

**THE STATIC AND DYNAMIC ELEMENTS
OF TSOTSITAAL WITH SPECIAL
REFERENCE TO ZULU -
A SOCIOLINGUISTIC RESEARCH**

by

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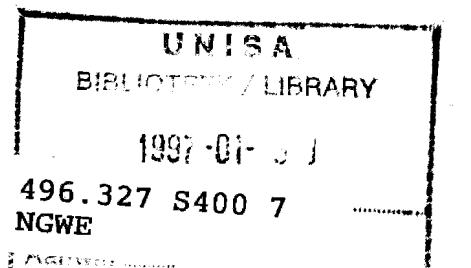
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Declaration

I declare that THE STATIC AND DYNAMIC ELEMENTS OF TSOTSITAAL WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ZULU - A SOCIOLINGUISTIC RESEARCH 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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Summary

The aim of this dissertation is to prove that tsotsitaal is widely spoken in the black townships and interferes with the correct usage of standard Zulu.

Secondly, the intention is to prove that the influence of Zulu on tsotsitaal is greater than that of any other African language.

In chapter 2 the standard language, colloquial variety and tsotsitaal are compared and parallels are drawn between the last two speech varieties.

Chapter 3 concentrates on the static and dynamic elements of tsotsitaal as far as morphology is concerned.

In chapter 4, the focus is on the meaning of tsotsi words in their social context. Words and phrases which appear and sound like Zulu words spoken by the tsotsis, have a different meaning.

Chapter 5 is the concluding chapter. It provides reasons why tsotsitaal is dynamic. It hints at the usefulness of tsotsitaal and its detrimental effects are also pointed out.

TITLE OF DISSERTATION

THE STATIC AND DYNAMIC ELEMENTS OF TSOTSITAAL WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO ZULU - A SOCIOLINGUISTIC RESEARCH.

KEY TERMS

TSOTSITAAL; STATIC; DYNAMIC; STANDARD ZULU LANGUAGE; SLANG;
COLLOQUIAL; MORPHOLOGY; SEMANTICS.

Chapter 1

The static and dynamic elements of tsotsitaal

1.1 Introduction

There are many written and spoken languages in the multi-cultural South African society we live in. Some are officially recognized whilst others are not. There are nine African languages which are officially recognized: Zulu, Xhosa, Swati, Ndebele, Tsonga, Venda, Southern Sotho, Northern Sotho and Tswana. These languages are written in a practical orthography and are spoken as their vernaculars by different ethnic groups. They are also taught at schools, colleges and universities. Much as there are many African languages, there are also many unofficial spoken languages. These languages are ISIKULA; ISILOLOLO; ISILUNGU-BOY; ISIFANAKALO; and ISITSOTSI (currently called isicamtho).

Isikula was the language spoken by the Indians who were imported from India as early as 1860 to work in the sugar cane fields in Natal.

Isilololo is the spoken language which is similar to Isikula in terms of status and function. Isilololo frequently uses the demonstrative formative Lo which signifies "this" or "these" at the beginning of each sentence. The Lo used in the Isilololo is the equivalent of the article "the" in English.

cf(i) Lo mfana khahlela lo bhola.

(The boy kicks the ball).

(ii) Lo sikhathi wena hambile, Zunqu salile yenza lo monakalo
lo mkhulu.

(After you had left, Zungu remained and made a big mess).

Isilunqu-boy is the simplified language used for mutual understanding between a white employer and a black employee.

Isifanakalo is a mixture of English and Zulu with a little bit of Afrikaans, used by people who did not have a common language for communication.

Van Wyk (1978) clearly states that Fanakalo is a true pidgin.

Tsotsitaal has been used by the gangsters and thugs to communicate among themselves. It is the language variety which was used for in group communication so that people who were non-members of the group should not comprehend the secrets of the group. Also, thugs thought it wise to invent this exclusive language so that policemen could not easily understand them. Confronting the police was something unavoidable especially in a place like a shebeen. It was in such places where thugs used to relax and discuss things done and plan ahead for their subsequent missions. It should be borne in mind that initially Blacks used to live in areas juxtaposed to those of the Coloured people. The latter spoke Afrikaans as their mother tongue. To facilitate socialisation and communication, Afrikaans emerged as the first official language as a basis of tsotsi language, but African languages have also become its vital base. For example in Durban townships, they used to speak tsotsitaal which was strictly based on the Zulu language called Shalambombo. Today, even in the Transvaal townships they speak Shalambombo which is currently called Isicamtho (the language of the youth).

Schuring, quoting Mfenyana, calls it:

Sjitha, Scamtho, Sintu, Town Talk, Black Slang.

(Schuring 1983:117)

The reason why this language has so many names is because it is a superficial language. It changes its vocabulary very quickly in comparison to the languages mentioned earlier on. Another reason why its name changes, is because it is a spoken language as opposed to a written language.

1.2.1 Aim and Scope of Study

1.2.1 Aim of study

The aim of this study is firstly, to investigate the latest developments in the slang called tsotsitaal. This language is rife in the metropolitan areas, in Black townships especially in Soweto, and interferes with the correct usage of the standard

Zulu language at schools, training colleges and universities.

Secondly, the investigation will endeavour to prove that the Zulu language is predominantly used as the base of tsotsitaal. The discussion will also look at the major influences of Zulu on tsotsitaal.

Thirdly, this study will explain the rules which govern the formation of words in tsotsitaal. It aims to ascertain whether the words are just formed haphazardly or whether the general and accepted grammatical rules are followed in forming words in tsotsitaal. Lastly, an attempt will be made to prove that idiomatic expressions, words, and phrases in standard language are used by the speakers of tsotsitaal with the shift of meaning.

1.2.2 Scope of Study

Chapter 1

The introduction is concerned with the interference of tsotsitaal both in the spoken and written Zulu language. The former interference is obvious when people converse on street corners, in school corridors and on the trains, whilst the latter is more noticeable in essay writing and classwork exercises. Pupils and teachers reinforce this submission. The different approaches to be adopted are outlined, and the definition of terms also receives due attention. Furthermore, the introduction concentrates on the history of tsotsitaal, and the reasons why tsotsi language initially used Afrikaans as its base language and the complete shift from Afrikaans to Zulu language as the base language. The static and dynamic nature of tsotsitaal is fully discussed.

1.3 Approach

The approaches followed in this dissertation are as follows:

1.3.1 Qualitative research approach

A qualitative research approach means that the research will rely on the quality of the data. Secondary sources will be literary

studies.

1.3.2 Msimang's views

Msimang's views are direct and relevant to this study since he discusses the effects of Zulu on tsotsitaal. He states correctly that:

Tsotsi taal is largely a secret language. Zulu has had far-reaching influence on its vocabulary. Words adopted from Zulu may be grouped into three categories. Firstly, we get Zulu adoptives with some meaning shift. Secondly, we get coinages from Zulu radicals. Thirdly, we get Zulu-ized English loans.

(Msimang 1987:82).

The three categories as postulated by Msimang will be highlighted in the discussion. In fact, Msimang is the pioneer as far as research on the impact of Zulu on tsotsitaal is concerned. He discusses the contemporary tsotsitaal as spoken in the urban townships such as Soweto, Mamelodi, Atteridgeville and Kwa-Mashu, to mention but a few.

1.3.3 Schuring's views

Schuring is an experienced researcher in township speech varieties. His profound knowledge and expertise is worth mentioning in this study. In his doctoral thesis he investigates the cosmopolitan Sotho, which he calls "koine" language. He gives the definition of a koine variety as:

... an abbreviation of the Greek expression "koine dialektos" (general dialect) i.e. the colloquial Greek spoken around the Mediterranean by cosmopolitan communities about 2000 years ago.
Koinés are found worldwide.

(Schuring 1985:96).

The term "koine" as used by Schuring refers to a township language such as tsotsitaal. Schuring, quoting Van Wyk further says:

In Black communities in bigger urban areas,

"urban dialects" seem to be coming into existence. They differ appreciably in traditional areas and also in formal situations in urban areas. Again the uses of these dialects have not been investigated well enough to decide whether the situation represents a case of diglossia, of emerging dialects or of a widening of stylistic spectra of the relevant language.

(Schuring 1985:6).

In formal situations as referred to by Schuring, are churches, the media and the homes. Schuring is correct when he asserts that these township languages have not yet been properly investigated.

1.4 Quantitative research approach

A 'primary source' refers to the interviews and conversations held with the informants from high schools and a teacher training college. The way in which data was collected will be discussed fully under the research methodology. Williams defines a quantitative dimension in research in this way:

In contrast to traditional linguistic study, the urban language studies have incorporated a quantitative dimension. Whereas the linguist often works with one or only a few informants, the urban researchers have attempted to study groups or speakers so selected as to be representative of a speaker population. That is, they have used the sampling methods of sociological studies. This allows the researcher to use a sample of people in order to make inferences about a population.

(Williams 1933:3-4).

In researching township languages, a researcher cannot select a few informants and claim that they represent the whole spectrum of the population. By choosing 18 informants, as it was done in this study, the quality of data is guaranteed. The informants were chosen randomly from high school pupils and their teachers

and students at a training college and their lecturers.

1.4.1 Research Methodology

Three types of research methods have been used in this study to collect data.

1.4.2 Interviews

Tsotsitaal is more of a spoken language than a written language. In order to get information and to study the language effectively, interviews had to be conducted with the speakers of this language. This facilitates the reliability of the data. Secondly, sociolinguistics is the study of a language as spoken by society. As a result, interviews are an indispensable mechanism to ascertain changing words in tsotsitaal. Thirdly, because tsotsitaal is so dynamic, interviews are one way of corroborating information. Pupils, students, teachers and lecturers were interviewed to establish their knowledge of tsotsitaal as well as their attitude towards it.

1.4.3 Questionnaires

The aim of using the questionnaires in this study is to prove the hypothesis either right or wrong of whether lecturers/teachers, students and pupils know and speak tsotsitaal. This enables one to analyze the data as spoken in learning institutions such as schools, training colleges and universities. Two types of questionnaires are used in this research. The first type of questionnaire is structured for pupils and students. It includes questions such as: When you are with your friends, which language do you most often speak? Which language do you speak inside and outside the classroom? Do your teachers or lecturers speak to you in tsotsitaal?

The second type of questionnaire is composed for teachers and lecturers. Questions such as these are posed: Do you address your pupils or students in tsotsitaal? Do you think it is right for you as a teacher/lecturer to speak tsotsitaal? How do you as an individual see the future of a standard Zulu language?

(See Appendix page 120).

1.4.4 Analysis of data

Data collected from Musi High in Pimville, Fontanus High School at Emndeni, and Soweto College of Education in Pimville are found in the appendix, from pages 109-147 and will be referred to from time to time.

1.5 Definition of terms

It is appropriate and imperative to define terms which form the focus of this study. These terms include 'static', 'dynamic', 'element', 'speech community', 'tsotsitaal', 'tsotsi community', and 'slang'.

1.5.1 'Static' defined

The term "static" refers to something immovable. It is further defined as:

Not moving or changing, stationary, lacking the effect of action or movement.

(Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English 1978:1090).

This term is significant in our discussion because tsotsitaal started long ago, and is still spoken today. Instead of it becoming extinct, there is an increase in the numbers of people who use it for communicative purposes. From the data collected from the informants, it is clear that tsotsitaal is developing and growing daily. Tsotsitaal is spoken across the age limit by men and women in the township. In actual fact, everybody speaks tsotsitaal in one way or the other.

1.5.2 The static element of tsotsitaal

What is spoken today in the townships by elderly people and the youth, is not standard language; they speak tsotsitaal. The main reason which made tsotsitaal static is that the majority of the present generation of parents grew up in the townships where this

speech variety was spoken. These parents consciously or subconsciously teach their children tsotsitaal by either correcting them or telling them about words and phrases they used when they were young. In fact, today's parents convey their past experiences to their children by means of language, and in most cases, tsotsitaal. In some families in the township, the husband may speak to his wife in tsotsitaal and the wife responds in tsotsi language. An argument between the father and his son might be sparked off by a comparison between the unchanging nature and the changing nature of tsotsitaal. The former, the static element, refers to a situation in which a person still confirms that a speech variety is tsotsitaal, though some words have changed.

It is no longer a secret language as it used to be in the past when it functioned as the language of gangsters and thugs. Today it is spoken by the greater community and by professional people such as teachers, lawyers etc.

1.5.3 Reasons for the static element of tsotsitaal

Any language which is spoken in the streets, in particular tsotsitaal, is bound to develop in its own right. By development we mean the increase in words and phrases of its vocabulary. Secondly, since it is not taught formally, anybody can learn it within a short space of time and pass it on. Lastly, it is easy to speak tsotsitaal and master it, and it is more convenient to use it than a standard language. The reason being that sentence construction and concordial agreement is done haphazardly since tsotsitaal is more of a spoken language.

1.5.4 'Dynamic' defined

The word "dynamic" refers to something which undergoes changes. It is further explained as:

Relating to force or power that causes movement,
full of or producing power, and activity.

(Longman Dictionary of Contemporary

English 1978:344).

The term "dynamic" is relevant to this study because tsotsitaal has changed its base from Afrikaans to Zulu. Schuring, when describing the koine language as dynamic, says:

Die uitstaande linguistiese kenmerk van 'n dianamiese taal is dat die woordeskaf en idioom steeds uitbrei deur ontlening en kodewisseling om nuwe lewenservaringe te benoem. Dinamiese tale kom veral voor in groeiende stede waar nuwe ervarings en nuwe moderne lewenstyl benoem moet word.

(Schuring 1985:12-13).

Van Wyk, discussing the terms dynamic and static respectively, remarks:

A speaker's personal verbal repertoire is dynamic. In the normal run of things it changes and expands as his personal circumstances change and is therefore to a large extent dependent on his individual and social experience. The communal repertoire of a community, on the other hand, is much more static. It is independent of the circumstances of individual speakers and therefore only changes as the needs and circumstances of the community as a whole change, which is normally slow to take place.

(Van Wyk 1990:2).

As Van Wyk rightly states, tsotsitaal is static in the sense that it is spoken by the society. However, at the same time it is dynamic because it changes as the personal experiences of individuals expand.

1.5.5 The dynamic element of tsotsitaal

Words used in tsotsitaal are fashionable, that is, they change depending on what is currently interesting to its speakers. For

instance in the past years a knife called okapi, was best known to the tsotsis, but nowadays a gun like an AK47 or .38 is the best known form of weapon rather than a knife. In the 1970's, to work was called ukujuleyitha by the tsotsis, but nowadays it is called ukuspana. This language differs from one township to the other and from one generation to the next. In the past, the form of transport which was known and used was the train. In the train there was a compartment which was called idumano by the tsotsis. Idumano was a compartment third from the engine in front. But the present generation does not know such a word because they have been born and grown up in a time when the taxi is the main means of transport. In the past, something called umsomi and ibhengela (a type of bronze bracelet) were worn by the tsotsis. Those words are not known to the present generation because they now wear ubucwebe (round diamond or gold bracelets and rings). The word umsomi, that round black rubber like thing was popularized by the Msomi gang, who was a notorious gangster in the late 1950's and early 1960's.

When we speak of neologisms in tsotsitaal, we are referring to words like -ginsa (to steal) iginsa (a stolen vehicle) umqinsi (a person who steals vehicles).

In standard language, ilahle means coal. Coal might be cold or hot. To the tsotsis, ilahle means a stolen vehicle, if they say ilahle liyashisa it means the stolen vehicle has not been changed. It is "hot" in terms of the law, you might be arrested by the police if you drive such a car.

Lastly, ipilisi (a pill) to the tsotsis means mandrax or cocaine. Tsotsis may become rich when they are dealing in ipilisi.

1.5.6 Reasons for the dynamic element of tsotsitaal

Many reasons may be forwarded to make the claim that tsotsitaal is a dynamic language. Firstly, it is dynamic because its vocabulary changes continuously.

Secondly, it is no longer spoken by males only but females know and speak it as well. Some of the informants interviewed at schools and training colleges were females (See Appendix pages

110, 120, 125, 131, 140 etc). They stated that they understand and speak tsotsitaal.

Lastly, new inventions have to be made and tsotsitaal fulfils in this function as well.

1.5.7 'Element' defined

The term "element" is defined as:

One of the fundamental or irreducible components making up a whole.

(Collins English Dictionary, 1979:495).

Tsotsitaal as a complete entity consists of different parts or elements, but for the sake of this study, only two elements of it, namely static and dynamic, will be discussed.

1.6 Speech community

Since the discussion centres around tsotsitaal, it is proper to define a speech community. Hudson, quoting Bloomfield says:

A speech community is a group of people who interact by means of speech.

(Hudson, 1980:26).

This is a simple definition, where emphasis is on speech as a mode of interaction. A more detailed and complex definition by Hudson, quoting Le Page is:

Each individual creates the systems for his verbal behaviour so that they shall resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he may wish to be identified to the extent that:

- (a) he can identify the groups,
- (b) he has both opportunity and ability to observe and analyze their behavioural system,
- (c) his motivation is sufficiently strong to impel him to choose, and to adapt his behaviour accordingly,

(d) he is still able to adapt his behaviour.
 (Hudson 1980:27).

Firstly, the word "verbal behaviour" refers to the way one projects his ideas. Furthermore, an individual identifies himself with a specific group which speaks his language. The statement in (c) refers to a situation where a speaker can still adjust his behaviour and language when speaking to other members of the community, for example instances when he communicates with his parents, those in authority, priests, etc. Another scholar defines a speech community as:

Social groups which show constant communicative interaction such as gangs whose members are linked in "face to face" communication or groups that belong together through work that they have carried out in common over a long period of time, can be designated as speech communities just as nations that are split up into various regions.

(Dittmar, 1976:106).

In one society, we may have many different speech communities, judged by the language varieties they speak.

1.6.1 Tsotsi community

A tsotsi community comprises individuals in a larger community who have identified themselves as a group by their attire, speech, and behavioural patterns. Msimang states that the tsotsi community was noticeable as early as 1950. Furthermore, Msimang, citing Bothma says that the tsotsis:

Originally comprised delinquent teenagers
 (Bothma 1952:36-37) who lacked proper
 upbringing and socialization.

(Msimang 1987:82).

But nowadays, a tsotsi community can also refer to school pupils or students on the campus, as long as the group speaks its own

slang understandable to its members.

1.6.2 'Tsotsitaal' defined

Seemingly, the word "tsotsi" originated from a South Sotho verb stem -ho tsotsa. This is a verb in the infinitive (to perform thuggery). Bothma, defining the word "tsotsi" says:

Die word tsotsi word deesdae byna deurgaans met die betekenis jeugdige naturelle misdadiger aangewend. Dit is egter 'n sekondêre betekenis wat deur persone wat buite die tsotsigeledere staan daarna gegee is.
Binne die gemeenskap van die tsotsi beteken hierdie woord in die eerste instansie 'n broek waarvan die pype onder nou (skerp gemaak of, getsotsify) is, en in die tweede plek 'n person wat die mode van skerp broek navolg. In werklikheid is hierdie woord afgelei van Suid Sotho - -ho tsotsa (om skerp te maak) of van "zoots out" na aanleiding van die Amerikaanse "zoot suit" bendes wat 'n soortgelyk mode nagevolg het.

(Bothma, 1952:24).

It is true that people who initially spoke this language liked a common type of fashion (which were trousers with narrow bottom legs) and performed thuggery. Those people identified themselves as a group or gang and automatically spoke tsotsitaal. It is not clear which came first: tsotsitaal or the particular type of trousers. Schuring quoting Schurink and Strydom says:

Flaaitaal wat ook bekend staan as tsotsitaal, isitsotsi en setsotsi word veral deur tsotsi's en "townies" gepraat. "tsotsis are gangs i.e. close intergrated groups which, as the result of a common language, dress, etc., and a strong feeling of solidarity, apparently form part of a sub-culture within the broader urban Bantu

community".

(Schuring, 1983:116).

The word was formed as a noun, by applying the grammatical rule which states one prefix the suitable class prefix isi- and elide the final vowel of the verb stem a and suffix vowel i. Therefore a person who performed thuggery was known as a tsotsi and the language he spoke isitsotsi.

1.6.3 The commencement of tsotsitaal

It cannot be said precisely when tsotsitaal started. Many scholars differ on this point. Schuring remarks about its time of operation that:

Flaaitaal was used as early as 1935 and probably earlier.

(Schuring, 1981:22).

The migration of Africans to urban areas gave birth to this language. They came from rural areas to seek employment in the urban areas. The gold and mining industry and other job opportunities by other industries and firms in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereniging area, attracted thousands and thousands of people. Qwelane states:

This language has its origins in the old townships of Sophiatown, Newclare, Alexandra and Marabastad in Pretoria. The settlement sprung up with the migration from the rural backwaters of thousands of people who came to the bigger towns and cities to find employment. It has since spread and is spoken everywhere in the cities and towns and in the homelands.

(Qwelane, 1984:2).

Since Africans spoke different languages: isiZulu, SeTswana, South Sotho, North Sotho, XiTsonga, Tshivenda etc, it necessitated the common colloquial variety for communication purposes and socialization. As a result tsotsitaal came into

being.

Msimang, about the time of origin says:

Even its birth date is controversial (Schuring 1981:127). Some put it before the Second World War while others think that the tsotsi is one of those pests which originated with the Second World War or resulted from it. Be that as it may, by the late 1940's the tsotsi community had emerged as a force to be reckoned with.

(Msimang, 1987:82).

It is a fact that tsotsitaal is an old concept among the Africans, though one cannot say with certainty when the language started. Schuring further says:

Flaaitaal is al etlike dekades oud.
Bothma se verhandeling oor tsotsigroepe van Pretoria is van 1951.

(Schuring 1981:127).

1.6.4 Afrikaans as the base of tsotsitaal

Many reasons may be advanced for the use of Afrikaans as a base of tsotsitaal. The first reason is provided by Schuring when he correctly remarks:

The basilect or basis dialect i.e. the language into which the slang words and expressions are embedded is Afrikaans. In the 1950's Coloureds were sometimes leaders of tsotsi gangs. Today some features of flaaitaal are identical with features of the slang of Coloured youths.

(Schuring, 1981:122).

The fact that a number of Coloureds spoke Afrikaans as their mother tongue, and were also leaders of gangsters, automatically made Afrikaans dominate tsotsitaal. It should be borne in mind

that the Afrikaans spoken by the tsotsis was not standard Afrikaans. Qwelane, a leading reporter says:

It is basically crude Afrikaans though Afrikaners would, 90 percent of the time, be at a loss when it is spoken. English and other languages are added, though words used in "tsotsi-taal" tend to mean something else.

(Qwelane, 1984:2).

Secondly, Coloureds and Blacks used to stay next to each other. Bothma says;

Die bevolking in die lokasies is heterogeen en die gebied wat Marabastad, die Asiate Bazaar en die Kleurlinglokasie insluit, tref ons naturelle, Indiers en Kleurling naasmekaar aan, terwyl Atteridgeville en Bantule slegs deur naturelle bewoon word.

(Bothma, 1952:8).

See Appendix page 107.

It was prestigious for a Black to be in the Coloured township, let alone to be in their company. For instance if one looks at a map of Orlando East and Diepkloof, which are Black townships, and Noordgesig, a Coloured township, one will see they are adjacent to each other. The Black townships are separated by a tarred road from the Coloured township. Socialization took place and Afrikaans emerged as the base of tsotsi language.

1.6.5 The new trend in the base language

Recently, African languages are used as the base of tsotsitaal. The reasons for African languages functioning as the basis may be summarised as follows:

Firstly, the township upheavals which took place in 1976. It should be borne in mind that the unrests were sparked off by the use of Afrikaans as the medium of instruction in the schools.

Grobler, about the issue of Afrikaans remarked:

The official language policy of the Department of Bantu Education was that both English and Afrikaans were to be used on a 50/50 basis as medium of instruction in African Secondary Schools. In 1974, the Department of Bantu Education issued instructions that the 50/50 principle had to be fully implemented in African Secondary Schools. This caused an uproar and it was quite clear that many Africans were opposed to be taught in Afrikaans.

(Grobler, 1988:169).

From 1976 to date, the rate at which Afrikaans is used as a basis of tsotsitaal has deteriorated.

Secondly, the establishment of black townships according to ethnic grouping facilitated the fact that people spoke tsotsitaal based on isiZulu, SeTswana, South Sotho, XiTsonga, etc. When people were removed from Sophiatown to Soweto, they were placed in different locations according to their ethnic groupings. That is why in Soweto, you will find areas such as Zola, Emndeni, Jabulani being predominantly Zulu-speaking areas; Moletsane, Tladi, Naledi being predominantly Sotho-speaking areas and places such as Chiawelo, Meadowlands, Orlando East being predominantly Tsonga and Venda speaking areas. This in turn made people to speak tsotsitaal based on Zulu, Tswana, Sotho, etc. depending on the dominant language.

Mfenyana avers:

Om te thetha, khuluma, bua, wietie, pronk, camtha en homva is more than just a sound or letter on a page.

(Mfenyana, 1977:295).

Out of all the words mentioned above, three are from African languages. Thetha (Xhosa), khuluma (Zulu), bua (Sotho), camtha

and homva (Zulu slang). When a dove coos, it is "pronking" according to tsotsis. Pronking in tsotsitaal means to grumble.

1.6.6 Tsotsitaal in different areas

It must be mentioned that tsotsitaal is not uniform but differs from one township to the other. What is spoken in Soshanguve, Mamelodi and Saulsville might differ drastically from what is spoken at Umlazi, Lamontville and Soweto. For example, in Pretoria they speak what is called "Pretoria-Sotho" which Schuring calls "koine". Other terms used by Schuring for the township language are: Setoropo (town language), Soweto-Zulu, Zulu B etc. But the blanket term for the township language is isicamtho (the speech of the youth). Seemingly, the word tsotsitaal is gradually becoming unpopular because the word "tsotsi" refers to a thug, thief, or a robber. Another factor which makes the word isicamtho more favourable as opposed to tsotsitaal is the suffix - "taal" of the latter. Soweto consists of many different townships. The inhabitants of Soweto, when communicating, endeavour to accommodate each other language wise. Tsotsitaal is a secret language, it is for this reason that it can differ even if the speakers are from the same cosmopolitan area. Another factor which makes tsotsitaal different from one area to another, is the field of interest and activities one is engaged in. Colloquial varieties differ according to areas, but a standard language is uniform.

