LINGUISTIC VARIATION IN ZULU

By

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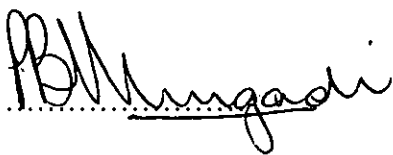
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DECLARATION

I declare that:

LINGUISTIC VARIATION IN ZULU

is my own work, that all the sources used and quoted have been indicated and

acknowledged by means of complete references. This thesis was not previously

submitted by me for a degree at another university.

BUYISIWE PHYLLIS MNGADI

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am deeply indebted to Professor R.S. Chaphole, my supervisor, for his unflagging support and without whose guidance, knowledge and insight, this research would probably have been abandoned. **NGIYABONGA KGABO!**

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My mother Vuyelwa Hlongwa has been a pillar of strength throughout the three years during which I was busy with this work. Those long letters never failed to rekindle the determination to go forth. **GHABHISA! (GASELA!)**

A special word of gratitude goes to Mrs M.D. Mhlongo for transforming my manuscript into something presentable, working under very strenuous conditions.

I am also very grateful to Vista University for the award of a research grant.

To God: **NGIYABONGA BABA. ANGIKAZE NGIJABHISWE!**

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to:

My late father Vusizwe V. Hlongwa, my mother Vuyelwa, my son Sduduzo Mngadi and my niece Nomusa Hlongwa.

SUMMARY

This study investigates the diversity that is apparent in the use of Zulu as a language; and the implications that are brought about by variation.

The Labovian approach to linguistic study, which does not divorce language from its social context is followed. Empirical studies based on field research methodology are examined to give this work a dependable theoretical thrust. Invaluable information from studies relating to other languages with an impressive history of standardization has been utilised in this work especially the contributions by Labov (1972;1994). We are however aware that these studies cannot be transplanted as they are to fit into our situation. It is for this reason that we have used the surveys of our own Zulu researchers, especially Kubheka (1979) as a springboard.

We argue for a fair recognition of all varieties of Zulu in their respective areas, since the standardization process has barely touched the majority of our speech community. To penalise pupils and students in educational institutions when they use their home varieties of Zulu is grossly unfair. We presume that it is this unfairness that prompts Thipa (1989:181) to criticise some linguists' adherence to micro linguistics while neglecting the importance of macro linguistics. He argues that a balance needs to be struck between two approaches to language teaching; i.e. the structural and the

sociolinguistic approaches. The former approach sees language as a tool and regards communication as being easier if standardised, and sees some language varieties as better than others. The sociolinguistic approach on the other hand regards language as a source which can be employed to improve social life.

Msimang (1992:18) is also not happy about the exclusion of the so-called non-standard varieties from schools. He states that it is regrettable that the varieties he investigated are never taught in schools or discussed in grammar books because they are not standard. This has made the performance of the pupils to be very poor in their language studies because they are discouraged from learning the spoken language, and are forced to assimilate a language which only lives in texts books.

Language practitioners and planners are urged in this study to LET THE LANGUAGE LIVE.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1

LINGUISTIC VARIATION IN ZULU

1.0. INTRODUCTION

Zulu is a language spoken by over eight million people (8541173), 21% of the population of 39525998, according to the estimates of 1990(HSRC:1991). Obviously these estimates have since changed - the population for example, is currently estimated at 45 million people. Its seat is KwaZulu-Natal, but it has spread through migration, to other provinces of South Africa and beyond. As a result of Zulu getting in contact and co-operation with other languages, (and other factors of course) varieties began to emerge; ... dialectal forms are found in Ndebele in Matebeleland of Southern Rhodesia (Southern Zimbabwe), in Ndebele of the Transvaal (Gauteng and Northern provinces of South Africa) and in Ngoni spoken in Nyasaland (Malawi) and in the parts of Southern Tanganyika (Tanzania). (Doke et al., First Combined Edition 1990: Note 1).

We have avoided using the term *dialect* because of the popular claims made about this term, among which are the following:

(I)   Dialects are structurally inferior to languages. They lack formal grammatical rules and STANDARDS of speaking.

(ii)   Dialects are communicatively inferior to languages. They lack the full

range of expressibility.

(iii)   Dialects are orthographically inferior to languages for they lack their

own system of writing.

In short, dialects are inferior to language (Dwyer, 1994:1).

In fact as a social norm, a dialect is a language that is excluded from polite society. It is often equivalent to non-standard or even sub-standard forms of language. When such terms are applied to language, they connote various degrees of inferiority, which in turn can be carried over to those who speak the dialect. (Haugen, 1966a:924-5).

Dwight as quoted by Mokgokong(1966) is aware of the relativity in the determination of a dialect when he says language and dialect are the two names for the same thing, as looked at from different points of view.

Any body of expressions used by a community, however limited and humble, for the purpose of communication and as an instrument of thought, is a language; no one would think of crediting its speakers with the gift of dialect but not of language. On the other hand there is no tongue in the world to which we should not with perfect freedom and perfect propriety apply the name of dialect, when

considering it as one body of related forms of speech.

McDavid in Kubheka (1979) maintains that dialects arise through regional or social barriers, in the communication system, the stronger the barrier, the sharper the dialect differences. Mostly, we think of a dialect as the way a stranger talks, we generally assume that we speak normal English or French (Xhosa or Zulu) in our case. Depending on what your variety is, three of the four following terms, namely:

Zulu	Gloss
ikhalana	small nose
ikhalanyana	
ikhadlana	
ikhayana	

meaning the same thing will sound strange and you may be tempted to label it a dialect. **WHY?** What makes your way of saying a "small nose in Zulu", **the** language, and others dialects. Perhaps we tend to be too quick with our labelling.

A variety of a language on the other hand is any body of human speech patterns which is sufficiently homogeneous to be analyzed by available techniques of synchronic description and which has a sufficiently large repertory of elements and their arrangements or processes with broad enough scope to function in all contents of communication. Ferguson (1972:30) says what is of importance to us in this definition is that variety is defined in terms of human speech patterns (presumably

sounds, words, grammatical features ...) which we can uniquely associate with external factors (presumably a geographical area and/or a social group.) Consequently, if we can identify such a unique set of items or patterns for a group in question, it should be possible to say there are such varieties as Central KwaZulu variety, Natal South Coast variety, Natal North Coast variety, ...

Our fieldwork has identified a number of such geographical varieties, which number, is by no means exhaustive. It serves to provide a basis for observation, analysis and conclusions about linguistic variation within a particular area. For some languages, the greater the geographical separation, the greater the lack of speech comprehension. For ZULU we claim No! At its worst, it is the tonal patterns and of course, the lexicon that gets affected. What we are saying is, variants in different geographical areas are recognised and are recognisable, but they do not interfere with the mutual intelligibility aspect amongst the varieties of Zulu. We, however, came across one area, viz, the Natal-Swaziland Border variety, where in two of the three varieties spoken do not hold true to this claim. We could not sustain any meaningful communication with the members of these speech communities due to differences in vocabulary, syntax and more particularly, the semantics of our utterances. For example, we said Thina singamaZulu 'We are Zulu' their response was 'Nathi siZulu sidla matimba'. From there on we experienced several communication breakdowns. We eventually decided to exclude data from isiGonde and isiTembe. For example:

Zulu	Gloss
Woza <u>la</u>	
Woza <u>lana</u>	come here
Woza <u>lapha</u>	

These are three ways of saying <u>here</u> in Zulu and their prominence varies according to regions, but speakers of the language know all three forms.

