

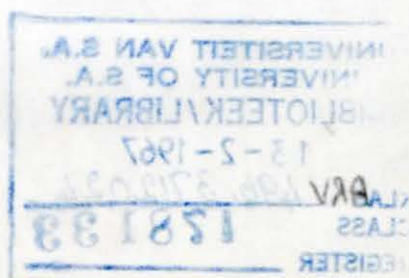
SOME ASPECTS OF
FOREIGN WORDS AND THE FOREIGN IDIOM
IN ZULU

by

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Introduction

0.1. The aim of this article is to analyse the adaptation of foreign words to Zulu. A brief survey of the foreign idiom is also made. ¹⁾

0.2. No preview of Zulu phonetics is given. Further, no translations of English words into Afrikaans or vice versa, are made in the text of the article. Translations have only been made where they are indispensable. ²⁾

0.3. Explanation of abbreviations and symbols used:

= means 'equal to'; > means 'changes into' or 'becomes'; < means 'derived from'; /s/ = the phoneme of s, etc.; any letter or word outside the symbol // will be in the practical orthography wherever it occurs; (n) = noun; (v) = verb; (adj.) = adjective; (rel.) = relative and ' indicates main stress.

Afr. = Afrikaans; Eng. = English; Xh. = Xhosa; Zu. = Zulu.

0.4. Zulu orthography used is that of Bantu Education: Terminology and Orthography No. 2, 1962. A broad phonemic transcription based on the phonetic transcription of the International Phonetic Association will be used.

0.5. Only standardised words or idioms will be analysed. Zulu, is, however, not yet strictly standardised. ³⁾ Nevertheless, written Zulu based on the forms of Zulu spoken

1) The aim is to treat this subject a little more intensively than Doke, 1954, pp. 88-89; Nyembezi, 1954, p. 1 and van Eeden, 1956, p. 734. In his bibliography, Nienaber, 1948, refers to a dissertation on "FOREIGN ACQUISITIONS IN ZULU" by Cooksy, E. accepted by the Witwatersrand University in 1946. Unfortunately this document could not be consulted as the Witwatersrand University Library has lost it.

2) Space is limited, hence the preview and translations are omitted.

3) F. Suter failed to influence the Zulus to adopt isiNtu - ngwa as the standard language. See "Native Teachers' Journal" Jan. 1942.

in Zululand and adjacent districts of Natal is recognised as the literary language. Written Zulu is, however, bewildering at times for it does not always represent the area referred to. In 1959 Prof. Nyembezi could still say this about it: "It is quite clear that a writer will employ the dialect of the area from which he comes." 4)

0.6. Foreign words and the foreign idiom analysed are mainly drawn from the following sources: Bantu Education Journal, Native Teachers' Journal (no longer in circulation); Terminology and Orthography No.2, 1962; Zulu dictionaries published after 1947; language and literary works; and textbooks on Zulu morphology and syntax.

Phonological Adaptation of a Foreign Term

1.1. There are two important factors to be considered here, viz.

- (a) the adjustment of the final syllable of a borrowed word;
- (b) the phonemic shifts that take place in borrowed words.

1.2. Adjustment of the final syllable: Zulu words are made up of a syllabic pattern that comprises a CONSONANT + a VOWEL (CV), or the syllabic nasal m or a VOWEL (V). Therefore, no Zulu syllable ends with a consonant unless that consonant is syllabic. Similarly, no word ends with a consonant. 6) The adjustment of final syllables of borrowed words which end with a consonant 7) are discussed presently.

1.3. It is proposed to illustrate factors that determine

4) Nyembezi, 1959, p.19.

5) Zulu dictionaries also use dialectal forms of Zulu to a large extent, a factor which militates against the standardisation of the language as based upon the area referred to in par.0.5 above; cf. Zulu-English Dictionary by Doke, C. M. and Vilakazi, B. W.

6. In a word-group or sentence syllabic m may end a word, e.g. umlam wami uyagula (My brother-in-law is ill.)

7) Single consonants, nasalised ones and affricates, if expressed, will be regarded as constituting a phoneme in this article. See also Endemann, 1961, pp. 18-28.

the terminal vowel of a borrowed word that ends with a consonantal phoneme.

1.4. If the final syllable of a borrowed noun ⁸⁾ ends with /f/, /v/ or /p/, the final vowel of this noun will be /o/ or /u/ in Zulu e.g.

isitofu < stoof (Afr.) isisefo < /siv/ (Eng.)
isisevo < /saef/ (Eng.) ⁹⁾ igilavu < /glav/ (Eng.)
insipho < seep (Afr.) iziphu < zip (Eng.), etc.

(Note the voicing of /f/ or devoicing of /v/ in some cases)

1.5. When /f/ occurs in a digraph or other cluster, Zulu-speakers tend to elide the other letters that constitute the particular digraph or cluster. /u/ is retained as the terminative; e.g. ishifu < shift (Eng.) where /t/ is elided. amadilafu < draughts (Eng.) „ /ts/ is elided; etc.

1.6. If the final syllable of a noun ends with /s/ or /z/, /i/ is suffixed; eg.

ubasi < baas (Afr.) ushizi < /tʃi:z/ (Eng.)
iposi < pos (Afr.) usayizi < /saiz/ (Eng.)
/s/ is sometimes voiced, e.g. ijazi < jas (Afr.), etc.

Exceptions: ummese < mes (Afr.), final /e/ probably caused by vowel assimilation (see par. 1.12 below).

isikaniso < skaans (Afr.) sounds like an impersonal noun derived from the verb -kanisa. (encamp); ¹⁰⁾ ipho

iphoyisa < /pɔ'li:s/ (See par. 1.17 below).

8) hereafter noun will refer to borrowed noun.

9) The final vowel in safe is not pronounced, "but serves to show that the a stands for diphthong". Christophersen, 1956, p.72.

10) However, Doke and Vilakazi, 1953, p.370 say -kanisa isikaniso.