1.7 Summary

In this chapter, the static and dynamic nature of tsotsitaal were discussed. The reasons for the static and dynamic nature were also highlighted. Tsotsitaal was defined and its history was traced. It is important to mention that tsotsitaal were spoken by thugs, criminals, gangsters but nowadays, it is also spoken by teachers, students, pupils and even females. Lastly, it was pointed out that in the past tsotsitaal used Afrikaans as its base language, but nowadays it uses Zulu as its base.

Chapter 2

The static and dynamic elements of tsotsitaal and its relationship to colloquial Zulu and slang

2.1 Introduction

This chapter is mainly concerned with a discussion of the dynamic elements of tsotsitaal as well as with other language varieties which have the same characteristics.

Firstly, tsotsitaal is dynamic because it is a conversational medium, a factor "shared" by other varieties such as colloquial Zulu and Slang. This means it is more of a spoken variety than a written one. The spoken variety changes from time to time, and it may differ from one place to another even if a variety refers to the same object. For instance a shoe in standard Zulu is called isicathulo, but in tsotsitaal it is called isibhathu, u-size ten, or i-ra-shoe-shoe. To sleep in standard Zulu is referred to as ukulala, but in tsotsitaal it is called ukugidla, ukuyothoka, or ukuphaka ama-fish.

Secondly, the tsotsitaal vocabulary changes because it is often used in informal situations. Each generation of tsotsitaal speakers create new words and vocabulary that are relevant to them.

Tsotsis converse with one another to hide the meaning from non-group members. Tsotsitaal is therefore meant for in-group communication.

Thirdly, tsotsis use this speech variety to demonstrate that they are ahead of the current fashion, and also to indicate that they are modern township dwellers. Anyone who does not understand tsotsitaal, may be scorned at or looked down upon as ignorant or stupid. To support this claim, a female teacher from Musi High School who was one of the informants, related how one boy greeted another by saying: "dumela" (hallo). The other responded by saying: o kare dumela o le outhie, keng o sare "heita". (How

can you as a boy say hallo, why don't you say heita?).

The point is not to say people in the township don't use dumela when greeting, but the tsotsis commonly known as magents, use heita more readily than dumela. It would sound funny for a tsotsi to say dumela/dumelang magents, but to say heita magents would sound more appropriate and acceptable to his peers.

The static and dynamic elements which is our central focus comes into focus again. Dumela is "static" whereas heita is indicative of the dynamic nature of tsotsitaal.

Greeting in a proper and so-called old-fashioned manner is disapproved of especially if you are a "boy" in the township.

The conversation cited below between two youths demonstrates that it is due to the dynamic nature of tsotsitaal that certain elements of it overlap with those of colloquial Zulu and slang.

"Manje mfethu angazi noma uzoncanyiswa yini yilokhu", lisho lingintshontsha kancane ngamehlo. "Manje kunethesho laphaya egalofini mfethu, uchweba luvuka sterek. Ngikhuluma nje ngithunywe yizona izingamule mfethu ukuba ngifune abantu abazothwala imidicane lena yokudica igalofu mfethu. Eyi zifike ngezinkani izingamule namuhla mfethu!" Ngathula okwesikhashana ngilalele lento eshiwo ilotsotsi ngimangele ukuthi ngizomphendula ngithini ngoba ngangingakaze ngiyibone lento eyigalofu idlalwa.

("Now, my brother I don't know whether you will like this" looking at me as though he is shy. "Now there is a job at the golf course, there is a lot of money. As I am speaking right now, I have been sent by the whites to recruit people who will carry golf clubs. Today they have come in their multitudes". I remained silent for a moment, listening to what this tsotsi was saying, astonished and not knowing what to answer because I had not seen anybody playing golf before.

(Mkhize, 1987:61-62).

Certain words from the passage were identified as reflecting the

dynamic nature of tsotsitaal.

Those words are:

- mfethu < mfowethu (brother)
- uzoncanyiswa < uzothanda (you will like)
- kunethesho < kunomsebenzi (there is a job)
- uchweba < imali (money)
- sterek < kakhulu (plenty; abundance)
- izingamule < abelunqu (white people)
- imidicane < izinsimbi (golf clubs)
- yokudica < yokushaya (for hitting golf balls/club)

With regard to the categorization of the above words, it is still unclear whether to categorize them as tsotsitaal, or as colloquial Zulu or slang. Though they "qualify" either as tsotsitaal or colloquial Zulu or even slang. Since this study concentrates on tsotsitaal, they will be considered as examples of tsotsitaal, though admittedly, there is overlapping with other varieties.

The word uzoncanyiswa is a verb derived from the verb stem -ncanywa (like).

Some words are standard language, but are spoken by the tsotsis as if they are tsotsi words, whereas they are used with the same meaning or a shift in meaning. That, on its own, demonstrates the static and dynamic elements of tsotsitaal, the word sterek is derived from the Afrikaans word sterk.

In the above passage, it is used with the more or less the same meaning.

This conversation shows that the speaker is an urban youth who frequents the golf course every Saturday. The speaker actually says that the whites have sent him to look for casual caddies. We know that at the golf-course, boys are paid for caddying golf-clubs. These boys don't caddy golf clubs for one golfer, but for several golfers. In that way, a tsotsi makes a lot of money. Among every thing, tsotsi likes money the most. Regarding money, which a tsotsi so desires, Msimang states:

Intaba, which literally means mountain, symbolizes bigness. This shows that the tsotsi craves lots of

money ... istaka (money) which is borrowed from English "stack" once again displaying the tsotsi's attitude to money.

(Msimang, 1987:85).

As the golfers have come in their hundreds, the tsotsi is obviously going to earn a lot of money.

After establishing the dynamic elements of tsotsitaal, the next step is to enumerate the functions of tsotsitaal as a language variety.

2.2 Tsotsitaal and its functions

Tsotsitaal fulfils three important functions as a language variety. Firstly, it satisfies the desire of tsotsitaal speakers to communicate effectively with the listener. People involved in the communication process should understand each other very well when using the language. On the function of communicating, Swanepoel says:

This is not the language of a group or nation. It is commonly called "tsotsitaal" and is used by some youth groups who operate in our urban areas. It will become clear that it is tailored to suit a specific purpose. i.e. as a means of communication for the users with a selected vocabulary based on their activities (their sphere of interest).

(Swanepoel, 1978:9)

Persons of the "ingroup" communicate with each other in tsotsitaal. Ideas, thoughts and wishes are transmitted from the speaker to the listener. In any communicative situation, it is important that the two parties understand the language used. The need for the speaker to convey his/her feelings and wishes is satisfied even if tsotsitaal is used. In the introductory paragraph two boys were quoted conversing with each other. The speaker was recruiting the interlocutor for a part-time job at the golf course. A person speaking this language in a public place, is looked down upon or degraded. In contrast, standard

language was and is still associated with educated people. This shows that a society is not constituted by a homogeneous group, that is, people speaking one uniform language, but rather it is formed heterogeneously.

Secondly, tsotsitaal functions for identification purposes. This means that an individual can identify himself/herself with a certain group of people in society.

Trudgill states:

Language, as we have seen is not simply a means of communicating messages. It is also very important as a symbol of identity and group membership.

(Trudgill, 1974:74)

From the speech of an individual, a listener can ascertain the group the speaker belongs to. The idea of peer group identification is evident among the boys in their teens.

Trudgill further states:

... the pressures of group identification and peer groups solidarity are very strong. Linguistic research has shown that the adolescent peer-group is in many cases the most important linguistic influence. Children do not grow up speaking like their parents and they certainly do not grow up speaking like their teachers ... their speech patterns are those of their friends.

(Trudgill, 1974:74-75)

An individual who does not identify with the group is ridiculed or ostracised. He/she may also be regarded as someone obnoxious if he/she does not speak the language of the group. Commenting on the use of tsotsitaal for group identification, Malefo says:

In play groups, for instance when children play together, they often use the "gangster" language ... These childhood companions ridicule others into learning this language. Some of their conversations, particularly ones including jokes, adventuring are so

much juicier when this language code is used. Therefore a new-comer fearing to be the butt of a joke will learn this language in self-defence.

(Malefo, 1986:43)

If, for argument's sake, a group of tsotsis consists of five members, and a word is known to four members of the five, the four are going to make a joke out of the fifth.

Thirdly, the function of tsotsitaal is that of "accommodation". This means that a speaker who speaks this language "accommodates" the listener. The accommodation theory is best explained by Downes:

Social psychologists have recently been developing a paradigm of research based on the notion that speakers modify their speech in interaction with respect to listeners, by becoming more like the listener. In other words, people's speech can come together or converge in interactions or alternatively their speech may diverge. The aim of accommodation theory is to understand the processes underlying this phenomenon.

(Downes, 1984:228)

The accommodation theory becomes more evident in the situation where a Sotho speaker converses with a Zulu-speaking person. Places where this accommodation in speech often happens are schools, bus stops, taxi ranks, on the trains and in shebeens. In all these places, we find people conversing who have never met before. The topics of their conversation are, among other things, football matches, the weather, the cost of living and current events. Tsotsitaal is important to its speakers, just as the standard language is to its speakers. Speakers of tsotsitaal accept it as a "correct" and "purified" variety. The reason for it being preferred by tsotsis, is that things and objects which they are interested in, can best be expressed by tsotsitaal.

2.3 The use of tsotsitaal in formal situations

It is rare to hear tsotsitaal being spoken in formal situations. Formal situations can be constituted in the home, the school, the church, the media and public gatherings. In all the above-mentioned places, the standard language is spoken. Although tsotsitaal has a vocabulary, it is too limited to fulfil all the communicative needs in a broader sense, especially in formal situations. Trudgill, on the use of non-standard variety in formal situations remarks:

... every attempt is made in the schools to prevent the child from speaking his native non-standard variety and each non-standard feature of which the teacher is aware, is commented on and corrected. For example the child will be told that it is "wrong" (and perhaps bad or a disgrace) to say I done it, I ain't got it, or he a good guy.

(Trudgill, 1974:74)

It is a fact that tsotsitaal will creep into the classroom in the form of oral or written work. Though teachers may discover some "unwanted" words and correct them, it is not all words which "go through" the teachers. So in the classroom we find a conflict between tsotsitaal and the standard language. Swanepoel, remarking about tsotsitaal in written compositions, says:

Many readers will immediately remark: oh yes that is the so called "tsotsi language of some youngsters in our towns". Who of us will not recognize these common terms? "notch", "groove", "cherry", "mnca", "smack", "dribble", "bra", etc.

My answer to these people is that this type of language is used so commonly today that it has found its way right into compositions and other written work.

(Swanepoel, 1978:8-9)

It is true that tsotsitaal is the variety spoken in informal situations but it can happen that it is spoken or written

occasionally in formal situations.

2.4 The use of tsotsitaal in informal situations

Tsotsitaal is usually associated with informal situations. Such a situation is characterized by a relaxed atmosphere. If the situation is informal, the language to be used will be tsotsitaal. This means that the communicating parties are friendly with each other. They are free to express their ideas and thoughts without obeying the rules which govern the syntax of the standard language. Van Wyk, on the use of tsotsitaal in informal situations, remarks:

Non-standard varieties are normally used only for lower functions such as interaction within peer groups and family groups, on the street and on the playground at home, and at work etc.

(Van Wyk, 1990:4)

2.5 Tsotsitaal and sexism

It is taken for granted that the speech of males and females is the same but this is not so. In some cases the difference is so slight that it can hardly be noticed. In any given society, the speech of men and women differs. We will therefore look at the use of tsotsitaal by males and females. Tsotsitaal is used more often by males than by females.

Firstly, the speech of males is considered to change more frequently; to be more dynamic, than that of females which is static. Trudgill comments:

... the male varieties are innovating and the female conservative, and in one case female variety is evaluated as better as opposed to worse.

(Trudgill, 1974:84)

The language variety spoken by females is regarded as better because there are few, if any, tsotsi words. "Conservative" means that the language spoken by females is not open to newly invented words and terms.

Secondly, women, in speaking the pure language, are maintaining the status of women in society. About maintaining the status of women, Trudgill says:

Sociological studies have demonstrated that women in our society are, generally speaking, more status conscious than men. For this reason, they will be more sensitive to the social significance of social class related to linguistic variables such as multiple negation.

(Trudgill, 1974:87)

Women are responsible for the upbringing of their children. As a result their language should be as pure as possible. It is very rare to hear them use tsotsitaal. A woman may be looked down upon by both men and women if she speaks tsotsitaal. Women are more status conscious as Trudgill postulated. However, males do speak tsotsitaal. They might be less status conscious. Even elderly males do speak tsotsitaal especially in the townships. ILanga LaseNatali says:

Uma ngabe usengumuntu osemusha, ungathini kodwa uma uhlangana nempunga yekhehla elineminyaka engu-66 ubudala livele likubingelele ngokuthi "Heytha Mjitha. Iqiniso ngukuthi ungavele ufikelwe wukuhleka, ulibhekisise. (If you were a young person, what would you say if you met an old man who is 66 years old, who greets you by saying "Hi guy". The truth is that you would simply laugh, and look at him unflinchingly).

(ILanga LaseNatali, 1986:40)

Elderly males mix freely with young boys and they are not ashamed to speak tsotsitaal. The status of an individual will determine his choice of language. Another factor which may contribute to the difference in the use of tsotsitaal, is that men socialise more often than women. Men normally meet in places such as on the streets, in shebeens and at soccer matches. Women, generally, don't go to shebeens, so they socialise in a narrower sense of the word than men do.

2.6 The relationship between slang and tsotsitaal

It should be mentioned that slang will be discussed in detail but this is not to say that slang is more important than tsotsitaal or vice versa. The reason for this is that, firstly, slang is universal whereas tsotsitaal is regional. By that we mean that slang is known across the borders of South Africa, as opposed to tsotsitaal which is spoken in South African urban areas. Secondly, slang has more recorded material while tsotsitaal has hardly any.

Thirdly, there could be no serious and persuasive discussion of tsotsitaal without necessarily referring to slang, as they both, we believe, belong to the same category - that of colloquial varieties.

Fourthly, tsotsitaal and slang overlap and as a result it is extremely difficult to distinguish between them.

Schuring confirms this submission:

Tsotsitaal (tsotsi language) is the slang spoken by Black urban youths.

(Schuring, 1981:122)

Lastly, most of the topics discussed under slang, are in reality also applicable to tsotsitaal, topics such as nicknames, slang for gambling, abbreviations of surnames etc.

Any attempt to define the word slang, would be an exercise in futility if one does not look at its origin and history. Slang is used synonymously with the word "cant". It seems as though the word "cant" is now in disuse and has become obsolete in favour of the word slang. A brief definition will be given of how the word cant originated. Hotten describes its etymology and remarks:

Cant is by some people derived from one Andrew Cant, who, they say was a Presbyterian minister in some illiterate part of Scotland, who by exercise and use, had obtained the faculty, alias gift of talking in the pulpit in such a dialect that it is said he was

understood by none but his own congregation - and not by all of them.

(Hotten, 1870:3-4)

However, later cant was used not only by the particular church as explained by Hotten, but was spoken by other people outside the church as a secret language. The chief users of cant were tramps, vagabonds, thieves and beggars. It was a secret language to those people who were begging or stealing to make ends meet. Another scholar, Partridge (1933) refers to cant as thieves' slang. The word "thieves" is all inclusive. We may also add to the list, people such as pickpocketers, hobos, tricksters, etc.

It would next be appropriate to discuss how the word slang started, that is, its etymology and furthermore, give a brief definition. Hotten, quoting Bee remarks:

Slang was derived from "the slangs or fetters" worn by prisoners, having acquired that name from the manner in which they were worn, as they required a sling of string to keep them off the ground.

(Hotten, 1870:38)

From this etymological explanation of slang, it can be deduced that "this type of fetters" was associated with the "vulgar language" spoken by prisoners. There is a close link and similarity between what Hotten says about the etymology of slang and what Bothma (1952) affirms about "tsotsitaal".

Slang is a colloquial speech spoken by a group of people as their exclusive language.

Partridge defines slang as:

... language of a highly colloquial type considered as below the level of a standard educated speech, and consisting either of new words or of current words employed in some special sense.

(Partridge, 1933:2)

Slang is a dynamic variety because its vocabulary changes

constantly. Words and phrases are used for a short period and are replaced by new ones. Swanepoel, about tsotsitaal as a slang, mentions eight important characteristics of this variety, of which four are relevant to the topic under discussion in this chapter.

- (1) This is not the language of a group or nation. It is commonly called "tsotsi-taal" and is used by some youth groups who operate in our urban areas.
- (2) This medium is very closely attached to a group or neighbourhood.
- (3) It changes from time to time and it could be called a "circumstantial communication medium".
- (4) It has no officially recognized orthography and no set rules as to how it should be written.

(Swanepoel, 1978:8-9)

Slang is not only spoken by youth, but is assumed to be well known. Orthography goes hand in hand with the language of educated people, that is, a standard language. Tsotsitaal is more of a spoken than a written language. Though we can take it for granted that the two are similar, there is a difference between a spoken and a written language. In the history of mankind, the former came first. Also, we all do that in one way or the other, that is, speak much more than write or read. Spoken language is used in a wider range of functions than written language. In situations such as radio and television broadcasts delivering a church sermon, conducting research, teaching a lesson or talking face to face, spoken language is used.

2.7 Nicknames as dynamic feature in tsotsitaal

Nicknames among youths, adults, and females, are very common in the townships. Also worth mentioning alongside nicknames more abbreviations of full names and surnames. We will attempt to categorize the nicknames and abbreviations and focus on their characteristics. The reason why the characteristics of nicknames for names and abbreviations of surnames was selected for further discussion, is because they constitute those characteristics

which make them static and dynamic. For instance the original word Mandla changes to Mindlos when it is used as a nickname. The origin of some of the nicknames are known, but others are unknown. Some nicknames came into being because of the physical appearance of the person.

About nicknames, Partridge asserts:

Nicknames are very common among the costers, and on this subject Henry Mayhem writes:

"The costermongers ... are hardly ever known by their real names" and they acquire their nicknames "by mode of dress, some remark that has ensured costermonger applause, some peculiarity in trading or some defect or singularity in personal appearance.

(Partridge, 1933:153)

Very few people, if any in the townships are still known by their Christian names. To support what Partridge says about getting a nickname "by means of dress", one of my informants said in the township if a person dresses elegantly, they normally call him/her Mathousands (mother of thousand rands).

2.7.1 Pupils using nicknames for their teachers

Pupils are the principal users of nicknames for their teachers.

There are four reasons for giving these nicknames.

Firstly, a teacher is bound to get a nickname on the basis of the subject he/she teaches. Another factor closely connected with the first reason, is the main character in the prescribed book the teacher is teaching. That is why teachers are called Hitler, Stalin, Oom Sarel, etc. One informant says they call one teacher MaVirus the nickname derived from a biology term virus. The informant said the reason for this was that the teacher was nearly a cripple, as well as the fact that they could not imagine what a virus was.

Another reason why teachers get nicknames is derived from the clothes they wear daily at school. A teacher was called Scotch, because he usually wore a tartan jacket. A former radio

announcer, V.V.O. Mkhize of Radio Zulu once said pupils used to call him Botsotso (tight trousers with no turn ups).

Thirdly, the physical appearance of a teacher can encourage pupils to give a nickname. One teacher was called Kati (cat) by his pupils. The reason for this nickname was that his hair was softened by a relaxer and he combed it in a smart way, "like a cat".

The fourth and the last reason is when a teacher likes repeating something or uses a word almost daily. My informant who was a pupil at Ndonsa High School in Newcastle, said a teacher was given the nickname MaStudents. This teacher taught Zulu and liked to say "my students" when advising the pupils about their studies. As time went by, his students called him MaStudents.

2.7.2 Nicknames among the youth-soccer

Youth, especially boys, like to play soccer in the dusty streets of the townships. During such soccer matches, nicknames are given to the boys. The reason for such names is because a youth admires a soccer star, or calls himself after a famous soccer star. Alternatively, his physical appearance might resemble that of a soccer player. A soccer player with a slightly protruding head, is called Jomo or Mjomana, nicknamed after Ephraim "Jomo" Sono.

The name Jomo is a nickname: his real names are Ephraim Matsilele. Because Sono is famous, anybody is now called Jomo. In the soccer fraternity, there are many nicknames because there are many different styles of playing soccer. Nicknames such as Shakes, Ace, Dancing Shoes, Chippa, Botsotso, Shintsha-Guluva, Scara, Sparks, Ma-Gents, etc. are common. Nicknames of soccer stars truly dominate the tsotsitaal words more than any other sport. That is why more nicknames are from this category as compared to other sports such as tennis, rugby, cricket, golf, etc.

2.7.3 Abbreviations of names to form nicknames

Many names are abbreviated to form tsotsitaal nicknames. It is common not to call one another by one's real name, but to use abbreviations.

Partridge, says about abbreviations:

The other kind of abbreviation, that in which a word of two or more syllables is shortened to a word of few syllables or in which two or more are so amputated, is on the one hand and "beyond all shadow of doubt", slang, not jargon even if the original word or words are technical or otherwise learned.

(Partridge, 1933:190)

In our case, we are not going to dwell on technical terms, but on the names of people.

- cf (i) Jabulani > Javas/Jasko/Jabs
- (ii) Mhlupheki > Hluks
- (iii) Sibusiso > Sbu
- (iv) Themba > Thiza
- (v) Nhlanhla > Nhlekes
- (vi) Moses > Mos

Some of the abbreviations can be accounted for, but others are obscure and explained logically and linguistically their origin is unknown. In a name such as Jabulani > Jabs, the first three letters were employed and an s was added which is the way in which plurals are formed in English. That also goes for names such as Moses > Mos; Sibusiso > Sbu which are clearly abbreviations.

But for Themba > Thiza, it's very difficult to account for its formation.

2.7.4 Abbreviations of surnames

It is not only first names of people which are abbreviated, but surnames as well.

- cf (i) Gumede > Gums
- (ii) Khumalo > Khums

- (iii) Nkabinde > Nkabs
- (iv) Dlamini > Dlams
- (v) Netshiheni > Nesh
- (vi) Matimbi > Timbisi/Timbi
- (vii) Baloyi > Ba
- (viii) Mthikhulu > Mthi
- (ix) Tsotetsi > Tso
- (x) Gqibithole > Gqibs
- (xi) Ntwanambi > Ntwanas
- (xii) Van AsWegen > Van As
- (xiii) Du Plessis > Dups

It has come to our attention that Afrikaners who use no Tsotsitaal also employ this form of abbreviation like Dups for Du Plessis. That on its own, shows the interference of the use of full surnames for abbreviations. The question of static and dynamic elements of tsotsitaal is evident in this abbreviation of the surname.

The abbreviations as listed above, are not only applicable to specific ethnic groups, but to all ethnic groups. Surnames such as Gumede, Dlamini, Khumalo, Nkabinde are Zulu surnames. Netshiheni and Matimbi are Venda surnames. Baloyi is a Tsonga surname. Tsotetsi is a Sotho surname. Gqibithole and Ntwanambi these are Xhosa surnames and lastly Van AsWegen and Du Plessis are Afrikaans surnames.

In some cases the person whose surname is abbreviated is aware of it and has accepted it. In other cases, the person whose surname is abbreviated is not even aware of it. It is normally used by a second or third person. Another type of abbreviation in surnames occurs when the initial MA/M is elided, and only the last portion of the surname is pronounced.

- cf
- (i) Mahlangu > Hlangu
 - (ii) Mkhize > Khize
 - (iii) Masilo > Silos
 - (iv) Madida > Dida/Didas
 - (v) Mazibuko > Zibu

- (vi) Mabaso > Baso
- (vii) Maseko > Seko/Sekos
- (viii) Mbhele > Bhele

This type of abbreviation of surnames is applicable to both formal and informal circles indicating a tone of intimacy. Looking at the formation of the surnames, most of them are formed by polysyllabic structure:

cf M/khi/ze
Ma/hla/nqu

Polysyllabic surnames are reduced to disyllabic surnames in forming abbreviations. Other surnames, are exception to the rule, those are Masilo, Madida, and Maseko because they suffix s and still become polysyllabic surnames.

Finally, the surname Mazibuko, forms an abbreviation by omitting the first and the last syllables.

2.7.5 Nicknames and shortening for township names in Soweto

The names of certain townships in Soweto are given nicknames and are also shortened. The nicknames and shortening can be incomprehensible to a listener.

- cf
- (i) Zola > Zambia
 - (ii) White City > Cancer
 - (iii) Meadowlands > Ndofaya
 - (iv) Dobsonville > Dobsie
 - (v) Orlando > London
 - (vi) Diepkloof > Klovers
 - (vii) Pimville > Skom
 - (viii) Rockville > Die Rock/Rock town
 - (ix) Jabulani > Javas

Since our focal point is on static and dynamic elements of tsotsitaal, the original names of townships were renamed and shortened by the tsotsis. The original and known name of a

township like Orlando was changed to London, whereas Dobsonville was shortened to Dobsie, thus proving that the static which is the original and dynamic which is the nickname or shortening respectively of tsotsitaal. Maybe the reason behind shortening Zola for Zambia is that in African states like in Zambia life was not comfortable if you are stranger, just like in Zola if you are a visitor.

2.7.6 Abbreviations of female names

It is not only male names which are abbreviated, but females too abbreviate their names. Nicknames for female do not occur. The reason might be that females do not involve themselves in activities such as playing soccer, street fighting or in the making of street jokes etc, which are meant for men.

- cf (i) Rebecca > Ribs/Ribzozo
- (ii) Phindile > MaPhindi/MaP
- (iii) Thokozile > Thokzini
- (iv) Sibongile > Bong-bong/MaBong
- (v) Simangele > Smah
- (vi) Zanele > Za/Mazethi

The Ma (the child of) is commonly used in surnames,

- cf (i) MaDlamini (the child of Dlamini)
- (ii) MaShabalala (the child of Shabalala)

The Ma nowadays is commonly used with the names of females.

