above, in which the first element *-fhelisa* 'stop' is combined with the noun *mulimo* 'poison' which is the object of the action denoted by the verb to express the concept 'antidote'. Thus, an antidote is viewed as a medicine that stops poison.

A further observation on this compounding strategy is that certain verbal stems in Venda may be used with greater consistency in forming compounds. Verbal stems such as *-divha* 'know', *-shaya* 'lack', *-sumba* 'point', and *-kunda* 'defeat' may be used consistently to designate the concepts 'study of', 'lack of', 'point to' and 'defeat over' respectively. The use of the verbal stem *-divha* 'know' will be discussed first:

- divhashango* 'geography'
 <*divha* 'know' + *shango* 'land'
- divhavhutshilo* 'sociology'
 <*divha* 'know' + *vhutshilo* 'life'
- divhamupo* 'environmental studies'
 <*divha* 'know' + *mupo* 'environment'
- divhamirafho* 'ethnology'
 <*divha* 'know' + *mirafho* 'ethnic'
- divhanyambo* 'philology'
 <*divha* 'know' + *nyambo* 'languages'

In these examples the verb stem *-divha* 'know' is used as the equivalent of the English suffixes '-ology', '-ics', '-ary' and '-phy' which denote the concept 'study

of'. Therefore the use of the verbal stem *-divha* 'know' is not only productive in designating the concept 'the study of' in Venda, but is also useful in translating English terms with these suffixes into Venda. The use of other verbal stems may be observed from the following examples:

- (1) *vhushayatsukanyo* 'indigestion'
 <-*shaya* 'lack'+ *tsukanyo* 'digestion'
vhushayatshileme 'underweight'
 <-*shaya* 'lack'+*tshileme* 'weight'
vhushayamufusho 'undernourishment'
 <-*shaya* 'lack'+*mufusho* 'nourishment'
vhushayakhofhe 'insomnia'
 <-*shaya* 'lack'+*khofhe* 'sleep'
- (2) *tshikundavairasi* 'antivirus'
 <-*kunda* 'defeat'+*vairasi* 'virus'
- (3) *tshisumbamuya* 'weathervane'
 <-*sumba* 'point'+*muya* 'air'
tshisumbadwadze 'symptom'
 <-*sumba* 'point'+*dwadze* 'disease'

In the examples in (1) the English suffixes 'in-' and 'un-' were consistently translated into one verbal form in Venda, that is *-shaya* 'lack'. In the examples in (2) the verbal stem *-kunda* 'defeat' is used to translate the English prefix 'anti-' which means to be 'against'. The use of the verbal stem *-sumba* 'point' in the examples in (3) seems to be based on the meaning of the source term, especially the function of the object referred to. By establishing the systematic use of the various verbal stems in their languages, terminologists may generate an infinite number of new terms to express new concepts. Furthermore, terminologists should also establish the principles which

determine the assignment of prefixes. The choice of the prefix to be assigned to the compounded lexical form, is mainly determined by semantic factors. For example, the use of the prefix *vhu-* (class 14) in the examples in (1) is due to the fact that the newly created terms have to express abstract concepts. The use of the prefix *tshi-* (class 5) is not easy to explain. It seems that the choice of this prefix was influenced by the fact that the concepts denoted have an instrumental function. An interesting example is that of *tshikundavairasi* ‘antivirus’. In this example, the ‘antivirus’ medicine is viewed metaphorically as an instrument that wages war against a virus and defeats it. In other examples, the choice of the prefix *tshi-* might be influenced by the size of the object referred to.

(ii) Verbal form + adverb

Verbal forms may be used with adverbs to form compounds. This combination is not surprising since the adverbs modify the meaning of the verb. In all the examples below, the adverb comes after the verbal form.

<i>tshivhonatsini</i> ‘microscope’	< <i>-vhona</i> ‘see’ + <i>tsini</i> ‘near’
<i>tshivhonakule</i> ‘telescope’	< <i>-vhona</i> ‘see’ + <i>kule</i> ‘far’

In the examples above, the verbal stem *-vhona* ‘see’ is used with adverbs of place or locatives. The second component provides more information regarding the activity denoted by the first component or the nucleus. The prefix *tshi-* (class 7) in the above examples may be ascribed to the fact that the two terms refer to a small instrument.

(iii) Verbal form + pronoun

Verbal forms may combine with pronouns to form compounds in Venda. This compounding strategy has not been used in the two health term lists. However, the use of this strategy may be observed in terms in other sources like the *Venda Terminology and Orthography no.3* (1972). The following are a few examples from this term list:

- mudalahothe* 'omnipresent'
 < -*dala* 'fill' + *hothe* 'all over'
mutendwahothe 'omniscient'
 < -*tendwa* 'believe' + *hothe* 'all over'
vhulangahothe 'universal rule'
 < -*langa* 'control' + *hothe* 'all over'

In these examples the verbal form constitutes the first element of the compound noun, and it is followed by a quantitative pronoun. Again the assignment of prefixes is determined by semantic characteristic of the source concept. In the first two examples the source concept denotes a human being, hence the use of the prefix *mu-* of class 1. The use of the prefix *vh-* in the last example is due to the fact that the source concept has to do with an abstract process.

(iv) Verbal form + ideophone

In the following examples verbal forms are used with ideophones to form compounds:

- muriwalo_ɬume* ‘cursive’
 < -*riwala* ‘write’ + *ɬume* ‘joined quickly (cursive)’
- mulelaxwatu* ‘glacier’
 < -*lela* ‘nurture’ + *xwatu* ‘freeze’
- riwalakhau* ‘script writing’
 < -*riwala* ‘write’ + *khau* ‘short’

From these examples, it may be observed that the ideophones have been derived from verbal stems. For example, the ideophone -*ɬume* ‘connect quickly’ has been derived from the verbal stem -*ɬuma* ‘connect’, and -*xwatu* ‘freezing quickly’ in the second example is derived from the verbal stem -*xwatudza*. The assignment of the prefixes in these examples, as already indicated, is determined by semantic characteristics of the source concepts.

(5) Phrasal compounds

In the two DACST Health terminology lists, the following examples may be considered as phrasal or linked compounds.

aqueous humour	<i>madi a tshanga</i>	(water of the pupil of the eye)
blood vessel	<i>lutsinga lwa malofha</i>	(vessel of the blood)
caesarian section	<i>muaro wa mbebo</i>	(operation of giving birth)
child abuse	<i>pfarommbi ya vhana</i>	(bad handling of children)
conjunctiva	<i>mutibo wa i_ɬo</i>	(lid of the eye)
eardrum	<i>mukoma wa n_ɬevhe</i>	(owner of the ear)
gastroenteritis	<i>vhupise ha mala</i>	(hotness of the stomach)
heart attack	<i>vhulwadze ha mbilu</i>	(disease of the heart)

All the phrasal compounds above are possessive constructions. From these examples, it is clear that phrasal compounds may be used productively in Venda. The only problem with this strategy is the length of the new term. In terminology practice there is a tendency to tolerate longer forms than in general language as long as the term constitutes a single semantic unit. However, compounds that are unnecessarily long may violate the terminology principle of economy. Thus, as time goes on, some of these phrasal compounds may have to be compressed into shorter forms by means of strategies such as clipping.

(6) A few remarks on formal compounding strategies

From the foregoing discussion on compounding it may be observed that compound formation involves various formal strategies. The main compounding strategy is **juxtaposition**. In this strategy, the elements that constitute a compound are juxtaposed to each other with or without a linking element. This juxtaposition follows the morphosyntactic rules of the language. In using the strategy of juxtaposition terminologists should identify word forms that can be used consistently to create new terms according to the same pattern. As indicated above, the following verbal stems are very productive in creating 'verb +noun' compounds in Venda: *-divha* 'know', *-shaya* 'lack', *sumba* 'point to', *-kunda* 'defeat', etc. The use of these verbal forms is productive for term formation and may lead to a systematic designation of the source concepts in the Venda language.

The use of compounding in a language is not without problems, however. The main problem seems to concern the actual process of compound formation, especially

compound nouns which involve derived nouns. The problem here is: What should come first, derivation or compounding? Thus the question is: When does derivation occur, before or after compounding? According to Ahmad (1994) derivation in component parts should precede compounding, and as such compounding rules must be ordered according to all the derivation rules. He supports his hypothesis by showing how the English compounds ‘unhappy-looking’ and ‘inhospitable-looking’ have been formed:

- | | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------|-----|---------------------------|
| (1) | [[unhappy] [looking]] | not | [un [happy] [looking]] |
| | [[inhospitable] [looking]] | not | [in[hospitable] [looking] |

However, since compounding in Venda mainly involves nominal compounds (Musehane 1995), derivation occurs before and after compounding. The components may be derived before they are compounded, or they may be derived after compounding if the noun class prefix has to be assigned to the newly created noun. The first element of the compound usually loses its original class prefix and acquires a new one which is relevant to the meaning of the newly constituted compound noun. Without having clear guidance regarding the question of what comes first between derivation and compounding, terminologists may have a problem in the actual process of compound formation.

In sum, the Venda linguistic structures provide terminologists with a wide choice of possibilities for compound formation. However, as already mentioned, the use of these formal strategies may not be complete without taking semantic strategies into consideration. These semantic strategies will be discussed in detail in the next section.

(b) Semantic strategies

Formal strategies are in most cases motivated by the need to express certain meanings. In fact, it seems that terminologists begin by identifying the semantic characteristics of the source concepts before deciding on their form in the target language. Thus, as already indicated, various semantic strategies may be used to create terms according to whether they refer to objects, properties, processes and operations (Sager 1990, 1997). We shall begin by looking at compounds that designate objects or entities.

(i) Compounds which designate objects

Compounds may be used to form terms denoting objects or entities. In designating these objects, terminologists should consider the function of the object, its salient physical characteristics, the emotion it evokes and other entities it is related to or associated with. In the health care domain the use of this strategy may be observed in terms for plants, places, instruments and medicines. These objects or places are named mainly according to their function, appearance and other peculiarities. Consider the following examples:

- tshivhulahavhutungu* ‘antidote’ (cl.pref.7)
 < *vhulaha* ‘kill’ + *vhutungu* ‘pain’
- tshivhulahazwitshili* ‘antibiotic’ (cl.pref.7)
 < *-vhulaha* ‘kill’ + *zwitshili* ‘bacteria’
- tshifhelisamulimo* ‘antidote’ (cl.pref.7)
 < *-fhelisa* ‘finish’ + *mulimo* ‘poison’
- tshivhonatsini* ‘microscope’ (cl.pref.7)

<-*vhona* 'see' + *tsini* 'near'
ndayamushonga 'prescription' (cl.pref.9)
 <-*laya* 'instructs' + *mishonga* 'medicines'
vhurengisamishonga 'pharmacy' (cl.pref.14)
 <-*rengisa* 'sell' + *mishonga* 'medicines'

These terms are names of medicines, places and instruments. The terms were formed according to basis of the function of the objects denoted. In all these examples the first element constitutes a 'head' and the second element a 'determinant'. The determinant, as already indicated, provides further information about the 'head'. The noun class to which the term belongs is determined by the prefix of the nucleus, or first component. In all the examples except the last one, the prefixes indicate that the entities referred to are instruments or agents. The last example is interesting because of the use of the prefix *vhu-* which denotes place instead of abstraction or diminution. This prefix is productive in also generating terms in other domains, for example *vhugalatenga* 'amphitheatre', *vhugalatenya* 'pavilion', *vhumaṭhanzi* 'witness-box', *vhumazwikepe* 'harbour', and '*vhugalaphukha*' 'zoo or game reserve'.

(ii) Designation of properties, processes or operations

Naming of foreign concepts may be done by describing the properties, processes or operations. In languages such as English, the designation of properties is achieved by using adjective compounds. In Venda, properties are denoted by nominal compounds that have an adjective as one of their components. For example, the compound *ḽiḽaḽihulu* 'colon' mainly denotes the attributes of the type of *ḽiḽa* 'intestine' referred to. Processes are denoted by compound nouns that have a verbal

form or a deverbative noun as one of their components. This may be illustrated by the example *khundatshili* ‘antivirus’. Although this compound denotes the name of the type of the medicine, it also indicates the action that will result from using the medicine. Thus terminologists may be guided about the elements that should be used in forming such a compound by considering whether the concept to be denoted has to do with properties, processes or operations.

In a nutshell, it is clear from the foregoing discussion that compounding involves both formal and semantic strategies. These two strategies should not be seen as two separate processes. Formal strategies are motivated by the need to express a certain meaning. On the other hand, the semantic characteristics of the concept that needs to be designated determine how a compound should be formed. A good example of this interaction between formal and semantic strategies is the assignment of noun prefixes to compounds. In most cases compounding occurs between roots, and thereafter a prefix is assigned. For example, the compound *vhushayatsukanyo* ‘indigestion’ has been formed by the verbal stem *-shaya* ‘lack’ and the noun *‘tsukanyo*’ ‘digestion’. This compound is assigned the prefix *vh-* (class 14) because it denotes ‘an abstract concept or a process’. But the fact that the compound adheres to the morphosyntactic rules of the language, that is, that it preserves the predicate-object relationship, derives from the fact that semantic factors may not override formal strategies.

5.3.2.4 Paraphrases

This strategy has been used extensively in the DACST Health terminology lists. The following are a few examples (See Appendix A for more examples):

drug addiction	<i>u vha phuli ya zwidzidzivhadzi</i> 'to be a slave of drugs'
antidepressant	<i>mushonga wa u fhungudza mutsiko</i> 'a medicine that reduces pressure'
aphasia	<i>u sa kona u amba nga mulandu wa u huvhala vhuluvhini</i> 'to be unable to speak because of brain injury'
appendectomy	<i>muaro wa u thukhula aphendikisi</i> 'an operation to excise an appendix'
chloasma	<i>mavhadzi ane a vha hone musi muthu o vhisfa muvhilini</i> 'scars resulting from pregnancy'
chronic disease	<i>vhulwadze vhu no fhedza tshifhinga</i> 'a disease that lasts for a long time'
dental floss	<i>harani ine ya shumiswa u bvisa tshika vhukati ha mano</i> 'a cotton thread that is used to remove dirt from the teeth'
dialyser	<i>mutshini u no shuma mushumo wa tswio</i> 'a machine that functions as a kidney'

From these examples it may be observed that the words used in paraphrases are common words that may be understood by ordinary speakers. This seems to be one reason for the extensive use made of this strategy. These terminology lists were intended to inform the general public about health issues, hence the terms had to be transparent for the target users. However, another factor that contributed to the extensive use of this strategy appears to be a lack of linguistic expertise on the part

of term creators. There are many instances in these lists where compounding could have been used effectively without affecting the transparency of meaning. Consider the following examples of AIDS terms:

abortion	<i>u thutha thumbu</i> 'to destroy pregnancy' <i>vhuthuthathumbu</i> 'pregnancy destruction'
artificial insemination	<i>vhuimana ho tou itwaho</i> 'pregnancy that has been artificially induced' <i>vhuimananyitwa</i> 'artificial pregnancy'
bloodletting	<i>u thavhelwa u fhungudza malofha</i> 'to be injected so as to reduce blood' <i>phungudzamalofha</i> 'blood reduction'
cunnilingus	<i>u nanzwa bunyu la musadzi</i> 'to wipe a vagina with a tongue' <i>nanzwavhudzimu</i> 'tongue-wiping of a vagina'
discharge	<i>tshika dzi no bva kha vhudzimu ha musadzi</i> 'the dirt that comes from a female person genitals' <i>tshikavhudzimutshisadzi</i> 'female genital's dirt'
fellatio	<i>u nanzwa tshitungulo</i> 'wiping of a penis with a tongue' <i>nanzwatshitungulo</i> 'penis tongue-wiping'
immune system	<i>sisiteme ya thivhelo ya vhulwadze</i> 'a system of disease prevention' <i>khundavhulwadze</i> 'disease defeater'
palliation	<i>u dzikisa vhulwadze</i> 'to slow down sickness' <i>nzikisavhulwadze</i> 'disease-stopper'
pneumocystis carinii	<i>tshivhanga vhulwadze ha mafhafhu</i> 'a cause of lung disease' <i>tshifhetamafhafhu/ tshilamafhafhu</i> 'lungs infector/ lungs eater'
seronegative	<i>u shaea ha lueluli</i> 'the lack of having strengthener' <i>tshayalueluli</i> 'lack of strengthener'
support group	<i>tshigwada tsha vhatikedzi</i> 'a group of supporters' <i>tshigwadathikhedzi</i> 'a support group'

western blot test

tholo ya 'vhulwadze ha AIDS 'inspection of AIDS disease' *tholaeidzi* 'Aids inspection'

Instead of paraphrasing, which violates the principle of economy, the terminologists could have used the terms written in bold in the examples above. The problem with paraphrasing in the health care domain is that subject specialists such as doctors prefer to use shorter forms which are more precise (Davies 1978). Furthermore, the use of paraphrasing can cause confusion in the naming of medicines and diseases. The tendency in Venda, however, is to shorten the long definitions by means of compression strategies.