We have also looked into social varieties that are noticeable among social groups, depending on a number of social factors like age, sex, social class ... A speaker may use the same variety as the people of the same class, but in a different area. For example, teenage slang in Gauteng and Durban is **is'camtho** and **isithamundo** respectively, the in-greeting, among young people is: **Hhola!** with all the variation obvious in the stylistic tonal patterns.

We associate the inception of Zulu as a language as a result of the unification of a number of small Nguni tribes under different **Amakhosi** and **Izinduna**. Having conquered these tribes Shaka gave rules and regulations under which they had to operate. One of them was that, they had to internalize the language and the culture of the followers of Shaka Zulu immediately. Shaka would not even listen to anyone who did not speak his variety of **Zunda.**

The language of the followers of Shaka, who formed a new nation, became known as isiZulu and the followers themselves, as amaZulu, during the second half of the nineteenth century.

As to where the original stock of the **Zunda-Nguni** came from, we are not going to reiterate the works of researchers who have dealt with the **Tekela** or **Zunda**. We do however acknowledge their studies on the phonetics and the phonology and morphology of the Nguni - scholars like Davey (1981) on Swazi; Msimang (1989) on Tekela Nguni; Kubheka (1979) on Zulu; Zungu (1989) on Nhlangwini; Khumalo (1987) on Zulu phonology; Meinhof, Van Warmelo (1932) on Zulu and Tsonga; Ziervoegel (1976) on Swazi; Baumbach (1980) on Tsonga; Mabuza (1976) and Rycroft (1976, 1980, 1981) Compilation of lists of Swazi phonemes.

The information concerning the history of the Nguni comes from two main sources namely, European Accounts of Explorers, navigators and shipwrecked seamen who transversed the East-Coast of Southern Africa especially in the 16th and 17th centuries, and the records of historians, particularly those of Rev. A.T. Bryant. The other main source is oral traditions. Msimang (1989:35) says unfortunately both sources leave a lot to be desired. The oral traditions are too fragmentary and sometimes contradictory. The records of explorers and seamen are mere world-lists which only confirm that the South Eastern Coast was inhabited at the time of the arrival of such Europeans.

Ownby's (1981) remarks on Bryant's accounts, should be taken heed of, that the history of the Nguni speaking people is dominated by the work of A.T. Bryant, particularly for the period before the mid-nineteenth century. His work is admittedly invaluable for the dat it provides, much of which can be found nowhere else. Yet at the same time it is a kind of obstacle, because of its lack of clarity and conciseness. Marks (1967:127-128) also concurs in that most of what is in Bryant's accounts is unsubstantiated speculations and conjecture. Roberts in Kubheka (1979) sums it up appropriately where he says no one knows when the `Bantu' first arrived in Southern Africa or precisely where they came from.

1.1. Aim of study

This study intends to investigate linguistic variation in Zulu. We are aware that speakers of this language vary in the way they say the same thing and more importantly they understand one another despite these different ways. We decided to investigate them as varieties of the same language because of their mutual intelligibility and as Hudson (1980:24) puts it, - the term variety of language can be used to refer to various manifestations of a language, each variety as a set of linguistic items with social distribution. We intend looking into both internal and external factors that contribute to variation in Zulu. Our intension is to go into the field to meet, observe and interact with the speakers of the different varieties in their natural setting and also participate in their everyday use and usage of the language and record the data.

1.2. Motivation

We realize that there is very limited research, especially field-work that has been done on variation in Zulu. Studies that we acknowledged in the introduction are linguistic and underpinned by categorical rules of phonology, morphology, tonology and phonetics. Zulu as it is spoken out there, is not controlled by these rules, and yet any variety of Zulu that does not comply with the Zulu that is prescribed in educational institutions is labelled a dialect or non-standard Zulu. This is one of our main concerns because as far as we are aware, the varieties of Zulu spoken in different geographical regions are standard where they are spoken and are accepted as such by the speech community. The variety of Zulu that is mostly used in education, is the written standardised form of Zulu which mostly has to do with rules of orthography and works towards the eradication of diversity or variation in the spoken language.

We claim that there is variation which has rightfully persisted, especially in the spoken language, despite standardization processes that are going on. As of now we claim that language varieties that are spoken especially in the seat of this Zulu language, which is KwaZulu-Natal, are just varieties and should be taken and recognised as such even in education. Moreover there are no valid linguistic criteria that elevate one variety over others.

Language Boards, Language Councils, Language Planning bodies can all concur with us in that there was never at any given time in the history of Zulu as a language, any implementation of all the processes followed in choosing a standard language done. Codification is the only process of the standardising procedures that has been well developed. Selection, elaboration of function and acceptance have not been looked at as yet.

1.3. Method of research

Our study is based on Qualitative Field Research methods. Before we give a detailed account of how we went about collecting data, we would like to say a word on the theory of Field Research. We are indebted to Chava Frankfort-Nachmias and David Nachmias (1997) for the contribution in this section.

1.3.1. The Theory of Field Research

The goal of field research is to develop a theory that is closely and directly relevant to the particular setting under study.

1.3.1.1. The Grounded-Theory Approach

Using this approach, the research first develops conceptual categories from the data and then makes new observations to clarify and elaborate these categories.

Glazer (1978:39) says, while in the field, the researcher continually asks questions as to fit relevance and workability about the emerging categories and relationships between them. By raising questions at this point in time, the researcher checks those issues while she still has access to the data. As a result, she continually fits her analysis to the data by checking as she proceeds.

With the grounded-theory approach concepts and tentative hypothesis are developed from the data.

1.3.1.2. Analytic Induction

This is an alternative theoretical approach to field research. With this approach, the researcher begins with a tentative hypothesis explaining the phenomenon observed, and the attempts to verify the hypothesis by observing a small number of cases. If the hypothesis does not fit these cases, it is either rejected or reformulated so that the cases accounts for it.

The practise of field research can be divided into the following distinct stages: selecting, choosing an appropriate research site and obtaining access, establishing relations with members of the group and finding reliable informants, and finally leaving the field and analysing the data.

Field research is defined as the study of people acting in the natural courses of their daily lives. The fieldworker ventures into the worlds of others in order to learn first-hand about how they live, how they talk and behave, and what captivates and distresses them (Robert, 1983:1). In the 1920s the methodology of qualitative research was limited to assembling a variety of personal documents, autobiographies, letters, diaries and it had only a limited conception of participation in the lives of the people being studied. The two following decades have seen fieldwork becoming a more established methodology as it came to emphasize more participation in lives of those studied in order to share and consequently better understand their subjective perspectives.

1.4. Participant Observation

This method of data collection requires the investigator to attain some kind of membership or close attachment to the group that is to be studied (Wax, 1968:238). The participant observer's role is that of conscious and systematic sharing in so far as circumstances permit, in the life activities, and on occasion, in the interests and effects of a group of persons. The observer's direct participation in the activities of the observed often entails learning their language, their habits, and their leisure activities. The researcher assumes either a complete participant role or a participant as-on-observer role.

1.4.1. Complete participation

In a complete participant's role, the observer is wholly concealed, the research objectives are known to the observed. The researcher attempts to become a member of the group under observation.

Complete participation interacts with the observed as naturally as possible in whatever areas of their living that interest her and are accessible to her (Gold, 1958:29).

Complete participation has been justified on the grounds that it makes possible the study of inaccessible group or groups that do not reveal certain aspects of their life to outsiders. Despite this research advantage, it has been severely criticized on ethical and methodological grounds. Kai Erickson for example, rejects all field observations that do not make the role of the researcher and the intent of the study known beforehand, because they constitute an invasion of privacy and may harm the observed. There are methodological problems posed by this approach namely, among others:

(i)   Observers may become so self-conscious about revealing their true selves that they would be handicapped when attempting to perform convincingly in the pretended role.