- cf (i) Phindile > MaPhindi
- (ii) Brenda > MaBr
- (iii) Sibongile > MaBong
- (iv) Thandi > MaThandi

Furthermore, to demonstrate that abbreviations have been accepted by the owners of the names and by the public media like television, an example could be cited on television there was a woman by the name of Simangele Dlikilili. The name of this lady on television was appearing in the credits as Smah Dlikilili. Maybe as time goes by, abbreviations would be preferred and

accepted instead of full names if a respectable mass medium such as television does accept them.

2.8 Characteristics of names and surnames used in slang and tsotsitaal.

As far as the different characteristics found in slang are concerned, it can be pointed out that the same characteristics, are also found in tsotsitaal names and surnames. Mention must be made of the fact that though tsotsitaal and slang belong to the more or less same speech variety, slang has more documented material than tsotsitaal, as a result books and dictionaries, discussions about slang were found to be relevant to tsotsitaal.

Furthermore, our focus is still on the static and dynamic nature of tsotsitaal but the data derived from the characteristics of slang, has as its aim to show similarities between slang and tsotsitaal with emphasis on the dynamic nature of the latter.

The processes which occur in the formation of slang words are back slang, plurals, centre slang, front and back slang. These processes also occur in tsotsitaal. This stress the dynamic aspect of tsotsitaal.

2.8.1 Back slang

Back slang which exhibits one of the characteristics of morphology is best explained by Partridge:

The general rule is to spell a word backwards, and then, ideally, to employ the pronunciation approaching the closest to that often impossible arrangement of letters, but, in general practice, to adopt any approximate possibility, above all any approximation that is identical with or very similar to an already existing word. Mur is exact back slang for "rum" and was so frequently used in the War that many did not perceive that it was back slang, so is top reeb for a "pot of beer".

(Partridge, 1933:276)

Back slang also occurs in tsotsitaal in the names of people as well as other miscellaneous words.

- cf (i) Thandi > Nditha
(ii) Vusi Nhloko > Vusi Konhlo
(iii) Lucky > Killer
(iv) Anthony > Nitho
(v) Dagga > gada
(vi) Vusi > Sivu
(vii) Jabu > Buja
(viii) John > Najo

Back slang, just like in tsotsitaal makes it impossible for a listener to understand the real name or word.

2.8.2 The use of plural s

The plural formative s is commonly found in names and surnames. The semantic difference with the use of this s is that it does not denote the plural but the singular.

- cf (i) Thandi > Thandis
(ii) Phindi > Phindis
(iii) Kubheka > Kubs
(iv) Madela > Delas
(v) Bongane > Bongs

If one person is bidding farewell to more than two people, he normally says:

Bye-byes or Babayini (Zulu-ized for English bye bye). Also greetings such as Hallo are commonly pluralized in the sense that people now tend to accept that. We normally hear a person greeting a group by saying "hallos". The influence possibly comes from the pluralization of names and surnames as is the case with tsotsitaal and it is extended to greeting and bidding farewell. Another unusual practice which is also used is when a person excuses him/herself from two or more people. From the word sorry, they say sorini. The suffix -ni is derived from the imperative mood plural.

2.8.3 Front and Back slang

In some cases we find that the names of people are turned into slang and tsotsitaal by prefixing ma/m and suffixing -ana/wana, thus demonstrating the static and dynamic elements of tsotsitaal.

- cf (i) Vusi > MaVusana
(ii) Jacob > Mjacana
(iii) Bheki > MaBhekana
(iv) Gift > Mqiftana
(v) George > Mjojana
(vi) Sipho > Sithi > Msithana
(vii) Huzu > Mhuzwana
(viii) Reggie > Mrejana

The ma (the daughter of) in standard language is used for female surnames. But in tsotsitaal and slang, it is employed for male names as well. The syllabic m is also prefixed to some names. The suffix formative -ana/wana in standard languages denotes diminution, but in tsotsitaal does not refer to diminution. The ana/wana are perhaps suffixed for the fun of playing with words, at the same time showing how dynamic tsotsitaal and slang are.

2.8.4 Slang and tsotsi words for clothes

Clothing which goes hand in hand with fashion, changes very quickly and as such many words for clothes and fashion exist. In some cases, a style of a decade some years ago has now resurfaced under a different name. The City Press of 14 March 1993, quoted the names of clothes and attire which were famous in the late 1960s and early 70s.

Ntshingila avers:

Whatever happened to the Angora, the Boot Joys, the Florsheim, the Crocket and Jones, the Ayres and Smith, the Welcome Dover, the Barracuda, the Dobbs, the Valiant, the Nanana, the Dodge, the Strato chief, and of course the Paris belt.

(Ntshingila, 1993:13)

These items mentioned by Ntshingila were of good quality and very

expensive. The present generation does not know these fashions and they are no longer interested in this type of fashion. The following names for clothes and fashions were supplied by informants which are currently popular with them.

- (i) Isiggebhezana or isiggebhi (a mini skirt)
Mini-skirts are back in fashion. To Blacks, in traditional culture, it was and is still a taboo for a female person (married or unmarried) to wear a skirt above her knees. Nowadays, in the cities, ladies wear mini-skirts.
- (ii) IPepe (Bogart)
Pepe is a bogart which is redesigned by making it bigger in size and shape. It is obtainable in different colours such as dark yellow, light blue, bottle green, black and so on. Pepe is worn mostly by teenagers, but adults wear it too.
- (iii) Takkies
In slang just as in Tsotsitaal takkies are known by a variety of names such as mealie-rice, voetsek, dunlop, dirty dozen, all star, P.F. etc.
Takkies were worn predominantly by males so that they could climb on a moving train or alight from a moving train with ease. Women used to dislike takkies because it was alleged that they were "smelling" and were associated with tsotsis. Nowadays, takkies are even worn by girls, female students, especially a takkie called converse or all star. These takkies are normally worn with the Pepe (bogart) mentioned in (ii).

In the early 70's, even now an outfit is made famous by a group when three or four people will buy and wear the clothes simultaneously.

2.9 Slang and tsotsi words for gambling

Gambling, especially dice is liked by both teenagers and adults. Dice has its own slang and tsotsi words attached to it which may be incomprehensible to the non-gambler. Although there are many types of gambling such as horses, koppie-dice, playing cards, etc, we will concentrate on dice because there are more terms and secondly, it is the most favoured type of gambling in the townships.

To say that the terms we are about to discuss are slang and tsotsi words which are static and dynamic, is because they show changes from their original naming. Dice in Zulu are called amadayisi but in tsotsitaal they are called izinkasa or izinkwane. Ukugodla means to hide something, but in gambling dice, ukungodla means to "screw" dices to one's advantage. In Zulu to take something by force is ukughwaga or ukughwagela, but in gambling it is called ukunsala, thus proving that slang and tsotsi words for gambling are dynamic in nature.

(i) I do and I can't do

A person commencing the game says: "I do", and puts down an amount of money. At times the amount is stipulated like for instance one rand, two rand, five rand or even ten rand. The challenger will say "can't do", and will bet by putting down the same amount. The game starts. The person who throws down the dice normally shouts, eh! popo (numbers which makes the winner to take all or the numbers which will make him a winner). There is something ridiculous about dice gamblers, all of whom without exception shout or say something to the dice. One person was asked why he "talked" to the dice. He said it is the belief of the gamblers that one has to praise or shout at the dice if one wants the dice to "do" something for you. The question is whether the dice understands or indeed hears something!

- (ii) IPopo (numbers which makes the winner take all)
In dice, ipopo refers to the combination of the following numbers: six and five, six and one, five and two, and four and three. It means if these numbers appear, the person rolling the dice is the winner.
- (iii) ICrap (the person throwing dice is a loser)
Crap is the opposite of ipopo. The numbers which are regarded as icrap are the following combinations: six and six, one and one, and two and one.
- (iv) Ukungodla (means to "screw" dice as to favour one)
Ukungodla causes a lot of misunderstanding in dice at times leading to street fist fights or even stabbings.
- (v) School (a group assembled for common purpose especially gambling)
A group of people congregated for gambling dice is called a school in township slang.
- (vi) Knocks-man (the official in the game of dice)
The Knocks-man is the owner of the dice, who after three successive wins, claims a certain fee from a winner. The amount paid to knocks-man differs from one school to the other, depending how much is "on" the game. It is the knocks-man who resolves disputes in cases where there are queries. Queries do occur from time to time for instance when the dice fall "crookedly" showing two numbers.
- (vii) Izinkasa or izinkwane (dice)
Dice are not called amadayisi, as we have already explained, which would be a direct transliteration, but one known by other terms such as izinkasa or izinkwane. Maybe the aim of such terms was to mislead the police as this type of gambling is illegal.

Dice are played anywhere as long as it is convenient to the gamblers. One can gamble in places such as the pavement, in front of shops, in the street, on trains, buses, in the house, the school yard, inside the prison, in the classroom, etc. Even teachers do play dice on school premises.

- (viii) Ukunsala (to take money by force)
The person who is losing will in the end resort to ukunsala, that is taking all the money by force. Many a time, ukunsala leads to fist fighting or stabbing leading to death. There are many deaths which resulted because of dice, more specifically because of ukunsala, where no one is prepared to compromise.
- (ix) Ukuthenga imail (to help a friend with the numbers)
Anybody in a "school" can help a friend with his numbers. To be more explicit, if a gambler throws a number such as two and four or six and four, anybody is allowed to put money down and say "I buy the number". They will help each other to have the numbers on the dice. Once they fail both of them lose. If they succeed both of them win.
- (x) Imbombayi (dice with winning numbers only)
At times, a tsotsi may come to the "school" with his own pair of dice, which are specifically marked with the combination of winning numbers. Whilst the gambling is in progress, a person will change the normal dice and use his own. The culprit may or may not be discovered. If he is discovered, he is beaten up or stabbed or he will defend himself by fighting back. Finally, gambling of dice is the most popular type of game as compared to cards, koppie-dice and horses.

All black university students without exception, speak the slang understandable to them only. This slang might differ from one university to the other depending on the interests and activities of the student body.

Students at the University of the North might have a slang which differs from those at the University of Zululand. At the University of Zululand a male student without a girlfriend is called i-Arab, whereas at the University of the North, a male student without a girlfriend was called ingobhiya. The opposite of Arab was a Roman meaning the one who romances. Also at the University of the North, they use the same term Roman for the male student with a girlfriend.

(i) Amadabuka (cracks in the skin especially the feet)
 People who were outsiders or non-students were called amadabuka at the University of Zululand. This term was used for females who had male partners at the university. It is claimed that these amadabuka, most of the time go bare-feet, meaning that they were unemployed. At the University of the North, an informant said such females were called Kali/Kaalvoet, still denoting the same meaning.

At the University of the North, a day student was called dagi from Afrikaans word dag studente. The Faculty of Education was called Setotlwane, taken from the name of the College of Education next to the University. The Faculty of Law was known as a Supreme Court, Biblical Studies and Northern Sotho were called "The people's course".

At the University of Zululand when a student has failed a course, they say icourse ihambe noMhlathuze or uMhlathuze ugcwele (The Mhlathuze river is full of degree courses). In Natal, there is a river called Mhlathuze which borders on the University. It is believed by students that Mhlathuze is full of degree courses failed by students at the University of

Zululand.

- (ii) Ukubola (to study) was the term preferred and used by the student body rather than ukutadisha which means "to study".
- (iii) Ukudliwa isemester (to fail semester courses). If a student did not come back during the second semester, it was obvious that the particular student had failed to meet the requirements for that faculty.
- (iv) Ukuvoja/ukujovana (to inflict a joke on somebody) Ukuvoja literally means to inject, so students mean to tell a joke against somebody. When a group of people congregate for a common purpose of learning like in a university, be it a residential or a non-residential campus, they tend to establish slang words known to them only.

The question of how tsotsitaal words and slang interfere with the maintainance of standard Zulu especially in formal situations, can be summarized as follows:

Firstly, tsotsitaal words and slang do interfere with standard language because they appear and sound like correct Zulu words. A tsotsi word mfethu for mfowethu, the former sound like the proper word whereas it is a tsotsi word or even slang.

Secondly, in formal situations like a school some teachers do use tsotsi words and slang when addressing pupils and also condone pupils who speak these language varieties.

Thirdly, speaking a language variety goes hand in hand with writing a language. It is for this reason of speaking tsotsitaal and slang that pupils and students

commit many spelling and orthographic mistakes. Such influence of spelling words wrongly is caused by tsotsi words and slang. Pupils and students will write incubekela instead of ingubekela because this is how they speak.

Fourthly, abbreviation of words as employed in tsotsitaal and slang, also interfere with the abbreviations in the standard language. In the book of short stories titled Amangampungampu by Nxumalo and Khwela (1966), there is a character by the name of Qovegove in the short story Wo ... Bo!, student teachers used to write Qovs like in a case of Bongs for Bongane. This abbreviation of Qovs which does not exist in the standard language was employed in a public external examination for Primary Teachers Diploma, Junior and Senior.

Finally, the media especially television and radio consciously or unconsciously do promote tsotsitaal and slang, and that in turn interfere with the standard language because the public believe that the language spoken on television is "correct". Words in tsotsitaal and slang are in abundance in the advertising field. One sees and hears sentences such as Vivo ... Iyavaya Eyethu; Ama Niknaks Moja.

Lo mfana nguJabulane uneminyaka emihlanu. Isihleko sakhe sifana nesikayise.

Iyavaya is a tsotsi word/slang which in proper Zulu would be iyahamba, meaning that it is going. The word moja is also a tsotsi word or slang which is the same as mahle (they are fine) in Zulu. When tsotsis greet each other, after the first one says heita!, the other one will respond by saying kunjani. The first person will respond by saying kumoja, which means it is fine. The word isihleko its really difficult to classify because it is not a tsotsi word or slang, but the fact is that in standard

language, there is no such word. The correct infinitive verb is ukuhleka (to laugh) not isihleko.

2.11 Summary

In this chapter, the dynamic elements of tsotsitaal were discussed, together with other varieties like slang and colloquial Zulu. The similarities in tsotsitaal and slang were outlined. In the discussion it was pointed out that some of the characteristics which occur in tsotsitaal also occur in slang.

The characteristics of tsotsitaal and slang were chosen because of their popularity in the townships and because the bulk of vocabulary came from them.

On the question of university slang, the objective was to highlight the fact that slang is also spoken by the so called "elite", that is the educated members of the community, not only by ordinary people.

At the tail end of the chapter, the interference of tsotsitaal and slang with the standard language especially in formal situations was summarized.

Chapter 3The morphology of tsotsitaal3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the morphological structure of tsotsitaal. We will look critically at how words are formed in tsotsitaal to establish whether they are formed by following the grammatical rules of the standard language or whether they are formed haphazardly.

All morphemes which are an integral part of morphology will be discussed.

Secondly, we will look at the morphology of the different word categories in the standard language and compare them with those in tsotsitaal.

Tsotsitaal, however, has a limited vocabulary, so not all the word categories will be discussed. The main reason for the choice of certain word categories is because some word categories in tsotsitaal are the same as in the standard language, e.g. the pronoun as found in the standard language is the same as in tsotsitaal. Also the qualificative (that is, the adjective, relative, enumerative and possessive), is the same in both the standard language and tsotsitaal.

Tsotsitaal has only two conjunctives in its vocabulary viz. "maar" and "and". This will be discussed as we proceed.

3.2 The class prefixes and noun classes in tsotsitaalNoun class prefix

1 umu- um- umshana (a boy)

2 aba- abe- ab- abashana (boys)

1a u-

2a o- abo- awo-

Tsotsi nouns

umshimane (a boy)

umthaka (a boy)

abashimane (boys)

abathaka (boys)

uxhathawani (a

stereotyped person)

u-four (a policeman)

o x h a t h a w a n i
(stereotyped people)

		<u>abo-four</u> (policemen)
3	<u>umu-</u> <u>um-</u>	<u>umkhukhu</u> (a house made of corrugated iron)
4	<u>imi-</u>	<u>imikhukhu</u> (houses made of corrugated iron)
5	<u>i-</u> <u>ili</u>	<u>ithayima</u> (father) <u>ikholi</u> (colddrink) <u>igada</u> (a train)
6	<u>ama-</u>	<u>amathayima</u> (fathers) <u>amakholi</u> (colddrinks) <u>amagada</u> (trains)
7	<u>isi-</u> <u>is-</u>	<u>isibhadu</u> (a shoe) <u>isikwiza</u> (sister in law)
8	<u>izi-</u> <u>iz-</u>	<u>izibhadu</u> (shoes) <u>izikwiza</u> (sister's in law)
9	<u>in-</u>	<u>injiva</u> (a jacket) <u>intwana</u> (a young boy)
10	<u>izin-</u>	<u>izinjiva</u> (jackets) <u>izintwana</u> (young boys)
11	<u>u-</u> <u>ulu-</u>	<u>uhlamvu</u> (a coin)
12	<u>izin-</u>	<u>izinhlamvu</u> (coins)
13	-	
14	<u>ubu-</u> <u>ub-</u>	<u>ububhari</u> (stupidity)
15	<u>uku-</u> <u>uk-</u> <u>ukw-</u>	<u>ukubhoda</u> (to die) <u>ukuvaya</u> (to go away) <u>ukuchibuka</u> (to sit/stay) <u>ukunaneka</u> (to be drunk)

3.2.1 Analysis of class prefixes and noun classes in tsotsitaal

It is clear from an analysis of the class prefixes that noun classes in tsotsitaal are formed by a prefix and a stem. This feature is the same in noun classes in the standard language.

Classes 1 and 2

Normally, nouns which signify the human race are classified in this class. In tsotsitaal, we observe the same similarities in meaning, i.e. that of a person cf umshana (a boy) umshimane (a boy) umthaka (a boy). The same meaning holds true for nouns in class 2, that of people cf abashana (boys), abashimane (boys) abathaka (boys).

Classes 1a and 2a

Doke's remarks about nouns in classes 1a and 2a, that:

Singular prefix u, plural prefix o; awo, class indicate

- (a) Proper names.
- (b) Kinship relation.
- (c) Miscellaneous words, many.
- (d) Words of foreign origin.

(Doke, 1927:40)

In tsotsitaal uxhathawani (a stereotyped person) and u-four (policeman), does not convey any relationship, but refers to a human being who is not related to the speaker.

Classes 3 and 4

Nouns in classes 3 and 4 refer to non-living objects in the standard language, and the examples of umkhukhu (a house made of corrugated iron) and imikhukhu (houses made of corrugated iron) are also non-living objects. There is commonality with regard to nouns belonging to these classes in both the standard language and tsotsitaal.

Classes 5 and 6

In these classes, we find a combination of living beings and non-living objects. Nouns such as ithayima (father), i-ofi (mother) refer to the human race as against ikholi (cooldrink) and igada (train) which are non-living objects.

Classes 7 and 8

In classes 7 and 8 we find both living and non-living objects.

The living objects in standard language are mostly animals such as isilwane (an animal), isikhova (an owl) whereas non-living things are isicathulo (a shoe), isibhamu (a gun). In tsotsitaal, isibhadu (a shoe) is a non-living object, whereas isikwiza (sister-in-law) refers to a human being but not an animal. Class 7 frequently also refers to languages e.g. isiZulu, isiBhunu, isiFuletshi, etc.

Classes 9 and 10

Classes 9 and 10, according to the nouns in tsotsitaal, belong to inanimate objects and a living beings respectively, viz injiva (a jacket) and intwana (a young boy).

Classes 11 and 10

Nouns belonging to these classes are living beings and non-living objects, but in tsotsitaal we only find nouns which are non-living objects in uhlamvu (a coin), izinhlamvu (coins).

Class 14

In this class, we find nouns with normal and "camouflaged" prefixes. In tsotsitaal, the noun ububhari (stupidity) is an example of a normal prefix ubu+ibhari, the initial vowel -i- of the stem being elided.

Class 15

Class 15, has nouns which are formed from verbal stems, and tsotsitaal is no exception to that rule viz ukuchibuka (to sit/stay).

By observing the examples given, it can be concluded that the formation of nouns in tsotsitaal is static in that it does not differ from that of Zulu. However, the stems are dynamic in that the examples in class 1 and 2, for instance, are "loaned" from Sotho, umshimane and umthaka, abashimane, abathaka. Class 1a and 2b, u-four, o-four is from English, and igada, ithayima, isibhamu, injiva are all coinages.

3.3 The verbs in tsotsitaal

All verbs which are used in the township in tsotsi conversation, are formed by prefixing the infinitive formative, uku- to the stem:

<u>-cika</u>	>	<u>ukucikica</u> (to write)
<u>-theza</u>	>	<u>ukutheza</u> (to collect/gather firewood or papers or tyres to make a fire)
<u>-phema</u>	>	<u>ukuphema</u> (to perm one's hair)
<u>-fumbatha</u>	>	<u>ukumbatha</u> (to be bribed)
<u>-phanda</u>	>	<u>ukuphanda</u> (to look for money)
<u>-cisha</u>	>	<u>ukucisha</u> (to kill a person)
<u>-photha</u>	>	<u>ukuphotha</u> (to convince a person)
<u>-bhayiza</u>	>	<u>ukubhayiza</u> (to act confusedly)
<u>-zosa</u>	>	<u>ukuzosa</u> (to eat food)
<u>-jaha</u>	>	<u>ukujaha</u> (to be always in the fore front in doing things)
<u>-geleza</u>	>	<u>ukugeleza</u> (to attend school/or to learn).

These verbs indicate that tsotsitaal speakers are dynamic in the sense that the verbs acquire a completely different meaning from that of the standard language.

For instance, a verb stem like ukugeleza in Zulu means: the flow of water. But in tsotsitaal it means "to attend school", according to them, attending school regularly is like the flowing water of the sea. Another example is the verb stem ukuphotha which in Zulu means "to plait" or "to roll up something like a ball of wool or cotton". To the tsotsis ukuphotha means to be so persuasive that somebody actually believes what is being told. Many more examples may be cited to show that verb stems in tsotsitaal are static in the sense that the stems are still those of the standard language, yet the meaning of those stems are dynamic because they convey the changed meaning from their original ones. Once a verb is known to the general public, a new one replaces it.

For things and activities which fall within interest, they coin several verbs.

3.4 The formation of the locative adverb from nouns in tsotsitaal

Regarding the general rule in forming locatives from nouns, Doke says:

Substitute -e- for the initial vowel of the noun, and in place of the final vowel, suffix as follows:

- eni for final -a- umfula > emfuleni
- eni for final -e- izwe > ezweni
- ini for final -i- inyoni > enyonini
- weni for final -o- isango > esangweni
- wini for final -u- izulu > ezulwini

(Doke, 1927:232)

Here are examples of locative adverbs in tsotsi words which show the dynamic elements of this language variety, cf

- eni for final a - idladla > edladleni (at home)
- eni for final -a- imbiza > embizeni (in the city)
- ini for final -i- ipozi > epozini (a hide out)
- wini for final -u- igubudu > egubudwini (an uncomfortable place to sleep, especially jail).

There is no doubt that the last mentioned nouns follow the rules of a standard language when forming locative. Van Rooyen remarks how other nouns form their locatives:

Certain locative of place and time are formed by nouns merely by prefixing e- with no suffix e.g. of place

- ikhaya > ekhaya (at home)
- iziko > eziko (in the fire)
- ulwandle > elwandle (at the sea)

of time or season

- imini > emini (during the day)
- ubusika > ebusika (winter time)

(Van Rooyen, 1984:36).

Locatives formed from nouns in tsotsitaal:

- iGermiston > eJimara (Germiston)
- iSprings > eSpiyoyo (Springs)
- iStanderton > eEstates (Standerton)
- iJozibebele > eJozibele/eJozibebele (Johannesburg)

uMdubane > eMdubane (Durban)
ihhosи > ehhosи (abbreviation for hospital)
isigele > esigele (at school)
ilevi > elevi (at the lavatory)
idladla > edla (at home)
ikasi > ekasi (at the location)
ibhiyo > ebhiyo (abbreviation for bioscope)
istedi > estedi (abbreviation for stadium)
idanyana > edanyana (in jail)
ijapasi > ejapasi (late in the afternoon or in the evening).

It is clear that tsotsis like to shorten the names of places and other nouns when forming locative. A name such as Johannesburg, which should be eJozibele, but tsotsis would prefer to call it eJozи. i-Jozibele is from Johannesburg, that is Johannes which is the name of a person plus burg which is a city or town. To explain it further, burg which is an English word was interpreted as ibele which means a breast. Since the place itself was full of gold, so the people believed that by coming to Johannesburg their aim was to "suck" the city of its gold. So in short Johannes was abbreviated as Joz and burg ibele as a result eJozibele. Maybe another interpretation might be that Johannes, is the person who discovered gold in that place, and the town or city was named after him and it became Johannesburg.

A place such as Standerton is shortened to eStates when forming a locative.

Germiston, tsotsis abbreviate as Jimara and it becomes eJimara when the locative is formed. To say how did they come to Jimara instead of iJimistoni is really unknown. The reason might be iJimistoni has five syllables as against iJimara which has four syllables. The same explanation can be given to eJozи as against iJozibele, the former has three syllabes as against the latter which has five syllables. Places such as hospitals, bioscopes and lavatories are abbreviated as ehhosи ebhiyo and elevi.

If we analyse the formation of that in tsotsitaal only the first

three syllables of each word are extracted to form a locative, prefixing the locative prefix e- and suffixing different terminatives in -i- for ehhosi -o- for ebhiyo and -i- for elevi.

The locative stem stedi for stadium does not need any explanation because it is a clear abbreviation. The locative edanyana for jail, is derived from idamu (a dam). Maybe the meaning for a jail being called edanyana is because when one is in jail, life is uncomfortable and very hard, like when you are living in a dam. In the case of edla for home, the most popular locative is edladleni as against edla which is undoubtedly an abbreviation.

Lastly, esigele for school is derived from isigele.

3.5 Deideophonic verbs in tsotsitaal

In Zulu many verbs are formed from ideophones by suffixing either -ka- -la or -za. Similarly tsotsitaal also derives verbs from ideophones by suffixing -ka -la and -za cf

gwaja > gwajaza (to make one panic)

fuku > fukuza (to work continuously without a break)

khahlala > khahlaka or khahlaza (to be a worn out person)

shalu > shaluza (to move up and down)

fahlala > fahlaka > fahlaza (to be arrested by the police)

vithi > vithika or vithiza (to be drunk or worn out)

botho > bothoka > bothoza (to be alcoholic/worn out
person)

khehle > khehleka > khehleza (to be worn out)

khece > kheceza (to have sexual intercourse)

mbombo > mbomboza (to drink excessively)

nyundu > nyunduka or nyundula (to take out something)

yotho > yothoka (to sleep)

yaka > yakaza (to be fired from work or be jilted by a
lover).