5.3.2.5 Compression

Compression strategies may be used productively to create new terms in Venda. Acronyms, initialisms and clipping have been used in the DACST Health terminology lists. In the health care domain these strategies are used mainly for the names of organisations, diseases, conditions, treatment and medicines. The following are a few examples of initialisms:

HIV-	human immunodeficiency virus
BLV-	bovine leukemia virus
CEH-	Centre for Environmental Health
CID-	Centre for Infectious Diseases
CSF-	central spinal fluid
CVA-	cerebrovascular accident

Only the first letters of the constituent words of each term have been retained in these examples. The problem with these terms is that their meaning is not

transparent unless one knows the full term. Since in Venda the main focus is on secondary term formation, the source language initialisms are adopted without any change. The main constraint in the use of these terms by non-specialists will be pronunciation. In most cases the target users find it difficult to pronounce the letters since they are foreign to them. Consequently they may pronounce the letters as full words. For example, the letters AIDS are commonly pronounced as *Eidzi* in Venda, which is an acronym. It is therefore important for terminologists to distinguish between initialisms and acronyms.

Acronyms differ from initialisms in that they are not pronounced as isolated sounds, but as complete words. Consider the following examples:

X-Rei	-	X-ray
Eidzi	-	AIDS
ELISA	-	enzymes-linked immunosorbent assay
CAN	-	Cure AIDS Now
CAT	-	computerised axial tomographic scan

From these examples it may be observed that combinations of letters, such as AIDS and X-Ray, are incorporated as full terms, namely, *Eidzi* 'AIDS' and '*Ekiserei*' 'X-Ray'. Thus acronyms stand a better chance of being integrated into the target language than initialisms.

The last compression strategy is **clipping**. As indicated above, the use of clipping is productive for term formation in Venda. Clipping has been used effectively in the examples below to create science terms that may be used in the health care domain:

<i>tshiluḁi</i> ‘solution’	<	<i>tshi(itisa)luḁi</i> ‘that which causes water’
<i>mutsiḁi</i> ‘water vapour’	<	<i>mutsi (wa ma)ḁi</i> ‘vapour of water’
<i>lumilaḁi</i> ‘liquid from the nose’	<	<i>-mila</i> ‘swallow’ + <i>maḁi</i> ‘water’

In the first two examples, it may be observed that the terms were formed by omitting the middle part of the term. However, clipping may occur on the first part of the word (fore-clipping) or on the last part of the word (back-clipping). Since most of the terms created by means of this strategy are more transparent than initialisms and acronyms, they have a high chance of acceptance by the target users.

5.3.2.6 New word creation (word manufacture)

This strategy has not been used in the DACST Health terminology lists since it is not commonly used in secondary term formation.

5.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, different language internal term formation strategies were discussed. The sociolinguistic approach was proposed for the use of these term formation strategies in Venda. In this approach term creation requires linguistic expertise, technical expertise and cultural expertise. These three factors interact with each other and are conducive to the acceptance of the newly developed terms by the target users.

With regard to the linguistic strategies, different term formation strategies were identified, namely semantic shift, derivation, compounding, paraphrasing,

compression strategies such as initialism, acronyms, clipping and new word manufacture. Most of these strategies are suitable for Venda, but to varying degrees. Further observation was made with regard to the role of extralinguistic factors in the choice and use of the different term formation strategies in Venda. It was established that the use of these strategies for term formation in the health care domain is determined by extralinguistic factors such as the subject field, the target users, socio-cultural factors such as linguistic taboos and attitudes to the created terms. Accordingly, the nature of the health care special language was briefly discussed first, and then the terms already developed in this field were analysed to identify the strategies used in their creation. This analysis was based on terms given in Appendix (A). The following is the statistical analysis of the use of the different term formation strategies in these two terminology lists:

STRATEGY	NUMBER OF TERMS	PERCENTAGE OF TERMS
1. Semantic shift	26	7.1
2. Derivation	93	25.5
3. Compounding	125	34.2
4. Paraphrase	99	27.1
5. Compression	22	6.1
TOTAL	365	100

Inferences

From this analysis several observations were made with regard to the use of the different term formation strategies in the health care domain:

- (a) Paraphrasing was used extensively, though to a lesser extent compared to compounding. This extensive use of paraphrasing is attributable to several factors, the first being that paraphrasing is important in introducing the new concept since it allows much more room for description. Second, the term developers were probably influenced by the source terms and their definitions. As indicated, there are instances where compound terms could have been used effectively instead of paraphrases. Lastly, the use of paraphrasing was influenced by the need to avoid taboo terms. Although there are indigenous terms that could be used to denote foreign concepts, these terms were not used because they are taboo. For example, the phrase *nyito ya u lalana* ‘an act of sleeping on each other’ is used instead of the indigenous term *u nyovhana* ‘sexual intercourse’ which is a taboo word.
- (b) Further observations may be made with regard to the use of semantic shift strategies. Semantic strategies were not used extensively. The use of these strategies seem to be mainly constrained by socio-cultural factors such as linguistic taboo, especially because the health care domain deals with subjects such as sex and sexual activity, which are

tabooed in Venda. Perhaps this strategy can be used more productively in subject fields where taboo subjects are less prevalent.

- (c) As may be observed from the statistical analysis, compounding is the most productive strategy used in the two DACST Health terminology lists. This is not surprising since compounds are descriptive in nature and are thus more transparent. The morphosyntactic structure of the Venda language also permits different combination possibilities such as noun+noun, noun+adjective, noun+verb, noun+possessive, verb+noun, verb+adverb, verb+pronoun, verb+verb, and verb+ideophone. Of these strategies, the use of verb+noun combinations is more productive than any other compounding strategy. The reason for this is that most of the terms in the source list denote entities according to their function.
- (d) A further observation may be made with regard to derivation. Through derivation, term developers were able to translate most foreign terms by manipulating the word forms of the Venda language. Two processes, namely prefixation and suffixation were used productively to create equivalent Venda terms. Thus, the Venda language has shown a great capacity for derivation in term formation.
- (e) With regard to the use of compression strategies such as initialisms, acronyms and clipping, it is clear that these strategies were not greatly used. In fact, no initialisms or acronyms were created in the language.

All the initialisms and acronyms were taken over from English. The use of compression strategies seems to be more productive in highly specialised communication, especially among the subject specialists themselves. But on lower levels these initialisms and acronyms may cause a communication breakdown. For example, many patients get confused when the doctors tell them that they are suffering from **C.V.S** (cardiovascular system) or **C.D.H** (congenital dislocation of the hip joint) or when they are told of the following procedures: **E.U.A** (examination under anaesthesia), **N.Y.D** (not yet diagnosed), **b.d** (twice per day) and **tds.** (three times a day) (Davies 1978:339-340). Some of the terms here, such as the last two examples, are very common expressions, but when expressed by means of initialisms they become difficult for a non-specialist to understand.

- (f) The last strategy which was discussed is new word manufacture or coinage. No new terms were created by means of this strategy. As is the case in other languages that are mainly concerned with secondary term formation, the creation of new terms *ex nihil* does not seem to be feasible. Attempts to coin completely new terms in languages such as Swahili proved to be a failure. The problem here is to get the term accepted by the target users.

In sum, although the use of paraphrase is very extensive, it should be realised that this strategy does not provide an ultimate solution. In term formation, precision and economy are fundamental principles that should be adhered to. Therefore, the use of

this strategy should only be seen as a temporary solution. Terminologists should explore other strategies such as compounding and compression strategies like clipping to shorten long phrases. It is an established fact that phrases may be reduced to compounds which may further be frozen to simple terms that may be subjected to derivational processes of the target language.

CHAPTER 6

TOWARDS A MODEL FOR TERMINOLOGY MODERNISATION IN VENDA

6.1 Introduction

As indicated in chapter 1, the main objective of this study is to establish a model or framework for the modernisation of the Venda language. The establishment of such a model requires a well-researched theory of intervention to language development (i.e. a theory that identifies underlying variables, such as language attitudes, language and politics, as well as linguistic factors such as word formation patterns and the dynamic interaction between these variables). The language planning framework, as already indicated, provides a conscious and deliberate way to intervene in the development of a language in an organised and systematic manner. One aspect of this systematic approach is the application of a well-researched corpus of word formation rules to the target language. Accordingly, the use of the various term formation strategies in terminology development should be considered within this language planning framework. In chapters 4 and 5 different strategies for term formation in Venda were identified, namely borrowing and language internal strategies.

The main focus of this chapter is to establish a theoretical framework within which the various term formation strategies can be applied and practical steps that should be followed in doing and coordinating terminology work in Venda can be identified. Thus, the proposed model for the modernisation of the Venda language will be seen to comprise two strands: a theoretical framework and a

practical model based on the theoretical framework. We will begin by discussing the theoretical framework.

6.2 A theoretical model

The establishment of a theoretical model for language modernisation, and especially for the development of languages such as those of Africa which have a dire need for modern terminology has been the focus of several studies. The various studies exemplify two approaches to language modernisation, namely the puristic approach which is inward looking in that it is mainly based on the use of language internal resources, and a liberal approach, or what will be referred to in this study as a pragmatic approach. We shall begin by discussing the puristic approach.

6.2.1 A puristic approach

According to Thomas (1991:12) a puristic approach to language modernisation is motivated by a desire on the part of a speech community (or some section of it) to preserve a language from, or rid it of, putative foreign elements or other elements held to be undesirable (including those originating in dialects, sociolects and styles of the same language). Although purism is mainly aimed at achieving linguistic objectives, that is, at purifying the language, it may be a linguistic manifestation of underlying social or political forces. In France, for example, purism is motivated by the need of the French people to keep their identity alive and separate from outside influence. The French people regard their language as inseparable from their culture, and as such it becomes a marker of their identity and their sense of independence. Accordingly, the influence of other languages,

such as that of English on French, is regarded as a serious threat not only to the language, but to the French culture. The most serious threat to the French language is perceived to be American politicians, business people and singers who use English as an instrument to spread American popular culture and scientific dynamism to France or Europe in general, and this influence is considered to be weakening originality of the French language. The emergence of 'franglais' which is a variety resulting from a mixture of French and English, is attributed to this influence of English (Weinstein 1989, Schiffman 1996). Furthermore, the preservation of French from the domination and influence of other languages such as English is motivated by economic considerations. Since WWII there has been the perception that America and Britain are trying to dominate France, not only politically, but also economically, both at home and in her colonies in Africa, the Middle East and Asia. The use of English terms in business, commerce, law and administration, especially in the labelling of products and in naming certain foreign scientific concepts, poses a threat to the status of the French language in these domains. This perception of an English attack on the French language has led to the adoption of several laws to reinforce the defence against foreign language influence especially that of English (Weinstein 1989, Schiffman 1996).

Other examples of countries that adopted a puristic approach are Israel (where purism is aimed at protecting Hebrew from Arabic and specifically English influence), Italy (where purism was aimed at uprooting Gallicisms from the language), Germany (where, during the Third Reich, linguistic purism was focused on promoting patriotism), Turkey (where purism was aimed at dissociating Turkey from the countries of the Middle East while encouraging associations with Western countries). Consequently, thousands of loanwords from

Arabic and Persian languages were removed from the language. A further example is Norway where the use of the rural dialect, Nynorsk, was encouraged by those who wanted to promote the independence of Norway from Denmark (cf. Fisherman 1990:6). These examples all show how language planning forms part of a more politically oriented agenda.

Puristic tendencies may also be observed in the models proposed for the modernisation of some languages in Africa. For example, in models proposed by scholars such as Taddesse (n.d) for Amharic, Mdee (1983) for Swahili, Kiingi (1982) for Luganda, there is much emphasis on the use of language internal term formation strategies instead of borrowing. In a puristic approach, borrowing from foreign languages has to be considered only as a last resort. Only borrowing from local dialects and other neighbouring languages is considered to be acceptable by these scholars. Thus, the proponents of these models were persuaded by a more political agenda to maintain some form of independence on the part of Africa against the onslaught of western culture, commerce and technology.

In South Africa, a good example of the language purist approach to a developing language is that of Afrikaans. In the modernisation of this language purism was the main stimulus in the reformation of the language, and the purist movement formed an integral part of the Afrikaners' struggle for self-preservation and self-realisation in the economic, political and cultural spheres (Botha 1983:234-235). In fact, the emergence of Afrikaans and the rise of Afrikaner nationalism were part of the Afrikaners' struggle to liberate themselves from British domination, which was entrenched partly through the English language. Consequently, the influence of English was to be discouraged in the modernisation of the Afrikaans language. New words were to be coined to replace the English loanwords.

Whereas purism was favoured for the development of Afrikaans, the adoption of this approach for the modernisation of African languages has been very controversial. In the first place, the puristic approach to the modernisation of the African languages, as indicated in chapter 2, was adopted by the missionaries who avoided the use of some indigenous terms which they regarded as impure and a repository of wickedness. Second, the adoption of language purism for the development of African languages was unacceptable to many Africans, since it was a linguistic manifestation of a political policy aimed at enforcing separate development (i.e., a government policy of 'divide and rule'). Accordingly, African languages were developed separately from each other. Borrowing from Afrikaans was encouraged to entrench the dominance of Afrikaans, especially during the 1970s, and to counter the influence of English. Two main institutions, the Language Boards and the SABC, were used to enforce purism despite the changing ecology, that is, the context in which these languages were used.

Although language purism is favoured by some African countries for various reasons, it is increasingly clear that in most cases it is not based on a scientific study of the developmental tendencies of a given language, and as such its use in language development has been the focal point of criticisms of various scholars.

One of the scholars who severely criticised the puristic approach to language modernisation is Joshua Fishman. According to him this approach to language development is not conducive to efficient terminology development. Fishman (1983a:116) clearly shows how the puristic approach was criticised, especially by young native Israelis. These young people, poke endless fun at radio, television, records and the Hebrew Academy. Thus, according to Fishman (1983a), the puristic approach has several shortcomings:

- The first problem with this approach is that it is language centred, that is, planners focus mainly on language and therefore overstress its importance. These planners tend to view themselves as gatekeepers and custodians of the language. Consequently, they become overzealous in defending what they consider as their definitive model of the language (Fishman 1983a:116).
- The second problem is that by adopting a puristic approach to language development, the planners run the risk of losing touch with the linguistic realities, that is the real linguistic needs of the target population. This became obvious in instances where the puristic practices that are emphasised in language, are nonexistent in other spheres of social life. As (Fishman 1983a) rightly observed, these planners ideologise language and do not share the public's perception of it as only one aspect of the total social reality with which they are seeking to cope. He further warns that "corpus planning that continues along its own mirthless path, oblivious of public sentiment and changes in the public model of 'the good language' (which must be internally differentiated for a variety of functions), is likely to find that its mirthlessness is increasingly the object of public mirth and merriment (not to speak of disdain and disregard)" (Fishman 1983a:116). This approach to corpus planning often results in the problem that corpus planners and target populations are out of phase with one another. This problem may have adverse effects on terminology work.

Some African scholars have also criticised the puristic approach to the modernisation of African languages. In Swahili, scholars such as Marshad (1984) and Mwansoko (1990, 1991) severely criticised the puristic approach, especially

with regard to the development of terminology for domains such as science and technology. These scholars clearly demonstrated in their studies that in both Kenya and Tanzania the puristic approach is not practicable. They also warned that this approach may lead to the development of terminology that is not sufficient to allow Swahili to function as a medium for modern discourse. The fact that this approach is not practicable in Swahili is demonstrated by the great discrepancy which exists in the use of puristic terms developed by language bodies such as BAKITA and the terms that are actually used by the speakers of the language. In most cases speakers use borrowings rather than the newly created indigenous terms. This tendency is also attested by Samsom (1988) in his research of the use of BAKITA terms for car body parts. He established that most of the terms developed by BAKITA are ignored by mechanics in favour of borrowings. We see here the same underlying forces at work that Fishman (1983a) detected amongst young Israelis.

From the foregoing it is clear that the puristic approach to language development is fraught with many problems. Consequently, this approach will not be adopted for this study. There are several factors that make this approach unfavourable for the modernisation of the African languages of South Africa:

- First, as indicated in chapter 2, African languages have been traditionally underdeveloped compared to other languages such as English and Afrikaans which are in use in higher domains. Therefore, for African languages to function in these domains too, they require a rigorous terminology development programme to be intertranslatable with English and Afrikaans. Such a programme would require a minimum period within which it must operate, otherwise the present terminological gap between

African languages and English will be further widened. It is an established fact that puristic indigenous methods are slow and that it takes time for such terms to be disseminated to the target users.

- Second, terminology development in the African languages of South Africa should be seen as a response to development or changes in domains other than language. The socio-cultural, economic and political contexts in which these languages are used have changed radically over the past few years. The functional role of these languages, as indicated in chapter 3, has been transformed, first during the creation of the national and self-governing states where these languages were adopted as official languages (Mtintsilana and Morris, 1988:109), and second, by the new democratic changes that have taken place in the country, resulting in the opening of South African society to all communities and to the participation of all the citizenry in national development. Thus, a puristic approach will go against the general trend of change towards nation-building in South African society.

The question now is: What approach should be adopted for the modernisation of the African languages of South Africa, such as Venda. From the foregoing it is clear that the approach that should be adopted for the development of these languages should be neither puristic nor anti-puristic, but **apuristic**. The apuristic approach is mainly informed by prevailing realities in the context in which the language is used and will be referred to in this study as a pragmatic approach. This approach will be discussed in detail in the next section.