(ii)   Observers may "go native" that is, incorporate the pretended role into their self conception and lose the research perspective.

(iii)   The decision, what specifically to observe is most problematic because the researcher cannot evoke responses and behaviour and must be careful not to ask questions that might raise the suspicions of the persons observed.

(iv)   Recording observations and taking these have to wait until the observer is alone. However, time lags in recording observations introduce selective bias and distortions through memory.

1.4.2.   Participant-as-observer

This type of role makes the researcher's presence, known to the group being studied. Researchers become active members of the group and attempt to establish close relationships with members of the group, who subsequently serve as both informants and respondents.

The research goal is explicitly identified. The fieldworker gains a deeper appreciation of the group and its way of life and may also gain different levels of insight by actually participa-ting rather than only observing, (Lofland and Lofland, 1984:7).

1.5. The actual practice of field research followed

1.5.1.   Selecting a research topic

Very often, the selection of a topic is influenced by personal interests or concerns. For us it was influenced by both. Personal interest, in the sense that we are members of the Zulu speech community and we are always aware that there are fellow members who speak differently from us and vice versa; and yet there is no obvious communication break down. This makes us believe that the differences we hear are mere varieties of the same language since they are mutually intelligible. Our concern is related to our job as practitioners of the language. Being aware that the language has varieties, we feel guilty and we do not see the justification of teaching and rewarding only one variety among a number of others, in educational institutions. We then decided to look into linguistic variation in Zulu not overlooking the identification of some varieties by others (see Kubheka, 1979).

1.5.2.   Choosing a site and gaining access

Geographic and other practical considerations dictated our choice of sites. KwaZulu-Natal as the seat of the Zulu language was a natural choice and easily accessible to us as members of the speech community and also having influential contacts namely: **amaKhosi, izinduna, school principals and teachers.** KwaZulu-Natal covers a very wide area. We do not claim that we covered the whole area

but we revisited the areas mentioned in Kubheka (1979) and identified additional varieties and areas where they are spoken.

The following are the areas that we actually visited and conducted research in, playing the role of participant-as-observer. Our informants cum participants were drawn from different age groups ranging from 13 years to 75 years, different educational levels from grade 0 to Post Doctoral Studies and from respondents who have never set foot at school, urban and rural communities and from different social classes and from both male and female persons.

The following are regions and areas we visited:

In central KwaZulu:

Melmoth, Eshowe, Nongoma, Mahlabathini, EmaKhosini, Ntonjaneni, Ulundi, Nkonjeni and KwaPhindangene.

In the KwaZulu Coastal Regions:

Stanger, Maphumulo, Mthandeni and Glendale.

Natal Coastal Region:

Umdloti, Ndwedwe, INanda, Valley of Thousand Hills, Pietermaritzburg on the North Coast and Mfume, Umbumbulu, Amanzimtoti, Ilovu and Umkhomazi.

In Lower Natal Coast:

Dududu, MaHlongwa, Umzinto, Umthwalume, Othuthwini, Nyangwini, Umzumbe and Harding.

In the South West Natal Regions:

Ixobho, Bulwer, Underberg, Pholela.

In the Northern Natal Region:

Newcastle, Utrecht, Ladysmith, Umsinga, Escourt and Mooi River.

In the Natal-Swaziland Border Region:

Ekuhlehleni, Lundini, Machobeni, Chithumuzi, Mabibi and eSicewini.

In the Natal Eastern Cape Border Region: The area South of Harding was visited.

The area we earmarked as representative of urban varieties outside the seat of the language is Daveyton Township in Gauteng.

1.6. Selection of Linguistic Variables

First, we want an item that is frequent, which occurs so often in the course of undirected natural conversation that its behaviour can be charted from unstructured contexts and brief interviews.

Secondly, it should be structural: the more the item is integrated into a larger system of functioning units, the greater will be the intrinsic linguistic interest of the study.

Thirdly, the distribution of the feature should be stratified, that is our preliminary exploration suggests an asymmetric distribution over a wide range of age and other ordered strata of society, (Labov, 1972:8).

The following are linguistic variables whose realization we are going to investigate across geographical regions and districts indicated above.

i) /r/, /h/, /ḥ/, k'/,/k/, /ng/

ii) The persistence of palatal sounds in varieties.

iii) Realization of click sounds across varieties of Zulu.

Appointments were made with groups through Amakhosi, Izinduna, teachers, preachers, ministers, friends and relatives.

Meeting venues were schools, churches, tribal courts, private residences, offices.

1.7. Collection of data

Informal discussion with groups yielded lots of information. We had to internalise our questionnaire so that we talk around those topics which were likely to yield the information we are looking for.

All sessions were fully recorded on tape. No writing was done during discussions and interviews. Participants cum informants were identified by numbers and regions. Transcription of taped data was done before going to the next group in a different region, to facilitate the analysis and processing of data collected. It also helped to minimize bias and distortion.

Pictures were used where deemed necessary.

1.8. Scope

This study comprises six chapters. In chapter one, we introduce the study, give its aim and motivation. We give a brief outline of the theory of field research followed in this study. Studies of other researchers in this field are reviewed.

Chapter two attempts a theoretical framework which underpins the study. A theory which recognises both internal and external factors as contributing factors of linguistic variation and language change is followed. Labov (1994) is the central

figure in this discussion.

Chapter three deals with internal factors - the actual variables, (variable is the term introduced into sociolinguistics by Labov to refer to the units in a language which are most subject to social variation and thus most susceptible to change) noticeable on the phonological and morphological levels are examined and analyzed based on the data collected from the geographical regions.

In chapter four, external factors - (age, sex, social class, migration, industrialization) are discussed with an aim to see how they contribute to language variation and change.

Chapter five discusses standardisation procedures that are taking place in Zulu and their implications on language variation. A distinction between standard and standardised form of Zulu, as we understand it, is made.

Chapter six is the concluding chapter in which we revisit linguistic variation and argue for its recognition. We also suggest possible future research that can be conducted.

The questionnaire that we used is incorporated as an addendum to this work.

1.9. Literature review

According to Mertens and McLaughlin (1995:10-11), the purpose of literature review is:

(i)   To inform the reader of what is known about the subject of investigation and what research has already been done on it.

(ii)   To identify gaps in the current knowledge base. Results of the previously conducted research on the subject will inform the researcher of what still needs to be done.

(iii)   To help the researcher to explain expected and unexpected findings. The researcher must establish empirical information base from which to draw conclusions and make recommendations about the study.

(iv)   The literature on the subject under investigation helps the researcher construct a theoretical frame-work. This framework for the proposed research. A statement of what the researcher expects to observe as the study unfolds. It communicates expected outcomes, activities or interventions necessary to achieve these outcomes and resources that must be available to support the intervention. Further, it tells the researcher what information to collect, what should be measured to increase understanding

about the problem addressed in the study.

The following are studies that have already been conducted on variation in Zulu.

Zungu P.J.N. (1995): Language variation in Zulu

She investigated and collected a number of contemporary codes and registers in the greater Durban area. A very focused study revolving around what Labov (1994) would term an urban variety of language.

She exposes the existing language situation in this area by identifying at least seven categories of what she terms non-standard varieties namely:

IsiHhosi for a variety spoken in hospitals.

IsiNyuvesi for a variety spoken in prisons.

IsiThaveni for a variety spoken in shebeens.

IsiTransi for a variety spoken in transport circles.

IsiThawa for a township variety.

IsiGura for language used in educational units

IsiNgura for language used in soccer.

Kubheka I.S. (1979): A Preliminary Survey of Zulu Dialects in Natal and Zululand

This work identifies six regional dialects. The diversity is noted on the phonological and morphological levels.