These deideophonic verbs are commonly used in the townships by the speakers of tsotsitaal. This proves that verbs from

ideophones are not just composed haphazardly, but in accordance with the rules of the standard language, this feature of the static nature of tsotsitaal. The formation of such ideophonic verbs is not something planned by the speakers of tsotsitaal, but it is how they use them in their daily conversation.

That is why pupils and students are tempted to use such verbs when they write essays and in their classwork, because these words appear to be Zulu words and also sound like Zulu words but they are in fact tsotsi words.

Certain verbs are derived from ideophones by using miscellaneous suffixes, cf

bhubhu > bhubhudla (to lose excessively in a game or at a gambling)

cimi > cima (to extinguish)

ci > ciba (to pass something such as money as an object)

ci > cisha (to kill somebody)

mbombo > mbomba (to drink)

The last mentioned type of verbs are also used by tsotsis, though their use is very limited.

3.6.1 The causative in tsotsitaal

The causative in Zulu is formed by suffixing -is- to the verb stem. The verbs used by tsotsi speakers also form their causative as in the standard language cf.

-fukuza > fukuzisa (to cause one to work continuously without break)

-phanda > phandisa (to help one search for money)

-banda > bandisa (to cause one to panic)

-bhaga > bhqisa (to cause one to be caught red handed)

-fumbatha > fumbathisa (to bribe somebody)

-gwaja > gwajisa (to instill fear in someone)

-dla > dlisa (something profitable)

-bhayiza > bhayizisa (to cause one to act confusedly)

-phanda > phandisa (to drive a car recklessly)

-bhoda > bhodisa (to kill somebody)

-geleza > gelezisa (to teach someone)

-vaya > vayisa (to take someone/something to a certain

place)

-ma > misa (to stop something)

-bhaya > bhayisa (to sell)

Apart from the causative, other verbal derivations in tsotsitaal can include the reciprocal, and the applied neuter and passive which also shows the static and dynamic elements. Static in that they are formed following the same rules as in the standard language, and dynamic because the inflected verbs have different meanings.

3.6.2 The reciprocal in tsotsitaal

The reciprocal is formed in standard language by eliding the final vowel of the verb stem and suffixing -an. Tsotsitaal does have verb stems which denote the reciprocal.

phanda > phandana (to search/look for something)

nkawuza > nkawuzana (to smoke repeatedly)

vaya > vayana (to go to one place repeatedly)

nkintsha > nkintshana (to drink continuously)

gembula > gembulana (to gamble continuously)

blasu > blasana (the process of buying)

geleza > gelezana (busy studying a subject).

The formation of the applied form does occur in tsotsitaal.

3.6.3 The applied form in tsotsitaal

The applied form in Zulu is formed by suffixing -el- and eliding the final vowel of the verb-stem. Tsotsitaal also contains verbs with the same features. These verbs can also suffix ni to form the interrogation

cf -vaya > vayela (to go for) or -ni can be suffixed to form the interrogation uvayelani? (why are you going?)

-geleza > gelezela (to study for)

-ugelezelani? (what are you studying for?)

-nkintsha > nkintshela (to drink for)

-unkintshelani? (why are you drinking?)

-gembula > gembulela (to gamble for)

-ugembulelani? (what are you gambling for?)

-fahlaka > fahlakela (to be arrested for)

-ufahlakelani? (why are you arrested?)

-bhaya > bhayisa > bhayisela (to sell for). This is the applied formed from the causative.

-ubhayiselani? (why are selling that?)

-rutla > rutlela (to rob for)

-qidla > qidlela (to sleep for)

-uqidlelani? (why are you sleeping?)

-spinza > spinzela (to drink for)

-uspinzelani? (why do you drink?)

3.6.4 The neuter in tsotsitaal

According to Doke, the general rule for the formation of the neuter is to suffix -eka in the place of the final vowel of the simple stem.

(Doke, 1927:139)

In tsotsitaal certain verbs form the neuter in a similar way as the standard language cf.

-vaya > vayeka (movable road)

-chibuka > chibukeka (be seated)

-chafa > chafeka (something that can be hidden)

-geleza > gelezeka (readable)

-nkawuza > nkawuzeka (smokeable)

-rutla > rutleka (something which can be stolen)

3.6.5 The passive in tsotsitaal

The passive form is formed in Zulu by suffixing -iw or w and eliding the final vowel of the verb-stem. Tsotsitaal contains certain verb stems which form the passive cf.

-keca > kecwa (to be beaten)

-fahlaza > fahlazwa (to be arrested)

-bhoda > bhodisa > bhodiswa (to be killed by someone)

-hhesha > hheshwa (to be forced by)

-stira > stirwa (to be sent by).

All verbal derivativeness have been discussed, with the exception

of the intensive and the dimunitive which don't occur in tsotsitaal.

The static and dynamic features of tsotsitaal with derivatives were highlighted by demonstrating that verbal derivatives in tsotsitaal are static because they follow the same rules as those of the standard language, but they are at the same time, also dynamic because they have different meanings.

3.7 The formation of copulatives from nouns in tsotsitaal

A copulative is a word category which functions as a predicate, and is derived from other parts of speech by inflexion or derivation. The general rule for the formation of copulatives from nouns is that for nouns beginning with -i we lower the tone and one may substitute -y- eg. inja > yinja (a dog).

Tsotsitaal is also capable of forming copulatives following the general rule, cf

impisi > 'impisi > yimpisi (it is a vicious person)

ibhari > 'ibhari > yibhari (it is a stupid person)

Nouns which begin with -u- might lower the tone or the prefix of the noun may be preceded by -ng- eg.

-umthaka > 'umthaka > ngumthaka (it is a fellow)

-umshimane > 'umshimane > ngumshimane (its a boy)

The common factor which both the standard language and tsotsitaal exhibit, is noun which have -i- has its prefix or affix y, whereas those nouns which begin with -u-, affix -ng- when forming the copulative.

The meaning attached to those copulatives is dynamic in the sense that they convey a different meaning from the usual one.

3.8 The formation of personal and impersonal nouns in tsotsitaal from verbs

According to the general rule, personal nouns are formed from verb stems by prefixing the suitable prefix and suffixing -i- eg.

dlala > umdlali (a player) > A brief look at the personal nouns in tsotsitaal reveals the following.

(i) Personal nouns of class 1

- khuthuza > umkhuthuzi (a pick-pocketer)
- kokotela > umkokoteli (a person involved in a business of stealing cars)
- kakada > umkakadi (a pick-pocketer/a person involved in a business of stealing cars)
- qudla > umqudli (a person doing crooked deeds).

Personal nouns of class 1, according to Meinhof's classification, are formed from verbs, which the tsotsis use in their daily speech in the townships

(ii) Personal nouns of class 2

- khuthuza (to steal a purse or money from someone using the fingers) > abakhuthuzi (pick-pocketers)
- kokotela (to change the chassis and engine numbers of a car using a hammer) > abakokoteli (people involved in the business of stealing cars and changing their original serial numbers)
- kakada > (to pick-pocket/stealing cars and changing their chassis and engine numbers using a hammer) > umkakadi (pick-pocketer/people involved in stealing cars and changing their original identity)
- qudla > (when a crab moves, it moves in a crooked way) > umqudli (people doing crooked deeds)

(iii) Personal noun of class 9

- phuza > impuzi (an alcoholic)

(iv) Personal noun of class 10

- phuza > izimpuzi (alcoholics).

Personal nouns of classes 9 and 10 respectively, are derived from verbs and not from nouns.

Personal nouns in tsotsitaal are formed following the general

rule of the standard language, which is a static element, but the dynamic feature is that all of these personal nouns, with the exception of khuthuza and abakhuthuza are used by the tsotsis and have a specific meaning in tsotsitaal.

Impersonal nouns

The general rule for the formation of impersonal nouns is that we prefix the suitable prefixes and substitute the final vowel -a- of the verb stem with -o- eg. thunga > umthungo.

(i) Impersonal nouns of class 1

- habula > umhabulo (be politicised)
- zabalaza > umzabalazo (political resistance)

(ii) Impersonal nouns of class 5

- gawula > igawulo (food)
- zosa > izoso (delicious food)
- canda > icando (food)
- gubuda > igubudo (a clash/fight)

(iii) Impersonal nouns of class 7

- camutha > isicamtho (speech of the youth)
- qamunda > isiqamundo (speech of the youth)
- qimbela > isiqimbelo (a stomach)

We have already pointed out in chapter one page 18, that tsotsis nowadays prefer the word isicamtho or isiqamundo to the word tsotsitaal. Seemingly these words isicamtho and isiqamundo are derived from the Zulu verb stem -thamunda, because in Zulu we have the verb -thamunda (talk/discuss). When we look critically at ukugamunda and ukuthamunda, we observe that they are more or less the same except that tsotsitaal have ga instead of tha, but the rest of the syllables are the same.

Nouns are derived from two types of stems, namely the primitive stems and the derivative stems. In tsotsitaal we do have nouns derived from primitive stems eg. idladla, isigele, igedlela and

also nouns derived from verb stems.

By primitive stems we mean noun stems which are not derived from other parts of speech. Again the fact that tsotsitaal has nouns derived from verbs clearly shows that such verb stems have been used to refer to current actions and activities. A personal noun such as umkokoteli (a person involved in the business of stealing cars) is derived from the verb stem -kokotela (to change the chassis and engine numbers of a vehicle using a hammer). The action of stealing cars where the chassis and engine numbers are tampered with or changed completely, is really something contemporary. The unbanning of political organisations, has made some impersonal nouns popular overnight and they have become accepted. An impersonal noun such as umzabalazo (political resistance) or ukuzabalaza (to resist) have become popular in the sense that people prefer it to isiteleka (a strike). Before the unbanning of political organisations, pupils, students and the community at large, used to conscientise one another so as to mislead the police, umhabulo meant to be politicise.

3.9 Perfect stems in tsotsitaal

Certain verb stems can be converted to convey the meaning of perfect stems in tsotsitaal by suffixing -ile for the final vowel of the verb stem. Here are examples, capable of forming the perfect stems, which demonstrate the static and dynamic element of tsotsitaal because they are formed by the rules of the standard language but the meanings are completely different from those of the standard language cf.

- gawula > gawulile (having eaten)
- rhafa > rhafile (to have paid)
- gidla > qidlile (to have slept)
- zosa > zosile (having eaten)

Here are examples of the perfect and immediate past tense.

Perfect past tense

- (i) Thina sizosile ekuseni, namanje ebusuku sisasuthi.
(Although we have eaten in the morning, we are still satisfied).

- (ii) Le mali abengikweleta yona ungcibile yona ngesonto eledlule. (The money he owed, was given to me last week).

Immediate past tense

- (i) Senginkawuzile, unqanika uJoe ongakankawazi. (I have smoked, give the cigarette to Joe who has not yet smoked)
- (ii) Sengirhafle etaxini ungabe usarhafa. (I have already paid the taxi, don't pay again).

3.10 The reflexive in tsotsitaal

In Zulu there is a reflexive formative -zi- which is used before the verb stem. This formative conveys the meaning of "acting for yourself". Let us consider examples in tsotsitaal.

- cisha > ukuzicisha (to fumble)
- fahlaza > ukuzifahlaka (to get arrested for making a mistake)
- fahlaza > ukuzifahlaza (to get arrested for making a mistake)
- bhorga > ukuzibhorga (to bail yourself out)

The word bhorga in tsotsitaal is borrowed from Afrikaans "borg" which means to bail out. One tsotsi might say to another:

Ukuzibhorga akulunganga nxa ufaahlakele isimeke (to bail yourself out is not good especially if you are arrested for robbery). So tsotsis believed that if you are arrested for robbery or fraud, it is better to remain awaiting trial than to bail yourself out.

Furthermore, the reflexive formative -zi- may be used with the applied form, also conveying the meaning of "acting for yourself or by oneself" cf.

- phanda > ukuziphandela (to crave something for oneself)
- geleza > ukuzigelezela (to learn by oneself)
- chibuka > ukuzichibekela (to stay by oneself)
- vaya > ukuzivayela (to go by oneself)
- cabanga > ukuzicabangela (to think for oneself)
- denka > ukuzidenkela (to think for oneself).

Obviously this verb-stem -denka is borrowed from Afrikaans dink.

3.11 The interjectives and vocatives in tsotsitaal

Tsotsitaal is also capable of forming interjectives as well as vocatives. Here is the list of interjectives of greeting and bidding goodbye in tsotsitaal:

Hhola! (Hallo!)

Hhola! Hhola! (Hhallo! Hallo!)

Hheshe (Hallo!)

Heita! (Hallo!)

O kay Mthakathi! (goodbye my friend)

O kay sithakathi! (goodbye my friend)

These interjectives are commonly used in the townships by adults, youths, teachers and pupils alike. It is not unusual to hear a pupil greeting a teacher by saying: "Heita meneer", and the teacher responding by saying: Heita mjitha. (Hallo gentleman) referring to the pupil.

3.11.1 The formation of vocative interjectives in tsotsitaal

Vocatives are formed by elision of the initial vowel of the noun prefix. The following vocative interjectives are commonly used by the tsotsis in the township.

umthakathi > mthakathi! (O friend!)

umthaka > mthaka! (boy!)

abathaka > bathaka! (boys!)

amajitha > majitha! (males/boys!)

amajimeni > majimeni! (gentlemen!)

ithayima > thayima! (father!)

umagrizini > magrizini! (mother!)

untanga > ntanga (friend!)

The word amajimeni would seem to be borrowed from the English "gentlemen" and adopted to tsotsitaal by adjusting the syllables. The words umthaka and abathaka are importations from the Sotho language nouns mothaka class 1 and bathaka class 2 (boy and boys) respectively and adjusting their initial syllables.

3.12 Conjunctives in tsotsitaal

There are two conjunctives which are commonly used in tsotsitaal, viz. "maar" and "and". The use of these conjunctives is to combine sentences, sometimes they are placed at the beginning of a sentence. It is not only tsotsis who use these conjunctives, but also elderly people. That is why people who speak and know the standard language can detect a person who is from the township by his/her indiscriminate use of "maar". One may hear very often in the township sentences such as

- (i) Maar uhambeleni izolo. (But why did you leave yesterday?)
- (ii) Maar why ungasafoni? (But why don't you phone anymore?)
- (iii) Maar wenzani? (But what is going on?)
- (iv) Bekufanele sihambe izolo, maar asihambanga. (We were supposed to have left yesterday, but we did not go).

Use of "and"

- (i) Bengihamba nomama and sifuna le nombolo. (I went with my mother looking for this number).
- (ii) Bengifunda and ngisebenza. (I was reading and working).
- (iii) Bengiwasha amafasitela and bona bependa. (I was washing the windows and they were painting).

3.13 Adverbs of manner in tsotsitaal

Tsotsitaal has adverbs of manner which are unique and dynamic to the speaker of the standard language. Some of these adverbs of manner are formed by the prefix ku- cf.

Sharp! (its okay)

Sharp! Sharp! (Okay! Okay!)

KuSharp! (its okay!)

Grand! (its okay)

Ku-grand! (its okay)

Dolly! (its okay)

Mngca! (its okay)

Sweet no mkataka (its okay, no trouble).

These adverbs of manner are responses when one tsotsi has asked

the question Hoezit! (How are you).

Finally, most of these word categories which have been analyzed morphologically, are from isiZulu, isiXhosa, seSotho, Tsotsitaal, English and Afrikaans but the majority of them are from isiZulu.

3.14 Summary

In this chapter, we have looked at the morphology of tsotsitaal. We have established that tsotsitaal is capable of forming words by following the same grammatical rules that are applicable to standard language. This feature makes tsotsitaal a static language. At the same time, the meaning attached to those words by the tsotsis is different from the original meaning. This makes these words dynamic as spoken by the tsotsis. Though tsotsitaal is more of a spoken language, we could still identify certain nouns, locatives, verbal extensions, deveritative nouns, adverbs, copulatives, etc. Word categories such as pronouns, qualificatives and ideophones are not used by tsotsis.

Chapter 4The meaning of tsotsitaal words and terms4.1 Introduction

This chapter concentrates on the socio-semantic aspect of tsotsitaal. While concepts such as pragmatics, register, change in meaning, idiomatic expression, synonyms and antonyms to mention a few, do not comprise the whole discipline of socio- semantics, they are nevertheless some of the concepts found in socio- semantics which shall be dealt with in this chapter. They are chosen because of their relevance to the discussion and also to delimit the scope of this study. It may also be added that tsotsitaal, comparatively speaking, is similar to the standard language with regard to these perspectives of semantics. As point of departure, it will be attempted to define what socio- semantics is, and thereafter a detailed discussion will follow.

4.2 Socio-semantics

It is imperative to define broadly the concept "socio- semantics". Socio-semantics refers to the meaning of words and phrases in a social context. In defining socio-semantics, Halliday remarks:

The concept of sociolinguistics ultimately implies a "socio-semantics" which is a genuine meeting ground of two ideologies, the social and the linguistic. And this faces both ways. The options in meaning are significant linguistically because selections in grammar and vocabulary can be explained as a realization of them. They are significantly sociological because they provide insight into patterns of behaviour that are in turn explainable as realization of the pragmatic and symbolic acts that are the expressions of the social structure.

(Halliday, 1973:64-65)

Socio-semantics by implication refers to instances where a word can have two or more meanings. As Halliday stated, it is the

meeting ground of the two aspects, the society on the one hand and the meaning attached to the word/s by that society.

It is socio-semantics which will help in an understanding and comprehension of terms such as the register, pragmatics, changes in meaning, etc.

4.3 Register

Register is that variety of speech used for a specific purpose. It indicates that the language is not uniform but consists of codes or repertoires. In the introduction, it was stated that tsotsitaal, among other things is a type of register. It might be used whether tsotsitaal is a slang or a register. Tsotsitaal contains aspects of both in the sense that slang deals with words with new meanings, much as any speech form can be used as a register, but tsotsitaal was and still is spoken for purposes of hiding the meaning of words and for in-group communication.

Halliday, in defining a register, says:

This last point is a reflection of the contexts of situation in which language is used, and the ways in which one type of situation may differ from another. Types of linguistic situation differ from one another, broadly speaking in three respects: first what is actually taking place; secondly, who is taking part; and thirdly, what part the language is playing. These three variables, taken together, determine the range within which meanings are selected and the forms which are used for their expression. In other words, they determine the "register".

Table 1. Varieties in language

Dialect ('dialectal variety') = variety according to the user	Register ('diatypic variety') = variety according to the use
A dialect is: what you speak (habitually); determined by who you are (socio-region of origin and/or adoption), and expressing diversity of social structure (patterns of social hierarchy)	A register is: what you are speaking (at the time); determined by what you are doing (nature of social activity being engaged in), and expressing diversity of social process (social division of labour)
So in principle dialects are different ways of saying the same thing and tend to differ in: phonetics, phonology, lexicogrammar (but not in semantics);	So in principle registers are ways of saying different things and tend to differ in: semantics (and hence in lexicogrammar, and sometimes phonology, as realization of this)
Extreme cases: antilanguages, mother-in-law languages	Extreme cases: restricted languages, languages for special purposes
Typical instances: subcultural varieties (standard nonstan- dard)	Typical instances: occupational varieties (technical, semi- technical)
Principal controlling variables social class, caste, provenance (rural urban); generation; age, sex	Principal controlling variables: field (type of social action); tenor (role relationships); mode (symbolic organization)
Characterized by: strongly-held attitudes towards dialects as symbol of social diversity	Characterized by: major distinctions of spoken/written; lang- uage in action/language in reflection

(Halliday, 1978:31 & 35)

Register clarifies meaning in a given situation. Tsotsitaal may be used or may not be used as register. If it is used as a register the meanings attached to the words will differ considerably from the meanings attached to words in a standard language. Msimang asserts that tsotsitaal is used as a register when he says:

It is common knowledge that tsotsis do not always speak tsotsitaal. There are certain social situations where they would speak their mother tongue, for example in conversation with their parents and other elders in their native society, or they speak one of the official languages, for example when speaking to authorities. However, among themselves, they always speak tsotsitaal. There is no doubt that tsotsitaal is used as a register.

(Msimang, 1987:84)

When one addresses one's superiors the language one uses differs from that one uses when speaking to one's peers. Also, the situation will determine the type of language to be used. Gregory and Carroll define register as:

The realization of the semantic possibilities of language.
It defines what can be meant in a situation. Register is

then culturally determined since it is culture of a society which determines the patterns of environment in which the language can occur. These environments, generalized as situation-types and which include the relevant objects and participants, event, etc. determine and in turn are determined by language usage.

(Gregory and Carroll, 1978:64)

The term "register" can be divided into three sub-divisions namely: field of discourse, mode of discourse and tenor of discourse.

4.3.1 Field of discourse

"Field of discourse", refers to the topic or subject-matter under discussion. Halliday, quoting John Pearce (in Doughty et al 1972:185-6) refers to the institutional setting in which a piece of language occurs, and embraces not only the subject-matter in hand but the whole activity of the speaker or participant in a setting [one might add: "other participants"] .

(Halliday, 1978:33)

In the field of discourse, both the speaker and the interlocutor are actively constructing the subject-matter. The topic must be understood by both of them as they converse. They will use terms which they are familiar with. Fields of discourse which tsotsis like to discuss are things and objects which they like best. These include topics such as money. Phrases where money is the main topic include the following:

- cf (i) Ukuphanda inyuku (search for money)
- (ii) Ukucrivula isimeke (search for money)
- (iii) Anginagwece (I don't have money)
- (iv) Angikhehlanga, nqizobe nqikhehle kusasa (I don't have money, I will have money tomorrow)
- (v) Anginasmeka (I don't have money)
- (vi) Inyuku ayikho (there is no money)
- (vii) Intaba ayibonwa (there is no money)
- (viii) Usebenza nqepilisi (he is selling mandrax)

Another topic which tsotsis like to discuss is that of girlfriends and making love.

- cf (i) i dark dindili (a girl with a dark complexion)
- (ii) umavetana (a girl with a light complexion)
- (iii) umsingizane (a slender and tall lady)
- (iv) mina no Dudu siyiKappa (there are tracksuits which are called Kappa, which have a trade mark of two people sitting back to back. This means that Dudu and I are in love just like the couple on the tracksuit)
- (v) ukushaya icrap (not to find a lover at his/her place as by arrangement)
- (vi) ukubumper (not to find a lover at his/her place as by arrangement)
- (vii) amaroma (romance)
- (viii) ukuhlabu (to have sexual intercourse)
- (ix) lengane iyangihlanyisa (this particular girl drives me mad)
- (x) ukuvaya nswempu (an unsuccessful love advancement)

Finally, another topic which they like most is discussing stealing cars.

- (i) ilahle (a stolen car)
- (ii) iyashisa (a missing/stolen car wanted by the police)
- (iii) iqinsa (a stolen car)
- (iv) umqinsi (a person stealing cars)
- (v) uyaginsa (he is stealing cars)
- (vi) isipikili (to change the original engine number of a car with the intention that it should go undetected)
- (vii) Iphepha lekari (registration documents of the car)
- (viii) ukushaya itayela (to drive recklessly especially if one is fleeing away from the police)

These are not the only three topics which are topics of

discussion by tsotsis. We can also mention topics such as, attending parties; arming themselves with unlicensed firearms, 10111 which is the telephone number of the flying squad dealing with stolen vehicles; to be arrested; robbery etc. There would be no language without topics, hence the above-mentioned topics facilitate the recurrence of tsotsitaal in our community. Hence, the field of discourse gives rise to many discussions that take place between tsotsis.

4.3.2 Mode of discourse

Mode of discourse refers to a medium of communication, that is either a spoken or written language. Messages can be transmitted from speaker to the hearer either verbally or in printed form. The spoken language can be reinforced by using gestures, facial expressions, posture etc.

Halliday, about the mode of discourse says:

Mode refers to the channel of communication adopted: not only the choice between spoken and written medium, but much more detailed choices [we might add: "and other choices relating to the role of language in the situation"].

(Halliday, 1978:33)

Mode of discourse is a very important and indispensable tool of communicating. Gregory and Carroll, quoting Abercrombie (1967:1-2) say:

If we compare a piece of written English with a piece of spoken English, regarding them simply as physical objects or events, and forgetting for the moment the fact that they convey meaning to us, it is apparent at once that they bear no resemblance to each other whatever. The piece of written English consists of groups of small black marks arranged on a white surface, while the piece of spoken English consists of a succession of constantly varying noises. It would hardly be possible for two things to be more different. However, we have only to recall the fact that both of them convey meaning, to be in doubt that, utterly dissimilar as they may be, they are both equally

English. As soon as we make explicit this identity lying behind the complete difference, we have in fact drawn the distinction in question: we have recognized, in effect, that the piece of spoken English and the piece of written English are the same language embodied in different mediums, one medium consisting of shapes, and the other of noises.

(Gregory and Carroll, 1978:37)

From the interviews which were conducted at schools and the Training College, the majority of the informants alleged that they converse with their friends in tsotsitaal. Pupils and students confirmed that most of the time during lunch breaks on the playground, they speak tsotsitaal. Even teachers who were interviewed stated that the medium they used at school when they communicated with colleagues, was the spoken medium of tsotsitaal and Zulu. Tsotsitaal can also be in written medium. There are many research studies on tsotsitaal. Scholars such as Msimang (1987), Schuring (1983), Swanepoel (1981), Mfenyana (1977) and Mfusi (1990) just to mention a few. The remarks of Gregory and Carroll about the mode of discourse, is also true for tsotsitaal. Tsotsitaal can either be spoken or written. It is the same language transmitted in different forms. In any speech event, the medium of communication is equally important to the topic of discourse and the participants in the discourse.

4.3.3 Tenor of discourse

Tenor of discourse means the social status, age and background of the participants in the speech event. It also means the relationship between the speaker and the hearer ... i.e. casual, intimate, formal, informal etc.