1.7. When the final syllable of a noun ends with /ʃ/, /tʃ/, /dʒ/ the terminating vowel is /i/; e.g.

ibhulashi < brush (Eng.)

iwashi < watch (Eng.)

upholishi < polish (Eng.)

isitashi < starch (Eng.)

ikheji < cage (Eng.)

ikholiji < college (Eng.), etc.

ikhokholoshe < cockroach (Eng.) is an exception. This seems to be caused by the diphthong /ou/ preceding /tʃ/ which compels the speaker to use /e/ at the end. An exaggerated pronunciation of cockroach by a Zulu-speaker will show this.

1.8. When the final syllable of a noun ends with /n/, the terminative is /i/; e.g.

isipani < span (Afr.)

ikani < kan (Afr.), etc.

isipunu < spoon (Eng.) (see par. 1.12 below), imfolomane <

voorman (Afr.) iJalimane < German (Eng.) are exceptions.

1.9. If the last syllable of a noun ends with /m/, /m/ becomes syllabic or /u/ is suffixed to it; e.g.

Afr. toom > itom(u) or itomu; Eng. farm > ifam(u) or ifamu, etc.

1.10. Some nouns end with /m/ but the /m/ does not become syllabic, e.g. Afr. dam > idamu; Afr. skelm > isikelemu, etc.

indilimo < riem (Afr.) is an exception.

1.11. /u/ remains the terminative even when the last syllable is /mp/ preceded by /a/; e.g.

Afr. lamp > ilambu; Afr. kamp > inkambu; Afr. stamp (miel-

ies) > isitambu. (The derivation of this word from Eng. samp is improbable on account of the a sound in it and the absence of a t that is found in the Zulu version of the word. cf.

isitembu < stamp)

1.12. The final vowel of a noun is also determined by vowel assimilation. The final vowel assimilates all the characteristics of the vowel ¹¹⁾ that precedes the final consonant of the original noun; e.g.

(i) umata < maat (Afr.); iketanga < kettang (Afr. plat vorm)

11) the vowel in its adapted or Zuluised form.

(ii) iswidi < sweet (Eng.) ; ipiki < pick (Eng.) ; etc.

(iii) isobho < sop (Afr.) ; uvolo < wol (Afr.) ; etc.

(iv) iduku < doek (Afr.) ; isitubhu < stoep (Afr.) ; etc.

1.13. Afr. nouns whose final syllable ends with a consonant /r/ preceded by /ə/ take /a/ or /i/ as a terminative; e.g.

(i) venster > iasitela ; botter > ibhotela, etc.

Exception: ikamelo < kamer (see par. 1.17 below.)

(ii) beker > ibhikili ; spyker > isipikili, etc.

1.14. Eng. nouns whose final syllable ends with a consonant /r/ ¹²⁾ preceded by /ə/ (i.e. e, o, or a), take /a/ as a terminative; e.g.

⑦ (i) quarter > ikkwata ; cover > ikhava.

(ii) conductor > ukhondakta ; tailor > uthela, etc. (Note that imoto is a shortened form of imotokali < motorkar (Afr.). Similarly, udokotela must be derived from dokter and not doctor. Otherwise, it is difficult to explain the presence of the final l in these two words.)

(iii) calendar > ikhalenda

1.15. /bl/, /ndl/, /tl/, /dl/ in ultimate position of an Eng. noun also determines the final vowel to be suffixed to the particular noun in its adapted form sometimes. This vowel is /a/ ; e.g.

/teibl/ > ithebula (/bl/ must be preceded by /ei/).

/kændl/ > ikhandlela ; /'sɪkl/ > isikela

/'hɒspɪtl/ > isibhedlela ; /'medl/ > imendlela

/'ketl/ > igedlela (iketelo is a dialectal form)

1.16. Summary: The foregoing analysis illustrates that the vowel to be suffixed to a borrowed noun that ends in a consonantal phoneme is chiefly decided by:

(a) the final consonantal phoneme itself. Certain consonantal phonemes take particular terminal vowel phonemes, e.g. /s/ and /z/ are followed by /i/ while /f/ and /v/ take /o/ and /u/; etc.

(b) vowel assimilation; e.g. terminal /o/ of uvolo is

12) this r is silent.

assimilated to the preceding /o/, etc.

1.17. Departure from par. 1.16 above may be explained thus:

(a) Both the consonantal phoneme ~~preceding~~ at the end of a noun, and the vowel phoneme preceding it sometimes exert their influence in determining the terminal vowel; e.g. in the noun /baibl/ where /bl/ is the ultimate consonantal phoneme, the final vowel of the adapted noun is not /a/ as in nouns treated in par. 1.15 above, but /i/. /ai/ must have exerted influence on /bl/ such that the regular /a/ at the end becomes /i/.

(b) Shift of stress in a noun is also responsible for apparent irregularities; e.g. where the main stress falls on /s/ in /'sɪkl/, the final vowel in the new noun is /a/. But where the main stress falls on /b/ in /'baɪsɪkl/, and no longer on the /s/ as in /'sɪkl/, the terminative of /'baɪsɪkl/ is /i/ and not /a/. A similar explanation may be given in respect of : ikamela < kameel(bok) (Afr.), and ikamelo < kamer and iphoyisa < police as against upholishi < polish.(Eng.)

(c) Tonal assimilation, subject to consonantal influences, also plays an important part in determining the final vowel of a noun. Many nouns show assimilation of tone from lower toneme to a higher one, e.g.

isikali < skaal (Afr.) (penultimate toneme ^s assimilating with i)
udoli < doll (Eng.) (" " " o " " i)

Sometimes this assimilation works in reverse; e.g.

ibhola < ball(Eng.) ; ijoka < juk (Afr.) ; itafula < tafel(Afr)
 where a higher penultimate toneme assimilates with a lower one.

(d) Association of a loan noun with an indigenous one; e.g. isikalo < skans^{al} (Afr.) isikaniso < skans^{Afr.} (skans) associated with impersonal nouns.

1.18. Irregular Syllable Structure: Due to elision or addition of syllables to adapted words, some nouns are not easily traceable to their original forms; e.g.

(a) Elision of a Syllable: Zulu noun stems seldom begin with a vowel. When a borrowed noun begins with a vowel, this vowel ¹³⁾ is sometimes elided and the consonant following it becomes the initial letter of the noun stem, e.g.