6.2.2 A pragmatic approach

The pragmatic approach proposed in this study is not new. It has been proposed for Swahili by Marshad (1984) and Mwansoko (1990) and is also alluded to in the works of several scholars, for example Jernudd (1977) who, in criticising the Hebrew puristic approach to terminology development, also appealed for an approach to language development that is based on certain linguistic realities. Of course, the adoption of this approach depends mainly on the ideology underlying the development of a language. The language may be developed for **symbolic** or **instrumental** purposes. Thus, when developing a language, term developers should be clear about their priorities. A lack of clarity in this regard may result in contradictions that may retard the language development process. Hsia (1989:316) alludes to this problem in her study of the modernisation of Bahasa Malaysia:

The evaluation of our findings involves a choice between what may be called the 'symbolic' as against the 'instrumental' value of a language. If the first has priority, then there is certainly cause for alarm as the heavy intrusion of English elements into Bahasa Malaysia cannot but make it lose credibility in the public's eye as the 'symbol of national identity'. However, if the instrumental value of language is emphasised, one would find satisfaction that Bahasa Malaysia is being Anglicised, thus, guaranteeing its non-parochial development at a time when European languages in general, and English language in particular, are associated with major political, economic, and technological trends all over the world, and when

Malaysians are seeking to participate in these trends as actively as possible

It is clear from the passage above that the development of a language for symbolic purposes only is not very relevant for developing countries, since the main need in such countries is to enable their languages to function as suitable media of modern communication so as to give the speakers access to the knowledge encoded in world languages such as English. The fact that borrowing has been prevalent in the development of Bahasa Malaysia, despite efforts to discourage it, attests to this reality. Borrowing is favoured by most speakers of Bahasa Malaysia because it is perceived to increase intertranslatability with English as an international language.

Thus, as already indicated, the pragmatic approach is recommended by scholars such as Marshad (1984) and Mwansoko (1990) for the modernisation of African languages. These scholars clearly show that the priority of the speakers of these languages is not to protect the symbolic status of their languages, but rather to use them as a medium of communication for modern discourse. Due to this fact, the puristic tendencies of the language planning bodies in countries such as Tanzania are met with utter rejection by the speakers (Mwansoko 1990, Samsom 1988). As Samsom (1988) indicates, the speakers of the language tend to reject the terms developed by BAKITA, which are based on purism, and instead tend to use borrowings that are readily available to them and easy to use. Thus, their choice is determined by pragmatic rather than symbolic factors.

The question of fundamental importance for the proposed model is how the pragmatic approach to language development works. Marshad (1984) gives a detailed description of this approach, and Mwansoko (1990) further elaborates on it and shows its application to the formation of linguistic and literature terminology in Swahili. According to these scholars, a pragmatic approach to terminology modernisation comprises two phases, namely the borrowing phase and the indigenisation phase. We will begin by looking at the borrowing phase.

6.2.2.1 Phase I: The borrowing phase

This phase is referred to as the borrowing phase because it encourages free use of borrowing in terminology development. In this phase, terms are freely borrowed from the source languages into the target language, depending on the existing need. Thus, borrowing is regarded by scholars such as Okonkwo (1977:297) as a time-honoured approach since it may result in the adoption of as many terms as possible into the target language within a short time. For languages such as Venda, which is faced with an overwhelming need for new terminology, borrowing would be commendable. As indicated, the use of borrowing in technical or special languages is unavoidable.

However, the question here is how borrowing may be used for term formation in languages such as Venda. So far there has been no any systematic study on how borrowing may be used for term formation in Venda. In chapter 4 the focus was mainly on identifying the linguistic strategies for the use of borrowing in term formation. Accordingly, three types of borrowing were identified, namely internationalisms, loanwords, and loan translations. But no clarity was given on how the choice of any of these types should be made in Venda, and the principles

underlying the use of these types of borrowing in Venda were not systematically identified.

First, we will consider the principles that should be followed in choosing the type of borrowing in Venda. The choice of the type of borrowing strategy should be determined by the type of the subject field, its level of specialisation and the target users of the terms. Accordingly, internationalisms may be used for highly technical subject fields or high levels of communication. This strategy may be used mainly by subject specialists. Other subject fields are semi technical, that is, they are not so highly specialised. In these subject fields it is advisable to look for loanwords or local technical terms. Where terms are created for use mainly by non-specialists both local technical terms and loan translations or calquing may be used. Since the degree of specialisation occurs in the form of a continuum rather than clear-cut points, it may be difficult to determine, for example, when internationalisms rather than mere loanwords should be used. Thus, the principles given here may only serve as guidelines.

Second is the question of the source language(s). With regard to internationalisms, a decision should be made whether to borrow terms from the classical languages such as Latin and Greek, or from English. Borrowing from these sources has advantages and disadvantages. Borrowing from classical languages such as Latin and Greek is recommended in fields such as medicine and law since most of the terms in these disciplines are derived from Latin and Greek in any case. But the disadvantage of borrowing from these languages is that they are not used in the training of African language specialists that such specialists have no contact whatsoever with these languages in any case. Thus, it may be recommended that where English equivalents of the Greek and Latin terms exist, they should be used

as the source terms for loanwords in Venda. Where loanwords and loan translations are concerned the use of English as the source language may be recommended for Venda. However, the use of other languages such as Afrikaans as sources of loanwords remains controversial. Although this was not a problem in the past, there is a growing tendency at present to replace Afrikaans loanwords with their English counterparts. This tendency may be observed from examples such as *iri* (Afr. uur) and *datumu* (Afr. datum) which have been supplemented by the English loans *awara* (Eng. hour) and *deithi* (Eng. date) respectively. This shift seems to be motivated by political factors: Afrikaans is now seen as a language of oppression, and as such its status has diminished while the status of English, which is seen as a progressive language, has increased considerably. Since the speakers' attitudes to the source language is important, it is recommended here that English be used as the source for loanwords in Venda. However, other African languages should be used wherever possible. The main constraint in using other indigenous languages as sources for new terms is that they may be too underdeveloped to provide the required terms.

Third is the question of how borrowed forms should be incorporated into the target language. With regard to internationalisms, the basic principle is that terms that are in use in several international languages, or that originate from classical languages such as Greek or Latin, should be incorporated into the target language without change. The incorporation of these terms without modification may help to increase intertranslatability with the international languages. In Venda, a few examples of internationalisms which were incorporated without modification of form may be identified from the *Venda Terminology and Orthography no.3* (1972): *accel*, *accelerando*, *affectuoso*, *agitato*, *alkali*, *celcius*, *chlorinichronometa*, *ectoplasma*, *epiglottis*, *epidiaskopo*. However, the

application of this principle to African languages such as Venda is not without problems. While this principle is easy to apply in languages that belong to the same language group, such as the Indo-European languages, the incorporation of internationalisms from these languages into African languages that are genetically unrelated to them seems to create some problems. Internationalisms from languages such as Latin and Greek tend to stand out conspicuously from the rest of the target language lexicon. In some instances they may result in the introduction of new sounds as well as new grammatical patterns to the phonological system of the target language. Thus some scholars raise objections to the use of this borrowing strategy since it affects the structure of the target language. But since internationalisms are mostly used by specialists, their impact on the target language is likely to be minimal.

Where internationalisms are not desired, other types of borrowing such as loanwords and loan translations may be used. According to the proposed model, all existing loanwords not yet officially incorporated into the Venda language should be incorporated immediately. Several principles are given to provide guidance in this process:

- Loanwords should be incorporated into the target language with minimum modifications. However in languages such as Venda, where loanwords are adaptable to the linguistic structure of the language, it is advisable that loanwords be incorporated with modification wherever possible (see chapter 4 and Madiba 1994).
- The adaptation of loanwords should be sensitive to the needs of the target users of the terms (Marshad 1984:116). This principle provides guidance

on the adaptation of loanwords for different target users. For example, as indicated in chapter 4, educated people often prefer to retain consonant clusters in the loanwords whereas the less educated prefer to simplify consonant clusters by inserting the epenthetic vowel.

Lastly, loan translations may be used where it may not be useful to borrow internationalisms or loanwords. The question here is how the foreign terms should be translated into the target language. Should literal (i.e., word-for-word) translation or semantic translation be used? Semantic translation seems preferable since, unlike the word-for-word translation it does not lead to violation of the grammatical or syntactic structure of the target language. Loan translation may be used as an interface between the borrowing phase and the indigenisation phase. The indigenisation phase will be discussed further in the next section.

6.2.2.2 Phase II: The indigenisation phase

This phase involves the indigenisation of the terms borrowed in phase I, that is, the borrowing phase. This phenomenon may be observed even in terms that were spontaneously borrowed into the language and replaced later with indigenous terms especially where the concepts expressed by such terms became commonly known to the speech community. This phenomenon may be illustrated by the following examples:

Source term	Original loan	Indigenous term
Speaker of Parliament:	<i>tshipikara</i>	<i>mulangadzulo</i> 'one who controls the seating'
judge	<i>dzhadzhi</i>	<i>muhaṭuli</i> 'one who passes a

premier	<i>muphurimia</i>	sentence' <i>mulangavundu</i> 'one who controls a province'
cellular phone	<i>selefone</i>	<i>lut₁ingothendeleki</i> 'a phone that moves around'
Appeal court	<i>Khothe ya aphili</i>	<i>Khothekhat₁hululi</i> 'a court which reverses the previous sentence'
inspector	<i>Tshipikitere</i>	<i>mu₁ingameli</i> 'one who pops in to see'

This phenomenon may also be observed in borrowings from Afrikaans where several early English loanwords have been replaced with Afrikaans indigenous terms (cf. Botha 1983: 232). Consider the following examples:

Original loan	Indigenous term	Meaning
tyre	buiteband	
clutch	koppelaar	
spaarwiel	noodwiel	'spare wheel'
lorrie	vragmotor	'lorry'
goal	doel	
bottelstoor	drankwinkel	'bottlestore'
spaarkamer	vrykamer	'spare room'
weekend	naweek	'weekend'

It is clear from the above examples that borrowed terms may be replaced by indigenous terms. However, it is important to understand the factors which give rise to the need for indigenisation. These factors will be discussed in detail in the following section.

(a) Reasons for the indigenisation of borrowed terms

The need for an indigenisation phase in models of terminology development has been raised in several studies (Marshad 1984, Sager 1989, Mwansoko 1990). Several reasons may be given for this need.

- First, there is the need for effective communication between specialists and non-specialists. Specialists have no problem in using foreign terms or registers since they have background knowledge of the subject field and frequently also have knowledge of the source language. However, if the conceptual knowledge of their domains is transferred to the general public or non-specialist, it must be expressed in terminology that ordinary people can understand. Thus, according to Sager (1989:17), the need to develop indigenised terms stems from the insight that a scientist has a broader responsibility towards his society and must be able to communicate with a non-specialist about his work .

In technology, for example, specialists and unskilled labourers are expected to be able to communicate with each other in the same language. It is at this point that indigenisation of terms is necessary, especially where borrowing has been used. Foreign concepts have to be indigenised in order to become usable by the general population. The extent to which indigenisation takes place also depends on the developmental level of the target users of the language. It is an established fact that in developing countries with low levels of formal education many indigenous language speakers have little knowledge of highly specialised subject fields and are equally unfamiliar with the source language. In this type of situation, the

use of indigenous terms may be useful in facilitating effective communication since indigenised terms are more transparent than borrowed terms. Thus, two sets of terms may be developed, namely the international and indigenous terms. Accordingly, borrowing could be used in a more formal, technical or scientific register while indigenous terms are used in a less formal (but still technical) register.

- The second reason for indigenisation lies in the nature of the loanwords themselves. Several studies (cf. Sager 1989, Mwansoko 1990) point to the fact that loanwords, especially those that do not get assimilated into the language system, have a short life span. Loanwords lead a precarious existence and are therefore frequently replaced. Loan translations, on the other hand, are said to have a better chance of survival, especially if they conform to indigenous patterns of word formation (Sager 1989:21).
- The third reason for indigenisation lies in the observation that borrowed words come into a language as individual words, and therefore do not systematically cover all the concepts of the subject field concerned. The indigenisation phase, unlike the borrowing phase, is not a piece meal process, but one that attempts to systematically order the body of knowledge accumulated in a particular subject field and to reflect this ordering in regular patterns of designation (Sager 1989:10). Accordingly, the development of indigenous terminology is done by following a well-established conceptual framework. The conceptual approach will be discussed further in this chapter.

- The last factor which gives rise to the need for indigenisation, is the fact that borrowed word forms are not as productive as indigenous words. Thus, the indigenisation process should be based on indigenous term formation, strategies which are more productive in generating new terms to express foreign concepts.

The question now is how the indigenisation process should be carried out. As indicated in chapter 2, two methods may be used in this process, namely the translation method and the conceptual method.

(b) Translation method

In this method, the main focus is on translating a list of foreign terms by giving their equivalents in the target language. The compilation of such a source list may be done in various ways (Picht and Draskau 1985).

The first method is what is referred to as the 'simple compilation method'. In this method, terms are extracted from existing documentation. A list of equivalents is then drawn from other languages. This may be done by means of excerpts copied from other works. This list is constructed in a more general and simple way. An important factor to note here is that the selection of terms to be included in the list is made according to pragmatic criteria, that is according to the personal experience of the author and his expert collaborators. The problem with this method is that the choice of the terms to be included in the lists depends on the author of the list. The use of this method is undermined by the lack of involvement of the target users in compilation of the list of terms to be translated, and the lack of research on the available equivalent terms.

The second method of compiling the source list is 'punctual investigation'. In this method, terms are developed as the need arises. For example, translators may develop terms for concepts which they come across in their translation work. Thus, the new terms are developed without a thorough investigation of closely related concepts. Where this method is used, it is carried out in a rather superficial manner. Although this method may be very useful as a preliminary step towards systematic documentation of terms, the heterogeneity of the terms created can, in some instances, make their use as a basis for further terminology work rather difficult, if not impossible (Picht and Draskau 1985:163).

The translation method provides the quickest way to establish terminology in a specific subject field. In South Africa this method was used quite successfully in the development of terminology for Afrikaans. However, this method has several shortcomings, especially where terminology development is aimed at providing a long-term rather than an *ad hoc* solution. First, this method does not take the conceptual system of the subject field as its point of departure, with the result that concepts may be left which would create conceptual gaps. A further limitation of this method is that the source list is usually compiled without considering the needs of the speakers of the language. It may therefore turn out that the target users do not need the terminology list.

Because of these shortcomings, this method will not be adopted for our study. Instead the second method, which is the conceptual method, will receive preference for the indigenisation of foreign terms in Venda. The next section deals with this method.

(c) The conceptual method

Unlike the translation method, this method proceeds from the ‘concept’. This approach is recommended by scholars such as Felber (1980:69) who maintains that terminology work has to start from concepts and not from terms. In discussing this conceptual approach, we shall begin by attempting to define what a ‘concept’ is, and then proceed to a detailed discussion of the conceptual approach and its application to term formation in Venda.

(i) The term ‘concept’

Various definitions of what a ‘concept’ is, have been given in the literature. These definitions vary according to their respective disciplines or the schools of thought that they represent. For example, within the context of linguistics, a ‘concept’ is defined as a product of the thought process, as an abstraction of extralinguistic entities (objects, things, objective realities), a construct which is introduced between form and paralinguistic entities (Picht and Draskau 1985). However, the definition provided by the Vocabulary of Terminology prepared by UNESCO (ISO/R 1087) will be adopted for this study. Accordingly, a concept will be defined as:

- any unit of thought, generally expressed by a term, a letter symbol or any other symbol
- the mental representation of beings or things (as expressed by nouns), and in a wider sense, a representation of qualities (as expressed by adjectives or nouns), of action (as expressed by verbs or nouns), and even of

locations, situations or relations (as expressed by adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions or nouns)

- representing only one individual object, or - by abstraction - comprising all individuals having certain characteristics in common
- arising from the combination of other concepts, even without regard to reality. The number of concepts (represented by terms) which may be combined to form a new concept (term) is limited by the fact that in a proposition a concept can only be either subject or predicate, but not both at the same time.

It is evident from these definitions that there are divergent views on what a concept is. Thus, a scholar such as Sager (1990:23) considers it better to leave this concept undefined. However, it is hoped that the definitions given above provide some insight and understanding of the characteristics of a concept. The more characteristics one can attach to a concept, the more knowledge one has about that concept (Meyer, et al. 1997:101). Accordingly it can be argued here that the degree of knowledge the speaker has about the characteristics of a foreign concept will determine the extent and success of representing that concept with a term. This fact may be illustrated by the following examples in Venda:

Eng. helicopter:	Ve. <i>helikhophuta</i>	cf.	<i>bufhomurutshe</i> ‘a flying machine with a sharp-pointed noise’
Eng. banana kick:	Ve. <i>bananakhikhi</i>	cf.	<i>thaho ya muomva</i> ‘a kick which curves like a banana’.