Ngubane S.E. (1991): A Survey of the Northern Zululand Dialects in the Ingwavuma District

This study identifies three dialects of Zulu within the Ingwavuma district, namely isiTembe, isiNgwavuma and isiGonde. Variation is investigated at a phonological, morphological and lexical levels.

CHAPTER 2

DEVELOPING A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

CHAPTER 2

DEVELOPING A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0   INTRODUCTION

The theoretical framework envisaged for this research will be informed mainly by Labov (1966, 1970, 1972a, 1972b, 1980 and particularly 1994), Chambers (1995), Trudgill (1979a and 1979b, 1986) and Wardhough (1992).

Gumperz (1971:223) observes that sociolinguistics is an attempt to find correlations between social structure and linguistic structure and to observe any changes that occur. Whilst this is what linguists do, they are also very quick to indicate that such correlational studies are not an end in themselves for they only show a relationship between two variables. They do not show ultimate causation. As Wardhough(1992:11) puts it, to find that X and Y are related is not necessarily to discover that X causes Y, (or Y causes X), for it is also quite possible that some third factor Z, may cause both X and Y (or even that some far more subtle combination of factors is involved.

Some investigators even make a distinction between socio-linguistics and the sociology of language (cf. Labov 1970, Trudgill 1979, Hudson 1980). For example, Labov (1970:30) describes the sociology of language as dealing with large scale social

factors and their mutual interaction with other languages and dialects. There are many open questions and many practical problems associated with the decay and assimilation of minority languages, the development of stable bilingualism, the standardi-sation of languages and the planning of language development in newly emerging nations. The linguistic input for such studies is primarily that a given person or group uses language X in a social context or domain Y.

Trudgill (1979:32-33) distinguishes between sociolinguistics, dialectology, sociolinguistics proper and the sociology of language. He regards sociolinguistics as that part of linguistics which is concerned with language as a social and cultural phenomenon. Sociolinguistics proper, covers studies in language in its social context which are mainly concerned with answering questions of interest to linguists, such as how we can improve our theories about the nature of language, and how and why language changes.

The sociology of language on the other hand is concerned with how, when and why people in different societies use language varieties and with social, political and educational aspects of the relationship between language and society.

Hudson (1980:4-5) explains sociolinguistics as the study of society in relation to language, and the sociology of language as the study of language in relation to society. This may sound like playing with words, but in essence, there is great overlap in the two statements. There is no clear line of demarcation between

where the one ends and where the other begins. They are intertwined, and understandably so, since people who speak the languages live in societies as members of those speech communities.

Perhaps it is for these reasons that Labov (1994:11) warns that even though he divides the areas of inquiry into the principles of linguistic change into three categories namely, internal factors, social factors and cognitive factors, in essence, all three are interlinked. This is acknowledged by his approach to the problem of language change which has most often been associated with the use of sociolinguistic data to establish the social motivation of change.

In Labov (1966, 1972a and 1972b) and Weinrich, Labov and Herzog (1968) foundations were laid that shed light on the question of the interdependency that exists between internal and external factors. We move on to discuss these factors under the broad topic of linguistic principles.

2.1   PRINCIPLES OF LINGUISTIC CHANGE

Our discussion of principles will inform two broad headings in this work, namely, internal and external factors. A principle, Labov (1994:13) says, is a generalisation that is unrestricted in its application in time or space ... In his work it is reserved for maximal projections of generalisations. Both inductive and deductive approaches could be used. An inductive approach deals in generalisations, arrived

at as the data base grows, moving step by step to statements of increasing generality. A deductive approach on the other hand may move from one or two examples to the statement of an unrestricted or "universal" principle and then attempt to predict other facts of data from the logical implications of this and other principles.

In the early stages of his enquiry Labov (1966:68) admits to have operated under the influence of the linguistic tendency to maximise the generality of statements as quickly as possible (deductive approach). He has since changed this approach in the later works in which the older principles have either been confirmed or revised or new ones have been introduced. He maintains that he has chosen a middle path between inductive prudence and deductive presumption. Data were drawn from the detailed investigation of a few American English speech communities and gradually broadened to include past and present data from language change in a fairly wide variety of language families.

Arguments over principles are based on the controversy over the Neogrammarian principle of sound change which stated that sound laws admitted no exceptions (Crystal, 1980:231). Some linguists still maintain that the Neogrammarian formation of the principles of sound change give historical and comparative linguists the firm foundation on which cumulative work can proceed (Bloomfield, 1933:364). The massive data of dialect geography supports the view that each word has its own history (Malkiel, 1967) which is contrary to the practice of historical linguists

which assumes the regularity of change. Bloomfield maintains that it is the phonemes that change (1933:364) but Wang (1977) opposes this view in his theory of lexical diffusion, in which he argues that the basic unit of change is the word.

These are long-standing disputes and contradictions by diachronic linguists and they often turn to the principles of synchronic studies of linguistics to try and resolve them. Synchronic principles require that a reconstructed language should conform to the definition of possible language structure provided by present day theory and typology. If we take a closer look at Proto-Sintu as a reconstructed form, from which the Nguni family of languages, it is said, is derived, there are huge gaps between Proto-Sintu and the current indigenous languages. Both Meinhof (1932) and Guthrie (1967) conclude that there is a sound shift rule which changes the Proto-Sintu /l/ /d/ to /z/ in Zunda-Nguni hence **igazi** < **-yadi** (blood). It looks like there must have been some intervening stages not accounted for in the reconstruct of Meinhof's Ur-Sintu and Guthrie's Proto-Sintu. Baumbach (1987:73) says: the primary aim of diachronic phonology is to establish the relative chronology between different sound changes. The linguist has to plot out the intermediate stages between the starting point, (say Proto-Sintu) and the end point (say Tsonga).

This is possible because of the fact that the output of one change is very often the input of another. In other words, sounds develop in successive waves or stages. But since we have no written records of the earlier stages of the indigenous

languages, we have to deduct/reconstruct such intermediate stages by means of comparison of different synchronic changes.

Diachronic presentations thus far have skipped the intermediate stages because of non-existence of data delineating the historical developmental sequences/stages which the sounds have undergone. To begin with a Proto-Sintu sound and give it a reflex, say in Tsonga, is in essence a very poor performance.

What about all the intermediate stages?

Labov (1994:17) acknowledges the fact that language structure is abstract and hierarchically organised, and efforts to unify and explicate linguistic changes must use principles considerably removed from the surface data (see also Gleason 1961; Langacker 1972; Robins 1967). He cites the work of Kiparsky (1989) where he (Kiparsky) reviews a wide variety of proposals to distinguish between natural and less natural phonological processes and their implication for phonological change. Labov undertakes to approach the contradictions and paradoxes of historical linguistics by introducing new data of a type not available before, namely, studies of linguistic change in progress. These studies complement the strengths and weaknesses of traditional diachronic data and should illuminate features of the past that were hidden from view and so contribute toward the resolution of long standing questions of historical linguistics.

The relationship between diachronic (historical) matters and synchronic (descriptive) ones is a two-way relationship. This is what Labov (1994) calls a `dynamic dimension' to synchronic structure, so that the past helps to explain the present and the present helps to explain the past.

After conducting a number of investigations of sound changes in progress, Labov (1972b:178-80) proposes a rather detailed outline of what he considers to be the basic mechanism of sound change.

The mechanism has thirteen stages, and Labov points out that the first eight deal with what he calls *change from below*, that is, change without conscious awareness, whereas the last five deal with *change from above*, which is, change brought about consciously. The thirteen stages are as follows:-

1. The sound changes usually originate with a restricted subgroup of the speech community, at a time when the separate identity of the group is weakened ... The linguistic form which begins to shift is often a marker of regional status with an irregular distribution within the community. At this stage, the form is an undefined linguistic variable.