(i) Melika < America ; ibhulukosi < appelkoos (Afr.), etc. but when the consonant following the initial vowel is a fricative consonant, the vowel is retained, e.g. (i) Afrika < Africa (i) avareji < average (Eng.), (i) asidi < acid (Eng.); etc.

(i) Vangeli < /i'vændʒəl/ (Eng.)- (the Afr. evangelie has a sharp /x/ sound in /n/) and (i) lektriki < /i'lektrik/ (Eng.) are derived from written words.

(b) Addition of a Syllable: This may take place under the following conditions:

(i) when adapting a diphthong: e.g. ikwiyi < /ku:i/ (Afr.) where -yi is added.

(ii) when a noun is derived from the plural form of the borrow-noun: e.g. (u) sigazi < cigars (Eng.) -zi in usigazi corresponds with z in /si'ga:z/, the plural of /si'ga:/.

(iii) association of a noun with another noun; e.g.

(u) khiye < /ki:/ (Eng.) associated with (i) tiye < /te:/ (Afr.)
ushukela < /'uga:/ (Eng.) " " Afr. nouns with an er ending which suffix -ela in Zulu. Otherwise, ushukela is # derived from the written word as it should have been ushuka if its derivation stems from the spoken word.

(iv) juxtaposition of vowels in ultimate position; e.g. The stem of (u) gamthilini < gumtree (Eng.) = five syllables, viz.

ga- m(u)- thi- li- -ni which may be explained thus:

13) this vowel constitutes a syllable.

gam(u) < gum ; /thi-li-/ < tr ; -ni < ee. Written consecutively the syllables become: /gam-/thi-/li-/ -i/.¹⁴⁾ The i of li cannot be followed directly by i. A "morphemic vowel juncture"¹⁵⁾ is needed. /n/ being one of the consonants usually followed by i in ultimate position is preferred to the sibilants as thses^{ese} would introduce a sound absent from the original noun.

In uganthini, li has been elided, apparently to avoid the confusion found in the last three syllables of uganthilini

(c) /h/ in ihabhula < appel (Afr.) is a form of "stabiliser" of the initial vowel. (k /h/ does not form a separate syllable from the initial vowel. It has been placed under this sub-heading for convenience.) This explanation holds good for ihovisi < office (Eng.); uyinki < ink (Eng.), etc.

1.19. Nouns ending in a vowel phoneme take an equivalent Zulu vowel phoneme ʔ at the end when adapted to Zulu; e.g.

Afr. dubbeltjie < indibilishi ; ufulawa < flour (Eng.), etc.

1.20. Verbs: All verbs ending with a consonantal phoneme take ʔ /a/ as the terminative; e.g.

-saha < saag (Afr.) ; ~~pos~~ -posa < pos (Afr.), etc.

(the verb, minus its terminative, e.g. -sah-, -pos- constitutes the root morpheme. This morpheme is subject to all phonological and morphological laws in the Zulu language.)

1.21. No other parts of speech are treated under this sub-heading as they are insufficient to illustrate any tendencies in the course of adaptation.

1.22. Stress: In Afrikaans and English, ^{(the main} stress may shift from one position to another in one and the same word. It

14) Slanting lines indicate division of syllables here, not the phoneme.

15) Louw, 1962, p. 54 says: "The term morphemic vowel juncture is appropriate for describing this transition from one syllable to another..." This expression is fitting for our purposes too although Louw used it for describing /y/ and /w/.

depends much upon the meaning intended. Thus, for example, Afr. /'fo:rbe:lt/ (n) may become /fo:r'be:ldax/(adj.);¹⁶⁾ similarly, Eng. /'kɔnva:t/ (n) is /kən'və:t/ (v). In Zulu, however, stress remains fixed on the root syllable of a word; e.g. /ɸ/ -'penda (paint); -'pendela (paint for); uyazi'pe-nda (he paints himself); -'pendapenda (paint a little), etc.

2.1. Phonemic Shifts: Borrowed words are subject to phonemic adjustments when they are adapted to Zulu. The Phonemes of the donor language, especially if it is not a Bantu language, seldom coincide with those of Zulu.

2.2. Vowel Shifts: The following adjustments are found in respect of words borrowed from Afrikaans and English:¹⁷⁾

(a) Pure Vowels:

- /ɑ:/ > /a/ e.g. ip/a/ki < park;
- /ə:/ > /o/ e.g. iph/o/mede < permit.
- /ɛ/ > /e/ e.g. ikhab/e/thē < cupboard;
- /e/ > /e/ e.g. ish/e/de < Shed;
- /ɛ:/ > /e/ e.g. isik/e/lo < skêr.
- /ʌ/ > /a/ e.g. ibh/a/si < bus;
- /i:/ > /i/ e.g. umsh/i/ni < machine;
- /ɔ/ > /o/ e.g. ikil/o/go < clock.
- /ɔ:/ > /o/ e.g. imf/o/logo < fork.
- /œ/ > /o/ e.g. ibhul/o/ho < brûg.
- /u/ > /u/ e.g. uk/u/ka < cook;
- /u:/ > /u/ e.g. ibh/u/ku < boek.

This analysis shows that Zulu can accommodate the pure vowels illustrated here by using her primary vowels, viz. /a/, /e/, /i/, /o/ and /u/.

16) Le Roux and Pienaar, 1927, p.174.

17) The Zulu form of the vowel is placed within // inside the adapted word.