The formation of the indigenous equivalents for the two terms above has not been based on a clear understanding of the characteristics of the source concept leading

to the naming of unimportant characteristics of the concept in the indigenous equivalent. For example, it is difficult to understand the comparison between the helicopter and *murutshe* ‘a piece of wood with a sharp point through which things are stuck’. The same comment applies to the second example. Whereas the use of the ‘banana’ metaphor seems to have meaning in the source language, it does not have the same meaning in Venda. Consequently another term should have been used to denote other characteristics of this type of kick. For instance, it is a kick which results in a curved movement of the ball. Although the two examples given above represent bad coinage, there are some very good coinages in Venda. Consider the following examples:

mulangadzulo (one who controls the seating) ‘speaker’
muhatuli (one who passes a sentence) ‘judge’
mulangavundu (one who controls a province) ‘premier’
luṭingothendeleki (a phone that moves around) ‘cell-phone’

From the above examples, it may be observed that the loanwords were used first to introduce the foreign concepts, and were then replaced by the indigenous forms when these concepts became established in the speech community. From the example *mulangavundu*, which means ‘a person who controls or administers a province’, it is clear that the developers of this term had a knowledge of the function of a premier, which in this context is to administer a province. All the other examples are based on thorough understanding of the characteristics of the source concept. Once these characteristics were understood a decision could be taken as to which of them should be denoted in the final term.

The characteristics used to describe a concept may be divided into two types, namely **intension** and **extension**. These characteristics will be discussed in detail in the next section.

(ii) The characteristics of the concepts: intension and extension

These two characteristics of a concept have received much attention in the literature. Intension may be described as the sum of all the characteristics of a concept. Accordingly, a concept which has many characteristics is said to have a broader intension. Extension, on the other hand, may be defined as the collection of objects to which a concept refers. Accordingly a concept with broader extension has a narrow intension.

The two types of characteristics may be illustrated by the concepts 'furniture' and 'table'. The concept 'furniture' is defined as "the movable equipment of a house, room, etc., e.g. tables, chairs, and beds" (Reader's digest Oxford complete wordfinder 1993). From this definition it may be observed that the intensional features of the concept 'furniture' such as [movable equipment] are too general to enable one to understand this concept. However, it is the extensional features such as [table, chairs, beds] which bring out the meaning of the concept 'furniture' more clearly. The concept 'table' may also be defined according to both extensional and intensional features. A table may be defined as "a piece of furniture with a flat top and one or more legs, providing a level surface for eating, writing, or working at, playing games on, etc." (Reader's digest Oxford complete wordfinder 1993). From this definition, several intensional features may be identified, namely [flat top, one or more legs, level surface]. Thus, the concept 'table' has a broader intension than the concept 'furniture' (cf. Meyer, et al.

1997:101). The concept 'table' on the other hand, has a narrow extension since it refers to a fewer collection of objects.

These two types of characteristics of the concept need to be taken into consideration in the modernisation of Venda. Before an indigenous term is developed to denote a foreign concept there should be a clear understanding of the sum of all characteristics of the foreign concept. Earlier in this section a few examples were given to illustrate how failure to understand the features of the source concepts, such as 'helicopter' and 'banana kick', resulted in unacceptable coinages.

To avoid this problem, source concepts should be clearly defined before an attempt is made to reflect their equivalence in the target language. Concepts are defined according to their intensional and extensional characteristics and according to their context, that is, their contextual definition. A definition of the intensional characteristics of a concept is based on its internal features. For example, 'a car' may be defined according to its internal features such as 'wheels', 'engine', 'steering', etc. Thus a car is defined as 'a road vehicle with a closed passenger compartment, powered by an internal-combustion engine' or 'a wheeled vehicle' (The Concise Oxford dictionary 1990). An extensional definition, on the other hand, focuses more on the objects that the concept is used to refer to. Accordingly the concept 'car' may be defined by naming the types of cars, e.g. Toyota Corolla, BMW, and Nissan Sentra. To understand the extensional definition one should have a good background knowledge of the listed concepts.

Contextual definition is given by way of actual usage. The concept or term to be defined is shown in a sentence or passage that clarifies its meaning, for example: “It took our *plane* two hours to fly from Cape Town to Johannesburg”. From this example, it may be deduced that ‘a plane’ is a kind of aircraft since it is a machine that can fly. But the meaning is not always clear due to the lack of detailed information about the nature of the ‘plane’.

Of the three types of definitions given above, the intensional definition is preferred by scholars such as Felber (1980) since it provides more information about the characteristics of the source concept.

Concepts may be further described in terms of their relationships to other concepts, and this will be the focus of the next discussion.

(iv) Concept relations

Concepts may be understood in terms of their relationship to other concepts, that is, how concepts within a subject field are interlinked. An understanding of these relationships is important in understanding the subject field knowledge. These relationships between the concepts may be divided into two types, namely, **hierarchical** and **non-hierarchical**. Only the former will be discussed in this study. The latter type does not seem to be particularly productive in terminology work.

In hierarchical relationship, certain concepts occupy a superordinate position, whereas others occupy a subordinate position relative to the superordinate concepts. This kind of relationship has been characterised in the literature as

generic-specific. A generic concept is of superordinate type, whereas a specific concept is of subordinate type. Looking at the example of the concepts 'furniture' and 'table', the former may be regarded as a generic or superordinate concept and the latter as a specific or subordinate concept. In other words, the concept 'furniture' is generic for the concept 'table'. The concept 'table' may be generic to more other subordinate concepts such as 'coffee table' and 'side table' (Meyer et al. 1997:103).

The generic-specific relation is very useful in structuring a concept system of the subject field. It is used in concept analysis and in making a conceptual map of the subject field. The concept analysis will be discussed further in the next section.

(v) Concept analysis

To structure a concept system for a subject field, there should be concept analysis. First, documents of a particular subject field are scanned with a view to identifying key concepts. The relationship between these concepts is also established. The missing terms and those which are synonymous to each other are also identified. Second, the subject field experts may be consulted for their input. After the establishment of a conceptual structure or map of a particular subject field, the next step would be term formation. Term formation will be discussed in the next section.

(vi) The formation of terms

The conceptual analysis discussed in the previous sections is aimed at establishing a framework to link the foreign or new concepts to the indigenous

terms in Venda. Concepts require linguistic representation or realisation in order to be used for communication. Without this realisation they remain inaccessible for communication (Picht and Draskau 1985). As indicated in chapter 5, term formation should strive to cover the concept of a subject field in a more systematic way.

It is important to note here that term formation in this indigenisation phase is mainly concerned with secondary term formation, that is, the creation of new terms for the already existing borrowed terms in the language, or terms that already exist in another foreign source language. Thus, in the indigenisation phase, the language planning agency can perform the term designation process systematically again, and with greater consistency so that a perfectly balanced and appropriate terminology can be created with high consistency for different levels of discourse (Sager 1989:21). As Sager (1989) notes, recreation of this type can produce a rational and economical instrument of communication which may be more efficient than the original source.

The question now is how indigenous terms should be created to designate the new concepts or foreign concepts designated by borrowing in the borrowing phase. The use of the various language internal strategies in Venda was discussed in chapter 5. Therefore, in this section we shall be mainly concerned with establishing the principles that should guide terminologists in creating terms to replace borrowed terms or designate new concepts that have come into the language.

Terminology development through a deliberate and conscious effort requires clear guidelines that should be followed. However, as Picht and Draskau (1985:113)

indicate, some people may raise objections to the use of these rules. These people maintain that rules are unnecessary in term creation, and as such term formation may be done solely on the basis of linguistic intuition rather than on terminological analysis. This latter view will be rejected in favour of the one which maintains that rules or principles are necessary in term formation, in this case indigenous terms. As indicated in chapter 2, there are already well-established international or general principles that provide guidance to term formation. In this section the focus will only be on the principles that provide guidance for the use of language internal term formation strategies. The following principles have been put together in the International Organisation for Standardisation (ISO) document R704 (Naming Principles), and these principles were reiterated by scholars such as Picht and Draskau (1985), Sager (1990) and Cabré (1999). African scholars such as Mwansoko (1990) also find these principles relevant for terminology development for the African languages, despite a few shortcomings. Sager (1990:89) outlines these principles as follows:

- 1) The term must relate directly to the concept. It must express the concept clearly. A logical construction is advisable.
- 2) The term must be lexically systematic.
- 3) The term must conform to the general rules of word formation of the languages which will also dictate the word order in compounds and phrases.
- 4) Term should be capable of providing derivatives.
- 5) Terms should not be pleonastic.
- 6) Without sacrificing precision, terms should be concise and not contain unnecessary information.
- 7) There should be no synonyms, whether absolute, relative or apparent.
- 8) Terms should not have morphological variants.
- 9) Terms should not have homonyms.
- 10) Terms should be monosemic.
- 11) The content of terms should be precise and not overlap in meaning with other terms.
- 12) The meaning of the terms should be independent of the context.

Sager (1990) regards this list of guidelines as a highly idealised requirement which can only be realised in a strictly controlled situation. Other scholars such as Picht and Draskau (1985:116-117), and Cabré (1999) warn that some of these principles may not be applicable to a language at once or in all possible combinations. They also recommend that these principles should be used with due consideration of other non-linguistic factors such as sociolinguistic factors which determine the acceptability of the new terms and the advantages connected with the revision of such a terminology.

It became clear from the discussion of the different language internal term formation strategies in chapter 5 that term formation in Venda may violate some of these principles. For example, the last principle which stipulates that the meaning of the term should be independent of context has proved to be impractical in our analysis of health care terms in chapter 5. In this subject field the socio-cultural context seems to play an important role in determining the meaning of certain terms. For example, it is difficult to understand the meaning of the term *u lala* 'to sleep' which means 'to have sex' unless one fully understands the context. The application of other principles which stipulate that terms should be monosemic and not homonymous, synonymous or polysemous seems to be problematic.

Monosemy implies the type of relationship in which a term designates only one concept (Picht and Draskau 1985:98). According to Picht and Draskau (1985:98), the realisation of a concept in a single term constitutes absolute monosemy, which represents the optimal situation with regard to the term-concept relationship. In Venda, as in most other languages, monosemy remains more of an ideal than a reality, since terms often acquire additional content through extended application.

As shown in chapter 5, several indigenous terms have acquired additional meanings through semantic extension, and have thus become synonymous or polysemous.

Synonymous relationships between terms are unavoidable in technology. Such relationship may occur between borrowed terms and their indigenous counterparts. Consider the following examples:

<i>muongi</i>	'a caretaker'
<i>nese</i>	'Eng. loan. 'nurse'

The meanings of these two terms are synonymous, but not completely. Both terms are similar in their sense that they refer to 'a person who takes special care of other people'. But the difference is that the first term does not imply a trained person, whereas the second one refers to a professional person. From these examples, it may be observed that although a synonymous relationship between terms may not be preferable, it is unavoidable in term formation. This type of relationship often occurs between indigenous and international terms without creating a communication problem (cf. Mwansoko 1990). In chapter 5 it was observed that the use of euphemisms has resulted in the creation of many synonyms and polysemous words in the list of Aids terminology for Venda. The question now is whether the violation of the two principles undermines the terminology list in this draft. This issue was raised during the Aids terminology workshop organised by DACST and there was no unanimity among the participants regarding the approach that should be adopted. Some participants felt very strongly that terminology principles should be strictly adhered to, that is, terms should be used irrespective of whether they are tabooed or not. However, others insisted that since the terminology list is not prepared exclusively for

specialists, but for the general public in both rural and urban areas, the terms should be socially relevant or acceptable. Thus, the observance of this principle should take account of the socio-cultural context of the target users (also see Mwansoko 1991:61).

Polysemy refers “to cases where a lexeme has more than one meaning” (Crystal 1987:106). Thus, a term may denote two or more distinct concepts. These concepts should be related in some respects, although they may not necessarily belong to the same system of concepts. Again, terms such as *ngoma* may refer to ‘a traditional drum’, ‘a type of initiation school’ and ‘a type of head disease suffered by infants’. The meaning of these terms is therefore mainly determined by the context.

The last type of sense relation which violates the principles in the foregoing is that terms should not be homonymous. According to Crystal (1987:106) homonymy “refers to cases where two (or more) different lexemes have the same shape.” These terms are usually not related semantically. In Venda such words are very common. Consider the following examples:

<i>gulu</i>	‘bullet’
<i>gulu</i>	‘type of mopani worm’
<i>gulu</i>	‘large intestine’

All these words have the same form, but they express different concepts. A homonymous sense relationship may be unavoidable in term formation (Cabré 1999).

Further problems may arise with regard to the application of principles that stipulate that a term should be as short as possible without adversely affecting its clarity. In chapter 5, it was observed that paraphrasing was used more than any other term formation strategy in the two DACST Health care terminology lists. Thus, it is clear that the use of this strategy cannot be avoided in Venda, although it violates the terminology principle of brevity.

In sum, the principles discussed in the foregoing raise further questions with regard to the use of indigenous term formation strategies such as semantic shift, acronyms, and compounding. It may be observed that the use of semantic shift results in synonyms and homonyms which may not be desirable. On the other hand the use of initialisms and acronyms may result in the inclusion of superfluous elements since they present orthographic variations and may affect the clarity and productivity of the respective terms. For example, the use of acronyms such as *eidzi* 'AIDS' and *thibii* 'TB' is not transparent in Venda, as it is in English, where a full form of the term exists. With regard to compounding, several other principles may be required. The following principles may be suggested to guide compounding in Venda (cf. *Venda Terminology and Orthography no.3* (1972:19)):

- (i) Plain reduplications for the sake of emphasis or to express a recurring action are written with hyphens as in: *one-one* 'the very ones'.
- (ii) When reduplication only exists in the latter part of the word, but the former is not repeated, then no hyphens are used as in: *lunzhaanzhaa* 'type of bird'.

- (iii) When word combinations express one concept, then it is written as one word with no hyphens as in *Muyamukhethwa* 'Holy Spirit'.
- (iv) Compound expressions which consist of phrases may be written with hyphens when the expression is long and unwieldy, for example *vhomutanda-nga-u-we* 'trustworthy people', or *vhomukumba-thi-petwi* 'a stubborn person'.

From the principles above it may be observed that nothing is said on how long a compound term should be in Venda. In Swahili for example, compound terms are not supposed to exceed eight syllables as on average Swahili terms only have between one and five syllables. Although no clear principles are laid down to guide compounding in Venda, the compounds used in the DACST Health terminology lists conform to the morphosyntactic structure of the language. The use of compounding in this language is thus very productive.

However, despite the linguistic capacity of the Venda language to create new terms by using its internal resources, other extralinguistic factors (e.g. ideological, socio-cultural, attitudinal) should be taken into consideration. Ideological constraints in term formation may be illustrated by words such as 'kaffir', 'Bantu', which are unacceptable in South Africa due to their political connotations. Religious factors may constrain term formation in various ways. For example, in chapter 3 it was indicated that the missionaries could not use indigenous terms such as *u rerela* 'traditional worship' for *u rabela* 'pray', since the former was associated with ancestral worship. Economic factors may also seriously constrain the use of indigenous terms since their formation and

dissemination, unlike borrowing, require much deliberate and systematic effort that may be very costly.

6.2.2.3 Concluding remarks on the proposed theoretical model

The theoretical model proposed in this study has several advantages. The first advantage of this model is that it identifies two phases of terminology development, namely the borrowing phase and the indigenisation phase. It is clear from the foregoing that the borrowing phase has several advantages:

- First, as pointed out, in the borrowing phase the problem of time lag is addressed, that is, the terminology gaps in a language may be filled with borrowed forms within a minimum period. In fact, in most cases the terms that are to be borrowed are already available and being used by the speech community (Marshad 1984:124). It would therefore be easier to adopt these terms even though they may need to be supplemented with new ones.
- Second, these terms have a good chance of being accepted (Marshad 1984:125). This is mainly because of the fact that most of the borrowed terms enter the language through speakers themselves rather than via institutional means.
- Third, the use of internationalisms from languages such as English enhances intertranslatability with these languages, and facilitates international communication. Internationalisms eventually assist in reducing the gap between languages and may also serve to create more unity between a language and its dialects (Marshad 1984:26).

- Lastly, the use of borrowing is important in introducing new concepts hitherto unknown to the target language. It is an established fact that complete mastery of technical terms in any language is impossible without the full knowledge of the concepts they represent (Mwansoko 1990:146). According to Fodor (1975:7), vernacular names are given only after a notion has become familiar within a speech community and after it has become clear that it is not only an ephemeral fashion.

Although the proposed model has several advantages, some scholars have levelled some criticisms against it especially, the borrowing phase:

- The first criticism against this method is the fear that borrowing may lead to language death or shift. This perception has been challenged in recent studies of scholars such as Thomason and Kaufman (1988). According to these scholars it is not borrowing that poses a threat to a language, but language interference. Borrowing mainly involves the incorporation of words from the source language into the recipient language, whereas interference occurs without extensive lexical transfer, that is, the transfer of words from the source language into the recipient language (Thomason and Kaufman 1988:21). Thus, loanwords may flood into a language without apparently bringing structural changes to the language along with them. There are several examples that attest to this fact. In their study of the Southeast Asian languages, Thomason and Kaufman (1988), for example, established that hundreds of Indic loanwords borrowed into these languages had not introduced any new phonemes or other structural interference. A further example is that of the uneducated Moslems who are

native speakers of Urdu. These people indigenised the pronunciation of the numerous Arabic loanwords borrowed into Urdu without borrowing any syntactic features from Arabic. The same observation may be made for many other languages where a large number of English loanwords in scientific and technical areas have been absorbed into these languages without being accompanied by linguistic interference. This clearly supports the view that borrowing does not necessarily lead to any of the processes mentioned above. Processes such as language shift or death are more likely to occur through substratum interference than through borrowing (Thomason and Kaufman 1988).