Halliday remarks:

Tenor ... refers to the relationship between participants ... not merely variation in formality ... but such questions as the permanence or otherwise of the relationship and the degree of emotional charge in it (Halliday, 1978:33).

One type of discourse may differ from another because of its tenor. When a person addresses his superiors, the language he will use will differ from the language he uses when he speaks to his peers.

Gregory and Carroll say:

Tenor reflects how the addresser (speaker or writer) interacts with the addressee (the listener or reader) in an addressee relationship ... The exact nature of the addressee relationship depends upon divisions of social structure; on the way in which any society is organized.

(Gregory and Carroll, 1978:49-50)

We can categorize the relationship between the communicating parties as formal and informal. The language to be spoken in a formal situation will be the standard language, which is static, not changing, whereas in informal situations the language will most likely be tsotsitaal which is of course dynamic.

Status and social relations - informal

(i) In a situation where a friend converses with a friend, automatically the language will be informal, i.e. tsotsitaal may be used in that situation.

cf (A) Uvaya nobani vandag. (With whom are you going today?)

(B) Vandag ngivaya nesimadzadza. (Today, I am going out with the beautiful lady.)

(A) Uyobe ukhehlile ne? (You will be having a lot of money, is that so?)

(B) Ngikhehle kuphi, ngoba inyuku anginayo. (No, I don't have money.)

(ii) The situation in which one teacher speaks to another outside the classroom will be informal.

cf (a) Meneer, lezi ntwana zase Room 45 ziyananya.
(Sir, these boys from Room 45 are now out of hand, they are misbehaving).

- (b) Nami ngizibonile qister, ngenkathi ngithi kuwe bezibhema iqada eklasini. (I have noticed them yesterday when I said to you they were smoking dagga in the classroom.)
 - (a) Kufanele sizikece le zintwana (They must be punished, these boys.)
 - (b) Ukuzikeca angeke kusize, kungcono zigguzwe lapha esigele. (Punishing them won't help, the best thing is for them to be expelled from the school.)
- (iii) A pupil may speak to his teacher in tsotsitaal depending on the relationship and the age gap. If for argument's sake, a pupil is eighteen years old, and the teacher is twenty-three years old, it is common for them to communicate in tsotsitaal.
- cf (A) Pupil: Holla! meneer, manje idulux usayifuna? (Hallo, sir, now you still need those stolen goods.)
- Teacher: Yiphi idulux, itape? (Which stolen goods, the tape?)
- Pupil: Sinama tyre anive asaprinta. (We have got tyres, they are still new).
- Teacher: Nqizowacanda after school. (I will take them after school.)
- Pupil: Sharp meneer. (It's okay sir.)

Status and social relations - formal

- (i) If a principal speaks to the pupil, we expect a pupil to respond in the official language or in standard language.
- cf Principal: James, kungani ufika emva kwesikhathi isikole sesingenile, wumkhuba wakho lo zonke izinsuku. (James, why do you come to school late, it is your habit to come late almost everyday.)
- James: Nqiyaxolisa principal, into ngiselive namuhla, ngilale ebusuku izolo. (I am very sorry principal, I overslept today and I went to bed late yesterday.)

Principal: Nqizokuxolela namuhla, uwuyeke lo mkhuba wakho omubi. (I will forgive you today, but you stop that bad tendency of yours.)

James: Nqiyabonga principal. (Thank you Principal.)

(ii) If a boy speaks to his parents, the language used by a boy will show respect and politeness.

cf Prince: Manje mama, bathe esikoleni sibocela imali yohambo oluya eRand Show. (Now, mother at school they have said we should request money for a trip to the Rand Easter Show.)

Mother: Imalini leyo edingeckayo? (How much is needed?)

Prince: Akuduli mama, wu-R50 kuphela sekuhlangene nemali yokungena. (It is not expensive mother, it costs only R50 when the entrance money is added.)

Mother: Linda ubaba wakho, uyeza khona manje. (Wait for your father, he is on his way).

(iii) If a rector speaks to a student, obviously, the language used will be formal because of their positions in that institution and in society, and the age factor will also play a dominant role in that conversation.

cf Rector: Konje uwubani iqama lakho? (By the way, what is your name?)

Student: Ngingu Joyce Fakude. (I am Joyce Fakude.)

Rector: Wenza ziphi izifundo? (Which courses are you taking?)

Student: Ngenza izifundo zikaB.Paed. I am pursuing a B.Paed degree.)

Rector: U-major ngaziphi izifundo? (What are your major subjects?)

Student: i-Education nesiZulu. (I am majoring in Education and IsiZulu.)

Rector: Kuhle-ke lokho, ekhaya kukuphi? (That

is wonderful, where do you come from?)

Student: Kuse Babanango, le eNatali. (I am from Babanango in Natal.)

Rector: Uphase ekupheleni konyaka. (You must pass at the end of the year.)

Student: Nqizophasa. (I will pass.)

Implied in the meaning of the term, tenor of discourse is the fact that speakers and the listeners who are intimate friends or in the same age group can converse in an informal way and those who are not friends, in a formal way. It is for this reason that tenor can become code-switching and code-mixing.

Msimang, drawing a distinction between the two, states:

"Code-switching is inter-sentential whereas code-mixing is intra-sentential". In the words of Bokamba code-switching is:

"The embedding or mixing of words, phrases and sentences from two codes within the same speech event and across sentence boundaries". In contrast, code-mixing is "the embedding or mixing of various linguistic units i.e. morphemes, words phrases and clauses from two distinct grammatical systems or sub-systems within the same speech situation". (1985:3-4). Accordingly, "tsotsitaal might be more akin to code-mixing than code-switching".

(Msimang, 1987:83)

Msimang is correct when he says that tsotsitaal is more of code-mixing than code-switching because his informants state that in their speech they speak tsotsitaal and their speech is dominated by tsotsitaal. On the other hand, code-switching is a situation where one speaker uses two different varieties at different times. To be more explicit, if a person speaks to a friend in tsotsitaal, for example

(i) Amagata amfahlazile usedanyaneni. (The policemen have arrested him, he is in jail.

The very same speaker, later on that day might speak to his parent in the standard language, e.g.

- (i) Cha mama, uZodwa ubethunywe yimina ukuba ayongicelala ushintshi laphaya esitolo sakwaMdlalose. (No! mother, Zodwa was sent by me to get change from Mdlalose's shop). One person might switch registers many times on a day depending with whom he is speaking.

Other scholars, Appel and Muysken about code-mixing and code-switching say:

Intra-sentential switches occur in the middle of a sentence.

This type of intimate switching is often called code-mixing.

Inter-sentential switches occur between sentences, as their name indicates.

(Appel and Muysken, 1987:118)

Here is a short discourse which is an example of code-mixing:

Gister sithakathi, bengivaya nomunye umntwana. Uma ngifika daar eVatini, ngithola amajita achibukile, saspinza kwaze kwaba ilate bells, ejapasini. Phela daar bebedlala lezi namba, engizincanywa blind. Ngathi uma nqiqogola phandle ngathola kunswempu, kugcwele amaJackrollers. Ngema drie-kop staan, ngingazi manje ukuthi uma sekunje kumele ngenzenjani. Lama Jackrollers nqiyawazi awashiyi ebantwaneni. Wena Jita, bavele bakukhombe nqensimbi, bathathe umntwana ngehheshi.

(Yesterday, my friend, I was walking with my girlfriend. When I arrived there at the shebeen called "The Water", I found my friends socialising. We drank until late in the evening. They were playing the type of music I like most. When I peeped outside, it was bad. The place was full of thugs. I stood there undecided as to what I should do. These thugs, I know them, they don't leave girls alone. They just point a gun at you the man, and they take the girl by force).

If we analyze this speech act, we can say it is a mixture of

three languages, Afrikaans, Standard Zulu and tsotsitaal.

A Afrikaans

Gister (Yesterday)

daar (there)

staan (to stand)

B Standard language

nomunye (with another)

uma ngifika (when I arrived)

ngithola (I found)

kwaze kwaba (it was until)

phela (indeed, really, truly)

ngathi uma (when I)

ngathola (I found)

kugcwele it's full of)

ngema (I stood)

Nqingazi manje ukuthi uma sekunje kumele ngenzenjani (Not knowing if things are like that, what I should do)

lama (demonstrative pronoun indicating "these")

nqiyawazi (I know them)

awashiyi (they don't leave anything)

bavele bakukhombe (they just point at you)

bathathe (they take)

C Tsotsitaal

sithakathi (my friend/comrade)

bengivaya (I was walking)

umntwana (a girlfriend)

eVatini (locative indicating at the place called "Water")

amajita (gentlemen/guys)

achibukile (relaxed)

saspinza (we drank)

ilate bells (late in the evening)

ejapasini (in the evening)

bebedlala lezinamba engizincanywa blind (They were playing the words/music I like most)

nqigola (to peep)

ama Jackrollers (thugs notoriously known for robbery, rape and car theft)
drie-kop (to be undecided)
ebantwaneni (girls)
jita (a gentleman/guy)
ngensimbi (with a gun)
umntwana (a girl)
ngehheshi (by force)

In this section it has been attempted to illustrate the difference between code-mixing and code-switching.

4.4 Pragmatics

The term "pragmatics" is a new field of study which is concerned with the meaning of words and phrases in the context of the situation. Aitchison gives the following definition of pragmatics:

It is the branch of linguistics which studies those aspects of meaning which cannot be captured by semantic theory. In brief, it deals with how speakers use language in ways which cannot be predicted from linguistic knowledge alone. In a narrow sense, it deals with how listeners arrive at the intended meaning of speakers. In its broadest sense, it deals with the general principles followed by human beings when they communicate with one another. It is therefore sometimes light-heartedly referred to as "the waste paper basket of semantics."

Pragmatics overlaps with discourse analysis, which deals with the various devices used by speakers and writers when they knit single sentences together into a coherent and cohesive whole.

(Aitchison, 1972:97)

There are many words and expressions in tsotsitaal which cannot be explained semantically. It is only pragmatics, as the branch of linguistics which can help in this regard. Pragmatics goes

hand in hand with the changes in meaning, since it is the change of meaning in words, phrases, sentences which is accounted for by pragmatics. Tsotsi terms from archaic Zulu words and Tsotsi terms from current Zulu words are explained better from a pragmatics point of view. There are also idiomatic expressions, antonyms and synonyms which we study in Tsotsitaal from the functional usage aspect. The inclusion of pragmatics and its relevance to this discussion is solely for the understanding of aspects such as changes in meaning in, tsotsi terms from archaic Zulu words, Tsotsi terms from current Zulu words, idiomatic expressions and, antonyms and synonyms in tsotsitaal.

4.4.1 Changes in meaning

According to Anderson:

Semantic change has been viewed as changes due to cultural modifications whereby the object referred to changes in the course of time but the name remains the same (e.g. pen, today is considerably different from the quill used in early times and changes due to social stratification and interrelationships, where words take on specialized meanings among various social groups and these meanings may then be disseminated throughout the speech community.

(Anderson, 1973:178-179)

Since the meaning changes according to time, language can be said to be dynamic. Language must adapt itself to new situations. Gregory and Carroll, about the change in meaning, correctly remark:

Words change their meanings according to the context. Word meaning is neither fixed nor stable. Word meaning can be considered to be meaning in use, the "living" word as it appears in situation. Meaning realized in recurrent and typical situations can itself be seen as part of a larger system of meaning to which members of the community have access.

(Gregory and Carroll, 1978:76-77)

It is the context in which a word is used which will determine its meaning. So the meaning of words and phrases is not something fixed, but is flexible depending on the speaker's intended meaning. Here are some examples of words that indicate that language is not stable but dynamic.

4.4.2 Tsotsi terms from archaic Zulu words with a change in meaning

Firstly, archaic words are selected to prove that Tsotsi words and terms are truly from the standard Zulu language, and that the life-style of people has changed drastically due to urbanisation. Secondly, words used by the new generation were actually used by their parents, although, nowadays, with the change of meaning to suit the needs and activities of the tsotsis.

Thirdly, in order for us to understand Tsotsitaal better, we have to look at the history of the standard language and archaic words form part and parcel of that history. There are many Tsotsi terms from archaic Zulu words which have changed their meaning. Let us take the archaic word "idladla" (storehouse or temporary hut) for instance. Msimang states:

Idladla (storehouse or temporary hut) is an archaic Zulu word for a storehouse or temporary dwelling. This term comments on the political circumstances of blacks in the urban areas in the past. In terms of the influx control legislation blacks are labelled migrant labourers who may be permitted to remain in a so-called prescribed area so long as they are in an employ of a certain individual, firm, or institution. If they lose the job, they also lose the right to remain in that urban area. Consequent to this, the black man is perpetually a temporary sojourner in the South African towns and cities, which is why the tsotsi refers to his home as nothing but a temporary dwelling. The meaning of "idladla" as storehouse is also very apt in describing the poor shape of these township houses commonly called "match-boxes".

(Msimang, 1987:84-85)

Let us now attempt to look critically at other archaic Zulu words and the meaning attached to them by the tsotsis. These words are: ihlombe (shoulder) ukugabha (to vomit) ingubo (a blanket) and umgxala (a long thick iron to dig holes). The reason why the words are called archaic is because they were used long ago, but tsotsis use them with a change in meaning.

- (a) ihlombe (a shoulder). To tsotsis ihlombe means a lover. The thinking behind ihlombe as a lover could be because when they walk side by side with their lovers, in a cool atmosphere; they touch each other by the shoulders. Alternatively, when they hold each others hands, their shoulders will touch. One would hear a tsotsi saying: uThoko ihlombe lika Bongane. (Thoko is in love with Bongane). The word ihlombe is commonly used by males when they refer to their loved ones.
- (b) Ukugabha (to vomit) -gabhisa (to make one vomit). Ukugabha means to vomit when one feels bilious. According to the tsotsis, gabhisa means to bribe. Once a tsotsi does a favour for a person, he expects that particular person to thank him in the form of money. Literally, to cough up money.
- (c) Ingubo (a blanket). Tsotsis use the word ingubo, meaning a soft paper found inside the boxes of some cigarette brands such as Mills and Consulate. This soft paper, like a blanket, is used to roll dagga using saliva, and is called ingubo. Dagga is mixed with cigarette tobacco or with cocaine or mandrax to have an immediate effect.
- (d) Umgxala (A long thick piece of iron to dig holes). Ukushaya umgxala in tsotsitaal means to alert someone when one is doing something wrong.
cf Uma sintshontsha imali ebhange, uboshaya umgxala nxa

kufika amaphoyisa. (When we steal money at the bank, alert us when the police arrive). Since umqxala is long, seemingly when you hit it, is as if somebody who is outside will be aware of the danger and run away.

- (e) inkomo (a cow) When the cow eats grass in the field, it does so continuously at times even eating maize. So the tsotsis call a person who just plays soccer in a haphazard way "inkomo" - playing wrongly, with hands; running after the ball haphazardly, even playing when it is outside the field.
- (f) ukutheza (gather firewood) It was general practice in the olden days to have special days where females would go to a forest to collect firewood to make fire. Tsotsis use the word "ukutheza" but this time meaning to gather papers, cupboards, plastics, or tyres to make fire in the street corners in the evening, especially in winter. This daily practice has led the tsotsis to refer to "umlilo" (fire) as "ithezi" (fire) from the verb ukutheza (to gather/collect fire).

The examples above clearly demonstrate that some tsotsi terms are derived from archaic or current Zulu words.

4.4.3 Tsotsi terms from current Zulu words with a change in meaning

There are also many tsotsi terms from current isiZulu words. About the word "intaba" (a mountain), Msimang says:

Intaba, which literally means mountain, symbolizes size. This shows that the tsotsi craves lots of money.

(Msimang, 1987:85)

- (a) cisha (put out a light or fire) "cisha" ... literally means to put out a light or fire. This is very symbolic of death, especially the death of a tsotsi - which is usually by unnatural means. Death, to him,

is no more than just switching off the light, and he is no more. True but very ironic. It also shows how much they value life. When they say "Ngizokucisha sany" (I am going to kill you, young man), they imply that to them your life has no more value than a lit candle that can easily be blown out.

(Msimang, 1987:85)

- (b) zwakala (be audible) This verb-stem means that you can hear somebody when he speaks or calls you. Seemingly, the record of the famous group Isitimela - zwakala nganeno (come nearer) made "zwakala" to mean "to come to someone".

That is why tsotsis say:

zwakala hier (come here)

- (c) canda (to chop) It is common practice to chop wood to make fire. Tsotsis, however, look at the action of chopping into pieces and they use the verb-stem "-canda" to mean devour food when one is hungry.
- (d) hlohlala (means to push something in very hard) Tsotsis mean that when they stab you, they screw the knife in the wound so that you may die. "Ukuhlohlala" does not mean ordinary stabbing, but really turning the knife around in the stabbed wound.
- (e) banda (means to be cold) When one is cold, one shivers. The tsotsis mean by "banda" to be afraid of something, which leads to shivering. They will always say: Wabanda ngambona esephuma (He shivered and went away).
- (f) isinkwa (means bread) Bread is a food which is eaten mainly for breakfast. Tsotsis use the word "isinkwa" to indicate the stolen property by which they live. One often hears a tsotsi saying: Lapho engisebenza

khona akunasinkwa (Where I am working, there is nothing to steal).

More of these current Zulu words which are now used as Tsotsi terms appear in the questionnaires of pupils and students.

4.4.4 Idiomatic expressions

There are many idiomatic expressions in Tsotsitaal which have been used lately. These idiomatic expressions have been brought about by recent and new ways of life. Idioms are formed from two parts of speech, namely nouns and verbs.

(A) Verb-Stem: Ukushaya (to hit)

- (i) Ukushaya indiyandiya (delaying tactics or to roam around looking for something) Tsotsis use this idiomatic expression when they say one must wait, delay, or roam around, e.g. Lomfana oshaya indiyandiya lapha ufunani? (This boy who is roaming around here, what is he looking for?) Shaya indiyandiya ubuye mbayimbayi (Delay a little, and come back later).
- (ii) Ukushaya izithupha (to combine a thumb and finger). It is when a tsotsi exaggerates when he relates something to his friends, e.g. First person: Mina nqiphuze itwo klipper izolo ngenkathi ngivaya no Zodwa. (I spent two hundred rands on liquor yesterday when I was with Zodwa).
Second Person: Wena itwo klipper uyithathaphi, uyathanda ukushaya izithupha. (Where do you get two hundred rands from, you like exaggerating).
- (iii) Ukushaya umfana/abafana or ukushaya isix nine (to hit the boy) (to urinate in tsotsitaal).
- (iv) Ukushaya iround (to visit a place or a person). Ukushaya iround simply means to go away with the aim to come back as if one is moving in a circle, where

you come back to the original place.

- (v) Ukushaya isitulo (to hit the chair) (to go away in tsotsitaal). To tsotsis when one leaves a place, it is as if one hits a chair, a sign that one is really going.
- (vi) Ukushaya isicathulo (to hit the shoe) (to go away in tsotsitaal). This expression is used because shoes are associated with walking. As one walks, it is as if the shoes hit the ground.
- (vii) Ukushaya itafula (to hit the table). When patrons at a shebeen pay for liquor, they put their money on the table so that the shebeen owner may count it. The action of putting the money on the table is like hitting the table with the money e.g. Shaya itafula uma ufuna ubhiya (Put the money on the table if you want a beer).
- (viii) Ukushaya ikrepu (not a winning combination numbers in the gamble of dice)

This expression is used by tsotsis when they play dice. The one person who rolls the dice says, "I do". A respondent says "Can't do". If the roller plays numbers like six and six, two and one, or one and one, he is a loser. He will simply say "Ngishaye ikrepu" (I have lost). So when a tsotsi could not find a lover or any the other person he had gone to see or visit, other would say Ushaye ikrepu.

These are common idiomatic expressions used by the tsotsis in their daily activities. An idiomatic expression which uses the verb-stem ukushaya (to hit) was dealt with, focus will now fall on another verb-stem, namely ukushiya (to leave)

- (B) Verb-stem: Ukushiya (to leave)
- (i) Ukushiya uphemile (to perm one's hair).

cf Nqizokushiya uphemile nxa uphika nami. (I will leave you surprised if you compare yourself with me).

This idiomatic expression, ukusala uphemile is an equivalent of a standard language expression, which is: ukusala umangele/unkemile (to be left surprised). Ukuphema is from English word to perm.

(ii) Ukushiya ukhathele (to leave one saturated or satisfied)

cf Ngale moto yami, ngingakushiya ukhathele ngalesi sikorokoro sakho (with this car of mine, I will leave you satisfied with your scrap).

(iii) Ukushiya ungenaforkol (to leave one with nothing).

cf Abotsotsi baggekezile kwakhe, bathathe zonke izimpahla bamshiya angenaforkol. (Tsotsis burgled his house, and took all the clothes, they left him without anything). Forkol its an equivalent of niks in Afrikaans, origin maybe is English fuck all!.

(C) VERB-STEM Ukushayela (to beat for)

(i) Ukushayela phezulu

Akanamoto lowo, uthanda ukushayela phezulu ngezimoto zabantu. (That one has no car, he likes to be pompous about other people's cars).

Finally, it is necessary to consider idioms which use miscellaneous verb-stems.

(i) Ukubeka phansi/ukudla phansi (to put down)

cf Wadla phansi ngenkathi kughamuka amaphoyisa (He ran away when the police approached)

(ii) Ukungabeki phansi/ukungadli phansi (not to put down)

cf Unqabeki phansi uma kughamuka amaphoyisa ngoba bazoku suspecta (don't run away if policemen approach,

- because they will think that you are a suspect).
- (iii) Ukuthwala inhlabathi ngezifuba (to carry the soil with the chest)
 cf Uma ungafuni ukuthwala inhlabathi ngezifuba, sikhombise lapho imali ikhona (if you don't want to be killed, show us where the money is).
- (iv) Ukuphambana nemvula literary (to face upward and the rain pours on you)
 cf Lowo ngimfuna aphambane nemvula ingakapheli le nyanga le. (That one, I want him dead before this month ends).
- (v) Ukubamba injiva (to catch the jacket)
 cf Wena awukuthengi ukudla, uthanda ukubamba injiva (You don't buy food, you like to be a parasite).
- (vi) Ukungabambi injiva (not to catch the jacket)
Thina asibambi injiva uma siza, siphatha inyuku yokudla. (we are not parasites, when we come we bring along the money for food).
- (vii) Ukufaka ekhwapheni (to have an extra-marital affair)
 cf Ukufaka ekhwapheni umuntu oshadile akulungile (To have an extra-marital affair with someone married is not good)
- (viii) Ukubhula amazolo (to remove sunny dews)
 cf iOrlando Pirates ne Moroka Swallows ziyobhula amazolo ngo 11 emdlalweni wefayineli ozoba phakathi kwe Chiefs ne Sundowns ngo 3 ntambama (Orlando Pirates and Moroka Swallows will play in the morning at 11 so that final match between Chiefs and Sundowns will be at 3 pm)
- (ix) Ukubamba umshini (to catch the machine)
 cf Bamba umshini, thatha lesimeke noma singaphelele (Just understand, take this money even if it is not enough)
- (x) Ukungabambi umshini (not to catch the machine) the negative of (viii)
 cf Le thiza ayiwubambi umshini uma ufika late (This teacher does not understand if you come late)

- (xi) Ukufaka esikhwameni (to put something in the pocket)
 cf Ukufaka esikhwameni abantwana besikole akulungile nxa uwuthisha (To be taken for granted by the students if you are as a teacher are not good)
- (xii) Ukujwayela kabi (to take one for granted)
 cf Ungijwayele kabi, angisiyintanga yakho sanny (You take me for granted, little boy, I am not of the same age as you are)
- (xiii) Ukuba yisibotho (to become an alcoholic)
 cf Ufuna ukuba yisibotho uma uphuza utshwala zonke izinsuku
 (You will become an alcoholic if you drink daily)
- (xiv) Ukufaka ijazi (to give one muti with the intention to make a person have a more active love life)
 cf Le nkosikazi ikufake ijazi ifika ebusuku uthule nje
 (This woman controls you, she comes late and you keep quiet)

Some idiomatic expressions were discussed looking at both the positive and the negative, whilst others were not. An expression Ukuthwala inhlabathi ngezifuba would become Ukungathwali inhlabathi ngezifuba, is unintelligible. In the same breath, an expression like Ukungabambi injiva, it is really intelligible because tsotsis do speak like that, they are saying that a person is not a parasite.

These are idiomatic expressions formed from verb-stems. A brief look at the idiomatic expressions formed from nouns will follow.

Nouns

- (i) Isikhathi (time)
 cf Isikhathi sesishwabene asilahle isayidi (The time is up, let us go)

Idiomatic expressions, in tsotsitaal can be formed from verbs and noun stems. As far as their meaning is concerned, they might mean something peculiar like all idioms and proverbs. With

regard to their composition, an idiom is formed by a verb followed by the noun or vice versa.

The majority of these idiomatic expressions are formed by the verbs ukushaya followed by a noun in the singular viz isitulo (to go away) isicathulo (to go away) umfana (to urinate) ikrepu (to lose).

It does happen that a verb stem is followed by a noun in the plural, viz izithupha, (to be pompous) abafana (to urinate).

The only exception is where one verb follows another verb.

cf Ukushaya indiyandiya (delaying tactics or to roam about looking for something). Ukushaya indiyandiya has more or less the same structure as ukubuya mbayimbayi (to come back late) where the first two syllables are reduplicated. Mbayimbayi, however, is an adverb of time and not a verb.

Idiomatic expressions in Tsotsitaal have the same structure as those found in the standard language. The structure of idiomatic expression in tsotsitaal and standard language is the same, meaning differs, which is a dynamic element of tsotsitaal.

(i) Ukudla phansi (to put down)

The structure of this idiomatic expression is that it is formed by an infinitive and the adverbial adjunct. The same structure is evident in the idiom ukushayela phezulu (to be pompous).

(ii) Ukuthwala inhlabathi ngezifuba (to carry the soil with the chest)

This idiomatic expression is composed of an infinitive ukuthwala, the object inhlabathi, and the instrumental adverb nga + izifuba and vowel coalescence has taken place.