(b) Diphthongs:/ai/ > /aji/ e.g. uth/ayi/ < tie;/au/ > /a^wo/ e.g. ibhul/awo/gi < blouse./ei/ > /e/ e.g. uw/e/ta < waiter./ou/ > /o^w/ e.g. ik/awo/si < kous./o/ e.g. iwesik/o/ti < waistcoat/oi/ > /oji/ e.g. j/oyi/na < join/ia/ > /ije/ e.g. ith/iye/tha < theatre./ɛə/ > /ija/ e.g. ubh/iya/ < beer./ui/ > /^wui/ e.g. ik/wiyi/ < koei

Three factors emerge from the adaptation of diphthongs found in borrowed words; viz. the Zulu equivalents reveal that:

(a) Most of the Zulu diphthongs enlist the help of semi-vowels w or y to tide them over from the first vowel to the adjacent one of the same diphthong. The inclusion of a semi-vowel between adjacent vowels of a diphthong makes that diphthong disyllabic. It thus \cancel{s} ceases to be a diphthong. ¹⁸⁾

(b) Some diphthongs change into pure vowels, e.g. /ei/, /ou/. ¹⁹⁾

(c) /ui/ makes use of two semi-vowels in one and the same diphthong where each semi-vowel is followed by /i/, hence /wiyi/.

"During a diphthong the prominence may fall or it may rise continuously."²⁰⁾ It is evident that the diphthongs adapted to Zulu do not reveal these characteristics.

It is fair to conclude that diphthongs found in loan-words cease to exist when they are adapted to Zulu. Their place is taken by pure vowels with semi-vowels interpolated.

18) Jones, 1960, p.58 says: "A diphthong must necessarily consist of one syllable."

19) Perhaps the /i/ in /ei/ is assimilated to the preceding w in waiter.

20) Jones, op cit, p.58.

2.3. Consonantal Shifts: The changes that the phonemes of a borrowed word undergoes in the process of adaptation will be considered in accordance with its distribution in that word, i.e. whether it is in initial, medial, or ultimate position. In order to economise space, all phonemes of borrowed words that coincide with the Zulu phonemes in the adapted words will be omitted. Where a particular phoneme is not found in a certain position of a word, an indication of this will be made accordingly.

(i) = initial position; (ii) = medial position & (iii) = ultimate position.

EXPLOSIVES.

- 1) /k/ (i) /kh/ > /kl/ e.g. Eng. cabbage > iklabishi
 /k/ > /g/ e.g. Afr. ketel > igedlela
 /kh/ > /nk/ e.g. Eng. concertina > inkositini.
 (ii) /kh/ > /k/ e.g. Eng. location > ilokishi
 (iii) /k/ > /g/ e.g. Eng. truck > ithilogo.
- 2) /t/ (i) /th/ > /t^h/ e.g. Eng. tomato > utamatisi.
 / t/ > /nt^h/ e.g. Afr. tagtig > intahantaha
 (iii) /t/ > /d/ e.g. Eng. sweet > iswidi
 /t/ > /ts/ e.g. Afr. put > ipitsi
- 3) /p/ (i) /ph/ > /b/ e.g. Eng. pot > ibhodwe
 /ph/ > /mp/ e.g. Eng. pension > impesheni
 (ii) /p/ > /p^h/ e.g. Eng. corporation > ukopoletsheni
 /p/ > /b/ e.g. Eng. teapot > ithibhothi
 (iii) /p/ > /b/ e.g. Afr. sweep > isiswebhu
- 4) /g/ (i) /g/ > /g/ e.g. Eng. game > igemu
 /g/ > /ng/ e.g. Eng. glass > ingilazi

There is no /g/ in medial and final positions.

- 5) /d/ (i) /d/ > /nd/ e.g. Eng. dish > indishi
 (ii) /d/ > /d/ e.g. Eng. Paradise > iPharadisi
 (iii) /d/ > /th/ e.g. Eng. chart > ishathi
- 6) /b/ (i) /b/ > /b/ e.g. Eng. bench > ibhentshi
 /b/ > /mb/ e.g. Eng. breeches > imbilitshisi

(ii) /b / > /β/ Afr. stiebeuel > isitibili

There is no /b/ in ultimate position.

Summary: Besides the phonemes of borrowed words which correspond with those of adapted words in Zulu, the foregoing analysis reveals the following tendencies:

(a) Initial position : (i) all explosives are sometimes nasalised

(ii) /k/, /t/, /p/ are de-aspirated.

(iii) /k/ is sometimes voiced.

(iv) /g/ and /b/ are sometimes devoiced.

(b) Medial position : (i) /b/ > /β/ ; (ii) /p/ is voiced; and

(iii) /d/ is devoiced.

(c) Ultimate position (i) /k/, /t/, and /p/ become voiced.

7) /nk/ (iii) /nk/ > /ng/ e.g. Afr. bank > ibhange.

8) /nt/ (iii) /nt/ > /nd/ e.g. Afr. bont > -bhondwe

9) /mp/ (iii) /mp/ > /mb/ e.g. Afr. hemp > ihembe

10) /n/ (iii) /n / > /ng/ e.g. Eng. spring > isipilingi

11) ~~f~~ Nasalised /d/ and /b/ not found.

There are no ~~f~~ initial and medial positions of nasalised plosives.

FRICATIVES

12) /f/ (i) /f/ > /mf/ e.g. Afr. vadoek > imfaduko

(iii) /f/ > /v/ e.g. Afr. graaf > ihalavu

13) /v/ No change.

14) /s/ (i) /s/ > /ns[?]/ e.g. Afr. seep > insipho

(iii) /s/ > /z/ e.g. Afr. plaas > ipulazi

15) /z/ No change.

Summary: /f/ & /s/ in initial position became nasalised.

/f/ & /s/ in ultimate position become voiced.

16) /h/ ~~XX~~ (i) /h/ > /h/ e.g. Eng. half > uhafu

17) /x/ (i) /x/ > /h/ e.g. Afr. gans > ihansi

(iii) /x/ > /h/ e.g. Afr. saag > isaha

/x/ not found in medial position.

N.B. /h/ in initial position is voiced.

- 27) /tʃ/ > /ʃ/ e.g. Eng. kitchen > ikhishi
 (i) /dʒ/ > /j/ e.g. Eng. jersey > ijezi
 (iii) /dʒ/ > /j/ e.g. Eng. cage > ikheji
 /dʒ/ > /tʃʔ/ e.g. Eng. sausage > isositshi
 /dʒ/ > /ʃ/ e.g. Eng. bandage > ibhandishi
 /dʒ/ > /nʒ/ e.g. Eng. bridge > ibhilinji²²⁾

CONSONANT COMBINATIONS.