- The second criticism against borrowing is that the adoption of foreign words in a language leads to the development of an elitist register, since borrowed words are difficult for ordinary people to learn (Marshad 1984:123). This argument is not valid for terminology development in special or technical languages. The problem only arises when specialists have to communicate with non-specialists. The indigenisation phase is proposed to address this problem. However, it should be realised that the use of indigenous terms does not necessarily guarantee that the non-specialist would understand the new concepts. They will need to have a conceptual background knowledge regarding the subject field or discipline to be able to understand the concepts.

In a nutshell, it may be rightly pointed out that the proposed theoretical model, if properly implemented, may be very effective in terminology development for developing languages such as Venda. Thus, the main challenge is the practical application of this model. The borrowing phase does not seem to create many

problems, except that term developers should be very clear with regard to the borrowing principles. The real challenge is presented by the indigenisation phase. Accordingly, an attempt will be made in the next section to identify the various practical steps that should be followed in creating indigenous terms, in other words, to formulate a model for practical terminology work.

6.3 A Model for practical terminology work

Institutionalised terminology development is based on the assumption that a model for practical terminology work be established. The need for such a model has been expressed by scholars such as Picht and Draskau (1985). Accordingly these scholars suggested a model of terminology work which is based on ISO/R 919 principles. This model will be adopted for the present study. However, the focus here will be on outlining the practical steps that may be followed in the systematic elaboration of terminologies in Venda. Several factors should be considered in elaborating the terminology of a specific subject field. These factors will be the focus of the next section.

6.3.1 General aspects of practical terminology work

First, before the actual terminology work begins, there should be a clear understanding of the purpose of the terminology that needs to be developed. For example, in developing nations the purpose of terminology development is mainly to enable the target language to function as an effective communicative medium of modern discourse. Consequently, the main objective of terminology work is to make the language capable of expressing ideas already expressed in other developed languages. A further consideration should be the identification of the

target users of the developed terminology. Are the target users translators, students and teachers of language for a specific purpose? Are they information and documentation experts or subject field specialists? (Picht and Draskau 1985).

Second, other factors such as the financial resources and time available for this task, human resources (i.e. staff and experts in the various fields for which terminology is developed), the potential market for the finished product, and time requirements, should be taken into consideration.

6.3.2 Practical steps for the systematic elaboration of terminologies

The use of this method should first be informed by the guidelines discussed under general considerations, that is, section (6.3.1). Then the following steps should be implemented in using this method of systematic elaboration of terminologies: (1) the delimitation of the subject field, (2) the subdivision of the special subject field, (3) the accumulation and evaluation of documentation on the special subject field, (4) the extraction and provisional ordering of concepts and terms, (5) the elaboration of a system of concepts, (6) the systematic elaboration of the accumulated data, and (7) terminological analysis. We shall begin by looking at the first step.

(1) The delimitation of the subject field

It is a widely accepted view that the systematic elaboration of terms first requires a delimitation of the subject field. However, as scholars like Picht and Draskau (1985) indicate, this task is not an easy one. It requires closer study of the true dimensions of the subject field at the start of the terminology work. After a close

study of the dimensions of the subject field, a picture begins to emerge of the number of concepts that may require designation.

A common problem in this process is that the delineated subject field becomes too large due to a lack of knowledge of its real dimensions. To avoid such problems, a delimitation classification method such as the Universal Decimal Classifications (UDC) may be used. However, for developing languages such as Venda, this method can only be used as a guideline. In most cases these classifications are too broad for developing languages such as Venda.

(2) Subdivision of the special subject field

In this phase the delimited subject field is divided into further small special units. The difficult question here is: How big should these special subject units be? According to Picht and Draskau (1985) the following practical steps may provide some guidelines in subdividing a special subject field:

- The overall field should be divided so that several people can work on it at the same time. Furthermore, the systems of concepts should be user-friendly and readily intelligible.
- The project should be thoroughly analysed and delimited so that the concepts involved do not exceed 1000. Nevertheless, a special subject field with 1000 concepts or more may be difficult to handle, especially when these concepts are to be handled in one and the same system (Picht and Draskau 1985).

(3) Accumulation and evaluation of documentation

Relevant sources should be identified when the terminology of a subject field is elaborated. These sources may be identified by consulting secondary sources such as bibliographies and tertiary sources such as bibliographies of bibliographies, document databases, terminology centres and subject specialists (Cabré 1999:117). Wherever possible, unpublished materials such as reports, working papers, etc. should also be considered. The quality of the terminology project would in the main be dependent on the quality of the accumulated documentation (Picht and Draskau 1985).

(4) Extraction and provisional ordering of concepts and terms

After the accumulation of documentation, the information regarding the terminology of that particular subject field is retrieved and then recorded either on sheets/ index cards or stored in the computer. According to Cabré (1999:122) the extraction record should indicate: 1) the entry, 2) grammatical category, 3) subject field and description of contents, 4) definition/context and reference, and 5) author and date. However, the details to be provided in recording a term may differ slightly according to the purpose of such terminology and the needs of the target users.

If the conceptual approach to the elaboration of terms is to be used, interrelated concepts should be elaborated together as a group. The elaboration of systems of concepts will be discussed further in the next section.

(5) The elaboration of systems of concepts

In this stage, a system of concepts already accumulated and recorded during the initial stages of this process of terminology work is constructed. This systematisation of concepts requires that the general classification criteria be established beforehand. For example, the concepts may be classified according to the genus-species system. For example, in Venda the term *zwiṅoni* 'birds' may be regarded as a genus term since from it other terms relating to the types of birds could be generated, for example *ḽiivha* 'dove', *goni* 'eagle', *ṭhongola* 'sparrow' etc. From these terms further terms may be derived. For example, from the term *ḽiivha* 'dove' further species may be identified, such as *ḽiivhathavha* 'a mountain dove' and *tshiivhanṭuṭu* 'a small type of dove'.

Another consideration here is how the system of concepts should be elaborated in a multilingual situation. It is recommended here that the system of concepts be elaborated separately for each language (Picht and Draskau 1985). However, the differences in the conceptual systems between these languages may become increasingly apparent. In cases where the international conceptual system already exists, it may be adopted as a basis.

(6) The systematic elaboration of accumulated data

This stage involves the serial numbering of the concepts that have been established in the previous stage, that is, during the elaboration of the system of concepts. The main purpose of numbering these concepts is to enable the terminologist to put the record sheets in order to allow cross-referencing and to group together genuine synonyms which can be given identical notations.

(7) Terminological analysis

The analysis and elaboration of the terminological unit involves a number of factors, namely the assessment of equivalence, the assessment of synonymy, the formulation of definitions, or the reformulation of existing definitions, comments on the selection and elaboration of graphic illustrations, selection of preferred terms, and elaboration of proposed terms, and lastly, modification of the system of concepts (Picht and Draskau 1985:172).

The objective here is to establish uniform terms for the same concepts that occur in more than one subject field. To achieve this, the terminologists should meet as one group towards the end of the project to harmonise their terms wherever possible. In this way the terminologies coined by the various subgroups are combined to form one complete list. It is during this combination of terminologies that some modification of the system of concepts may be needed.

Lastly, the newly developed terms may be classified according to their alphabetical order to allow easy access by register users. This alphabetical classification should indicate where the terms are found in the terminology list (Mwansoko 1990:175).

6.4 Models for cooperation and coordination

The development of a language through institutional means involves different language planning agencies. This raises the question as to how these agencies should operate, that is how they should cooperate and coordinate their activities. Thus, some scholars have proposed models for cooperation and coordination in

terminology development (Picht and Draskau 1985). On the basis of these models an attempt will be made in this section to propose a model for the cooperation and coordination of terminology work in Venda. The establishment of such a model presupposes that a clear identification of the language planning agencies involved with the terminology development can be made. Accordingly, we shall begin by looking at the organisational framework and then discuss a model of cooperation and coordination.

6.4.1 Organisational framework

As indicated in chapter 2, planned terminology modernisation involves individuals, governmental, semi-governmental and non-governmental agencies. Thus, an attempt will be made in this section to establish the role of each of these agencies in the modernisation of Venda.

(a) Government

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (1996) commits the government to promotion of the development of all the official languages in the country. Terminology development may be done on various levels of the government, that is, on the national, provincial and local-government levels.

At national level, government departments such as DACST, the Department of Education, the South African National Defence Force, the Department of Justice, the Department of Safety and Security and the Department of Health require terminology development at one level or another. While each of these departments may be involved in terminology development for its own use, DACST is the one

that is directly responsible for the language development task through its division of the National Language Services (hereafter NLS).

The NLS (previously known as the National Terminology Services) has been functioning since 1956, and its main function is to facilitate the development of terminology in all the South African languages (Dippenaar 1996:142). The NLS has two main divisions that deal with language development. First is the Language Development Section which is responsible for managing and coordinating language development projects for the African languages at national and provincial level, and for liaising with other language development agencies and stakeholders (*Language Plan for South Africa* (1999:15)). The second division that is concerned with language development is the Terminology Section. The main task of this section is to develop new terminology for all the official languages. Thus far, terminology lists have been developed for fields such as basic health, animal names, environmental terminology, legal terminology, AIDS terminology, etc. for the African languages. In this section there is also the National Term Bank. The newly developed terminologies or terms submitted to the NLS are entered into this term bank. Although this National Term Bank was used for English and Afrikaans during the apartheid era, efforts are going on now to include terminologies from all the official languages, such as Venda.

At provincial or regional levels local governments and municipalities may also contribute towards terminology development by submitting new terms that have been developed in their domains to the relevant language structures, and by promoting the use of new terms in their communication.

(b) Parastatals

Several parastatals have been established through government initiatives. These parastatals include public corporations such as the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC); research institutions such as the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) (or the National Research Foundation (NRF) as it is now called); advisory bodies such as the South African Law Commission; the Human Rights Commission, and tertiary institutions.

Of particular importance to terminology development is the Pan South African Language Board (Pansalb) which is an independent statutory body established by an Act of Parliament (Act 59 of 1995) to oversee the implementation of the new language policy of South Africa as provided in the Constitution. One of the mandates given to this body is to promote the development of all the official languages, especially historically disadvantaged languages such as Venda. According to the Act, Pansalb has been given the mandate to establish other language bodies such as the Provincial Language Councils (PLCs) in each province and the National Lexicographic Units (NLUs) for each language. Accordingly, the PLCs have been established in all the provinces and the process has been set in motion to establish the National Lexicographic Units for each official language. The main task of these NLUs is to compile dictionaries for the respective languages.

Another constitutionally mandated institution that may influence the development of languages such as Venda is the proposed Commission for the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Cultural, Religious and Linguistic Communities. Although this Commission will not be directly involved with terminology

development, it may help to create pressure for the development of minority languages such as Venda.

(c) The non-governmental bodies

Besides government bodies and parastatals, the non-governmental bodies such as the business sector, the church and writers associations have an important role to play in terminology development. In Quebec, for example, the business sector contributes greatly to the promotion of French in the business sector by using French terms instead of English terms. Writers too, as was the case with the rise of languages such as Somali, may play an important role in terminology modernisation. Writers create new terms in their works and may contribute significantly towards promoting the use of newly developed terms through their writings.

(d) Private individuals

The role of individuals may not be underestimated in terminology development. Individuals such as church ministers, translators, interpreters, writers and ordinary speakers of a language play an important role in term creation. These individuals create new terms to deal with the communicative challenges they are faced with in their day to day activities.

In sum, it is clear from the foregoing that terminology development in Venda involves various governmental, semi-governmental and non-governmental agencies as well as private individuals. The question now is: How do these agencies cooperate and coordinate their activities in this area of terminology

development? This question will be dealt with in detail in the next section where a model of cooperation and coordination is proposed.

6.4.2 A proposed model for cooperation and coordination

There is no clear framework as yet on how the different language planning agencies should cooperate and how their activities should be coordinated. It is not yet clear how the various bodies at national government level will coordinate their activities with those at the provincial and local government levels, and how such coordination will proceed with semi- or non-governmental bodies. Thus, there is a need for a model of cooperation and coordination.

The establishment of such a model requires that there should be clarity on whether the government wants to adopt a centralised or a decentralised approach to language development. As indicated in chapter 2, Tollefson (1981) has made a detailed analysis of these two approaches to language planning. According to him, centralised language planning processes are characterised by dominance of the central government in the ordering of priorities and the establishment of goals for the distribution of resources. The allocation of resources, as Fishman (1987:409) indicates, is central to any language planning effort. Thus, the centralised approach enables the central planners to take full responsibility for the distribution of resources at the national level. This approach is characterised by a high degree of coupling, that is, the central planners exercise strong authority over the bodies concerned, determine how such bodies should be organised, and control their aims, interests, and perspectives (Tollefson 1981:178). A further characteristic of this approach is what Tollefson regards as a low degree of adaptation of the language plan from the central to the units at the next lower level. There is little

adaptation of the national language plans designed by the central government. Lastly, the centralised approach is characterised by a macro-implementation perspective, that is, it is an approach where the focus of the language plan is calculated to benefit the nation as a whole rather than a particular section of the population.

The centralised approach is not without shortcomings. One of the shortcomings of this approach is the fact that in most cases the government is entrusted with all the responsibility for language development. As Cluver (1987:80) warns, the danger here is that government bureaux tend to develop language very slowly, and the new creations are often out of touch with the society concerned. Furthermore, this approach may adversely affect local initiatives or grassroots participation in terminology development. It is against this background that some scholars argue for a decentralised approach to terminology development.

A decentralised approach may be regarded as the opposite of the centralised approach discussed above. This approach is characterised by a low degree of coupling, a more flexible degree of adaptability, and is to a large extent influenced by the micro-implementation perspective. This type of approach may not be preferable where a unitary system of government is desired, but it is more likely to be adopted in countries with strong federal governments. As Tollefson (1981) warns, however, even in such countries this approach to planning may result in chaos if it is not well-regulated. According to him the decentralised system runs the risk of experiencing an inability to coordinate local and national planning functions (Tollefson 1981:183). Thus, in countries such as South Africa where the government, as stated in the Constitution, is aspiring to establish a unitary state characterised by geopolitical, racial or ethnic, and socio-economic integration, a

decentralised approach to language development, or to development in general, may not be favoured. However, a centralised approach may not be preferable either since it may not promote terminology development at the local or grassroots level. Thus, the approach which may be suitable for the development of African languages, in this case Venda, should be somewhat in between, that is, it should encompass characteristics of both the centralised and the decentralised approaches. Such an approach is referred to by Tollefson as a 'metalanguage' approach and is recommended in the LANGTAG report for the development of South African languages. Accordingly, Cluver (1996a) recommends that the language development activities of the African languages be centralised, but at the same time appeals that the grassroots initiatives or creativity of terminology development should be encouraged.