2. The changes begin as generalisations of the linguistic form to all members of the subgroup; we may refer to this stage as *change from below*, below the level of social awareness. The variable shows no pattern of stylistic

variation in the speech of those who use it, affecting all items in a given word class. The linguistic variable is an *indicator*, defined as a function of group membership.

3. Succeeding generations of speakers within the same subgroup, responding to the same social pressures, carry the linguistic variable further along the process of change, beyond the model set by their parents. We may refer to this stage as *hypercorrection from below* ...

4. To the extent that the values of the original subgroup are adopted by other groups in the speech community, the sound change with its associated value of group membership spreads to these adopting groups ...

5. The limits of the spread of the sound change are the limits of the speech community ...

6. As the sound changes with its associated values; reaches the limits of its expansion, the linguistic variable becomes one of the norms which define the speech community, and all members of the speech community react in a uniform manner to this use (without necessarily being aware of it). The variable is **now a marker**, and begins to show stylistic variation.

7. The movement of the linguistic variable within the linguistic system always leads to readjustments in the distribution of other elements within phonological space.

8. The structural readjustments lead to further sound changes which are associated with the original change. However, other subgroups which entered the speech community in the interim adopted the older sound change as a part of the community norms, and treat the newer sound change as stage 1. This *recycling* stage appears to be the primary source for the continual origination of new changes ...

9. If the group in which the change originates is not the highest-status group in the speech community, members of the highest-status group eventually stigmatize the changed form ...

10. This stigmatization initiates *change from above*, a sporadic and irregular correction of the changed forms towards the model of the highest status group - that is, the *prestige* model. This prestige model is now the pattern which speakers hear themselves using ...

11. If the prestige model of the highest-status group does not correspond to a form used by the other groups in some word class, the other groups will show a second type of *hypercorrection,* shifting their careful speech to a

form further from the changed form than the target set by the prestige

group. We may call this stage *hypercorrection from above*.

12. Under extreme stigmatization, a form may become the vert topic of the

social comment, and may eventually disappear. It is thus a *stereotype ...*

13. If the change originates in the highest-status group of the community, it

becomes a prestige model for all members of the speech community. The

changed form is then adopted in more careful forms of speech by all groups

in proportion to their contact with users of the prestige model, and to a

lesser extent, in casual speech.

2.2   INTERNAL FACTORS

Internal factors, according to Labov (1994:1), involve the study of apparent time

and real time, principles governing chain shifts, mergers, splits and near mergers,

the regularity of sound change and functional effects of linguistic change.We

consider these below.

2.2.1 The uniformation principle

The application of data from changes in progress to the problems of the past is

dependent upon the linguistic version of the uniformation principle, since, the task

of historical linguistics is to explain the differences between the past and the present, but to the extent that the past was different from the present, there is no way of knowing how different it was (Labov, 1994:21).

This principle derives from Geology. The Scottish Geologist, James Hutton formulated it in 1785. Charles Lyell made it the foundation of Modern Geology in 1833. This principle says:

> Knowledge of processes that operated in
> the past can be inferred by observing
> ongoing processes in the present (Christy,
> 1983:IX).

Whitney (1867) made it a central point in his Language and the Study of Language. He argues:

> So far as we can trace the history of
> language, the forces which have been
> efficient in producing its changes, and the
> general outlines of their modes of operation
> have been the same ... There is no way of
> investigating the first hidden steps of any
> continuous historical process, except by
> carefully studying the later recorded steps

and cautiously applying the analogies

thence deduced, [just as] ... the geologist

studies the forces which are now altering

by slow degrees the form and aspect of the

earth's crust (1867:253 quoted in Christy,

1983:84).

Brugman (1897), testifies that the Neogrammarians were directly influenced by

Whitney. Though this principle is acknowledged to be a necessary precondition for

historical reconstruction, as well as for the use of the present to explain the past,

it is no solution to the fundamental paradox of historical linguistics. The principal

strength of historical linguistics, in Labov's (1994:10) words, lies in its ability to

trace many linguistic changes over long periods of time. Historical documents

survive by chance, not by design, and the selection that is available is the product

of an unpredictable series of historical accidents. Labov (1994:11) says the

linguistic forms in such documents are often distinct from the vernacular of the

writers, and instead reflect efforts to capture a normative dialect that was never

any speaker's native language.

Clear evidence of this, is to look at Zulu today, and compare it to Proto-Sintu and

Ur-Sintu as reflected by great scholars like Guthrie and Meinhof. The

reconstructions listed in their works are so far removed from the language as it is

spoken today that students coming across such lists, simply commit them to

memory without tracing their origin.

Examples:

Proto-Sintu [j] changes to Zulu implosive [b]

$$B \text{ [-ja ja]} = Z \text{ [-baba]}$$

Proto-Sintu continuants become plosives or affricates in Zulu.

$$B \text{ [nl-lu]} = Z \text{ [izindevu]}$$

2.2.1.1. Real time

Theoretically, comparative studies based on real time, provide the basis for describing linguistic diffusion (Chambers and Trudgill, 1980:165). Such a study can be surveyed at any interval following the original survey, a year, a decade, a century or (in theory, at least a millennium) (Chambers and Trudgill, 1980:165).

Real Time Studies do have some disadvantages, for example, subjects are not always willing to participate, let alone for a second time. Comparison of a population in two parts of time is rare if ever possible and practically a straightforward replication is usually ruled out (Chambers and Trudgill, 1980:164).

2.2.1.2.   Apparent Time Studies

They use alternative methods to real time studies. A community is researched and a comparison is made between the speech of older people and that of younger people, and any differences are assumed to be the result of linguistic change (Chambers and Trudgill, 1980:89). Labov (1994:46) considers the study of changes in apparent time as an initial and most straightforward approach to study change in progress. Change is involved when a variant occurs in the speech of children though it is absent in the speech of their parents. Successive generations in the community at large will show incremental frequencies in the use of the innovative variant. With the passage of time, a reasonable conclusion will be the unconditional use of that new variant and the removal of older variants. Age graded changes are regular and predictable changes that might be thought of as marking a developmental stage in the individual's life (Chambers, 1995:185-188).

In apparent time studies the research of comparison groups is one and the same person, so the methodology, transcription and analysis can be made comparable (Chambers and Trudgill, 1980:66). Information about temporal developments are made available in a shorter time than the developments themselves take and inferences are reliable in so far as the validity of a particular hypothesis namely, that the linguistic usage of a certain age group will remain essentially the same for that group as they grow older (Chambers, 1995:193).

According to Labov (1994:112) apparent time studies may understate the actual rate of sound change because generally, older speakers show a limited tendency towards communal change; they participate to a small extent in the changes that take place around them.

2.2.2 The principles of chain shifting

The chain shift principles do not apply in isolation, in any given historical development, two or more of the general principles are combined. These combinations are restricted to a relatively small number of chain shift patterns that recur throughout the languages of the world (Labov, 1994:31). Labov's work on this issue is limited to phonetic and phonological change and within this area, it focuses on stressed vowels. He maintains that the most detailed data on change in progress derive from instrumental studies of English vowel shift. English is one of the languages that have developed or maintained a complex system of more than 10 vowels. Shifts and mergers of vowels are among the major forces that lead to linguistic diversity throughout the world. The changes that characterise the history of English appear to follow principles that can be traced across many language families.

The simple kinds of vowel shifts, involve movement of a vowel to an empty position in the vowel system, in turn leaving yet another empty position. There are very few constraints, says Labov, on such simple movements. It is not difficult to

find examples of vowels becoming higher or lower, backer or frontier, rounded or unrounded, nasalised or unnasalised. When these simple movements are combined in interlocking sets, in chain shifts, a number of unidirectional patterns appear.