28. When a borrowed word contains syllables whose letters have a CONSONANT + CONSONANT (CC) combination, Zulu tends to separate these consonants by inserting a vowel in-between them. This is in conformity to the pattern of the composition of letters of a syllable in a Zulu word; i.e. CV. The type of vowel to be inserted is determined by vowel assimilation to a large extent.

Assimilation may take place between the vowel preceding or succeeding the CC combination and the new vowel.

(a) Assimilation with preceding vowel:

In the following consonant combinations the vowel to be inserted is /i/: /kl/, /tr/, /gl/, /br/, and /gr/, provided that these combinations occur in initial position and in nouns of class 5 (Meinhof's classification). Thus:

ili + klogo > ili + kil + ogo > i(li)kilogo < clock (Eng.)

ili + tramu²³⁾ > ili + thil + amu > i(li)thilamu < tram (Eng.)

ili + globhu > ili + gil + obhu > i(li)gilobhu < globe (Eng.)

ili + blinji²⁴⁾ > ili + bhil + inji > i(li)bhilinji < bridge (Eng.)

ili + glawundi > ili + gil + awundi > i(li)gilawundi < ground

(usually football ground) (Eng.)

22) A form used in the Empangeni-Mthunzini area in Zululand.

23) tr is aspirated.

24) assimilation may take place either way here.

Nouns which begin with /s/ tend to separate the /s/ from the other consonant of the CC combination and treat it *e/* as part of the prefix. This process effects the incorporation of /i/ after the /s/. The other consonant then becomes the initial consonant of the noun stem; e.g.

Eng. slate > isileti; Eng. steam > isitimu ; Afr. stoel > isitulo , etc.

These nouns belong to class 7.

/sl/ in initial position of a noun sometimes results in:

(a) /sl/ > /ʃ/ , e.g. Afr. slee > isihlibhi

(b) /l / > /ʃ/ , ~~arg.~~ and /s/ is elided e.g.

Eng. (railway)sleepers > ihlibhisi (plur. amahlibhisi)

In /sk/, /s/ is separated from /k/ but /k/ > /kl/ ; e.g.

Afr. skaap > isiklabhu

/st/ in medial position is retained; e.g.

Eng. duster > idasta

/st/ in ultimate position is either retained or /t/ is elided: e.g. (a) Eng. Christ > uKrestu

(b) Eng. communist > ikhomanisi

In uKhisimuzi < /Krismaɪs/ , /r/ is elided, /s/ and /m/ are separated by /i/ which is also assimilated to the preceding /i/ of /Khis/ . /lɒndri/ > ilondolo on account of a similar process.

~~Ass~~

(b) Assimilation with a succeeding vowel:

(1) Examples of nouns where the vowel to be inserted is determined by a succeeding vowel:

(isi)kulufu < skroef (Afr.); (ili)puluho < ploeg (Afr.);

(ili)bhulukwe < broek (Afr.); etc.

(2) In par. 1.6. above it was shown that when /s/ forms the terminal consonant of a noun, that noun takes /i/ as a terminating vowel in Zulu. Hence nouns like /bɔks/ , /sɔks/, /pɔks/ will end in an /i/. Due to assimilation of vowels, the /k/ and /s/ in each noun will be separated by /i/ ; e.g. Eng. /bɔks/ > (i)bhokisi ; Eng. /sɔks/ > (ama)sokisi ; etc .

29)/tɫ/ in ultimate position.

In /hɔspɪtɫ/, /tɫ/ is separated by /e/ which is influenced by the preceding /i/ that sounds somewhat like /e/. The initial /hɔ/ is elided and /s/ becomes part of the prefix. Apparently, in an effort to voice the /hɔ/ sound, the plosives get voiced, resulting in bh and dl. The /tɫ/ at the end of the word may have sounded like /tɫ̥/ to the Zulus when it was heard for the first time. So, instead of separating /t/ from /ɫ/ in /tɫ/, /tɫ̥/ was separated from /ɫ/. Hence, /isibɛɔ̣ɛla/.

A more or less similar explanation can be given for /bɔtɫ/.

The ultimate /tɫ/ of words derived from Afr. does not seem to have caused much difficulty. E.g. skottel > isikotela. Ultimate /tɫ/ of Afr. is not as sharp as that of Eng.

2.4. Besides the phases of adaptation of borrowed words illustrated in par. 2.3. above, the examples prove the fact that the process of adapting loan words to Zulu is not arbitrary or confused.

2.5. Metathesis: This phenomenon is illustrated by borrowed words like: ifosholo < shovel (Eng.); iroli < lorry (Eng.), etc.

3.1. Morphological Adaptation: Some aspects of the grammar of borrowed words have been discussed by various linguists before. In this section, only those sections that have not been treated before are discussed.

3.2. Borrowed terms of kinship relation are found in classes 1(a) and 2(a); e.g. uanti < aunt (Eng.); usisi < sussie (Afr.) usibali/usibari < swaer (Afr.); ubhuti < boetie (Afr.). Sussie in Afr. refers to a kid sister and boetie is often used to refer to a younger brother too. But in Zulu, these terms are used invariably to refer to one's senior.

Proper names also fall into these two classes; e.g. uPiti < Piet (Afr.); oMariya < Maria hulle (Afr.), etc.

3.3. Imported nouns that are used in the singular form only are found in class 1(a); e.g. ushizi < cheese (Eng.); upokisi < pox (Eng.); uphulufu < proof (Eng.), etc.

3.4. Classes 1(a) and 2(a) contain nouns that indicate some quality, potentiality, or power possessed by the objects which these nouns denote; e.g.

ukhiye < key (Eng.) has potentiality of opening locked doors.

udalimede < dynamite (Eng.) has power to blast hard and solid rock.

usende < scent (Eng.) has quality of fragrance; etc.

It is these special qualities possessed by the objects which may have influenced the classification of these nouns in a persons' class rather than that to which nouns of lifeless objects belong.

~~XX~~
~~XX~~

3.5. There are nouns that have no plural forms in class 5; e.g. ibhotela < botter (Afr.); ikhofi < coffee (Eng.), etc.

3.6. Some borrowed nouns which begin with /s/ followed by a vowel or those beginning in /ʃ/ are placed in classes 5 & 6 (ili- , ama- class); e.g.