To implement this model one central body should be responsible for terminology development at the national level. Initially, it was thought that the National Language Services would serve as the central body (Dippenaar 1996:142), but since Pansalb is also mandated to promote the development of the official languages and has been empowered by the said Act of Parliament to establish the National Lexicography Units for all the official languages, it would be a duplication of work for the National Language Services to carry out this task. Instead, Pansalb should become the central body for terminology development. As a central national body Pansalb should have the authority to plan, formulate, develop, implement and maintain the national policy and strategies concerning terminology work. Pansalb will then promote grassroots participation through the National Lexicographic Units established for each official language. The decentralisation dimension therefore encourages the creation of terms at the local level, that is, in schools, universities, local clinics and administrations,

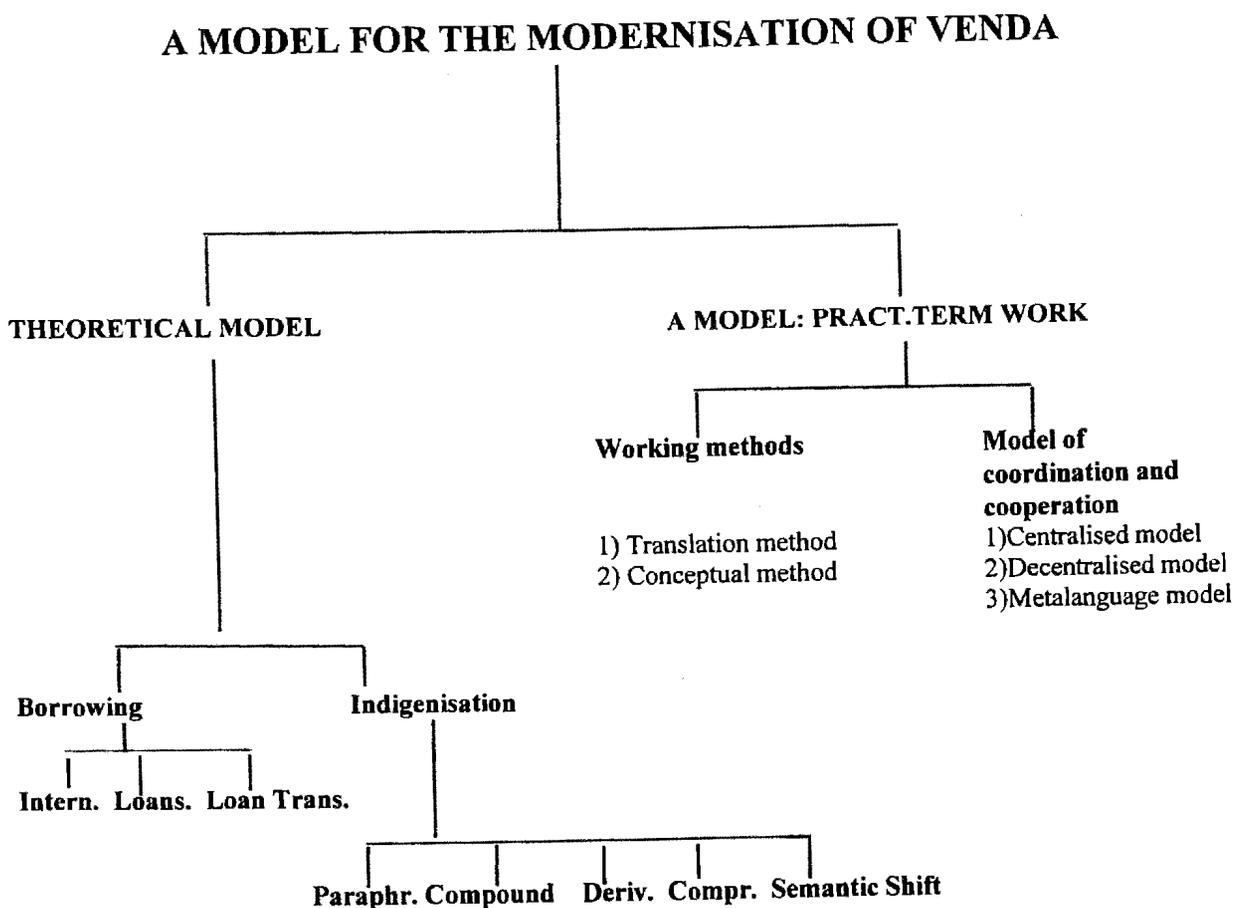
universities, and newspapers. However, these terms should be submitted to the central body for standardisation and banking in the National Term Bank. This model of cooperation and coordination has several advantages:

- First, this approach can lead to more or less equal development of all the official languages, especially the languages that have been neglected during the apartheid era. The development of a language such as Venda has been seriously retarded by separate development since limited financial and human resources were available in the region. Unfortunately, there is not much hope that these resources could be available even in the New South Africa. Therefore, the centralisation of terminological activities encourages the sharing of human and financial resources among all languages. For example, unlike the case with languages such as Afrikaans, people with good expertise in language development are lacking in the African languages. The available expertise can be put to good use in the development of African languages, hence the centralisation of terminology work will make it easier for this expertise to be shared across languages.
- Second, the centralisation approach can lead to terminology uniformity, that is, harmonisation of terminologies that promotes intertranslatability between the languages. The harmonisation of terminologies between the African languages is very important, especially since terminology development of each language was done separately in the past. In languages that belong to the same language group, for example the Nguni or the Sotho language group, such separate development resulted in several problems such as duplication of work, development of different terms for the same concepts, lack of standardisation in the use of word formation methods, etc.

In a nutshell, in this proposed model both the national and local perspectives are taken into consideration in language development. Such an approach is likely to succeed or yield more benefit than either a centralised approach or a decentralised approach.

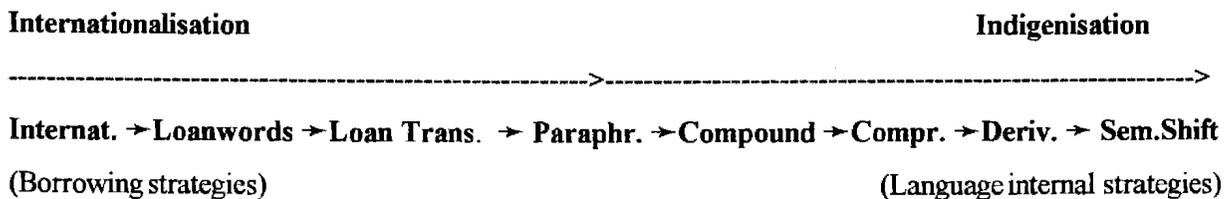
6.5 Conclusion

In this chapter, a model for the modernisation of Venda was proposed. This model comprised two strands: the theoretical framework and a practical model based on the theoretical framework. The theoretical framework deals with the use of the various term formation strategies. Two phases are identified in this regard, namely the borrowing phase and the indigenisation phase. This theoretical framework may be illustrated by the following diagram:



The question that may arise here is how the various term formation strategies should be used. It seems the term formation strategies constitute a continuum with borrowing strategies such as internationalisms at one end of the continuum, and language internal strategies such as semantic shift at the other end. In between are term formation strategies such as loanwords, loan translation, paraphrase, compounding, derivation and compression. This continuum may be illustrated by the following diagram:

A CONTINUUM APPROACH TO THE USE OF TERM FORMATION STRATEGIES



This diagram shows that new concepts may be designated, first by means of strategies to borrow terms, and later by means of language internal strategies. However the ordering of language internal strategies may not follow the order given above. For example, an indigenous term may be paraphrased in order to avoid its mentioning since it is a taboo term.

The second model proposed in this chapter is a model for practical terminology work. Practical steps for the systematic elaboration of terminologies are outlined in this model. These steps include delimitation of the subject field, the subdivision of the special subject field, the accumulation and evaluation of documentation, the extraction and provisional ordering of concepts and terms, the elaboration of systems of concepts, the systematic elaboration of accumulated data, and terminological analysis.

Lastly, a model for cooperation on and coordination of terminology work is proposed. Three approaches have been discussed in this regard, namely the centralised approach, the decentralised approach and the dual model or metalanguage approach. The last approach is recommended for the modernisation of Venda since it allows the distribution of resources and the sharing of expertise from the central authorities, and at the same time encourages grass-roots or local initiatives for terminology development.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

This study was motivated by the need to establish a systematic approach to the modernisation of Venda. As indicated in chapter 1, the modernisation of Venda has not been systematic and was not based on well-researched principles. There has been no clear guidance with regard to the choice and use of term formation strategies. Furthermore, terminology work in this language was not well coordinated, and this resulted in the duplication of work and a waste of resources. Accordingly, several recommendations were made in this study regarding (1) the language planning framework to be adopted, (2) the choice and use of term formation strategies, and (3) a model or framework for the modernisation of the Venda language. We shall begin by looking at the recommendations for the language planning theory.

7.2 Language planning theory

It is the contention of this study that the modernisation of Venda should be based on language planning theory. The canonical model of language planning was recommended despite criticisms levelled at it by African scholars such as Bamgbose (1987). Scholars seem to be unanimous that the use of the canonical model may be successfully applied to corpus planning, of which terminology modernisation constitutes a major component. In this model, language modernisation should be characterised by the following four features: fact-finding,

planning, implementation and evaluation. In applying these four features, the following eight stages identified by Cabré (1999) were recommended: (1) analysis of the terminological needs of a situation in accordance with the overall situation and selection of the most suitable strategies for intervention; (2) preparation of a terminological research plan adapted to the needs of the environment in question; (3) preparation of terminology with the participation of relevant users; (4) standardisation of the prepared terminology; (5) choice of the most suitable format and presentation for the prepared terminology; (6) implementation of the terminology in practice by adopting suitable policies; (7) monitoring the use of terminology; and (8) constant updating of terminology.

The advantage of the language planning framework for terminology development is that it provides a systematic way of intervening in the development of a language. This framework further allows consideration of other factors such as who should be involved in such a process, and the role played by extralinguistic factors such as the political, social and cultural factors relevant to language modernisation. As Fishman (1983a) indicates, a holistic approach should be adopted to the modernisation of a language. Accordingly, the modernisation of Venda should be done in accordance with other factors, such as political, economic, social and cultural factors. With regard to the political context, the modernisation of Venda should be seen as a means to empower the speakers of the language to be able to participate meaningfully in the national affairs of their country through the use of their own language. It is also a means to implement the new language policy according to which this language has been accorded official status at the national level. However, the main challenge for the language is on the economic level. The increasing economic modernisation in the country demands that Venda be developed in various domains to meet the communication needs of

its speakers. Thus, as Abdulaziz (1989:33) indicates, “language modernisation must be sensitive to national planning and development activities in other areas like agriculture, industry, appropriate technology, education, health and other fields, and welfare planning.” Lastly, the modernisation of the Venda language should be sensitive to the socio-cultural needs of the speakers of the language.

7.3 Term formation strategies

This study was based on the fact that term formation strategies are universal. The following term formation strategies were identified for the modernisation of Venda: borrowing, semantic shift, derivation, compounding, paraphrasing, and compression strategies such as initialism, acronyms, and clipping. The nature of these strategies and the principles underlying their use were discussed in chapters 4 and 5. Only a summary of the main strategies and principles will be given in this section.

The use of the borrowing strategy was discussed in chapter 4. Several recommendations were made regarding the use of this strategy. First, in using borrowing for term formation, terminologists should be aware of the types of borrowing that may be used in the language, namely internationalisms, loanwords and loan translations. The choice in using any of these strategies depends on both linguistic and extralinguistic factors. For example, the Venda linguistic structure is conducive to borrowing, that is, borrowed terms may be easily adapted to the linguistic structure of this language. Further decisions should be made with regard to selecting the source language(s) for internationalisms and loanwords. With regard to internationalisms, it is recommended that terms from classical languages such as Latin and Greek should be adopted in Venda via English since their

morphophonological structure is not compatible with Venda. English may serve as the main source of internationalisms in Venda since it is now widely spoken in the world and is used in the training of most subject specialists in Venda.

Second, recommendations were made with regard to the modification of the borrowed terms. It was suggested that internationalisms be incorporated into the language with or without modification. However, loanwords are to be made to conform to the linguistic structure of the target language, that is, they should be adapted to the phonological, morphological and semantic structure of the Venda language. On the phonological level, adaptation may be made on the segmental, syllabic and tonal levels. On the segmental level two rules were considered to be effective in the substitution of foreign sounds, namely **the phonetic approximation** and **the assimilation rules**. On the syllabic level **the resyllabification** and **the vowel truncation rules** were identified as being productive in dealing with vowels, whereas **the epenthetic vowel rule** and **the extra-syllabic consonant truncation rule** were effective in dealing with consonant clusters and closed syllables, which are unacceptable in Venda. Adjustment to the tonal level seems to be determined by **the stress-tone relationship rule**. However, the application of these rules may be determined by other extralinguistic factors, such as the degree of bilingualism and the attitude towards the source language. For example, where there is a high degree of bilingualism and a positive attitude of speakers towards English, consonant clusters are likely to be incorporated into the target language without any modification.

On the morphological level the main focus was on the adaptation of the borrowed nouns. Since nouns borrowed from languages such as English do not have

prefixes, prefixes are assigned to them when they are incorporated into the Venda language. The assignment of prefixes is determined by three rules: (1) conversion of the initial element of the word to an independent prefix, (2) semantic content of the borrowed noun, and (3) the zero prefix principle. With regard to semantic adaptation three strategies may be used, namely semantic extension, narrowing of the meaning and semantic change.

Third, a few recommendations were made with regard to the use of loan translation. Two approaches may be used in this strategy: the word-for-word translation approach and the semantico-conceptual equivalence approach. The latter strategy is recommended for Venda since it is more concerned with the concept which is the main focus in terminology than the structure of the source terms.

In chapter 5, the use of language internal term formation strategies were discussed, namely semantic shift, derivation, compounding, paraphrase, compression strategies such as initialisms, acronyms and clipping, and lastly, new word manufacture. It was argued in this study that the use of these term formation strategies in Venda should be based on three factors: linguistic expertise, technical expertise and cultural expertise. Terminologists should be conversant with the phonological and morphosyntactic aspects of the language so that they can manipulate the language internal resources to create new terms. As indicated in chapter 3, the Berlin Lutheran Missionaries were not familiar with the Venda morphological processes, with the result that they approached term formation in this language from an Indo-Germanic perspective. For example, an analysis of the compound nouns used by Schweltnus in the Bible showed the influence of German.

With regard to technical expertise, it was suggested that terminologists should work in closer consultation with subject specialists. The third factor, which is cultural expertise, is crucial for term formation. Terminologists should have a good knowledge of the context of the target users of their terms.

To determine the role of these factors in term formation in Venda, an analysis of the two DACST Health terminology lists was made. First, the term formation strategies used in these two lists were identified. The use of each term formation strategy was analysed with a view to identifying the linguistic principles and cultural factors relating to term formation in Venda. It was observed that in using term formation strategies such as derivation, compounding and paraphrasing the terminologists concerned have taken account of the language's morphosyntactic rules. However, the use of paraphrasing in some cases seems to be unjustifiable. As pointed out in chapter 5, some of the paraphrases could be easily reduced to compounds. Minimal use was made of such strategies as initialisms, acronyms and clipping. In all the cases, initialisms or acronyms were taken over from the source language. At this stage there seem to be no well-established principles on how these word forms should be incorporated into the language, that is, whether they should be replaced with newly created initialisms or acronyms as is the case in Afrikaans, or whether they should be incorporated into the language without change. It seems the latter strategy should be adopted since it promotes intertranslatability across languages. The new word manufacture strategy was not used at all. This strategy is not productive, even in other African languages such as Swahili (cf. Mwansoko 1990). It is also expensive to disseminate the newly manufactured term and to get it accepted in the language. Thus, the use of this strategy may not be recommended for Venda, especially since the main concern

in this language is with secondary, rather than primary term formation. A new word manufacture strategy seems to be productive in primary term formation.

With regard to technical expertise, the involvement of the Health Department has provided the terminologists with the required knowledge of the subject field. The subject field specialists developed basic health care terms as well as their definitions. This approach should be followed in future terminology work in Venda.

With regard to cultural expertise, a sociolinguistic approach was recommended. This approach has been proposed by scholars such as Cluver (1989). In this approach, terminologists should be sensitive to well-researched factors, such as linguistic taboo. From the two DACST Health terminology lists it was observed that these factors were taken into consideration. As pointed out, the health care domain deals with tabooed subjects such as sex organs and sexual activities. In dealing with these terms, terminologists used euphemistic terms such as *vhudzimu* 'godliness' for 'genitals' instead of the tabooed term *nnyo* 'genital' and *u lalana* 'to sleep on each other' for 'sexual intercourse' instead of the tabooed term *u nyovhana* 'sexual intercourse'. The problem with these euphemistic terms is that they result in synonyms which violate the basic terminology principle of monosemic words. It was recommended here that the use of euphemistic terms in domains such as health care should be encouraged to promote acceptability of such terms to target users. The use of euphemisms may not be avoided in domains such as health care because of the nature of communication required for this domain. According to scholars such as Kreps and Kunimoto (1994) a multicultural communication model should be adopted in health communication. In this model, health care communication should take into consideration the health

care situations, that is, the communication characteristics unique to these situations, and health beliefs and customs based on their personal backgrounds (Kreps and Kunimoto 1994:6). Furthermore, this model is consumer oriented, that is, a consumer should be recognised as a central part of the health care services, in this case newly created health care terms. Thus, in providing health care information and knowledge through terminology, care should be taken not to violate the target user's cultural norms and values. Accordingly, terminology in Venda should preferably be developed by the speakers of the language themselves, rather than being imposed from outside.

Since this study is also concerned with the establishment of a systematic approach to terminology work in Venda, several models were proposed. These models will be summarised in the next section.

7.4 Proposed models for the modernisation of Venda

Three models were proposed for the modernisation of the Venda language, namely a theoretical model, a model for practical terminology work, and a model for cooperation and coordination in terminology work. We shall begin by looking at the recommendations made with regard to a theoretical model.

7.4.1 A theoretical model

This model proposes a pragmatic approach to the modernisation of Venda. According to this approach, the choice of term formation strategies should be determined by pragmatic aspects such as the needs of the target users, rather than

by ideological factors such as purism. Accordingly, the proposed model should comprise two phases, namely the borrowing phase and the indigenisation phase.

In the borrowing phase it is recommended that the existing borrowed terms from foreign languages such as English should be immediately incorporated into the language. This *en masse* incorporation of borrowed terms is necessary in order to deal with the terminology backlog of the past, and to absorb the abundant terms that have been created spontaneously over the years in Venda. Three types of borrowed forms were identified, namely internationalisms, loanwords and loan translations. However, terminologists have to decide on the type(s) of borrowed terms pertinent to their situation. The choice of any of these three types may depend on the nature of communication, that is, the degree of specialisation in communication and the interlocutors involved. A continuum approach was proposed for the choice of the borrowing strategies in Venda. At one end of this continuum are internationalisms that may be used for highly specialised communication which occurs especially between subject field specialists, and loan translations at the other end of the continuum. Loan translations may be effective in communication with non-specialists. Between these two opposing ends, are loanwords. Loanwords may be used to facilitate communication between specialists and non-specialists.