The three principles of vowel shifting in Labov (1994:116) are:

I.   In chain shifts, long vowels rise.

II.   In chain shifts short vowels fall.

IIa.   In chain shifts the nuclei of upgliding diphthongs fall.

III.   In chain shifts, back vowels move to the front.

These three principles of chain shifting are said to be independent but they are not free to combine in every possible way. A vowel can move front and down at the same time, or front and up, but it cannot move both up and down and the principles do not mention movements to the back. Example:

> Labov (1963) in a classical study of vowel
> change on Martha's vineyard showed the
> raising of the vowel [a], in the diphthongs
> /ay/ as in `light' and `line', and /aw/, as in
> `out and town'. The two sounds are
> related in phonological space.

In the same volume Labov shows how these principles work with others to produce three chain patterns that are at work in English lects today in various parts of the English speaking world. These have to do with peripherality principles, namely <u>the lower exit principle</u> which states that in chain shifting, low nonpheripheral vowels become peripheral.

<u>The upper exit principle</u> which states that in chain shifting, one of two high peripheral morae becomes nonperipheral. This principle in its reversed version states that, in chain shifting, the first two high morae may change peripherally and the second may become nonperipheral.

<u>The mid exit principle</u> states that in chain shifts, peripheral vowels rising from mid to high position, develop inglides.

Chain shifting as elaborately discussed by Labov (1994) is based mostly on Indo-European Languages. Some principles seem not to apply to Zulu. The Great Vowel Shift of English vowels for example, is specific to English. The vowel system of English displays 12 vowels excluding diphthongs, and Zulu on the other hand displays 5 basic vowels excluding the two variants of /e/ and /o/ which are [ɛ] and [ɔ] resulting in a total of 7 phonetic vowels. Zulu vowels are not contrasted in length as are those in English. The length of a Zulu vowel depends on its position in a word or statement, (Lanham, 1963). This position is the penultimate syllable in words and the penultimate syllable of the last word in a statement or question.

For example:

> Ha:mba.
>
> USipho akasafuni ukusebe:nza.
>
> Uyambo:na?

There are studies in progress though, whose effort is to show that some Afican Languages like Chichewa and Tswana for example, have long vowels.(see Mchombo 1997 ongoing and Chikane 1997 ongoing.

2.2.2.1. Changes associated with vowels.

2.2.2.1.1. Vowel Charts
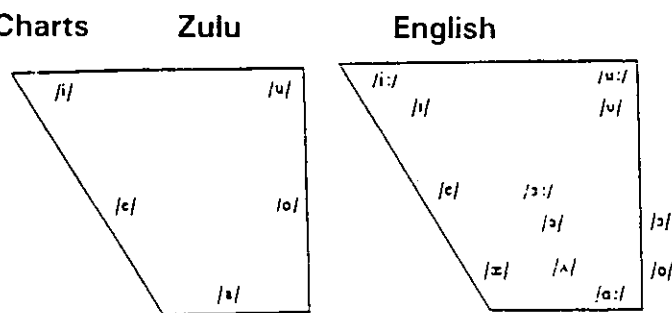
(xix)

(After Hundleby, 1965)

Shifting of vowels is traceable from Proto-Sintu of Guthrie's S 40 group. Guthrie (1967:15 et seq) identifies his hypothetical source - vowels as ˙A ˙E ˙i ˙I ˙O˙ and ˙U written in upper case and marked by an asterisk. These include superclose and close vowels. Nguni, under which Zulu falls, does not have super close vowels ˙I and ˙U. ˙E and ˙I are then fused into /i/, ˙O and ˙U are fused into /u/. Nguni then ends up with five basic vowels as indicated on the chart above. There are however, phonological rules operative within the Nguni group of languages which are responsible for linguistic change. Taking any phonological items and

representing them by variables X, Y and Z, a phonological rule could be written as:

$$X \Rightarrow Y/\text{-}Z$$

and it reads; a phonological item X changes into a phonological item Y before a phonological item Z. X is the input which will undergo a change and Y, a resultant sound. Nguni does not accommodate juxtaposition of vowels hence the absence of diphthongs.

2.2.2.1.2.   Glide formation

By glide in this work we mean approximants y and w. A round vowel /o/ and /u/ loses its syllabicity when it occurs before non-rounded vowel, <u>as long as it is not preceded by a labial consonant</u>.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +syl \\ +round \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [\text{-syl}] \Big/ \underline{\qquad} \begin{bmatrix} +syl \\ -round \end{bmatrix}$$
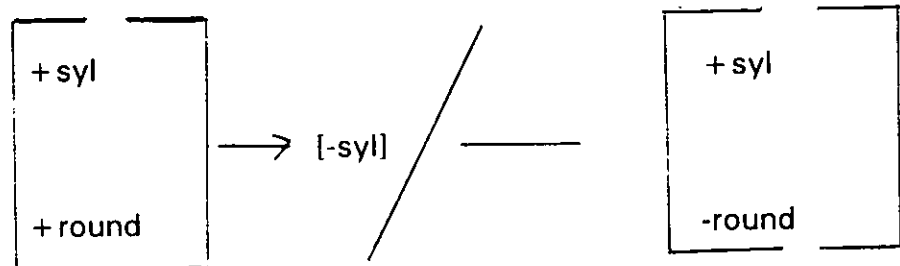
idolo > edolweni   (loc) <   e-dolo-ini

induku > endukwini   (loc) <   e-nduku-ini

A high vowel loses its syllability before another vowel.

$$\begin{bmatrix} +\text{syl} \\ +\text{high} \end{bmatrix} \longrightarrow [\text{-syl}] \Big/ \underline{\quad\quad} +\text{syl}$$
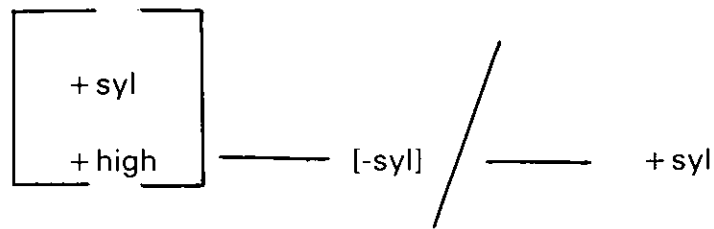
Example:

> umuntu <u>u o</u> sa > <u>w</u>osa inyama

> inja <u>i</u> <u>e</u>nza > <u>y</u>enza umsindo

2.2.2.1.3.   Vowel lowering

A high vowel lowers when it occurs after a low vowel, and then the left vowel gets

deleted. For example:

> a + i > e

> a + u > o

> na + ingane > ngegane > n<u>e</u>ngane

> nga + umese > ngaomese > ng<u>o</u>mese

2.2.2.1.4.   Vowel raising

There are seven phonetic vowels in Zulu. The vowels /e/ and /o/ are realised

phonetically either as [+raised] or as [-raised]. A [-hi] [low] vowel is optionally

raised if it occurs in a syllable immediately preceding a syllable incorporating either

a [+hi] vowel or another [+raised] vowel. In phonetic script the orthographic letters "e" and "o" represent the raised allophones [e], [o] while the unraised allophones are represented by [ɛ] and [ɔ] respectively.

Examples:

[Uyasebɛnza]

[akasebenzi]

2.2.2.2.   **Changes associated with consonants.**

2.2.2.2.1.   **Palatalization:**

A non-palatal consonant is replaced by or changes to a palatal sound. This occurs mostly with bilabial and alveolar sounds in environments that warrant these changes. The following changes occur in all forms of palatisation which occur in the formation of passives, diminutives and locatives (Khumalo 1987).