Eng. set > isethi ; Eng. (work)shop > ishabhu ; etc.

Nouns whose initial consonant is /s/ followed by an explosive consonant (in a consonant combination) are placed in classes 7 & 8.

3.7. All foreign nouns which fall into classes 9 and 10 are prenasalised; e.g.

inkontilaka < kontrak (Afr.) impesheni < pension (Eng.)

The following have no plural forms;

imfuluwenza < influenza (Eng). imbulukesheni < embrocation (En)

3.8. The following borrowed nouns were identified in class 14:

ubukelemu < skelm (Afr.) ubukhumkane < isikhumkane (Xh.)

ubudomu < dom (Afr.); etc.

3.9. Many foreign nouns are classified in class 15; e.g.
ukujaha < jaag (Afr.) ukukholosha < crochet (Eng.)

3.10. Deverbative nouns are found in the following classes:

Class 1: -sesha > umseshi (detective to search (Eng.)

-jaha > umjahi (jockey on te jaag (Afr.)

-shushisa > umshushisi < (Xh.) umtshutshisi

Class 5: -phoyisa > iphoyisa < (Eng.) policeman

Class 7: -poka > isipoki < (Afr.) spook.

3.11. Relative Stems.

The following borrowed relative stems are found:

-bhondwe < bont (Afr.) -domu < dom (Afr.)

3.12. Borrowed verbs can be classified into the following varieties:

Regular disyllabic verbs: -phasa < pass (an examination) (Eng.)

-fasa < vas (Afr.)

Polysyllabic verbs: -kolobha < skrop (Afr.)

Vowel Verbs: -ayina < iron (Eng.)

3.13. The phenomenon of homonymy is found in borrowed words;

e.g. isitezi < stairs; stays (corset). ikamu < comb; camp.

iphayindi < point; pint (for loading and off-loading), etc. ②

3.14. The syntactic use of borrowed nouns of class 5 shows a tendency among Zulu-speakers to use the subjectival concord of class 9 ; e.g.

Ihovisi yakithi inkulu kakhulu. (ya- is used instead of la-)

Bamkhunga ngesethi yezitsha abayithenga eThekwini. (ya- is used instead of le- and yi- instead of li-), etc.

The transfer of the use of subjectival concords from one class to another does not take place with indigenous words, in Zulu.

Borrowed nouns of class 5 taking a class 9 subjectival concord are seldom used in the plural form. Consequently, speakers (and writers too) tend to regard all nouns with out an /s/ in their prefixes as belonging to class 9. But

~~when even isethi follows this~~

when isethi also takes a class 9 prefix, the matter becomes more baffling.

3.5. An adverb whose derivation is unknown is -mahala. It may have been introduced by traders because it is used in the Sotho languages and other ^{Bantu} languages of the Republic of South Africa. It is also doubtful if it is derived from an original stem in Bantu. It means to get some article for no payment of money.

4.1. Extension of the Meaning of an Existing Word in Zulu:

The term "foreign words" is used here to include even words which have not been borrowed from other languages. This is done in order to make it possible to review words whose denotations have been re-adjusted to connote particular foreign concepts as well.

4.2. The extension of the meaning of an indigenous word to accommodate a foreign idea is effected by associating the foreign concept with an existing one in Zulu; e.g.

The crocodile (ingwenya) is known for its capacity of swallowing stones which are used for grinding its prey in its stomach. (It sounds like a Y fairy-tale though!). When the Zulus were faced with naming a stone-crusher on the mines and other works, they called it ingwenya.

Igosa/igoso is a leader in a dance or musical performance. This term was extended to refer to church stewards and other leaders in church organisations.

Isondo is an animal's hoof. When a pot with legs was introduced, these legs were called amasondo and not amaseko which were previously used for supporting a pot. Amaseko are detached from the pot, amasondo like those of an animal, are not detached. Again, when the wheel was introduced, it was also called isondo.

5.1. The Coinage of New Words: The process of coining new words can be explained in three ways; viz. by:

(i) Loan translations where a word or phrase ^{is} rendered literally in the vernacular; e.g.

iphephandaba = newspaper (Eng.); isandopheshu = dwarshammer (Afr.)

(ii) In accordance with characteristics of an object:

These characteristics are usually perceptible features of an object; e.g.

isithuthuthu/isiqhughuqhu (a motor cycle) gained its name from what is to a Zulu's ear an endless thu..thu.../qhu..qhu.... sound caused by a moving motor cycle. *This is an ideophonic formation of the noun.*
ugandaganda (originally a steam-roller but lately, a tractor) gained its name from its characteristic thumping and stamping noise. The steam-roller literally pounded whatever stood on its way, hence ugandaganda.

Isitolotolo and igagogo gained their name from similar observations made by the people.

(iii) By description: e.g. umhleli (a newspaper editor) describes the man who arranges the newspaper.

igotshwa (a pen-knife). The original name for a knife in Zulu was umukhwa. When ∇ European knives were introduced, the Afr. term mes was borrowed. But when a pen-knife came, a distinction had to be made between it and the other types of knives. Igotshwa describes the knife that folds - a folding knife.

6.1. Geographical distribution of Loan-words: The following ten students of the University College ^(of Zululand) were consulted to determine the form in which borrowed words occur in their home districts:

Mr. C.J. Buthelezi	from Newcastle	hereafter referred to as	<u>A.</u>
Miss. N.N. Masina	" Ermelo	" "	" " <u>B.</u>
Mr. A.B. Chiliza	" Mthwalumi	" "	" " <u>C.</u>
" J. Mavundla	" Mahlabathini	" "	" " <u>D.</u>
" G.S. Myeza	" Eshowe	" "	" " <u>E.</u>

Miss. F.T. Gcabashe from Ndwedwe hereafter referred to as F.
 Mr. B.R. Tembe " Dundee " " " " " G.
 " T. Ntombela " Inqwavuma " " " " " H.
 " J.B. Hlongwane " Hammarsdale " " " " " I.
 " M.B. Kumalo " Germiston " " " " " J.