(iii) Ukuphambana nemvula (to face upward for the rain to pour on you)

Here we have an infinitive ukuphambana and the associative adjunct nemvula.

The word nemvula is formed by the connective na + the noun imvula which belongs to class 9, and vowel coalescence nat + imvula >

nemvula has taken place.

(iv) Ukufaka ekhwapeni (to put a person in your arm-pit)

This idiomatic expression is formed by the infinitive ukufaka and the locative ekhwapheni. Ekhwapheni is formed from a noun ikhwapha (arm-pit), the initial vowel -i- is elided, prefix the locative prefix -e- and we suffix the locative suffix -eni.

(v) Ukujwayela kabi (to take one for granted)

The structure of this idiomatic expression is that it is formed from an infinitive ukujwayela plus the adverb of manner kabi, the adverb of manner is formed from the adnoun stem -bi.

(vi) Ukuba yisibotho (to become an alcoholic)

This idiomatic expression is formed by the infinitive ukuba plus the copulative yisibotho, the copulative is formed from the noun isibotho.

The idiomatic expressions discussed so far show similarities in their structure with those in standard language, but their meanings are completely different from those of standard language.

4.5 Synonyms

In this section synonym will be defined, and mention a number of words in tsotsitaal which are considered synonymous. Lyons, adopting a semantic approach in defining synonyms remarks:

One may distinguish a stricter and a looser interpretation of the term "synonymy". According to the stricter interpretation (which is the one most commonly found in contemporary semantic theory) items are synonymous if they have the same sense. The looser interpretation may be illustrated by means of a quotation from Roget's Thesaurus: "Suppose we take the word "nice ..." Under it [the Index] we will see ... various synonyms representing different shades of meaning of the word "nice". The synonyms given for nice in the Index are savoury, discriminate, exact,

good, pleasing, fastidious and honourable.

Each of these words itself appears in one of the lists of "synonyms" in the main body of the text.

(Lyons, 1971:446)

It is important to note whether one means a stricter interpretation or a looser one, but here we mean synonyms where two items have the same sense. Cruse, defines synonyms as:

... certain pairs or groups of lexical items bear a special sort of semantic resemblance to one another. It is customary to call items having this special similarity synonyms ... however, the intuitive class of synonyms is by no means exhausted by the notion of cognitive synonymy as a glance at any dictionary will confirm.

(Cruse, 1986:265)

Words which are synonyms are those which share more or less the same meaning. Synonymous words are plenty in tsotsitaal because once a word is known by the general public, another one replaces it. As a point of departure, the discussion of synonyms will start with nouns and then with verbs.

(A) Nouns

There are many nouns in tsotsitaal which are synonymous. In most cases, there are two or three words in standard language which are regarded as synonymous, e.g. indoda > injeza (a man) ukuhamba > ukunyamba or ukukhija (to walk). Standard language has two or three words which are synonymous, but compared to tsotsitaal, has up to six or seven words which are synonymous. In some cases in tsotsitaal, nouns can have two synonyms for example idladla > ipozi (a house); ikhwifi > icurrent (an elbow) which is static element, but in some cases there are four or more. This confirms the dynamic element of tsotsitaal.

- cf (a) intaba; ismeke; inyuku; igwece; izak; isaka; ibhuqo -
these are synonymous words for money
- (b) amajita; amatthaka; amajimeni; ama outhi (words for
males)

- (c) ilarnie; igamla; igamshishi; ixagxa (a European person)
- (d) igata; istapiya; u four; u blue bhantshi; ugreen bhantshi; abotruza; abosiggoko (words for policemen)

Tsotsitaal is rich in its vocabulary: it has plenty of synonyms. Once a word is known, it is replaced hence the string of synonyms.

(B) Verbs

The argument about the nouns, holds the same characteristics with the verbs. In standard language, two or three verbs can be synonymous, e.g. ukudla > ukuthema (to sit); ukulala > ukugiyama (to sleep). In tsotsitaal verbs considered to be synonymous might be more than three verbs e.g. jaja > cava > gogola (to look at something); canda > papisa > gawula (eat), which is static element of tsotsitaal, but some verbs might have more than three synonyms, e.g.

- (a) moja; mnca; ku-right; ku-sweet; grand; sharp; phashaphasha; first-class (verbs which indicate affirmation)
- (b) vaya; shunqa; shaya isitulo; watswaya; shawa; phuma kanje; bhentsha; lahla isayidi (to go away)
- (c) nkintsha; naneka; bharaza; spinza; khinyeka; shiba; lenqa; shusha (to drink, to be drunk)
- (d) qidla; yothoka; bhacama; bhexa; phaka amafishi (to sleep)

Verbs which have more than three synonyms, are dynamic because they keep on changing in the vocabulary of tsotsis.

Tsotsitaal is rich in verbs, more than any other part of speech. The reason for this is that verbs are part and parcel of their vocabulary. This also is true of the standard language. Secondly, once a verb is known to the community in general, a new one is invented.

We have discussed synonyms of nouns and verbs. We have adverbs

and descriptives in tsotsitaal though they are very limited e.g. mnca; moja; ku-right, ku-sweet ku-grand etc.

4.6 Antonyms

"Antonymy" means the relationship between words which are opposite in meaning. Lyons, applying the semantic approach, defines antonymy as:

... oppositeness of meaning, which has long been recognized as one of the most important semantic relations.

(Lyons, 1971:460)

A brief glance at the other definition by Cruse of an antonym indicates that:

Antonym is exemplified by such pairs as long: short; fast: slow; easy: difficult; good: bad; hot: cold.

(Cruse, 1986:204)

The definition by these two scholars will be sufficient to put across what antonyms are. Opposite of meaning of nouns and verbs respectively does occur in tsotsitaal.

(A) Nouns

Some of the nouns in tsotsitaal showing the opposite are static, e.g. ithiza > imiza (a male teacher - a female teacher)

umshoza > ipantsula (fancy looking girl - fancy looking boy)

iqabane > impimpi (a comrade - an informer). Some nouns are dynamic because they have more than two nouns as opposites e.g. ithayima; igatshana > iouledi; umagrizini; or grizini girl (father - mother) isikhinja; isikhinjana > isigoqwana; isigoqlethi (an elderly male - an elderly female).

(B) Verbs

Some verbs in tsotsitaal which are true opposites are static because only two verbs are in contrast e.g.

dlubha - stripa (wear - undress)

bopha - fakaza (stop singing - continue singing). But other verbs in tsotsitaal are dynamic because they have more than one opposites; e.g.

back-spinner; shaya izwiphi as against vaya; tswaya (to come back - to go away).

spinza; shaya > trumpetha; qabha (to drink liquor - vomit)

khehla; zilele > ukungakhehli; awunabhugu (to have money - to be broke).

While the vocabulary of tsotsitaal is limited to some extent but antonyms are found for both nouns and verbs. That on its own, shows that tsotsis are inventive and creative with words.

4.7 Summary

In conclusion, this chapter focused on the semantic aspect of tsotsitaal. Socio-semantics was defined, with the sole purpose of discussing the meaning of words and phrases. Furthermore, concepts such as "register", "field", "tenor" and "mode" of discourse were discussed as well as their relevance to tsotsitaal. The exchange of ideas among the tsotsi speakers depends entirely on these three aspects.

Firstly, the mode of discourse, either the written form or the spoken form of a language.

Secondly, the tenor of discourse, the social status or the relationship of the participants in the conversation, people showing respect to each other will communicate in standard language which is static, but tsotsis will speak to one another in tsotsitaal which is a completely different language from the standard language.

The language they will use is tsotsitaal which might change from time to time. Lastly, the field of discourse is the topic which they converse about.

Under pragmatics, the focus was on aspects such as the shift of meaning, tsotsi terms from archaic Zulu words, the shift of meaning of tsotsi terms from currently used Zulu words and idiomatic expressions. Archaic and current Zulu words are static

because they have literal meanings, whereas when used by tsotsis they assume a different meaning which is a dynamic element of tsotsitaal. Idiomatic expressions are the same as those in standard language in their formation - a static aspect - but their meanings are different from those of the standard language a dynamic aspect of tsotsitaal.

Finally, antonyms and synonyms were defined and appropriate examples in tsotsitaal were cited. The emphasis on antonyms and synonyms was on static nouns and verbs as well as dynamic nouns and verbs in both standard language and tsotsitaal.

Chapter 5 Conclusion5.1 Introduction

The concluding remarks and general comments will be categorized into three parts:

Firstly, the conclusion with regard to aims of this study, secondly the positive and negative aspects of tsotsitaal and thirdly, the general observation about tsotsitaal.

5.2 The influence of Zulu on tsotsitaal

According to statistics, Soweto and Alexandra have 70 high schools, 62 of those offer Zulu as a subject. In private schools in Johannesburg, out of 50 high schools, 45 of them offer Zulu as a subject. IsiZulu has a lot of influence on tsotsitaal.

Secondly, Afrikaans which was used as the basis of tsotsitaal, was stigmatized after the 1976 upheavals. Pupils at the high schools have a choice to study two languages for their curriculum. Their choice is always English and an African language.

5.3 Conclusion on the aims of this study

The first aim of this study was to prove that tsotsitaal really interferes with the standard language especially at institutions such as schools and training colleges because the words of tsotsitaal as spoken by tsotsis are written and pronounced like Zulu words e.g. ithayima (father); ithesho (job); ithiza (teacher); vaya (to go); edanyini (in jail). These tsotsi words are static because they sound like Zulu words and interfered with the usage of words in standard language, but at the same time they are dynamic because their meanings are known and comprehensible to the tsotsis only

The static and dynamic elements of tsotsitaal as far as the teaching and learning of Zulu is concerned, was confirmed by lecturers, teachers, student teachers and pupils.

Secondly, this investigation was attempting to indicate that Zulu

dominates tsotsitaal as was the case when Afrikaans was the base. This fact does not overrule the statement that other languages such as Sotho, Xhosa, English and Afrikaans are used in tsotsitaal, but in this study the majority of vocabulary is written and pronounced as Zulu words.

All the deliberations on this study show that tsotsitaal is currently based on Zulu.

Thirdly, the formation of certain word categories such as nouns, verbs, locatives in tsotsitaal has proved to be formed by the same grammatical rules as those of a standard language, which is a static element of tsotsitaal, but their meanings are something different from those of the standard language.

5.4 The usefulness of tsotsitaal - positive aspects

Firstly, tsotsitaal is useful because it serves as a lingua franca to people who speak different languages and who belong to different ethnic groups. It serves to bridge the communication gap.

Schuring remarks:

Multiracial urban communities are common in Africa. In cosmopolitan residential areas such as those around Pretoria, members of different population groups often intermarry.

(Schuring, 1986:168)

Apart from people who belong to different population groups, and intermarrying, people do communicate with each other at bus stops, taxi ranks, street corners, etc.

Secondly, it provides a better understanding of the urban society, the problems of language tuition and language change. This understanding will even indicate to the laymen why urban pupils do not perform well in their mother tongue when they write examinations. On the other hand, it reflects that the speaker of this language is both a "composer" and a "scientist" because he looks at things that surround him and compose words and phrases for them.

Thirdly, it provides a field of study in sociolinguistics, i.e. a study of both the society and the language simultaneously. Msimang, about its importance, says:

One must admit that the development of Tsotsitaal is one of the most important sociolinguistic developments in Southern Africa in the twentieth century. In a space of less than 50 years a brand new language has been born.

(Msimang, 1987:86)

Finally, in tsotsitaal one looks at old words with new meaning. This is very important because the new generation must know how certain words have changed their meaning because of changing times and circumstances. Hlongwane et al, summarize the significance of old words with new meanings by saying:

Kuliqiniso ukuthi ulimi luyaguquka alumile ndawonye. Kwesinye isikhathi amagama amadala ayavela esesetshenziswa yilabo okuthiwa "otsotsi" bese kuthiwa amagama esitsotsi kanti amagama amadala asesetshenziswa ngendlela entsha.

(Yes, it is true that the language changes, it is dynamic. At times old words are used nowadays by those people called "tsotsis" and then it is claimed that they are tsotsi words whereas those are old words which are used with new meaning).

(Hlongwane, et al 1986:262)

Tsotsitaal is here to stay and one cannot wished it away. It is passed from one generation to the other orally or in a written form.

5.5 The detrimental effects of tsotsitaal - negative aspects

In as much as tsotsitaal has its pros, it also has its cons. Firstly, it spoils the language acquisition of urban children. The child acquires a colloquial language unawares. This has adverse effects when the children are faced with tasks and assignments where the knowledge of standard language is required. For example, students at the Training College were asked to use the noun ijozi (broad-bladed stabbing assegai) in a sentence.

The students used the noun ijozzi to mean Johannesburg. The township child, especially in Soweto will not think of ijozzi as a stabbing assegai, but of Johannesburg. The reason for this type of thinking is because urban children have never seen an ijozzi but Johannesburg as a city is more relevant to them. Secondly, the statistics supplied from Musi High School was that in 1993, 113 pupils wrote Zulu in matriculation. Out of 113, 15 got D symbol, 97 received E symbol and one pupil got GG. The symbols are interpreted as follows in percentage:

A	=	80	-	100%
B	=	70	-	80%
C	=	60	-	69%
D	=	50	-	59%
E	=	40	-	49%
F	=	33	-	39%
FF	=	30	-	32%
G	=	25	-	29%
GG	=	20	-	24%
H	=	0	-	19%

The bulk of pupils do not pass Zulu convincingly, but manage to scrap through. This poor scholastic results can be attributed and ascribed to tsotsitaal especially in standard ten.

Finally, it poses a serious threat to the standard language, because the former interferes with the latter.

5.6 General observations

A distinction must be made between what is purely academic and what is not. Tsotsitaal is spoken by anybody, anywhere and in any form. Standard language, is spoken by the educated and literate people, is used in government institutions such as schools, the media, courts, and the rules of sentence construction must be observed.

As we are in a new era all eleven South African languages i.e. English, Afrikaans, South Sotho, North Sotho, SeTswana, isiXhosa, XiTsonga, LuVenda, isiNdebele, isiSwati and isiZulu have the same status and recognition in the sense that no language is dominant

over the other. All of them are regarded as official languages. Nothing is said about tsotsitaal.

Finally, no parent will encourage his/her child to speak tsotsitaal in his presence. That on its own indicates that African languages are so important and precious. People who are not proud of their languages, are automatically not proud of themselves and their future is doomed.

There is a sharp contrast between the spoken and written language. Spoken language is informal whereas written language is formal. Spoken language influences the written language in the sense that a person normally writes what he actually speaks. In a spoken language, one does not respect the syntax of the language i.e. sentence construction, whereas in written language one has to respect sentence construction. That is why the sentences of pupils at times are poorly constructed. That is why the prefixes and concords of pupils are sometimes wrong whenever they write compositions. The vocabulary of pupils is full of tsotsitaal words, when used in sentences, are relevant to the meanings of tsotsitaal, thus demonstrating the fact that tsotsitaal has many Zulu words, but with new meanings.

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Appendix

1.1 Questionnaires

Two types of questionnaires have were used in this research. The first type of questionnaire was structured for pupils and students. The second type of questionnaire was composed for teachers and lecturers. They were all in English.

1.2 Analysis of data

After the collection of data, it was analyzed institution by institution. This culminated in generalizations, comments and recommendations.

1.3 The area where research was conducted

The research was conducted in Soweto. A map of Soweto is enclosed and the maps of different locations where schools were visited.

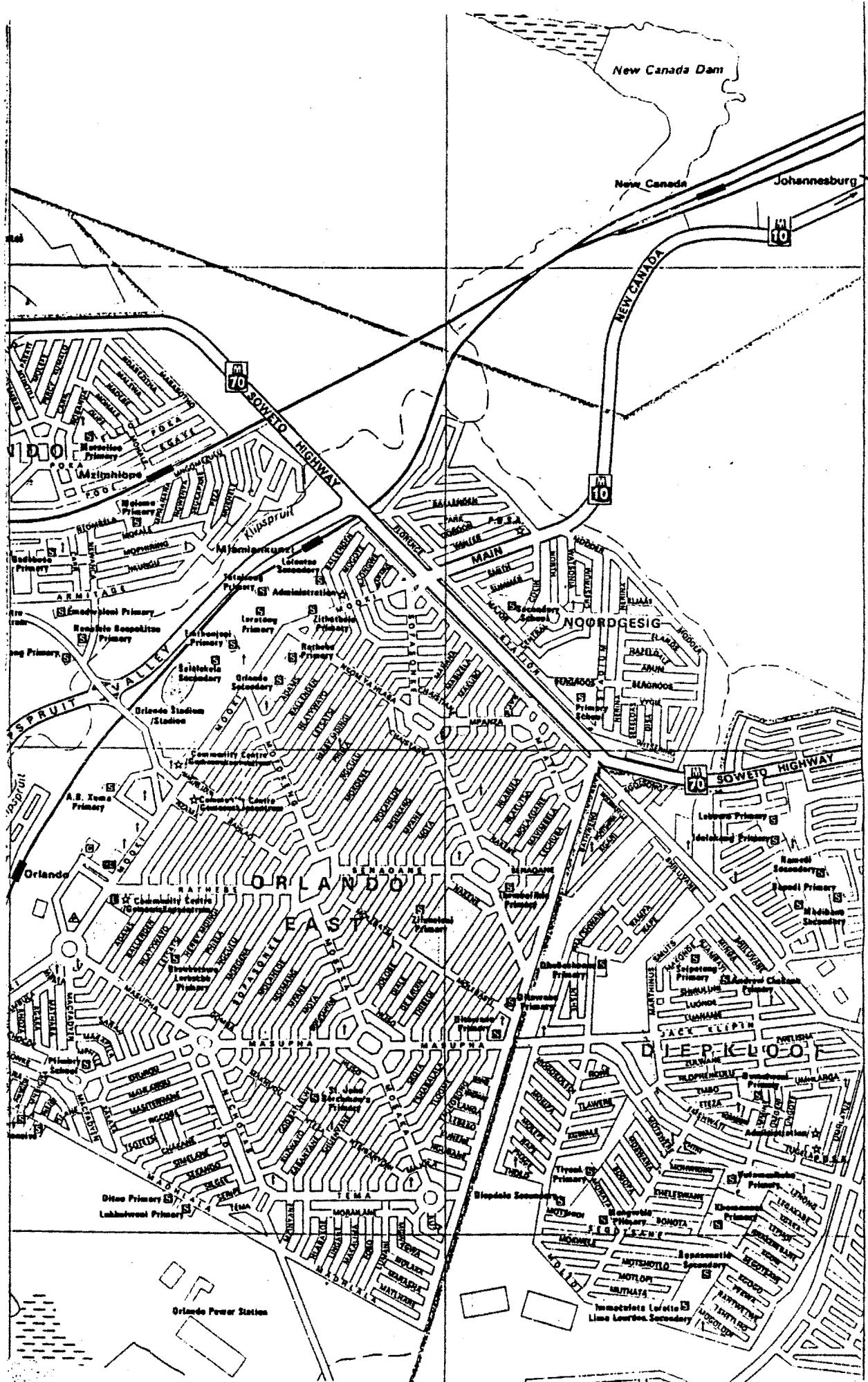
Map of Soweto

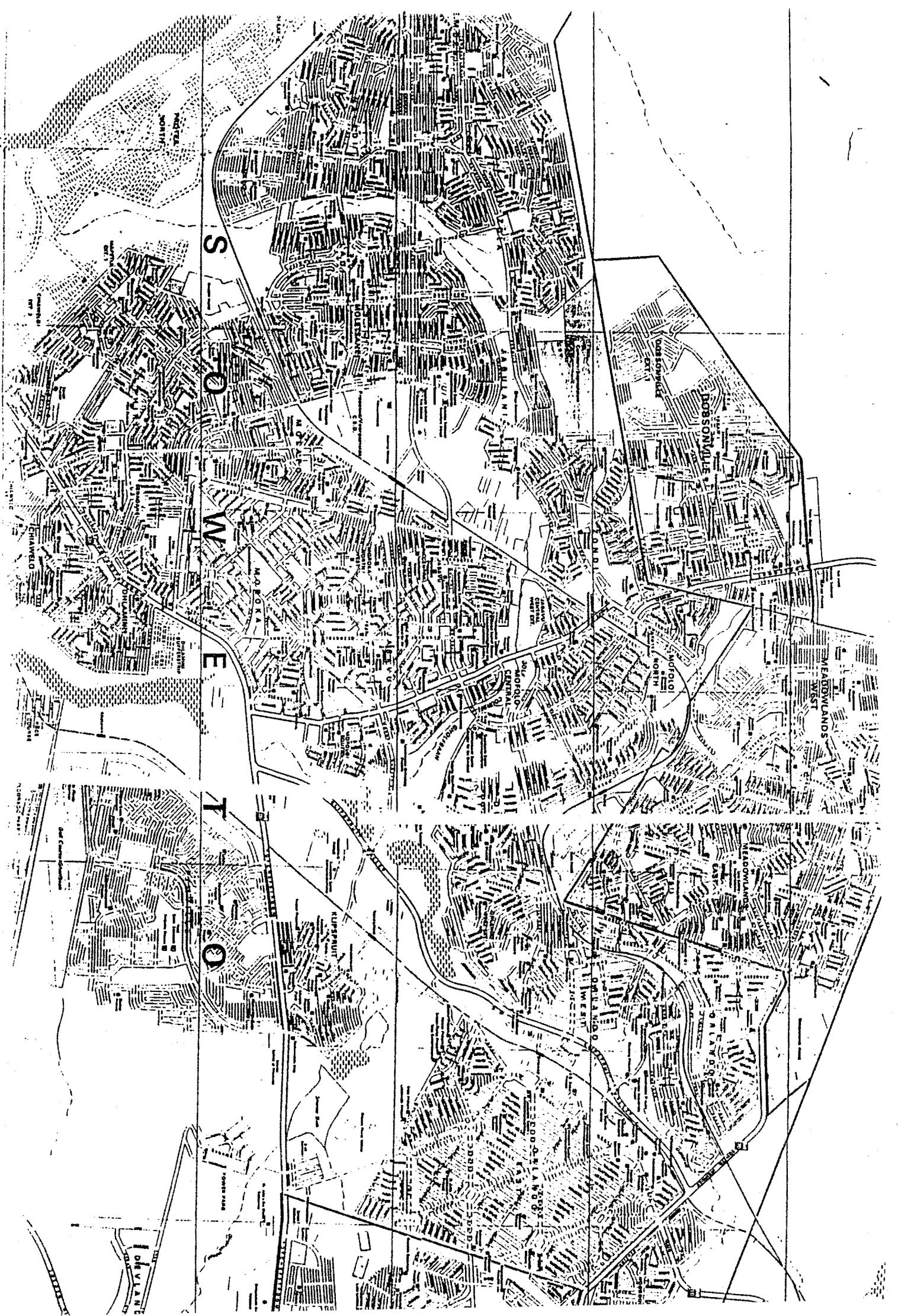
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See Johannesburg Sheet

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1.5 Institutions visited

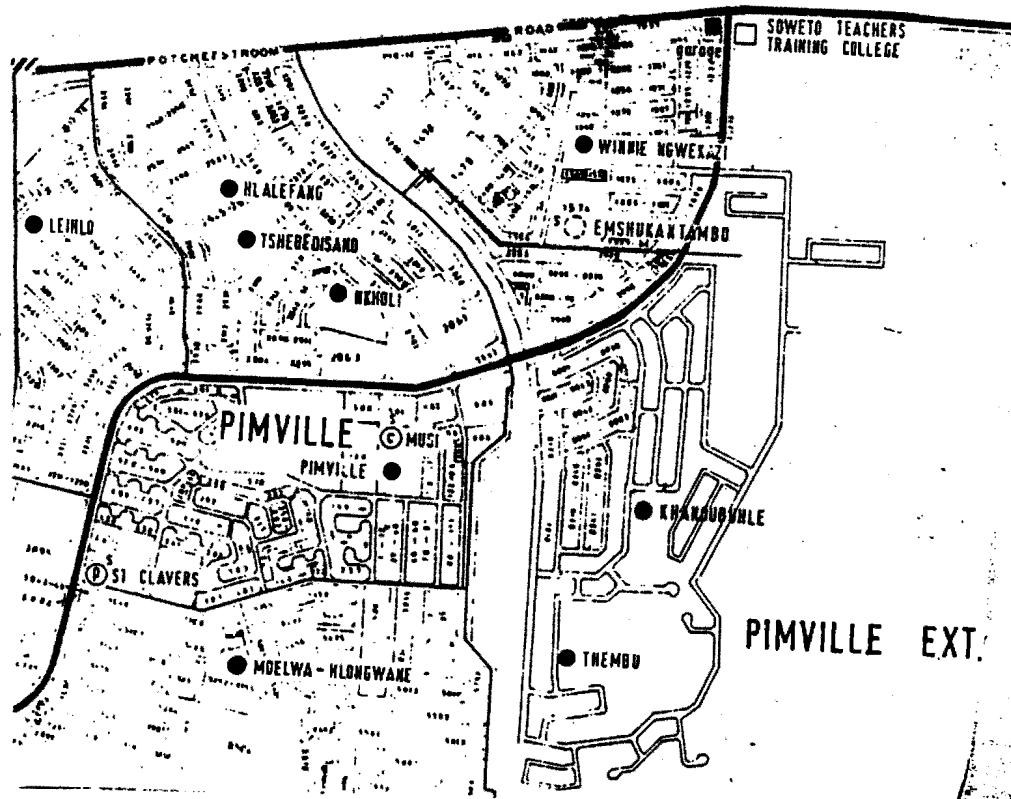
Soweto as a township is broad and complex. To delimit our area of research, two high schools were chosen randomly for conducting interviews. These high schools are Fontanus in Emndeni Extension and Musi in Pimville. Students at the Soweto College of Education were also interviewed. From each institution, four informants, two males and two females were interviewed including two Zulu language teachers/lecturers. The sample of the research comprises pupils and students selected randomly, irrespective of age. The informants take Zulu as their school subject or college course.

1.6 Research hypotheses

Firstly, the hypothesis of the research was to prove beyond any reasonable doubt that pupils or students are conversant with and do speak tsotsitaal either in the classroom or outside the classroom. Secondly, that teachers or lecturers also know and do speak this language variety inside and outside the classroom. Thirdly, that teachers are from time to time confronted with tsotsitaal words, phrases and expressions in oral work or in the compositions of pupils and students.