Bilabials	Alveolar
bh > j	d > j
ph > sh	th > sh
p > tsh	t > tsh
b > tsh	n > ny
m > ny	nd > nj
mb > nj	nt > ntsh
mp > ntsh	

2.2.2.3. Mergers and splits

At first glance, the mechanism of a merger is quite simple for it could be simply said that "two vowels fell together" (Labov, 1994:311), but in his discussion of the various principles governing mergers, it is clear that it is not a simple matter. Mergers are irreversible and they spread, Garde (1961:38-9 as translated by Labov (1994:311) states clearly that:

> A merger realized in one language and unknown in another is always the result of an innovation in the language where it exists. Innovations can create mergers, but cannot reverse them.

If two words have become identical through a phonemic change, they can never be differentiated by phonetic means.

Examples: <u>Zulu</u>   <u>Gloss</u>

Lo mfana <u>usile</u> < silly. This boy is silly.

Lo mfana <u>use</u> nse. This boy is mentally normal though

he pretends otherwise.

Garde's principle states that, mergers are irreversible by linguistic means. The irreversibility of mergers is ultimately connected with a more general principle of linguistics that linguistic signs that make up historical word classes are arbitrary. The majority of facts about the phonemic composition of the lexicon are arbitrary assignments inherited from the history of the language, which are not to be explained by any other fact. The impossibility of reversal established by Garde's principle rests on an empirical observation that at no known time in the history of languages has such a reversal been accomplished by enough individual speakers to restore two original word classes.

2.2.2.3.1. Hertzog's principle

This principle by Hertzog (1965) may be viewed as a corollary of Garde's principle. Hertzog used the approach of dialect geography on the issue of mergers that the current spatial display of variation can be related to changes that originated at a

particular time and radiated outward. For example, a pattern of expansion can be detected around an urban centre where the change was first reported. (Trudgill, 1974b). Changes normally progress up along lines of communication like river valleys, and lag behind, in mountain areas. Newer forms overlap the patterns displays by older forms, leaving identical forms in widely isolated relic areas. These patterns facilitate the interpretation of spatial dispersion in terms of temporal change.

Hertzog's principle states that mergers expand at the expense of distinctions. He cites the case of Yiddish of Northern Poland where two sets of mergers affected the high vowels of Yiddish. The examples show a merger of /i:/ and /i/, /u:/ and /u/ in the Northern dialects of Yiddish.

<u>Proto Yiddish</u>   <u>Northern Yiddish</u>

zin `mind'

zi"n `son's'   zin

zun `sun'

zu:n `son'   zun
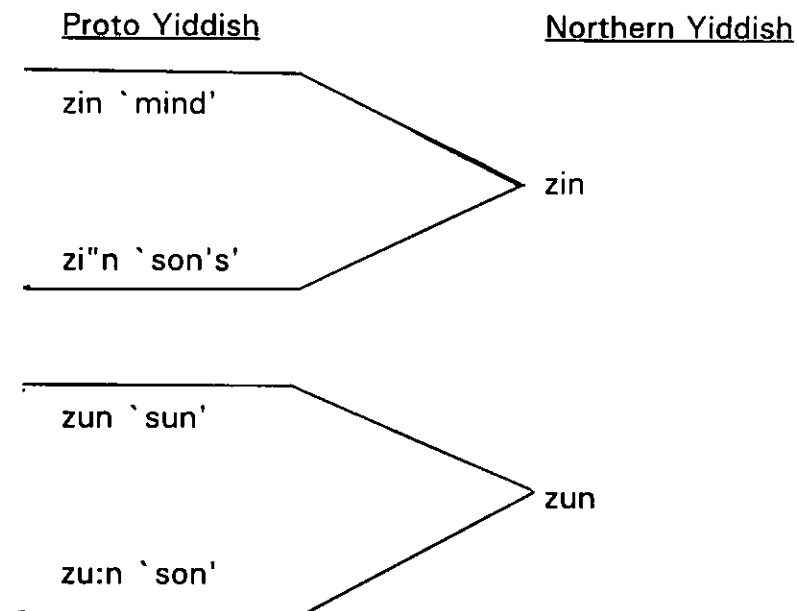
There are mechanisms that show how two phonemics become one, how the

individual words and phoneme targets move in relation to each other (Labov, 1994:321).

a.   **Merger by approximation:** The gradual approximations of the phonetic targets of two phonemes until they are non distinct. The merger may result from the coalescence of two vowels. The resulting vowel may show a mean value intermediate between those of the original two.

b.   **Merger by transfer:** A unidirectional process in which words are transferred gradually from one phonemic category to another. Mergers by transfer are characteristic of stable sociolinguistic variables where one form has acquired a social stigma or prestige, characteristic of change from above.

In Zulu merger by approximation is explained by Doke (1927:1) in vowel coalescence, when he says:

Zulu like other Sintu languages, has three basic vowels, /a/, /i/ and /u/. The mid-forward vowels /e/ and /ɛ/, are secondary in value and are often the result of coalescence of /a/ and /i/. Similarly, the mid-back vowels, /o/ and /ɔ/ are secondary in value, often being the result of the coalescence of /a/ and /i/ or /a/ and /u/ respectively. Zulu coalescence, when it takes place, results then as follows:

a + i = e   a + u = o   a + a = a (Doke, 1927:23).

2.2.2.3.2. Splits

A split, according to Labov (1994:331), is the division of a pre-existing phoneme to create a new phonemic distinction .It is not the only way in which new phonemic distinctions are created... New phonemes can be created by the integration of borrowing of phonemes, yielding segments with a new configuration of features that did not exist in the language before. In English the incorporation of /oy/ is a perfect example. The assignment of an `open' or `closed' vowel to words in the `uy' class, shows that the /oy/ ~ /uy/ distinction was confused in the 16th century. The /oy/ word *boy* appears with a /u/ nucleus in Hart's account (1551).

In Zulu, restructuring occurs when loan words are incorporated into the language. Prefixal formatives, for example, noun prefixes, occur with constructed roots. Usually, such loan words if they are nouns fall into ili- and i- noun classes with plurals in the ama- class. The roots with the codas in the final syllable are rendered full syllables in the receptor language. The re-syllabification is expected in a language whose syllables are all open (that is syllables ending in a syllable peak, in the case of Zulu, a vowel). Examples:

> I: **phake:the** < "packet, pocket"
>
> **ikhô:tho** < "court"

2.3   EXTERNAL FACTORS

Labov, states that social factors include the actuation problem, the social location of the innovators of change, the role of sex in linguistic change, the effect of ethnic and race on change, the gravity model of diffusion and the social motivation of change (1994:1).

Language is primarily a cultural or social product and must be understood as such ... It is peculiarly important that linguists, who are often accused, and accused justly, of failure to look beyond the pretty patterns of their subject matter, should become aware of what their science may mean for the interpretation of human conduct in general (Sapir, 1929:76).

Whilst many linguists would like to view any language as a homogenous entity and each speaker of that language as controlling only a single style, so that they can make the strongest theoretical generalisation, the fact is, language varies (Fasold, 1984:i). Speakers have more than one way to say more or less the same thing. This variation includes the entire range of linguistic variation from the subtle differences in pronunciation of individual vowels such as those described by Labov (1966, 1994) and Trudgill (1974). As the speaker transmits information and thoughts to other people through language, she also makes statements about who she is, what her group loyalties are, how she perceives her relationship to her hearer and what sort of speech event she considers herself to be engaged in. All

these tasks can be carried out at the same time precisely because language varies.

Labov in his pioneering works on Language Variation and Change from 1963-1994, emphasises the sociolinguistic structure of urban speech communities. He has laid a foundation for the study of language in its social context. Labov says that the spread of linguistic innovations, is dependent on the social prestige that goes with them.