6.2. None of these students had resided in the area \neq he/she represents for less than ten years continuously. Most of them were born in the districts they represent.

6.3. Two factors could militate against obtaining an authentic position about borrowed words, viz.

(a) In the sample chosen, some of the students may have used their own idiolect.

(b) The students may previously have been influenced by Zulu as taught at school, and also by their knowledge of European languages.

Nothing was done to control these factors.

6.4.

6.4. Lists of foreign terms dealing with the school, household, transport and other miscellaneous words respectively were compiled in Zulu. Each term was given with its equivalent in Afr. and Eng. opposite to it. Students were consulted individually in an office. No member of the sample knew who the \neq other members were. The words were read out by the author in the European ~~language~~ language best known to the informant and he/she was asked to give equivalent terms in Zulu \neq as spoken in his home district.

6.5. Results: The number of variations from the words given in the lists were as follows:

(i) Out of 26 school terms, the scores were: A = 1; B = 8; C = 6; D = 4; E = 6; F = 3; G = 0; H = 4, I = 9; J = 9.

(ii) Out of 73 household terms, the following variations

were recorded: A = 5; B = 20 ; C = 8; D = 16; E = 10; F = 8; G = 5; H = 9; I = 13; J = 42.

(iii) Out of 32 terms dealing with transport, the results were: A = 2; B = 11; C = 8; D = 5; E = 2; F = 2; G = 2; H = 1; I = 6; J = 15.

(iv) Out of 50 miscellaneous terms, the variations were: A = 0; B = 20; C = 0; D = 1; E = 1; F = 7; G = 2; H = 0; I = 1 ; J = 19.

6.6. Total Scores arranged ⁱⁿ ascending order of difference:

A = 8; G = 9; H = 14; E = 19; F = 20; C = 22; D = 24; I = 29; B = 59; J = 85. [Total number of terms = 181]

6.7. The position with the latter four areas is significant.

The high score of variations for Mahlabathini(D), is not explicable. Ermelo (B) is definitely influenced by Afrikaans, (Unfortunately, space does not allow of the inclusion of the lists of words to demonstrate this.) to a large extent. To some extent also, Germiston is ^{influenced} by Afrikaans more than by Eng.

Further, Ermelo and Germiston gave most nouns that belong to class 1(a) with a prefix of class 5 nouns (ili- class). The nouns of class 1(a) are apparently regarded as mere lifeless objects in these areas - hence this irregularity. 25)

Germiston (J) and Hammarsdale (I) are industrial areas with a resultant influx of people speaking many different languages. This may be the cause of the high scores of variations in these centres.

9 6.8. The results of this survey show that the adaptation of loan-words to Zulu has a geographical distribution.

25) see remark on class 1(a) nouns in par. 3.4. above.

~~7.1.~~

7.1. The Foreign Idiom: Idiom is a "form of expression peculiar to a language." ²⁶⁾ The term "foreign idiom" as used here refers to borrowed forms of expression that have become naturalised in Zulu. No slang ²⁷⁾ is discussed here. The test of determining whether the idiom considered as foreign ~~is~~ adapted to Zulu or not is for one to be able to say this of it: "that is idiom which is natural for a normal Englishman²⁸⁾ to say or write."²⁹⁾

7.2. Words and Phrases: The following words and phrases illustrate the foreign idiom in Zulu:

(i) manene namanenekazi (gentlemen and ladies) < Xh. is a polite way of addressing a meeting. ~~in~~ Zulu lacks a refined term for this purpose. Language-sense did not permit ~~of~~ the use of Libandla/ Bandla as women also attend meetings nowadays.

(ii) ukwenza inkulumo to make a speech (Eng.) ~~instead~~^s of ukukhuluma; inkulumo kaSibanibani < so-and-so's speech (Eng. instead of amazwi kaSibanibani. Originally inkulumo simply referred to a conversation there being few meetings, and these mainly addressed by the king or head-man.

(iii) -sikelela < (Xh.) -sikeleka. In ~~the~~ Zulu the use of -sikelela is mostly used in the context of the anthem: "Nkosi Sikelel' IAfrika" (God bless Africa). The verb -busisa is generally used to denote -sikelela in Zulu. But there is no denying the fact that -sikelela is fastly gaining ground. A Zulu version of "Nkosi Sikelel' IAfrika" only discarded ³⁰⁾ uphondo and replaced it with udumo.

26) see Concise Oxford Dictionary, 1958, p.590.

27) Zulu slang has been adequately defined and delimited from correct Zulu usage by R.S. Ndlovu; see M.A. Thesis, 1962. 3/

28) Read "Zulu" in place of "Englishman".

29) Fowler, 1950, p. 251.

h/ 30) see Native Teachers' Journal, Oct., 1947, p. 26.

7.3. Other Expressions:

ya < ja (Afr.) Ya, kunjalo-ke (Yes, it is so).

mani! < man! (Afr./Eng.) Hayi mani wena! (Stop it man!)

noma gha < whether or not (Eng.) Uzokuya yini eShowe noma gha? (Will you be going to Eshowe whether or not?)

Notice that the sentence is complete without the use of noma gha.³¹⁾

Yenza njengoba enza < do as he does (Eng.) instead of -lingisa u---/ yenza njengo---; etc.

7.4. Time: Names of months, week-days and referring to a date on the calendar have been borrowed from English to a great extent. Reading time from a clock has equally been borrowed verbatim from English.³²⁾

E.g. Wafika ngotheni ngeSonto kuyo lenyanga ephezulu, UMashi.

(He arrived at 10 o'clock on Sunday, during this month of March). Konje kwakungomhla kabani? Wo, kwakungomhla ka-fo.

(By the way what was the date? Oh, it was on the fourth).

7.5. The Saying: The use of the foreign idiom in Zulu has been well illustrated by the use of the "saying."

The form of the saying: It uses nouns (both indigenous and loan) preceded by a verb in the infinitive. The saying is literal (or concrete) yet having a deeper underlying meaning.