2. Collection of data from Musi High School - Pimville

The stand number of Musi High is 5962 Zone 5 Pimville.



(i) QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PUPILS

1. Surname and name of respondent: Buthelezi Sidwell
2. Age: 19 years
3. Sex: Male
4. Standard: 10
5. Ethnic group: Zulu
6. Home language: Zulu
7. Do you know tsotsitaal?: Yes
8. When you are with your friends, which language do you speak at school: Zulu
9. Which language do you speak with your parents at home?: Zulu.
10. Which language do you speak with your teachers at school?: English, Afrikaans and Zulu.
11. Do your teachers speak to you in standard Zulu or in tsotsitaal?: Standard Zulu.
12. If in standard Zulu language, in which language do you respond?: I respond in standard Zulu.
13. If in tsotsitaal, in which language do you respond?: Not applicable.
14. Do you think it is right for teachers to speak tsotsitaal language in their homes?: No, it is not right because their children will learn tsotsitaal, not the standard language.
15. Do you think it is right for teachers to speak tsotsitaal at school?: No.
16. Are your teachers fluent in tsotsitaal?: Good/Fair/Poor X.
17. Do your teachers reprimand/encourage you if you speak tsotsitaal inside the classroom?: They reprimand us.
18. Do your teachers reprimand/encourage you if you speak tsotsitaal outside the classroom?: They don't care.
19. How do you as an individual anticipate the future of tsotsitaal as spoken in the townships, especially in Soweto?: I don't care about it because I don't like tsotsitaal. You cannot communicate with a person from Natal because they don't know tsotsitaal.
20. How do you anticipate the future of the standard Zulu

language in the township like Soweto?: The future is bleak. People think that if you speak the standard language you are backward. fashion wise, again many pupils don't pass Zulu convincingly at Matric.

21. Supply us with a list of tsotsi words you know, and their relevant meaning/s

- (a) ukubhema > ukunkawuza (to smoke)
- (b) umthunzi wezinkukhu > izolo (dagga)
- (c) abafana > amagents (boys/gentlemen)
- (d) amantombazane > okhanda (girls)

(because the beauty of girls is in their face and head)

- (e) ukugadla > ukusheka (to pay a visit to a girlfriend)
- (f) ukugamba amanga > ukugadla (to tell lies)
- (g) isikole > isigele (a school)

22. Does the language you speak with your friends in the street corners, not affect your language performance in your classwork?: No, it does not.

23. Comment in few sentences, what are your views concerning the study of the Zulu language as a subject at school?: Its important to study Zulu, because if we don't, it will lose our culture. Our humanity as Zulu's will come to an end.

(ii) QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PUPILS

1. Surname and name of respondent: Socozza Martia
2. Age: 18 years
3. Sex: Female
4. Standard: 10
5. Ethnic group: Xhosa
6. Home language: Zulu
7. Do you know tsotsitaal?: Yes
8. When you are with your friends, which language do you speak at school?: Zulu
9. Which language do you speak with your parents at home?:

English and Zulu.

10. Which language do you speak with your teachers at school?: English.
11. Do your teachers speak to you in Standard Zulu or in tsotsitaal?: Standard Zulu.
12. If in standard Zulu language, in which language do you respond?: I also speak standard Zulu.
13. If in tsotsitaal, in which language do you respond?: Not applicable.
14. Do you think it is right for teachers to speak tsotsitaal in their homes?: No, its not right, because their children will not be able to speak the standard language. Their children cannot learn tsotsitaal at school.
15. Do you think it is right for teachers to speak tsotsitaal at school?: No, it is not right, because pupils won't respect them. Secondly, we accept teachers as elderly people, so we don't expect them to speak in a cheaply manner. Thirdly teachers are not tsotsis.
16. Are your teachers fluent in tsotsitaal?: Good/Fair/X/Poor.
17. Do your teachers reprimand/encourage you if you speak tsotsitaal inside the classroom?: They reprimand us not to speak tsotsitaal inside the classroom.
18. Do your teachers reprimand/encourage you if you speak tsotsitaal outside the classroom?: Teachers accept it, because they know that pupils speak tsotsitaal when they are together.
19. How do you as an individual anticipate the future of tsotsitaal as spoken in the townships especially in Soweto?: People won't speak it always. English will be used as a lingua franca.
20. How do you anticipate the future of standard Zulu language in the township like Soweto?: There is a bright future for a standard language.
21. Supply us with a list of tsotsi words you know, and their relevant meaning/s

- (a) utshwala > ispinza (liquor)
- (b) ukuhlala > ukuchibuka (to sit down)
- (c) nqiyabuya > nqiya back spinar (I am coming back)
- (d) woza > zwakala (come here)
- (e) itiye > ikhankeli (tea)
- (f) ukuphuza utshwala > ukunaneka (to be drunk)
- (g) uthishela > iza (a teacher)

22. Does the language you speak with your friends on the street corners, not affect your language performance in your classwork?: It does not, because I usually practise to speak English with my parents. I also speak English with my friends here at school.
23. Comment in a few sentences, what are your views concerning the study of the Zulu language as a subject at school?: I don't see any use to study Zulu. If you go to the university, the medium of instruction is English. I am forced by the curriculum to do Zulu but I don't like studying Zulu.

(iii) QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PUPILS

1. Surname and name of respondent: Khumalo Adelaide
2. Age: 18 years
3. Sex: Female
4. Standard: 9
5. Ethnic group: Zulu
6. Home language: Zulu
7. Do you know tsotsitaal: Yes
8. When you are with your friends, which language do you speak at school?: Zulu and English.
9. Which language do you speak with your parents at home?: Zulu.
10. Which language do you speak with your teachers at school?: English.
11. Do your teachers speak to you in standard Zulu or in

tsotsitaal?: Standard Zulu.

12. If in standard Zulu, in which language do you respond?: I reply them in standard language.
13. If in tsotsitaal, in which language do you respond?: Not applicable.
14. Do you think it is right for teachers to speak tsotsitaal in their homes? No, because tsotsitaal is spoken in the streets, it is not good to be spoken by teachers.
15. Do you think it is right for teachers to speak tsotsitaal at school?: No, because teachers are not tsotsis.
16. Are your teachers fluent in tsotsitaal?:
Good/Fair/Poor X.
17. Do your teachers reprimand/encourage you if you speak tsotsitaal inside the classroom?: They reprimand us.
18. Do your teachers reprimand/encourage you if you speak tsotsitaal outside the classroom?: They don't care.
19. How do you as an individual anticipate the future of tsotsitaal as spoken in the townships, especially in Soweto?: Tsotsitaal won't develop any further than what it is now.
20. How do you anticipate the future of a standard Zulu language in the township like Soweto?: Since there are many different languages spoken in Soweto, the standard Zulu language will come to an end as time goes on. English will be the main language to be used.
21. Supply us with a list of tsotsi words you know and their relevant meaning/s

- (a) woza lapha > zwakala hier (come here)
- (b) bheka > cava (look)
- (c) lala > qidla (to sleep)
- (d) hamba > vaya (go)
- (e) gibela > combola (climb)
- (f) isilima > ibhari (a stupid person)
- (g) umfana > intwana (a boy)
- (h) intombazane > icherrie (a girl)
- (i) isoka lami > iouthie yami (my boyfriend)

22. Does the language you speak with your friends on the street corners, not affect your language performance in your classwork?: It does not.
23. Comment in a few sentences: What are your views concerning the study of the Zulu language as a subject at school?: I think English will be used Zulu will come to an end.

(iv) QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PUPILS

1. Surname and name of respondent: Mlotshwa Johny
2. Age: 17 years
3. Sex: Male
4. Standard: 9
5. Ethnic group: Zulu
6. Home language: Zulu
7. Do you know tsotsitaal?: Not so well.
8. When you are with your friends, which language do you speak at school?: Tsotsitaal.
9. Which language do you speak with your parents at home?: Zulu, because my parents speak Zulu.
10. Which language do you speak with your teachers at school?: English.
11. Do your teachers speak to you in standard Zulu or in tsotsitaal?: Standard Zulu.
12. If in standard Zulu, in which language do you respond?: I speak the standard Zulu.
13. If in tsotsitaal, in which language do you respond?: Not applicable.
14. Do you think it is right for teachers to speak tsotsitaal in their homes?: I think it is right. They are free to communicate using any language variety.
15. Do you think it is right for teachers to speak tsotsitaal at school?: No it is not right. They must teach us to understand standard Zulu language not to master tsotsitaal.
16. Are your teachers fluent in tsotsitaal?:
Good/Fair X/Poor

17. Do your teachers reprimand/encourage you if speak tsotsi language inside the classroom?: They reprimand us.
18. Do your teachers reprimand/encourage you if you speak tsotsitaal outside the classroom?: They still reprimand us as long as we are in the precinct of the school.
19. How do you as an individual, anticipate the future of tsotsitaal as spoken in the townships, especially in Soweto? The future of tsotsitaal is bleak, it will not develop as a language variety, it will come to an end.
20. How do you anticipate the future of the standard Zulu language in the township like Soweto?: I think Zulu language is growing and developing, it has a bright future.
21. Supply us with a list of tsotsi words you know, and their relevant meaning/s

- (a) amanzi > ivati (water)
- (b) umfana > ijita (a boy)
- (c) isikole > isigele (a school)
- (d) imoto > ikara (a car)
- (e) isitimela > igada (a train)
- (f) intombazane > icherrie (a girl)
- (g) ikhehla > umadala (an old man)
- (h) isitolo > ishipa (a shop)
- (i) isicathulo > isibhathu (a shoe)

22. Does the language you speak with your friends on the street corners, not affect your language performance in your classwork?: No, it does not.
23. Comment in a few sentences: What are your views concerning the study of the Zulu language as a subject at school: If one does not study his language, he will soon forget his culture.

(v) QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE TEACHER

1. Surname and name of respondent: Makhudu Sikholiwe

2. Age: 28 years
3. Sex: Female
- 4 Academic qualifications: Matriculation
5. Professional: Secondary Teachers Diploma
6. Ethnic group: Zulu
7. Home language: Zulu
8. Do you know tsotsitaal?: Yes
9. When you are with your friends which language do you speak at school?: Zulu.
10. Which language do you speak with your family at home?: Zulu and Tswana.
11. Do you speak to your pupils in standard Zulu or in tsotsitaal?: I speak to them in standard Zulu. I do speak to them in tsotsitaal sometimes when I want to show them that the words which they write are not standard words but are tsotsi words.
12. If in standard Zulu, what is their response?: They also speak standard language.
13. If in tsotsitaal, what is their response?: They become surprised, they even laugh that as a teacher I know this language.
14. Do you think it is right for you as a teacher to speak tsotsitaal?: Yes / No X
15. If yes why? If no why?: If you teach pupils Zulu language you want them to speak the correct language and to write the correct language.
16. Do you reprimand/encourage your pupils when they speak tsotsitaal inside the classroom?: I reprimand them.
17. How do you anticipate the future of tsotsitaal in the township, especially in Soweto?: Tsotsitaal is growing. It is used by people who called themselves "clevers". It's here to stay. I once heard a male greeting another male saying "dumela" (hallo). The person who was greeted replied by saying: "O kare dumela ole outhie, keng o sare heita?" (How can you say hallo when you are a man, why don't you say heita?).
18. How do you anticipate the future of a standard Zulu language

in the township like Soweto?: The future of the standard language is in the balance because pupils like tsotsitaal.

19. Supply us with a list of tsotsi words you know and their relevant meaning/s

- (a) ibhulukwe > iqcaza/igqaza (trouser)
- (b) inkulumo > isicamtho (speech/conversation)
- (c) umsakazo > umqongo/iqonqo (radio)
- (d) ukukhuluma > ukuringa/iringas (to talk/conversation)
- (e) imali > inqewece (money)
- (f) ukuhamba > ukuvaya/ukubhentsha (to go away)

20. When giving pupils an essay to write in Zulu, do you at times/
always detect tsotsi words?: Always.

21. How do you correct that situation?: I underline the tsotsi word and write next to it "wrong word" or "tsotsi word".

22. What could be the reason for those tsotsi words in your opinion?: It's because if they converse with their friends they speak tsotsitaal thinking that it is a pure language, e.g. they say/write ubhuti wami instead of umfowethu (my brother).

23. How do you strike the balance between the language you speak outside and the one you speak inside the classroom?: When I am outside the classroom, I speak casually and when I am in class I speak formally.

(vi) QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE TEACHER

1. Surname and name of respondent: Sibisi Muzi
2. Age: 30 years
3. Sex: Male
4. Academic qualification: Matric
5. Professional: Secondary Teachers Diploma
6. Ethnic group: Zulu
7. Home language: Zulu

8. Do you know tsotsitaal?: Yes I know it.
9. When you are with your friends, which language do you speak at school?: We mix tsotsitaal, English and Afrikaans.
10. Which language do you speak with your family at home?: Zulu and Xhosa.
11. Do you speak to your pupils in standard Zulu language or in tsotsitaal?: I speak in standard Zulu language and sometimes in tsotsitaal to drive a certain point home.
12. If in standard Zulu language, what is their response?: They have difficulty in expressing themselves in standard Zulu.
13. If in tsotsitaal, what is their response?: They become happy when I speak the language which is relevant to them.
14. Do you think it is right for you as a teacher to speak tsotsitaal?: Yes/No/ X.
15. If yes why? If no why?: Because we must maintain the standard Zulu language.
16. Do you reprimand/encourage your pupils when they speak tsotsitaal inside the classroom?: I discourage them.
17. How do you anticipate the future of tsotsitaal in the townships, especially in Soweto?: I foresee tsotsitaal playing a dominant role especially with all African languages. In fact, it is gaining momentum.
18. How do you anticipate the future of a standard Zulu language in the township like Soweto?: The future of the standard Zulu language needs to be looked at carefully. It's fading. Something serious must be done.
19. Supply us with a list of tsotsi words you know and their relevant meaning/s

- (a) inkulumo > isicamtho (speech/conversation)
- (b) ibhantshi > injiva (a jacket)
- (c) ukubhema > ukunkawuza (to smoke)
- (d) ukubaleka > ukudla phansi (to run away)
- (e) ukusala umangele > ukusala uphemile (to leave saturated/surprised)

20. When giving pupils an essay to write in Zulu, do you at

times/always detect tsotsi words?: Always.

21. How do you correct that situation?: Give the relevant word instead of a tsotsi word in the essay, and scratch the tsotsi word.
22. What could be the reason for those tsotsi words in your opinion?: The reason is the environment which is influencing them strongly. This tsotsitaal is predominant than the actual standard Zulu language in the township.
23. How do you strike the balance between the language you speak outside and the one you speak inside the classroom?: It's a matter of adjusting your language with the different people you meet and the different situations you find yourself in.

3.2 Analysis of data from Musi High School

Pupils

From the data collected from pupils, it is clear that they know and speak tsotsitaal. Some pupil state emphatically that it is good to study Zulu language at school because it preserve the culture of Zulu speakers. Other pupils stated categorically that it is of no use to study Zulu because English is the dominant language. Pupils also aver that teachers don't care if pupils speak tsotsitaal outside the classroom.

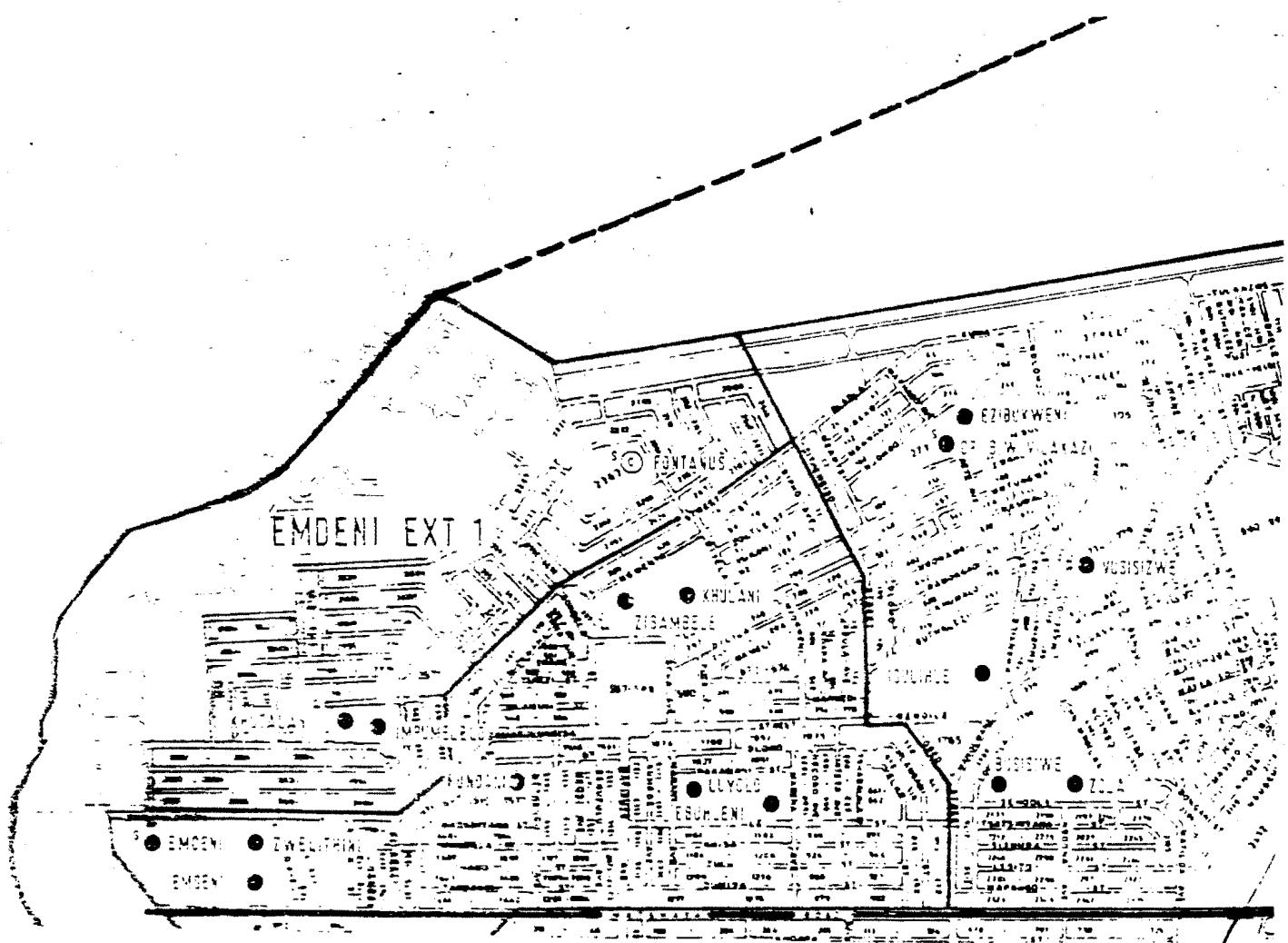
Teachers

Two of the teachers who were interviewed assert that they know and speak tsotsitaal. They say that in compositions they always find tsotsi words because pupils think that those words are standard words. From the information supplied by them, they feel that the standard language is threatened by tsotsitaal.

4.1 Collection of data from Fontanus High School - Emndeni Extension

Fontanus is situated in Emndeni Extension. The stand number of

the school is 2362.



(i) QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PUPILS

1. Surname and name of respondent: Mkhondwana Nomusa
2. Age: 19 years
3. Sex: Female
4. Standard: 10
5. Ethnic group: Zulu
6. Home language: Zulu
7. Do you know tsotsitaal?: No
8. When you are with your friends, which language do you speak at school?: Zulu.
9. Which language do you speak with your parents at home?: Zulu and English.
10. Which language do you speak with your teachers at school?: We speak English mostly.
11. Do your teachers speak to you in standard Zulu or in tsotsitaal? Standard Zulu.
12. If in standard Zulu language, in which language do you respond? I respond in the standard Zulu language.
13. If in tsotsitaal, in which language do you respond?: Not applicable.
14. Do you think it is right for teachers to speak tsotsitaal in their homes?: No it's not right, because if he speaks tsotsitaal at home automatically he will speak it here at school.
15. Do you think it is right for teachers to speak tsotsitaal at school?: No, it's not right, because it makes us not to respect them as teachers, and we don't give them the respect and dignity due to them.
16. Are your teachers fluent in tsotsitaal?: Good/Fair/Poor X
17. Do your teachers reprimand/encourage you if you speak tsotsitaal inside the classroom?: I have not heard anyone talking it in class.
18. Do your teachers reprimand/encourage you if you speak tsotsitaal outside the classroom?: They reprimand us.
19. How do you as an individual anticipate the future of tsotsitaal as spoken in the townships, especially in Soweto?

I don't like it. It must come to an end, because it destroy our language acquisition as young people. At times, we find ourselves not being able to communicate property with elderly people.

20. How do you anticipate the future of standard Zulu language as spoken in the township like Soweto?: It's correct to study and speak the standard language. Even in future we must continue speaking it.
21. Supply us with a list of tsotsi words you know and their relevant meaning/s

(a) imali > inyuku (money)

22. Does the language you speak with your friends on the street corners, not affect your languae performance in your classwork?: No it does not.
23. Comment in a few sentences, what are your views concerning the study of the Zulu language as a subject at school? Zulu is our language we are proud of, we must not discard it. We must continue to study it.

(ii) QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PUPILS

1. Surname and name of respondent: Khathi Maureen
2. Age: 18 years
3. Sex: Female
4. Standard: 10
5. Ethnic group: Zulu
6. Home language: Zulu
7. Do you know tsotsitaal?: Some of it.
8. When you are with your friends, which language do you speak at school? Zulu.
9. Which language do you speak with your parents at home?: Zulu
10. Which language do you speak with your teachers at school?: English.
11. Do your teachers speak to you in standard Zulu or in

tsotsitaal?: They speak in standard Zulu.

12. If in standard Zulu, in which language do you respond?: By speaking standard Zulu language.
13. If in tsotsitaal, in which language do you respond?: I respond by speaking tsotsitaal.
14. Do you think it is right for teachers to speak tsotsitaal at their homes?: No, because our culture will come to an end if we mixed Zulu with other varieties.
15. Do you think it is correct for teachers to speak tsotsitaal at school?: No.
16. Are your teachers fluent in tsotsitaal?: Good/Fair/Poor X.
17. Do your teachers reprimand/encourage you if you speak tsotsitaal inside the classroom?: They reprimand us.
18. Do your teachers reprimand/encourage you if you speak tsotsitaal outside the classroom?: They still reprimand us.
19. How do you as an individual anticipate the future of tsotsitaal as spoken in the townships, especially in Soweto?: I see tsotsitaal as a bad language because it destroys our standard language. I don't like it.
20. How do you anticipate the future of standard Zulu language as spoken in the township, like Soweto?: I foresee the standard language dying. It won't be there by the year 2000, people will be speaking tsotsitaal.
21. Supply us with a list of tsotsi words you know and their relevant meaning/s

- (a) abafana > amajitha (boys)
- (b) bona lapha > cava hier (look here)
- (c) woza lapha > zwakala hier (come here)

22. Does the language you speak with your friends on the street corners, not affect your language performance in you classwork?:

It does affect my classwork. Firstly, I find myself doing direct translation from English to Zulu. Secondly, I use tsotsi words thinking that they are correct words.

23. Comment in a few sentences; what are your views concerning

the study of the Zulu language as a subject at school?: I wish that the examination paper should be based on what is happening in our environment.

(iii) QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PUPILS

1. Surname and name of respondent: Mkhwanazi Thulane
2. Age: 18 years
3. Sex: Male
4. Standard: 10
5. Ethnic group: Zulu
6. Home language: Zulu
7. Do you know tsotsitaal?: Part of the language.
8. When you are with your friends, which language do you speak at school?: We speak Zulu and English.
9. Which language do you speak with your parents at home?: Zulu.
10. Which language do you speak with your teachers at school?: English.
11. Do your teachers speak to you in standard Zulu or in tsotsitaal?: They speak in standard Zulu.
12. If in standard Zulu, in which language do you respond?: I also speak standard Zulu.
13. If in tsotsitaal, in which language do you respond?: Not applicable.
14. Do you think it is right for teachers to speak tsotsitaal in their homes?: No, teachers must be exemplary, they are role models. Its unwise and uncalled for them to speak this langauge.
15. Do you think it is right for teachers to speak tsotsitaal at school?: It is not right at all. Pupils look at teachers as role models.
16. Are your teachers fluent in tsotsitaal?: Good/Fair/Poor X.
17. Do your teachers reprimand/encourage you if you speak tsotsitaal inside the classroom?: They discourage us not to do that.

18. Do your teachers reprimand/encourage you if you speak tsotsitaal outside the classroom?: They discourage us to speak tsotsitaal. One teacher once said to me "You must not use that language here at school".
19. How do you as an individual anticipate the future of tsotsitaal as spoken in the townships, especially in Soweto?: It has no future. More and more people are learned, they are trying to degrade those languages which are not formal.
20. How do you anticipate the future of standard language as spoken in the township like Soweto?: We want to study Zulu to preserve our culture. There is a bright future for the standard language.
21. Supply us with a list of tsotsi words you know and their relevant meaning/s
 - (a) isitolo > ishipa (a shop)
 - (b) ubaba > ithayima (father)
 - (c) ugogo > umagrizini (an old lady)
22. Does the language you speak with your friends on the street corners, not affect your language performance in your classwork?: It does not. I always tell myself that now I am in class learning Zulu.
23. Comment in a few sentences?: What are your views concerning the study of the Zulu language as a subject at school?: It's good because we need to know the origin of words.