This model may be opposed by purists since it encourages the *en masse* incorporation of borrowed terms into the target language. However, this approach will contribute significantly towards triggering the systematic development of Venda as a technical and scientific language so as to make it suitable for use in modern communication within a minimum period. As already indicated, in technical language borrowing is a norm rather than an exception.

The second phase, that is the indigenisation phase, is mainly focused on the use of language internal term formation patterns. In this phase borrowed terms are replaced with indigenous terms. As illustrated with numerous examples in chapter 6, foreign terms may be replaced with indigenous terms for various reasons, for example the need to communicate with non-specialists about special subject field knowledge. All the language internal term formation strategies, that is to say, semantic shifts, derivation, compounding, paraphrase and compression strategies such as initialisms, acronyms and clipping may be used in this indigenisation phase. The indigenisation of foreign terms not only facilitates communication between subject specialists and non-specialists, but also contributes to the indigenisation of scientific and technical knowledge.

The question now is: How should the various term formation strategies be used in this proposed model? A continuum approach has been proposed for the use of the various term formation strategies in Venda. In this continuum, the one end should comprise borrowed word forms (i.e. internationalisms, loanwords and loan translations), while language internal term formation strategies such as compounding, derivation, clipping and semantic shift should be at the other end of the scale. Term formation strategies such as loan translations fall somewhere in between and may therefore constitute a bridging point between the two opposing ends of the continuum.

7.4.2 A model for practical terminology work

A further proposal was made with regard to a model for practical terminology work. Picht and Draskau's (1985) model was adopted in this regard. This model is also based on the ISO/R919 principles proposed by UNESCO. In this model,

it is proposed that a systematic approach be adopted for practical terminology work in Venda. Thus, the term developers should begin by delimiting the subject field, which may be further divided into sub-fields. The concepts or terms may be accumulated from the existing documents and then evaluated. A system of concepts may then be elaborated from these collected terms. Lastly, a list of terms may be compiled and assessed to check if there are synonyms, repetitions, etc. This final list may then be classified in alphabetical order.

7.4.3 A model for cooperation and coordination of terminology work

In this study it also became clear that besides the theoretical and practical models for terminology work, there is also a need for a model for cooperation and coordination. This model should provide guidelines on how the various term developing agencies should coordinate their activities to avoid duplication which in the past has been a serious problem. As indicated in chapter 6, term formation in Venda may involve government, semi-government and non-governmental agencies such as the private sector, and individuals. The government has a central role to play. The need for an authorised body in language planning has been recognised by various scholars. The government may adopt three approaches in this regard, namely a centralised, a decentralised, and a dual approach. In this study a dual (or what has been referred to as a metalanguage approach) was recommended. In this approach, terminology work should be centralised to a certain extent with some degree of decentralisation. Accordingly, policies and funding may be provided from the central government, whereas the creation of terms may take place at different levels, such as local government structures, churches, schools and universities. It should be realised, however, that terminologists have a central role to play. Terminologists should establish

principles that should be followed by term creators, be it translators or any other language practitioner. These principles will provide further guidance with regard to the standardisation of the newly developed terms.

The establishment of the Pansalb, the Provincial Language Councils and the National Lexicographic Units already shows that the government has indeed adopted a dual or metalanguage approach to the modernisation of the official languages in the country. However, it is not yet clear how terminology work for the various languages will be coordinated. At present a very confusing situation seems to exist. According to the founding Pansalb Act the Board is mandated to promote the development and use of all the official languages. By implication this should mean that terminology work also falls within the mandate of the Board. But what is happening at the moment is that DACST, through its National Language Services, is responsible for terminology development. The two health care terminology lists analysed in this study are examples of this initiative. This situation may result in several problems with regard to terminology development. First, as Cluver (1996a) indicates, the development of a language through government turns out to be very slow. Government bureaucracy and red tape may retard terminology work, which is why in most countries terminology development is carried out by a body authorised by government. In Swahili for example, the responsibility for terminology development and coordination is assigned to BAKITA. Second, it may be difficult for DACST to effect cooperation with other government departments such as Education since they too have an equal mandate to develop their own terms, and they may refuse imposition from another government department. Third, DACST has no local structures for language development. Instead it is Pansalb that is in the process of

establishing the National Lexicographic Units for the compilation of dictionaries in all the indigenous languages.

Thus, it may be recommended here that the responsibility for terminology development be removed from DACST and assigned to Pansalb, in which case it will be advisable that the National Lexicographic Units that are being established comprise two sections, the Lexicographic Section and the Terminology Section. In theory these two sections may appear to be different, but in practice their activities overlap. Lexicographers may decide to compile a dictionary which also includes special subject terms, and such terms may be useful to terminologists. On the other hand, terms that have attained general currency may be passed on to lexicographers to be included in the general dictionaries. The National Term Bank may be placed at Pansalb offices, with small branches in each National Lexicographic Unit which will serve to supply terms to or receive terms from the National Term Bank.

As to the question of cooperation, it is recommended here that government departments, semi-government institutions such as the SABC, private organisations, schools, churches and individuals submit their newly developed terms to either Pansalb or to a particular National Lexicographic Unit if such terms are language specific. Terminology lists that are submitted to Pansalb should then be referred to the National Lexicographic Units for standardisation, and those submitted to the National Lexicographic Units should be sent to Pansalb after standardisation to be included in the National Term Bank. To promote harmonisation of terms there should be closer cooperation between the different units that are dealing with terminology development. Pansalb should facilitate the establishment of a Committee of Terminology Coordination in which

all the National Lexicographic Units are represented. This Committee should be responsible for the establishment of principles for terminology development and standardisation. There is also a need for cooperation with other international organisations such as the International Information Centre for Terminology (Infortem), the Association for Terminology and Knowledge Transfer (GTW) and the International Network for Terminology (TermNet). This responsibility may be given to a member of the Committee of Terminology Coordination. This approach will encourage the sharing of resources and expertise. It will further promote harmonisation of terms across languages. For example, the English term 'doctor' may be used across languages as a loanword with some modification if the principle of borrowing is adopted by all the languages involved. In this way, terminology development will not perpetuate the ethnic divisions of the apartheid past, but will contribute towards the realisation of the dream of a country united in thoughts and words.

7.5 The need for further research

In this study a number of issues were raised regarding the modernisation of the Venda language. However, there are several issues that were not fully addressed, and as such they require further investigation. First, there is a need for further examination of the orthographic reform of the Venda language. In this study only the issue of diacritics was considered. The problem of trigraphs, inconsistencies in the marking of aspiration and the use of the letter **h** should be fully investigated, and the effect of such reform should be assessed beforehand. For example, the benefits of such reform should be weighed against the problems that may arise from it, such as the production of new materials and the learning of the new orthography by the speakers.

A study of this nature assumes that the primary word formation patterns of the language have already been thoroughly investigated. The knowledge of primary word formation patterns is essential for term formation since the principles that pertain to the general language may be useful for term formation. In Venda insufficient work has been done on the word formation patterns of the language. Only one study was done on borrowing (cf. Madiba 1994) and one on compounding (cf. Musehane 1994). No detailed study has been done of word formation patterns such as derivation, semantic shift, paraphrasing, and clipping. No study except the present one has ever focused on term formation in Venda, hence it was not possible to deal with all the issues pertaining to the use of the different term formation strategies in this language. The study has merely identified the most productive term formation strategies and illustrated their use in this language. The strategies and the principles identified will serve as a basis for further research.

Another problematic area that needs further investigation is the attitudes of target users with regard to new creations. As Fishman (1974a, 1983a) observes, it is difficult to predict what the target users will accept as their own and what will be rejected. Such a study will provide insight into the term formation strategies preferred by the speakers of a language.

Lastly, there is a need to continuously evaluate the new language policy and its implications for the modernisation of the official languages such as Venda. Such studies will help to show whether government is fully committed to the development of the indigenous official languages in terms of human and financial resources. What separates real language planning from lip-service is the allocation of financial resources.

In conclusion, there is no doubt that although much remains to be done, this research has opened a whole new field which was untouched in Venda until now. The study has successfully discussed the strategies that may be used in the modernisation of the language. These strategies will not only be useful to terminologists, but will provide guidelines to the speakers of this language in creating new terms when faced with a gap. As Cabré (1999:50) puts it, “teaching standardised terminology to future specialists during their studies is one of the surest ways of modifying usage, but it is slow. Training these specialists in the creation of neologisms and methods of systematic designation of terms, and teaching them the use of the resources of their own language when faced with a gap, provides a language with a strategy that is more appropriate.” Furthermore, the findings of this study will serve as a basis for those who would like to pursue research in the field of language planning in general and terminology modernisation in particular.

APPENDIX A

The list of terms in this Appendix were taken from the two DACST Health terminology lists, Venda Orthography and Terminology list no.3, (1972) and a few other sources such as Davies (1978). These terms were used for the discussion on language internal strategies in Chapter 5.

1. Derivation

abrasion	<i>mukhuvhulane</i>
abstinence	<i>vhuḍidzimi</i>
ache	<i>tshihavhi</i>
addict	<i>u vhotshwa</i>
addiction	<i>vhuvhotshwa</i>
adolescence	<i>vhuswa</i>
aftercare	<i>ṭhogomelo</i>
ailment	<i>munyanyavhalo</i>
albino	<i>lixwete</i>
alcohol	<i>zwikambi</i>
alcoholic drink	<i>halwa</i>
alcoholic	<i>tshidakwa</i>
alcoholism	<i>vhudakwa</i>
amputate	<i>-tumula</i>
amputation	<i>thumulo</i>
anaesthesia	<i>nzinzivhadzo</i>
antibody	<i>lueluli</i>
anxiety	<i>mbilalelo</i>
artificial respiration	<i>vhufemisi</i>
asthma	<i>phihamelo</i>
back pain	<i>tshihavhi muṭanani</i>
bacteria	<i>zwisinisa</i>
bacterium	<i>tshisinisa</i>
bite	<i>lilumelo</i>
bladder	<i>chundelo</i>
blind	<i>u pofula</i>
blindness	<i>vhupofu</i>
blister	<i>pone/ biswa</i>
bloodletting	<i>u thavhetwa</i>
breastbone	<i>tshiakha</i>
bruise	<i>tsitsinyeo</i>
buttock	<i>shahu/ zwidzulo</i>
cervix	<i>mbumbelo</i>
conception	<i>vhuimana</i>
contract	<i>u hwetekana</i>
contraction	<i>muhwetekano</i>
counselling	<i>nyeletshedzo</i>
counsellor	<i>mueletshedzi</i>

deformed	<i>u holefhala</i>
deformity	<i>vhuhole</i>
diagnose	<i>u sedzulusa</i>
diarrhoea	<i>lugubo</i>
digestion	<i>tsukanyo</i>
drug	<i>tshidzidzivhadzi</i>
drunk	<i>u kambwiwa</i>
drunkenness	<i>vhudakwa</i>
duct	<i>luelela</i>
germ	<i>tshitshili</i>
immune	<i>u ṭhavhela</i>
immunisation	<i>ṭhavhelo</i>
immunity	<i>nyelulo</i>
incidence	<i>tshiwo</i>
incision	<i>u ṭhavhela</i>
incision	<i>muaro</i>
infect	<i>u pfukisela</i>
infertile	<i>vhuumba</i>
infertility	<i>vhuumba</i>
lactation	<i>nyamuso</i>
long-term survivor	<i>muhoṭa</i>
malignant tumour	<i>bundu</i>
masturbate	<i>u davhula</i>
masturbation	<i>vhudavhu</i>
menstruation	<i>maṭambo</i>
miscarriage	<i>khumela</i>
motherhood	<i>vhumme</i>
narcotic	<i>zwidzidzivhadzi</i>
nutrition	<i>mufusho</i>
odour	<i>mumukho</i>
operation	<i>muaro</i>
organism	<i>tshitshili</i>
ovary	<i>mbumbelo</i>
paraplegic	<i>tshihole</i>
plague	<i>dwadze</i>
paraplegia	<i>vhuhole</i>
pregnancy	<i>vhuimana</i>
pulse beat	<i>mudivhitho</i>
reproduction	<i>mbebo</i>
secretion	<i>mubviso</i>
septic	<i>fuvhalo</i>
sex	<i>vhudzekani</i>
sexual intercourse	<i>u lalana</i>
sexual discharge	<i>mvuḍiso</i>
sexuality	<i>-lalana</i>
sleep	<i>u eḑela</i>
sodomy	<i>mataryula</i>

sypphilis	<i>thusula</i>
taboo	<i>ila (tshiila)</i>
tuberculosis	<i>lufhia</i>
ulcer	<i>riwatela</i>
urinary bladder	<i>dundelo</i>
vaccinate	<i>u haya</i>
vaccination	<i>muhayo</i>
vaccine	<i>khaelo</i>

2. Compounds

2.1 Juxtaposed

afterbirth	<i>zwidamurahu</i> (things which come after)
allergic reaction	<i>tsumbaaledzhi</i> (signs of allergy)
amniotic fluid	<i>maditsirelezi</i> (water of protection)
antibody	<i>tshithivhelazwitshili</i> (preventer of germs)
antidote	<i>tshivhulahavhutungu</i> (killer of pain)
antiseptic	<i>tshithivhelazwitshili</i> (preventer of germs)
antivenin	<i>tshivhulahavhutungu</i> (killer of pain)
antiviral drug	<i>tshivhulahavairasi</i> (killer of virus)
apathy	<i>vhufaluvalo</i> (death of diaphragm)
balanced diet	<i>nndyondinganywa</i> (food which is balanced)
bisexual	<i>tshibeuvhili</i> (sex of two)
brain tumour	<i>nzwimbavhuluvhi</i> (swollen brain)
canal	<i>vhwendazwiliwa</i> (passage of food)
canine tooth	<i>dungambwa</i> (tooth of a dog)
cerebral palsy	<i>vhufavhuluvhi</i> (death of brain)
colostrum	<i>magwavhulimu</i> (an infant first stool)

contraceptive	<i>zwithivhelambebo</i> (preventer of birth)
deaf	<i>dzingandevhe</i> (deaf of the ear)
deafness	<i>vhudzingandevhe</i> (deafness of the ear)
diet	<i>nndyomvangwa</i> (food which mixed)
digestive tract	<i>vhwendazwiliwa</i> (passage of food)
elbow	<i>lukuḁavhavha</i> (that which knocks and cause pain)
family planning	<i>vhuteamuta</i> (planning of family)
goitre	<i>nzwimbagulukulo</i> (swelling of the throat)
hygiene	<i>tsiravhulwadze</i> (protection of disease)
malnutrition	<i>vhushayapfushi</i> (lack of nutrition)
microscope	<i>tshivhonatsini</i> (that which sees nearer)
palate	<i>tḥangamulomo</i> (roof of the mouth)
paralysis	<i>vhuomamiraḁo</i> (dryness of the body organs)
pesticide	<i>tshivhulahazwikhokhonono</i> (killer of insects)
pharmacy	<i>vhurengisamishonga</i> (place where medicine is sold)
prescription	<i>ndayamushonga</i> (instruction of medicines)
rheumatism	<i>nḥowagudu</i> (snake which causes havoc)
sanitation	<i>vhuthathatshili</i> (expeller of germs)
scab	<i>vhudagwembe</i> (coming of scratching of skin disease)
sleepiness	<i>vhushayakhofhe</i> (lack of sleepiness)
symptom	<i>tsumbadzwadze</i> (signs of sickness)
ulna	<i>shamboḁilivhakule</i> (bone which goes very far)
whitlow	<i>thungunyamurwe</i> (decay of a finger)

yellow fever *dalindulu*
(malaria of gallbladder)