Examples:

ukuthelela ikhanda (lit. to pay for one's head). = to pay poll tax. Ukubamba itoho (lit. to catch a temporary job)³³⁾ to be in temporary employment. Ukuboshwa ekudleni (lit. to be tied in respect of food) = to be put on a diet.

Ukuyifunda (incwadi) ivaliwe (lit. to read a sealed letter) = to read between the lines.

31) See Dhlomo, R.R.R. in Indlela Yababi and uNomalanga kaNdengezi for the use of this phrase.

32) Radio Bantu is experimenting on a way of calling time according to hours (amahora) and counting minutes minutes before or after a particular hour has struck. Note also that the term "ihora" as used by many Zulus indicates duration or length of time; e.g. Ngehamba ihora elilodwa ukuya kwaManzanyama (I travel an hour to Manzanyama).

33) The word itoho seems to be derived from Hollands toge which is explained thus: hark, om de op 't land achterbleven te versamelen (see Nieuw Groninger Woordenboek, Groningen - Djakarta, 1952).

Ukuhlaba incwadi (lit. to thrust or pierce a letter) = to scribble a letter; etc.

7.6. The Proverb: Nyembezi³⁴⁾ identified some proverbs which came about as a result of the Zulus' contact with the white man. He did not analyse them. It is proposed to discuss these proverbs briefly here.

These proverbs are still relatively few. But it is not out of place to make a few observations about them, e.g.

(i) They are mainly on light day-to-day affairs and do not express deeper human feelings and emotions. Most of them are used in light conversation; e.g.

akalibonanga eliwinayo (lit. he backed the wrong horse) = he miscalculated.

wahambisa okwejuba likaNowa (lit. he has gone like Noah's dove) = he went away for good; etc.

(ii) They show the Zulus' intimate observation of a white man's way of life; e.g.

umlungu angathunga isicoco (lit. a white man may wear a ring) = it is impossible!

Evidently the Zulus had studied the white man so closely that they came to the inevitable conclusion that he would never borrow from their material culture.

umfundisi kamzali umfundisi (lit. a priest does not beget a priest) = children seldom take after their parents.

Here also, perhaps contrary to the Zulus earlier belief that priesthood descended from father to son, they soon realised that this was not so. In Zulu society a "trade" or "profession" is hereditary - iron smiths beget iron smiths; etc.

(iii) Some of the proverbs show a profound thought and a keen sense of associating human affairs with lifeless objects; e.g.

ukhaliphe nganxanye njengommese (lit. he has an edge like a knife - he cannot cut both ways) = he thinks that he is smart!

34) See Nyembezi, 1954, p.1.

8.1. Reasons for borrowing words and the idiom of other languages: The reasons outlined below are some of the many possible causes of borrowing.

8.2. The existence of Zulu spoken side by side with other languages. Different languages that are spoken in the same area tend to influence one another. The European languages have also borrowed from Zulu, although to a lesser extent. For example, indaba and aikona in Afrikaans are borrowings.

8.3. Inadequacy of the Zulu vocabulary or idiom to express foreign concepts or ideas concisely. E.g. isitsha is a utensil or receptacle. When a dish was introduced to Zulu culture, indishi was found to be more precise than isitsha. Similarly, usungulo (native awl) failed to survive in the presence of inaliti < naald (Afr.)

8.4. It is more convenient to borrow ready-made words or expressions than to coin new ones. This brings about economy of effort, time and perhaps money as well.

8.5. Indolence on ^(the part of) the speakers of the language who may fail to keep borrowing to the minimum. It is, for instance, surprising why ibhande < band (Afr.) was ever borrowed when isibhamba, isifociya, or ixhama are sound and crisp.

8.6. Popularity of slang. "Slang abounds in the speech of every Zulu-speaking person, irrespective of culture or education. People of all walks of life use slang in privacy and in public." 35)

9.1. CONCLUSION : This survey is brief and only shows some phases of a very wide topic. The conclusions arrived at are, therefore, mainly applicable to the small field that has been studied.

9.2. Language borrowing is a sign of cultural change. The fore-going survey has shown that borrowing words from other languages is not just borrowing of words for its own sake. On the contrary, the borrowings found in the language are a record or register of concrete objects or abstract ideas that

have

have been incorporated into Zulu life due to its contact with foreign cultures. E.g. in primitive Zulu life there ^{2.c.} were no cars, radios, angels or the Holy Spirit. When these were introduced to Zulu culture, they had to be named in Zulu or a transliteration of the names in the donor language had to take place.

9.3. This study has also revealed that language borrowing is guided by language-sense to a large extent. Grammar does not always guide ^{(the adaptation of} borrowing^{).} Ibandla (assembly of men) has taken -eni as suffix in the locative form when it refers to a church organisation while in the original noun there is no suffix used for the locative.³⁶⁾ The syntactic use of ~~ed~~ class 5 nouns discussed in par. 3.4. above have proved that grammar is not always the guide. Further, words with a phonetic structure resembling that of obscene language are avoided; e.g. Eng. scent has been called usende, and a cent, isenti to avoid likeness to isende which may not be used in polite speech. Therefore, Zulu accepts structural elements of other languages only if they correspond to her tendencies of development.

9.4. The borrowing language retains its essential character. Adoption of loan words and the foreign idiom do not suggest any possible convergence or unification of languages between the borrowing and the lending language in future. ^{9/}

9.5. The phonetic structure of Zulu is enlarged (perhaps disturbed) by the adoption of such speech-sounds as dr, gr, st, etc. This is further evidence of linguistic change that has taken place or that is still in the process.

36) see Bryant, 1920, pp.150-151. The writer makes an ardent defence of grammar as the norm for adapting loan-words. His condemnation of what he calls "Natalisms" (which have since become good Zulu usage) proves that grammar cannot always be the guide in the absorption of ~~new~~ foreign words.

9.6. Par. 6.7. above shows that some Zulu-speaking areas have been influenced more by Afrikaans than other languages. Further the analysis of the adaptation of loan-words reveals that the European languages have left an indelible mark on Zulu. This language will never be quite the same as it was at the turn of the last century.

9.7. Borrowing is not limited to words. It permeates the very idiom of Zulu.

oooOooo

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