(iv) QUESTIONNAIRE FOR PUPILS

1. Surname and name of respondent: Maeta Norma
2. Age: 19 years
3. Sex: Male
4. Standard: 10
5. Ethnic group: Southern Sotho
6. Home language: Southern Sotho

7. Do you know tsotsitaal?: Yes.
8. When you are with your friends, which language do you speak at school?: We speak Zulu and English.
9. Which language do you speak with your parents at home?: Southern Sotho.
10. Which language do you speak with your teachers at school?: We speak English most of the time.
11. Do your teachers speak to you in standard Zulu or in tsotsitaal?: They speak standard language.
12. If in standard Zulu, in which language do you respond?: We also respond by speaking the standard language.
13. If in tsotsitaal, in which language do you respond?: Not applicable.
14. Do you think it is right for teachers to speak tsotsitaal in their homes?: I don't think it is appropriate, because tsotsitaal is spoken mostly by the youth. It degrades the personality of a teacher if he speaks it.
15. Do you think it is right for teachers to speak tsotsitaal at school?: No, there is no reason why they don't speak English and Zulu.
16. Are you teachers fluent in tsotsitaal?: Good X/Fair/Poor
17. Do your teachers reprimand/encourage you if speak tsotsitaal inside the classroom?: They reprimand us.
18. Do your teachers reprimand/encourage you if you speak tsotsitaal outside the classroom?: They encourage us, some of the teachers speak tsotsitaal with us.
19. How do you as an individual anticipate the future of tsotsitaal as spoken in the townships, especially in Soweto?: It's here to stay, it's not going anywhere.
20. How do you anticipate the future of standard Zulu language as spoken in the township like Soweto?: The standard of the language is declining.
21. Supply us with a list of tsotsi words you know, and their relevant meaning/s

- (a) umnyango > idedlana (a door)
- (b) ubaba > ithayima (father)

22. Does the language you speak with your friends on the street corners, not affect your language performance in your classwork?: No, it does not.
23. Comment in a few sentences; what are your views concerning the study of the Zulu language as a subject at school?: I enjoy studying Zulu as subject, but when they examine us, it is a completely changed language from the one I know.

(v) QUESTIONNAIRE FOR TEACHER

1. Surname and name of respondent: Mafatsi Nomgqibelo
2. Age: 35 years
3. Sex: Female
4. Academic Qualification: Matriculation
5. Professional: Secondary Education Diploma
6. Ethnic group: Zulu
7. Home Language: Zulu
8. Do you know tsotsitaal?: Yes
9. When you are with your friends, which language do you speak at school?: Tsotsitaal.
10. Which language do you speak with family at home?: Zulu.
11. Do you speak to your pupils in tsotsitaal or in standard language?: I speak tsotsitaal when it is necessary to do so.
12. If in standard language, what is their response?: They also speak the standard language.
13. If in tsotsitaal, what is their response?: They become excited, they wonder that even lady teachers speak tsotsitaal.
14. Do you think it is right for you as a teacher to speak tsotsitaal?: Yes X /No
15. If yes why? If no why?: Its because the present generation of pupils don't know the real standard Zulu language, so one finds oneself compelled to speak the language which they understand so well.
16. Do you reprimand/encourage your pupils when they speak

tsotsitaal inside the classroom?: Yes, I do reprimand them.

17. How do you anticipate the future of tsotsitaal in the townships, especially in Soweto?: I see it growing and expanding, it will reach a stage when it will be accepted by the educational authorities.
18. How do you anticipate the future of a standard Zulu language in the township like Soweto?: In the long run, the standard Zulu language would be much more difficult because it would be contaminated by tsotsitaal.
19. Supply us with a list of tsotsi words you know and their relevant meaning/s

- (a) ukudla > ukupapisa (to eat)
- (b) itiye > ikhankeli > ijavasi (tea)
- (c) ukuncintsha > ukustaller (to deprive)
- (d) isikhathi > inqiba (time)
- (e) indololwane > ikhwifi (an elbow)
- (f) isikhathi sidliwe yinja > isikhathi sishwabene asilahle isayidi (time has run out, let us go)

20. When giving pupils an essay to write in Zulu, do you at times/always detect tsotsi words?

At times / Always X

21. How do you correct that situation? I find myself in a problematic situation. I underline the tsotsi word, and, write the correct word. But I don't penalise them for doing that.

22. What could be the reason for those tsotsi words in your opinion?

Firstly, I would think it is the exposure. They are too much exposed to the township situation.

Secondly, its the lack of appropriate Zulu words. Thirdly, their vocabulary is too limited, it is dominated by tsotsitaal.

23. How do you strike the balance between the language you speak outside and the one you speak inside the classroom?: Its a problematic situation, though you can prepare thoroughly for

a lesson, but one finds herself speaking tsotsitaal, one condescend to the level of understanding of pupils. It's difficult to raise the standard of Zulu in the classroom situation.

(vi) QUESTIONNAIRE FOR TEACHER

1. Surname and name of respondent: Tshabalala Z.
2. Age: 27 years
3. Sex: Male
4. Academic qualification: Matriculation
5. Professional: Secondary Teachers Diploma
6. Ethnic group: Zulu
7. Home language: Zulu
8. Do you know tsotsitaal?: Yes
9. When you are with your friends, which language do you speak at school?: We speak a mixture of Zulu and English.
10. Which language do you speak with your family at home?: Zulu.
11. Do you speak to your pupils in tsotsitaal or in standard Zulu language?: I speak tsotsitaal when I am outside the classroom, but inside the classroom I speak the standard language.
12. If in standard language, what is their response?: They respond by speaking the standard language.
13. If in tsotsitaal, what is their response?: They become amazed especially if we are in class.
14. Do you think it is right for you as a teacher to speak tsotsitaal?: Yes X /No
15. If yes why? If no why?: To try and make things easier for pupils.
16. Do you reprimand/encourage your pupils when they speak tsotsitaal inside the classroom?: Yes I reprimand them.
17. How do you anticipate the future of tsotsitaal in the townships, especially in Soweto?: I think its here to stay, it improves each day.

18. How do you anticipate the future of a standard Zulu language in the township like Soweto?: Its very bleak.
19. Supply us with a list of tsotsi words you know and their relevant meaning/s
- (a) umfana > intwana (a small boy)
 (b) ibhulukwe > ithroja (a trouser)
20. When giving pupils an essay to write in Zulu, do you at times/always detect tsotsi words?: At times X / Always.
21. How do you correct that situation?: I am using a method where I comply a list of wrong words and write them down in my book, when I go to class I tell the pupils not to use those words in a formal situation like in the school.
22. What could be the reason for those tsotsi words in your opinion?: Firstly, is the lack of thinking by pupils for proper Zulu words.
 Secondly, they are used to the words and phrases of tsotsi.
23. How do you strike the balance between the language you speak outside and the one you speak inside the classroom?: I always try by all means to speak the standard language. I sometimes speak tsotsitaal to drive some point home.

4.1 Analysis of data from Fontanus

Pupils

According to the informants, female pupils say that they know tsotsitaal, but don't like it because it spoils the standard language. They claim that Zulu language is the preservation of their culture, which they inherited from their parents, so in tsotsitaal nothing is to be preserved. To them studying Zulu is good and should continue. On the other hand, male pupils feel differently. One informant feels that tsotsitaal is here to stay, whereas the other says its future is doomed.

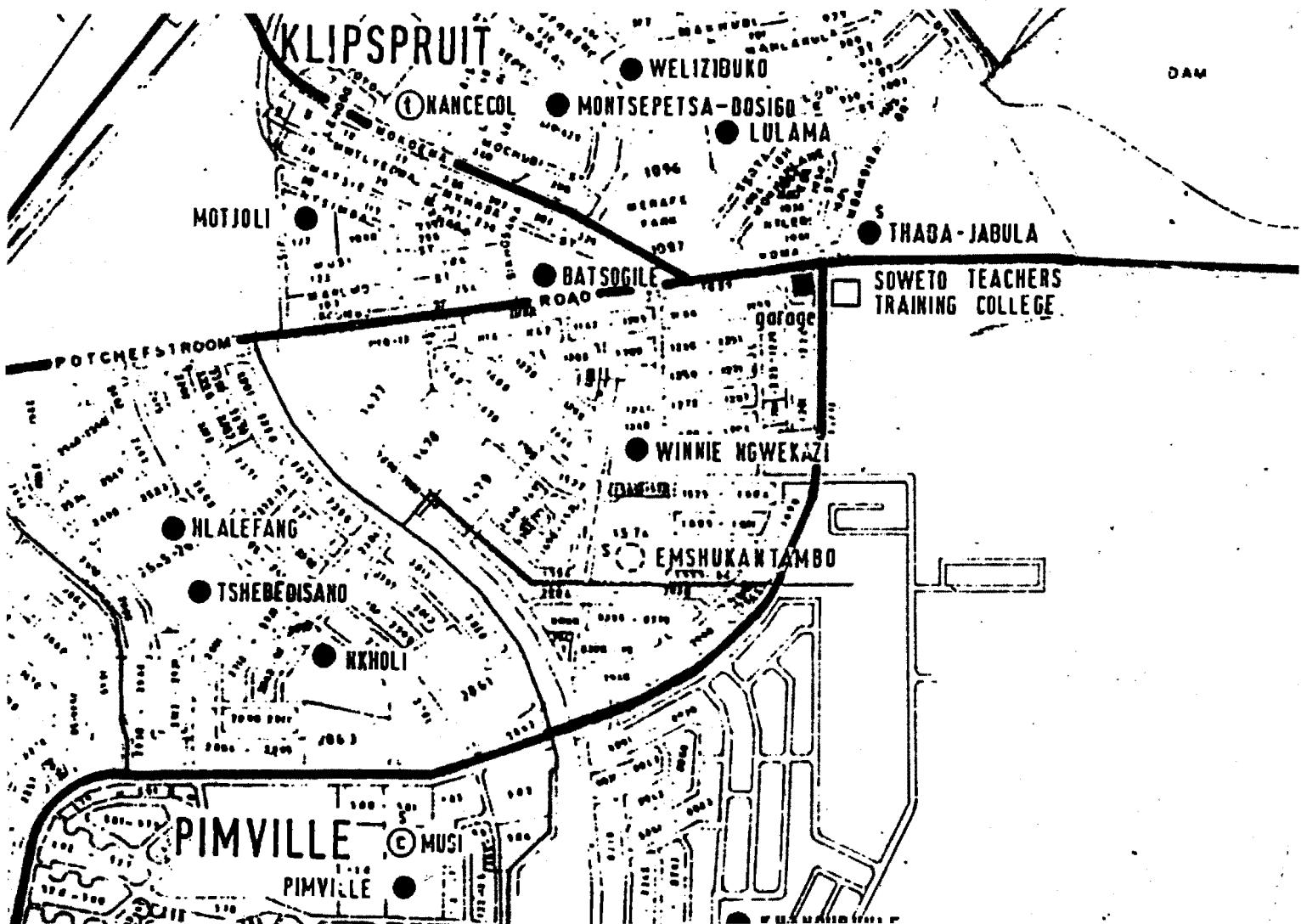
Finally, pupils feel that the standard ten second paper of Zulu should be based on the context of their situation, rather than to be based on things which are remote to them.

Teachers

Both teachers agreed that they know and speak tsotsitaal inside and outside the classroom. They state that they use tsotsitaal inside the classroom to come down to the level of understanding of pupils rather than to be too abstract. According to them, pupils don't understand the pure language as used in the teaching and learning situation. About the future of tsotsitaal, they say that its vocabulary is developing day by day. They are seriously worried about the future of the standard language.

4.2 Collection of data from Soweto College of Education

Soweto College is situated in Zone One Pimville. The stand number was given to us as 1105, between Potchefstroom road and Modjadji drive. Soweto College of Education is the training institution for prospective teachers. Seven African languages are offered at this college as specialisation subjects. These languages are Southern Sotho, Northern Sotho, Setswana, Luvenda, Xitsonga, IsiXhosa and Isizulu.



(i) QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STUDENTS

1. Surname and name of respondent: Ngcobo Daniel
2. Age: 27
3. Sex: Male
4. Course: Secondary Teachers Diploma III
5. Ethnic group: Zulu
6. Home language: Zulu
7. Do you know tsotsitaal?: Yes
8. When you are with your friends, which language do you speak at the college?: We mix tsotsitaal and English.
9. Which language do you speak with your parents at home?: Zulu.
10. Which language do you speak with your lecturers at college?: We speak Zulu and English.
11. Do your lecturers speak to you in standard Zulu or in tsotsitaal?: They speak in standard Zulu.
12. If in standard Zulu, in which language do you respond?: I also respond in the standard Zulu language.
13. If in tsotsitaal, in which language do you respond?: I also respond in tsotsitaal.
14. Do you think it is right for lecturers to speak tsotsitaal in their homes?: No, because their children won't understand their home language.
15. Do you think it is right for lecturers to speak tsotsitaal at college?: No, its not correct. Tsotsitaal lowers the dignity of an individual. If a lecturer speaks this language, he will be considered as an equal of students, which is not good.
16. Are your lecturers fluent in tsotsitaal?: Good/Fair X /Poor
17. Do your lecturers reprimand/encourage you if you speak tsotsitaal inside the lecture room?: They reprimand us.
18. Do your lecturers reprimand/encourage you if speak tsotsitaal outside the lecturer room? They don't care what language we speak outside the lecture room.
19. How do you as an individual anticipate the future of tsotsitaal as spoken in the townships, especially in

Soweto?: Its rife in Soweto, it can also develop to an official language, some books are written in tsotsitaal.

20. How do you anticipate the future of standard Zulu language as spoken in the township like Soweto?: There is a future of standard Zulu language.
21. Supply us with a list of tsotsi words you know with their relevant meaning/s

- (a) ukudla > ukugawula (to eat)
- (b) ukuhamba > ukuvaya (to go)
- (c) ukubanda > ukukhomaza (cold weather)
- (d) umakoti > imedi (bridegroom)
- (e) ugogo > umagrizini/grizini girl (an old lady)

22. Does the language you speak with your friends on the street corners not affect your language performance in your classwork?

No, because when I am in class I know what type of language to use.

23. Comment in a few sentence; what are your views concerning the study of the Zulu language as a subject at the college?: It is somewhat challenging because you study the language scientifically, also it makes one's knowledge more broaden, especially when studying aspect like riddles, legends, folktales and poetry.

(ii) QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STUDENTS

1. Surname and name of respondent: Mlotshwa Themba
2. Age: 23 years
3. Sex: Male
4. Course: Secondary Teachers Diploma III
5. Ethnic group: Zulu
6. Home language: Zulu
7. Do you know tsotsitaal?: Yes
8. When you are with your friends which language do you speak at

the college?: We speak tsotsitaal.

9. Which language do you speak with your parents at home?: Zulu.
10. Which language do you speak with your lecturers at college?: Zulu.
11. Do your lecturers speak to you in standard Zulu or in tsotsitaal?: They speak standard language.
12. If in standard Zulu in which language do you respond?: I also speak the standard Zulu.
13. If in tsotsitaal in which language do you respond?: Not applicable.
14. Do you think it is right for lecturers to speak tsotsitaal in their homes?: No its not correct. Children like to imitate, they will think that tsotsitaal is the correct language.
15. Do you think it is right for lecturers to speak tsotsitaal at college?: No, its not right. We will lose respect for a lecturer if he speaks tsotsitaal. We won't respect him and he will have disciplinary problems from students.
16. Are your lecturers fluent in tsotsitaal?: Good X /Fair/Poor.
17. Do your lecturers reprimand/encourage you if you speak tsotsitaal inside the lecture room?: They reprimand us.
18. Do your lecturers reprimand/encourage you if speak tsotsitaal outside the lecture room?: The reprimand us.
19. How do you as an individual anticipate the future of tsotsitaal as spoken in the townships, especially in Soweto?: Tsotsitaal is developing. Secondly, everybody seems to be understanding it better than any other language especially in Soweto.
20. How do you anticipate the future of standard Zulu language as spoken in the township like Soweto?: The standard language is deteriorating because of this tsotsitaal. Even primary school children speak tsotsitaal.
21. Supply us with a list of tsotsi words you know and their relevant meaning/s

- (a) nqiyahamba > nqiyavaya (I am going)
- (b) nqiyabuya > nqiyaspina (I am coming back)
- (c) nqiyantshontsha > nqiyaspina (I am stealing)
- (d) ngisayodla > ngisayocanda (I am going to eat)
- (e) ngizokushiya umangele > ngizokushiya uphemile (I will leave you saturated)
- (f) nqiyakhulumu > nqiyacamtha (I am talking)
- (g) ngisayolungisa okuthile > ngisayokokotela (I am going to fix something).

22. Does the language you speak with your friends on the street corners, not affect your language performance in your classwork?: It does affect my performance sometimes, because you might think that what you speak is correct, when you write you find that the words you have used are not standard language words.
23. Comment in a few sentences; what are your views concerning the study of the Zulu language as a subject at the college?: I think it's good to study Zulu, since the standard of the language is low in the township. So we people who study the language will assist to uplift the standard of the language.

(iii) QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STUDENTS

1. Surname and name of respondent: Ntuli Hleziphi
2. Age: 26 years
3. Sex: Female
4. Course: Secondary Teachers Diploma III
5. Ethnic group: Zulu
6. Home language: Zulu
7. Do you know tsotsitaal?: Yes.
8. When you are with your friends, which language do you speak at the college?: Zulu.
9. Which language do you speak with your parents at home?: Zulu.
10. Which language do you speak with your lecturers at college?:

English.

11. Do your lecturers speak to you in standard Zulu or in tsotsitaal?: They speak in standard Zulu.
12. If in standard Zulu, in which language do you respond?: I respond in standard Zulu language.
13. If tsotsitaal, in which language do you respond?: Not applicable.
14. Do you think it is right for lecturers to speak tsotsitaal in their homes?: Not its not right. I feel that they have to speak the standard language because they are role models, if they speak tsotsitaal they will be misleading their children.
15. Do you think it is right for lecturers to speak tsotsitaal at college?: No, as lecturers of student - teachers, they have to speak the proper language.
16. Are your lecturers fluent in tsotsitaal?: Good/Fair/Poor X.
17. Do your lecturers reprimand/encourage you if you speak tsotsitaal inside the lecture room?: They reprimand us.
18. Do your lecturers reprimand/encourage you if you speak tsotsitaal outside the lecture room?: They still reprimand us.
19. How do you as an individual anticipate the future of tsotsitaal as spoken in the townships, especially in Soweto?: I think it is destroying the standard language because one writes tsotsitaal thinking that it is a correct Zulu word.
20. How do you anticipate the future of the standard Zulu language as spoken in the township like Soweto?: I think the future is bright. People here in the township enjoy listening to a person from Natal, especially the accent and the pronunciation.
21. Supply us with a list of tsotsi words you know, and their relevant meaning/s
 - (a) umntwana > incosi (a young person)
 - (b) ukubamba ogotsheni > ukubhaga (catsh red-handed)
 - (c) ukudla > izoso (food)

- (d) imali > ibhugo (money)
- (e) umfana > iouthie (a boy)
- (f) isikole > isigele (a school)

22. Does the language you speak with your friends on the street corners, not affect your language performance in your classwork?: It does not.
23. Comment in a few sentences; what are your views concerning the study of the Zulu language as a subject at the college?: I enjoy the subject, I wish more people could be encouraged to study it.

(iv) QUESTIONNAIRE FOR STUDENTS

1. Surname and name of respondent: Ngema Georgia
2. Age: 25 years
3. Sex: Female
4. Course: Secondary Teachers Diploma III
5. Ethnic group: Zulu
6. Home language: Zulu
7. Do you know tsotsitaal?: Yes.
8. When you are with your friends, which language do you speak at the college?: Zulu.
9. Which language do you speak with your parents at home?: Zulu.
10. Which language do you speak with your lecturers at college?: English.
11. Do your lecturers speak to you in standard Zulu or in tsotsitaal?: They speak in standard Zulu.
12. If in standard Zulu, in which language do you respond?: I respond in standard language.
13. If in tsotsitaal, in which language do you respond?: Not applicable.
14. Do you think it is right for lecturers to speak tsotsitaal in their homes?: No, that action would lower the standard of Zulu, even primary school children will speak it.
15. Do you think it is right for lecturers to speak tsotsitaal at college?: No its not correct because they are exemplary

to student-teachers.

16. Are your lecturers fluent in tsotsitaal?: Good/Fair/Poor X
17. Do your lecturers reprimand/encourage you if you speak tsotsitaal inside the lecture room?: They reprimand us.
18. Do your lecturers reprimand/encourage you if you speak tsotsitaal outside the lecture room?: They still reprimand us.
19. How do you as an individual anticipate the future of tsotsitaal as spoken in the townships, especially in Soweto?: I think it will develop and grow.
20. How do you as an individual anticipate the future of the standard Zulu language as spoken in the township like Soweto?: It's deteriorating.
21. Supply us with a list of tsotsi words you know, and their relevant meaning/s

- (a) isenti > itokana (a cent)
- (b) umama > iofi (mother)
- (c) ubaba >ithayima (father)
- (d) isinkwa > inzo (bread)

22. Does the language you speak with your friends on the street corners not affect your language performance in your classwork?: It does not.
23. Comment in a few sentences; what are your views concerning the study of the Zulu language as a subject at the college?: I feel that it is important to study Zulu because we will try to maintain the high standard of the language.

(v) QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE LECTURER

1. Surname and name of respondent: Hlabangane Gadwin
2. Age: 35 years
3. Sex: Male
4. Academic Qualification: Matriculation
5. Professional: Secondary Teachers Diploma
6. Ethnic group: Zulu
7. Home language: Zulu

8. Do you know tsotsitaal?: Yes
9. When you are with your friends, which language do you speak at college?: A mixture of languages; English, Zulu and Afrikaans.
10. Which language do you speak with your family at home?: Zulu.
11. Do you speak to your students in tsotsitaal or in standard Zulu language?: At certain stages I use the mix language; that is standard Zulu language and tsotsitaal.
12. If in standard Zulu language, what is their response?: They respond in the standard Zulu language.
13. If in tsotsitaal, what is their response?: It's a surprise that a teacher can speak this language as well.
14. Do you think it is right for you as a lecturer to speak tsotsitaal?: Yes and No.
No for the sake of the standard language which needs to be kept pure.
15. If yes why? If no why?: Yes. At the moment in the area we are living in it is the easier form of communication.
16. Do you reprimand/encourage your students when they speak tsotsitaal inside the lecture room?: I reprimand them. I insist that they speak pure Zulu.
17. How do you anticipate the future of tsotsitaal in the townships, especially in Soweto?: It will not be very easy for tsotsitaal to die. We have different ethnic groups, so in order to understand each other, we have got to use the mixture of languages.
18. How do you anticipate the future of standard Zulu language in the township like Soweto?: I feel it has a lot of room for improvement. It's like an international language in Soweto.
19. Supply us with a list of tsotsi words you know, and their relevant meaning/s
 - (a) inkulumo > isicamtho (to talk/speech of the youth)
 - (b) ihembe > intshodi (a shirt)
 - (c) ibhulukwe > iqqaza (a trouser)

- (d) ukudla > icando (food)
- (e) ukulala > iyotho (to sleep)
- (f) owesifazane > imedi (a lady)

20. When giving students an essay to write in Zulu, do you at times/
always detect tsotsi words?: Always.
21. How do you correct that situation?: I think to correct that situation, read the essay in class and pick up those words and correct them.
22. What could be the reason for those tsotsi words in your opinion?: The reason is that a person fails to think a proper Zulu word, then tsotsi words come to the mind.
23. How do you strike the balance between the language you speak outside and the one you speak inside the lecture room?: As a lecturer when you are in class you are faced with people who speak the language which is pure.

(vi) QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE LECTURER

1. Surname and name of respondent: Miso Wanda
2. Age: 40 years
3. Sex: Female
4. Academic qualification: B.A. Hons.
5. Professional: Secondary Teachers Diploma.
6. Ethnic group: Zulu
7. Home language: Zulu
8. Do you know tsotsitaal?: Yes
9. When you are with your friends, which language do you speak at the college?: I speak English and Zulu.
10. Which language do you speak with your family at home?: I speak English and Zulu.
11. Do you speak to your students in tsotsitaal or in standard Zulu language?: I speak in standard Zulu language.
12. If in standard Zulu language, what is their response?: They respond in standard Zulu language.
13. If in tsotsitaal, what is their response?: Not applicable.
14. Do you think it is right for you as a lecturer to speak

tsotsitaal?: Yes and No X.

15. If yes why? If no why? X: I feel that is not a standard language. As a lecturer I don't think I am free to communicate in a casual language that is used in the townships.
16. Do you reprimand your students when they speak tsotsitaal inside the lecture room?: I don't expect anyone to speak tsotsitaal. I don't want to condone it.
17. How do you anticipate the future of tsotsitaal in the townships, especially in Soweto?: It is there to stay, because we mix with the people from different ethnic groups.
18. How do you anticipate the future of standard Zulu language in the township like Soweto?: The future is there if its backed up by formal situation, and formal education.
19. Supply us with a list of tsotsi words you know, and their relevant meaning/s

- (a) imali > isimeke (money)
- (b) intombi enhle > idindili (a beautiful girl)
- (c) nqiyavaya nqiya eJozi > nqiyahamba nqiya eJozibele (I am going to Johannesburg)
- (d) ukudiza/ukushuqula > ukusmokola (to bribe)
- (e) thatha > canda/qanda (take)
- (f) nqiyasebenza > nqiyajobha (I am working)

20. When giving students an essay to write in Zulu, do you at times/always detect tsotsi words?: Yes I always detect tsotsi words.
21. How do you correct that situation?: I scratch the wrong word and write the correct one instead.
22. What could be the reason for those tsotsi words in your opinion?: I think students communicate too freely in tsotsitaal, they are not selective.
23. How do you strike the balance between the language you speak outside and the one you speak inside the lecture room?: The environment can affect one in a way. In the classroom you are too formal, but when you go outside the classroom you

are not formal, you are just casual.

5.2 Analysis of data from Soweto College of Education STUDENTS

The data collected from male student-teachers differed drastically from that collected from female student-teachers. According to males, they speak the language when they are with their friends. They claim that there is a bright future for this language, and they state positively that tsotsitaal does affect their performance in any way.

The females say that they know a bit of tsotsitaal. They like standard language better than tsotsitaal. In fact, they enjoy studying standard language at the college. They are even ashamed to answer questions in tsotsitaal, let alone talking it. The female's vocabulary consists of words they picked up from the streets, whereas with males, they speak it daily.

LECTURERS

Lecturers know and speak this language when they are outside lecture rooms. They acknowledge the fact that tsotsitaal is here to stay. They also claim that they detect tsotsi words in students' essays.