2.2 Phrasal or linked compound nouns

aids-related complex	<i>tsumbavhulwadze dza EIDZI</i> (signs of AIDS disease)
anaemia	<i>thaululo ya malofha</i> (weakness of blood)
antenatal care	<i>thogomelo ya muimana</i> (care of a pregnant person)
antitussive	<i>mushonga wa mphigela</i> (medicine of flue)
aqueous humour	<i>madi a tshanga</i> (water of the iris)
arch	<i>vhungomu ha mulenzhe</i> (inside of a foot)
artery	<i>lutsinga lwa athari</i> (tube of artery)
arthritis	<i>vhulwadze ha zwinungo</i> (disease of joints)
biliary colic	<i>vhulwadze ha tshavhuṭungu</i> (disease of gallbladder)
Blair ventilated latrine	<i>bunga la mvulelamufhe la Blair (bunga la Blair)</i> (a toilet which is open for the air of Blair (toilet of Blair))
blood bank	<i>mbulungelo ya malofha</i> (storage of blood)
blood alcohol level	<i>levele ya zwikambi</i> (level of alcohol)
blood vessel	<i>lutsinga lwa malofha</i> (vein of blood)
blood pressure	<i>mutsiko wa malofha</i> (pressure of blood)
blood cell	<i>sele ya malofha</i> (cell of blood)
blood circulation	<i>nyelete ya malofha</i> (flow of blood)
blood group	<i>lushaka lwa malofha</i> (type of blood)
blood clot	<i>govho la malofha</i> (clot of blood)
blood transfusion	<i>nusano ya malofha</i> (transfusion of blood)
blood donor	<i>muavheli wa malofha</i> (a donor of blood)
blood pressure	<i>mutsiko wa malofha</i>

bone marrow	(pressure of blood) <i>mwongo wa shambo</i> (marrow of a bone)
botulism	<i>phoizeni ya zwiḽiwa</i> (poison of food)
brain damage	<i>fuvhalo la vhuluvhi</i> (injury of brain)
breast cancer	<i>khentsa ya damu</i> (cancer of breast)
caesarian section	<i>muaro wa mbebo ya muelelo</i> (operation of birth)
cardiovascular system	<i>sisiteme ya muelelo</i>
carrier	<i>muhwali wa vhulwadze</i> (carrier of sickness)
cervical smear (Pap smear)	<i>mukulo wa mbumbelo</i> (neck of a womb)
cervix	<i>mukulo wa mbumbelo</i> (neck of a womb)
chancroid	<i>vhulwadze ha u lalana</i> (disease of sex)
child abuse	<i>pfaro mmbi ya vhana</i> (bad treatment of children)
cold sore	<i>zwilonda zwa duda</i> (sores of flue)
contagious disease	<i>vhulwadze ha phirela</i> (disease of contagious)
dentist	<i>dokotela wa maḽo</i> (doctor of teeth)
diabetes	<i>vhulwadze ha swigiri</i> (disease of sugar)
diagnosis	<i>ḽhoḽisiso ya vhulwadze</i> (search for disease)
drug addict	<i>phuli ya zwidzizivhadzi</i> (slave of drugs)
drug addiction	<i>vhupuli ha zwidzizivhadzi</i> (slavery of drugs)
eardrum	<i>mukoma wa ndevhe</i> (owner of the ear)
egg-white	<i>vhutshena ha gumba</i> (white part of an egg)
eye socket	<i>mulindi wa iḽo</i> (hole of the eye)
eye disease	<i>vhulwadze ha maḽo</i> (disease of the eye)
eye surgery	<i>muaro wa iḽo</i> (operation of the eye)
eye strain	<i>vhumbesi ha iḽo</i>

eye specialist	(pain of the eye) <i>dokotela wa maṭo</i> (doctor of eyes)
eyeball	<i>khungulu ya iṭo</i> (round part of the eye)
eyelid	<i>mutibo wa iṭo</i> (lid of an eye)
gallstone	<i>bundu la nyongwe</i> (blister caused by gall)
gastroenteritis	<i>vhupise ha mala</i> (burning of intestine)
German measles	<i>mungu wa dzhemeni</i> (measles of German)
gum disease	<i>vhulwadze ha marinini</i> (disease of gums)
haemorrhage	<i>phaladzo ya malofha</i> (taking out of blood)
heart attack	<i>vhulwadze ha mbilu</i> (disease of the heart)
heart failure	<i>khundelo ya mbilu</i> (failure of the heart)
hepatitis	<i>vhulwadze ha tshivhindi</i> (disease of the liver)
home-based care	<i>ṭhogomelo ya hayani</i> (care of home)
hookworm	<i>nowana dza tshihuka</i> (worms with hooks)
immunodeficiency	<i>tshaeo ya tshieluli</i> (lack of immune)
infection	<i>phirelo ya vhulwadze</i> (passing of disease)
informed consent	<i>pfano yo tendetwaho</i> (consent which is agreed upon)
labour	<i>zwiṭhavhi zwa mbumbelo</i> (pains of womb)
laryngitis	<i>vhulwadze ha gulukulo</i> (disease of throat)
muscular dystrophy	<i>vhulwadze ha misipha</i> (disease of muscles)
myelitis	<i>vhulwadze ha muṭodo</i> (disease of the spine)
nephritis	<i>vhulwadze ha tswio</i> (disease of kidneys)
nervous system	<i>sisiteme ya vhuṭaledzi</i> (system of nerves)
oral hygiene	<i>tsiravhulwadze ya mulomo</i> (disease prevention of the mouth)

paediatrician	<i>nianga ya vhana</i> (doctor of children)
palm	<i>vhungomu ha tshanda</i> (the inside of a hand)
pharmacist	<i>murengisi wa mishonga</i> (seller of medicines)
pleura	<i>lukanda lwa mafhafhu</i> (skin of lungs)
prostate gland	<i>thanga ya vhunna</i> (seed of sperm)
pulse rate	<i>mupimo wa mudivhitho</i> (measure of heartbeat)
pupil	<i>tshanga ya ito</i> (pupil of the eye)
red blood cell	<i>sele tswuku dza malofha</i> (red cell of the blood)
round worm	<i>tshi nowa tsha tshikate</i> (worm which is round)
salivary gland	<i>thanga dza mare</i> (seed of saliva)
shinbone	<i>shambo la riwondo</i> (bone of shin)
shoulder blade	<i>shambo la shada</i> (bone of shoulder)
soft palate	<i>harwani ha murahu</i> (mouth cavity of the back)
sore throat	<i>tshilonda tsha mukuloni</i> (sore of the throat)
sperm count	<i>mbalo ya vhunna</i> (number of sperm)
weight gain	<i>nyengedzeo ya tshileme</i> (increase of weight)
white blood cell	<i>sele ya malofha tshena</i> (cell of blood)

3. Paraphrasing

abortion	<i>u bvisa thumbu</i> (to take out a pregnancy)
addicted	<i>u vha phuli ya zwidzidzivhadzi</i> (to be a slave of drugs)
adhesive plaster	<i>theiphi i nambetalaho</i> (tape which sticks)
afterbirth pains	<i>zwithavhi zwa murahu ha mbebo</i> (pains that comes after giving birth)
aids-related complex	<i>tsumbavhutwadze dza EIDZI</i> (signs of the disease of AIDS)

amnesia	<i>u xeletwa nga muhumbulo</i> (loss of mind)
anal intercourse	<i>u lalana nga murahu</i> (to have intercourse from the back)
anorexia nervosa	<i>u shaya lutamo twa zwiḽiwa</i> (to have no appetite for food)
antenatal exercise classes	<i>kilasi dza nyonyoloso phanda ha mbebo</i> (exercise classes before giving birth)
antidepressant	<i>mushonga wa u fhungudza mutsiko</i> (medicine which reduces pressure)
anxious	<i>u swa ha mbilu</i> (burning of the heart)
aphasia	<i>u sa kona u amba nga mulandu wa u huvhala vhuluvhini</i> (to be unable to speak because of brain injury)
appendectomy	<i>muaro wa u ṭhukhula aphen dikisi</i> (operation of removing appendix)
appendicitis	<i>u zwimba ha aphen dikisi</i> (the swelling of appendices)
artificial insemination	<i>vhuimana ho tou itwaho</i> (pregnancy which has been made)
autopsy	<i>u ṭola tshitumbu</i> (to inspect a corpse)
bilious	<i>zwi re na nyongwe</i> (that which has gall)
blood poisoning	<i>malofha a re na phoizeni</i> (blood which has poison)
bloodstream	<i>u elela ha malofha</i> (the flow of the blood)
bottle-fed baby	<i>riwana ane a mama boḽelo</i> (a child who feeds on bottle milk)
bottle-feed	<i>u mamisa riwana boḽelo</i> (to feed a child with bottle milk)
cardiac arrest	<i>u farwa nga vhuḽwadze ha mbilu</i> (to be attacked by disease of the heart)
casualty department	<i>fhethu ha dzikhuvhabvu sibandela</i> (place of injured people at the hospital)
central nervous system	<i>sisiteme ya vhuṭaledzi ya vhukati</i> (system of nerves of the centre)
chancroid	<i>vhuḽwadze ha u lalana</i> (disease of sex)
child abuse	<i>pfaro mmbi ya vhana</i> (bad treatment of children)
child neglect	<i>u litshedzela riwana/ u sa ṭhogomela riwana</i> (neglect of a child/ not to take care of a child)
chloasma	<i>mavhadzi ane a vha hone musi muthu o vhiḽha muvhilini</i> (scars which occur when a person is pregnant)

chronic disease	<i>vhulwadze vhu no fhedza tshifhinga</i> (disease which last for a long time)
clinical latency	<i>u dzumbea ha vhulwadze</i> (hiddenness of disease)
colitis	<i>vhulwadze ha lila lidenya</i> (disease of the large intestine)
conjunctiva	<i>lukanda twa nga ngomu twa mutibo wa iṭo</i> (skin of the inside of an eye)
coronary thrombosis	<i>u vhumbea ha govho la malofha muvhilini</i> (formation of the clot of blood in the body)
cunningus	<i>u nanzwa buryu la musadzi</i> (to wipe the genitals of a woman)
dehydration	<i>u fhelelwa nga maḍi muvhilini</i> (shortage of water in the body)
dental caries	<i>u sina ha maṅo</i> (decay of teeth)
dental floss	<i>harani ine ya shumiswa u bvisa tshika vhukati ha maṅo</i> (cotton which is used to remove dirt between teeth)
dentures	<i>maṅo o tou itwaho</i> (teeth which have been made)
diabetic	<i>muthu ane a twala vhulwadze ha swigiri</i> (a person who suffers from sugar disease)
dialyser	<i>mutshini u no shuma mushumo wa tswio</i> (a machine which does the work of a kidney)
discharge	<i>tshika dzi no bva kha vhudzimu ha musadzi</i> (the dirt which comes from the genitals of a woman)
egg-yolk	<i>tsha dzivha tsha gumba</i> (a yellow part of an egg)
ejaculation	<i>u bvisa vhunna</i> (to take out sperm)
eye drops	<i>marotha a mushonga wa iṭo</i> (drops of medicine of the eye)
eye inflammation	<i>u dzhenwa nga vhulwadze ha iṭo</i> (to affected by the disease of the eye)
eyelid infection	<i>vhulwadze ha mutibo wa maṭo</i> (disease of the lid of the eye)
faithful relationship	<i>vhushaka vhu re na u fulufhelana</i> (relationship which has trust of each other)
fellatio	<i>u nanzwa tshitungulo</i> (the wiping of male genitals with a tongue)
free love	<i>lufuno lwo vhofholowaho</i> (love which is free)
French kiss	<i>u mamana nga lulimi</i> (to kiss each other by the tongue)
gastric ulcer	<i>tshilonda tshi re kha gulu</i> (sore which has a bullet)
genital herpes	<i>zwilonda zwi no bva kha maḍasi/vhudzimuni</i>

gynaecologist	(sores which develop on the testis/genitals) <i>dokotela wa malwadze a tshisadzini</i> (a doctor of female people's diseases)
haemophiliac	<i>muthu ane a vha na vhwadze ha u bva malofha</i> (a person who have the disease of bleeding)
haemophiliac	<i>muthu ane a bva malofha manzhi</i> (a person who bleeds a lot)
haemorrhoids	<i>vhwadze ha u zwimba dzitsinga tsini na tshivhumu</i> (disease which causes swelling of muscles next to the anus)
HIV	<i>HIV, vairasi ine ya vhang a AIDs</i> (HIV, virus which causes AIDS)
household chemical	<i>khemikhala dzine dza shumiswa mutani</i> (chemicals which are used in the house)
immune system	<i>sisiteme ya thavhelo ya vhwadze</i> (system of immunisation of disease)
infection	<i>phirelo ya vhwadze/ u kavhiwa</i> (transference of disease) (disease of the throat)
lesbian	<i>musadzi ane a funana na vhariwe vhasadzi</i> (a woman who falls in love with other women)
medication	<i>u alafha nga mishonga</i> (to heal by medicines)
menstrual period	<i>tshifhinga tsha u tamba /u vhona riwedzi</i> (time of washing/ to see the moon)
misconception	<i>u dzhiisa zwithu zwiriwevho</i> (to take things in a different way)
obstetrician	<i>dokotela wa u bebisa/ u thogomela vhaimana</i> (doctor of birth of children/ to take care of pregnant people)
occupational disease	<i>vhwadze vhu wanalaho mushumoni</i> (a disease which is found from work)
odourless	<i>u shaya munukho</i> (to lack smell)
opportunistic infection	<i>vhwadze vhu faraho muthu nge thivhelavhwadze i si shume</i> (a disease which affects a person because of the failure of immunisation)
optic nerve	<i>lutaledzi lwa u vhona</i> (a nerve of sight)
optician	<i>dokotela wa ngilasi dza maṭo</i> (doctor of glasses of eyes)
ovulate	<i>u bvisa mbeu ya tshisadzi mbumbeloni</i> (removal of the female egg from the womb)
pap test	<i>ndingo i no itwa munangoni wa mbumbelo</i> (test which is made at the entrance of the womb)
pasteurise	<i>u vhlisa mafhi/u gara mafhi</i> (to boil milk/ to pasteurise milk)

pleurisy	<i>vhulwadze ha lukanda twa mafhafhu</i> (disease of skin of the lungs)
pneumocystis carinii	<i>nyumosaitthisikharini ya mafhafhu</i> (pneumocystis carinii of lungs)
pregnant	<i>u vha na thumbu/ u vhifha muvhilini/ u gonya miri</i> (to have pregnancy/ to be ugly in the body/ to climb trees)
primary health care	<i>ṭhogomelo ya u thoma ya mutakalo</i> (care of primary health)
progesterone	<i>homoni ine ya laula zwa tshisadzi</i> (hormone which controls things of females)
pulse beat	<i>u rwa ha mbilu</i> (beating of a heart)
red blood cell	<i>sele tswuku dza malofha</i> (red cells of blood)
septic sore	<i>tshilonda tshine tsha khou sina</i> (sore which is rotting)
seronegative	<i>u shaea ha lueluli</i> (lack of immune)
sexual myth	<i>lungano twa zwa u lalana</i> (tale of sex)
sexual transmitted disease	<i>vhulwadze ha phirela ha u lalana</i> (contagious disease of sex)
social drug	<i>zwidzidzivhadzi zwo tendelwaho u shumiswa</i> (drugs which is allowed to be used)
starvation	<i>u fa nga ndala</i> (to die of hunger)
sterile	<i>u sa vha na zwitshili</i> (lack of germs)
sterilise	<i>u vhulaha zwitshili</i> (to kill germs)
stigmatise	<i>u dzhia tshithu tshi shonisa</i> (to regard a thing as embarrassing)
terminal disease	<i>vhulwadze vhu no vhulaha</i> (disease which kills)
thigh sex	<i>u ṭhavha-ṭhavha kha zwirumbi</i> (to stick the penis on the thighs)
transplacental infection	<i>u shela riwana dwadze la AIDS</i> (to transfer to a child disease of AIDS)
transsexual	<i>muthu o shandukisaho mbeu</i> (a person who has changed his/her sex)
viral load	<i>tshikalo tsha AIDS malofhani</i> (measure of AIDS in the blood)
viral load test	<i>ndingo ya tshikalo tsha AIDS malofhani</i> (test of the measure of AIDS in the blood)
weight loss	<i>u fhungudza tshileme</i> (to reduce weight)

western blot test	<i>tholo ya vhwadze ha AIDS</i> (test of disease of AIDS)
white blood cell	<i>sele tshena ya malofha</i> (white cell of blood)

4. Semantic shift

acid	<i>dingi</i>
addict	<i>u vhotshwa</i>
adenoids	<i>tshiningo</i>
AIDS	<i>dwadze</i>
antibody	<i>lueluli</i>
bereavement	<i>u lila</i>
bloodletting	<i>u thavhelwa</i>
buttock	<i>shao/ zwidzulo</i>
cervix	<i>mulomo wa mbumbelo</i>
cervix	<i>mbumbelo</i>
cold	<i>duda</i>
counsellor	<i>mueletshedzi</i>
dry sex	<i>u lalana ho omaho</i>
egg	<i>gumba</i>
genitals	<i>madasi /vhudzimu</i>
lubricant	<i>mapfura</i>
menstrual period	<i>tshifhinga tsha u tamba</i>
menstruate	<i>u tamba</i>
menstruation	<i>matambo/ u vhona riwedzi</i>
miscarriage	<i>khumela/ u tshinyaletwa</i>
ovary	<i>mbumbelo</i>
ovum	<i>gumba</i>
penetration	<i>u dzhena</i>
semen	<i>vhunna</i>
sexual intercourse	<i>u lalana</i>
sperm	<i>vhunna (vhutonya)</i>

5. Compression

AIDS (<i>dwadze/ Eidzi</i>)	AIDS
CD4 count	CD4
X-R	<i>X-Rei</i>
<i>Eidzi</i>	AIDS
ELISA	enzymes-linked immunosorbent assay
CAN	Cure Aids Now
CAT	computerised axial topographic scan
HIV	human immunodeficiency virus
BLV	bovine leukemia virus
CEH	Centre for Environmental Health

CID	Centre for Infectious Diseases
CSF	central spinal fluid
CVA	cerebrovascular accident
C.V.S	cardiovascular system
C.D.H	congenital dislocation of the hip joint
E.U.A	examination under anaesthesia,
N.Y.D	not yet diagnosed
b.d	twice per day for
tds.	three times a day

(Davies 1978:339-340).

<i>tshiluḍi</i> 'solution'	<	<i>tshi(itisa)luḍi</i> 'that which causes water'
<i>mutsiḍi</i> 'water vapour'	<	<i>mutsi (wa ma)ḍi</i> 'vapour of water'
<i>lumilaḍi</i> 'liquid from the nose'	<	<i>-mila</i> 'swallow' + <i>maḍi</i> 'water'

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