Whenever we speak, we reveal not only some personal qualities and a certain sensitivity to the contextual style but also a whole configuration of characteristics that we by and large share with everyone who resembles us socially (Chambers, 1995:7).

Social class, sex and age are some of the major social factors that exert a tacit but partly irrepressible effect on our behaviour including the way we speak. In modern industrial societies, class, sex and age which are social characteristics, the primary determinants of social roles. The sub-elements of social class include education, occupation and housing. Social class divisions that are usually used, are the following:

Upper middle class: owners, directors and people with inherited wealth.

Middle middle class: professionals, executive managers.

Lower middle class: semi professionals, lower managers.

Upper working class: clerks, skilled manual workers.

Middle working class: semi skilled manual workers.

Lower working class: unskilled labourers.

The major social division, in industrialised nations is between people who earn their living by working with their hands and those who earn them by pencil work and service. Conclusions drawn from these socio-economic divisions are correlated with linguistic variation. The higher the social class, the more prestigious the language use. For example:

Social Variation

Socio-economic class

Lower class   High class

Non-standard varieties   Standard varieties
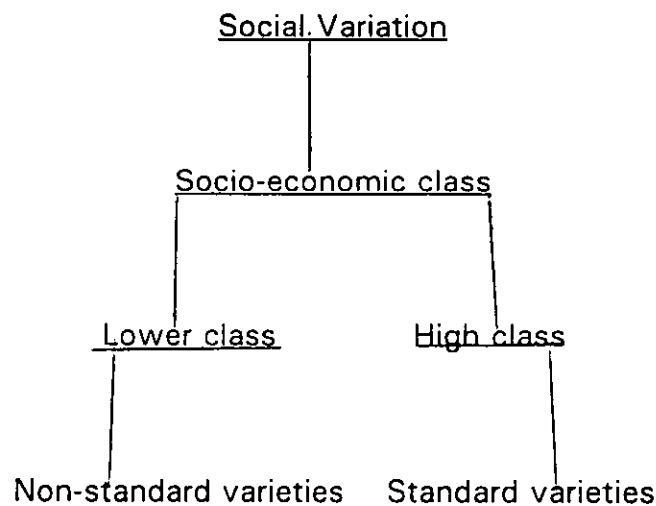
Though Chambers (1995:37) contends that the upper class consisting of people with inherited wealth and privileges is inconsequential in Europe and non existent elsewhere, we would like to point out that what he says is not the case with regard to Zulu and other Nguni languages. We do not dispute the question of class divisions, but we are saying that in Zulu, as far as language variation is concerned,

the most prestigious variety is usually spoken by people who have never been to school. The Zulu that is spoken by and to members of royalty is accepted by the speech community as prestigious. Unfortunately it is not documented in great books since the majority of these people cannot write. Education has overshadowed this form of language by standardising `School Zulu' which is the standardised written form, not necessarily the standard spoken form. In support of this view Branford (1969:13) has this to say:

> The language of educated people does not hold a monopoly of accuracy, beauty, tenderness or expressive force, it is the important form of language simply because the positions of power and influence in society tend to be held by educated people.

2.3.1 Case studies

2.3.1.1. Macauley's study

Macauley (1977) in his Sociolinguistic Study of Glasgow, relied solely on occupation as a class indicator. His results showed a fine and regular correlation for all the phonological variables with class distinctions based on occupation. Social classes constituted barriers to communication every bit as real as mountain ranges or rivers. Even in very fluid societies, where the social classes are breachable by ambitious individuals, most people carry on their meaningful

interactions with people who are similar to them materially, occupationally. Individuals who do climb up the social ladder, jumping up a class or two from their parents usually entrench themselves in their new class rather than to maintain relationship in the two classes.

2.3.1.2. Bogart's study

Bogart (1950:1) demonstrated that the class system blocks channels of communication even when what is communicated is a local event in a small community. An example given here was that of a 17 year old girl of Western town with 25 000 inhabitants, who was invited to New York to attend concerts, meet celebrities and to be interviewed on Sunday radio broadcast by Deans Taylor. This was reported in the local newspaper when after three weeks Borgat and his associates, made enquiries among the townspeople about this event, age and sex differences did not pose a barrier to the knowledged of the event. There was however a sharp cleavage along social class lines. Among the lower class people with less than high school education, only 27% knew about the event, compared to 77% of the best educated group.

In the case of Zulu, the results would be similar since a large percentage of Zulu speaking community is illiterate. News in local newspapers is for the educated.

2.3.1.3. Trudgill's study

Trudgill (1974:97) found a variable that marked the social classes in Norwich, by the degree of vowel fronting. The prestige dialect RP in most middle class accents has a back unrounded vowel [a:] in words like after, path and cart. In Norwich it was found that these words sometimes occur with front vowels, either [ä:] a low central vowel or [a:], a low front vowel. The working class used the [ä:] or [a:] variants which are not prestigious.

Unlike in a caste system where societies are based on hereditary occupational groups and individuals auto-matically and inexorably become members of the group they were born into, class systems are reasonably mobile. People can alter their social status. Working class people do not usually carry their linguistic markers into middle class language. Usually `they adjust the frequency of certain linguistic variables in order to sound more like the class they are joining and less like the one they are leaving' (Chambers, 1995:55).

2.3.1.4. Labov's study

Labov (1966b) demonstrated the general validity of this correlation by re-analysing his New York city data according to the social mobility of the speakers using the variable (th) and (dh) in words like this, them and there. The upwardly mobile group used fewer non-standard variant (dh) than the stable working class group.

What is even more interesting is that the upwardly mobile group used fewer non-standard variants than the people in the social class they are joining. The over zealousness in their attempts at speaking a sociolect that is not native to them results in hypercorrection.

Not only do migrants to the town learn new languages, which may ultimately displace their mother tongue or supplement it in a relationship of stable bilingualism, but the language learnt may be carried into the countryside when migrants return to their rural areas of their birth (Cooper and Horvath, 1973:221-222). They come back speaking Zulu with an urban twang, which puts them in the class of their own, distinct from `Plaas Japies'. For example, punctuating their speech with, 'Ek sê ...' and s'camtho and Zulu equivalents in the same utterance:

Ek sê hamba, vaya, nyawuka, ek sê.

2.3.2. Sex

In almost all sociolinguistic studies that include a sample of males and females, there is evidence for this conclusion about their linguistic behaviour. Women use fewer, stigmatised and non-standard variants than do men of the same social group in the same circumstances. For example, Wolfram (1969:76) says that:

Females show a greater sensitivity to socially evaluative linguistic features than do males.

Labov (1972:243) says, in careful speech, women use fewer stigmatised forms than men and are more sensitive than men to the prestige pattern.

Romaine (1978:156), explaining the preference by women for a different variant from the men in her study concludes: The females ... are clearly more concerned with the pressure exerted by local norms and asserting their status within the ... social structure. In her other work she summarises as follows:

Women consistently produce forms which are nearer the prestige norm more frequently than men.

In stable sociolinguistic stratification, men use a higher frequency of non-standard forms than women. The variable (ng) the pronunciation of the English participial suffix on forms such as running, walking is one of the best studied. For example, Fischer (1958:48) after investigating variations of -ing and -in, in participles in a village near Boston, suggests that in this community (and probably others where the choice exists) -ing is regarded as symbolising female speakers and -in as symbolising males.

Chambers (1995:125) concludes that in societies where gender roles are sharply differentiated, such that one gender has wider social contacts and greater geographical range, the speech of the less circumscribed gender will include more variations of the contiguous groups.

The women of Ballymaccaret for example, whose movements are much less constrained (women have to travel outside the neighbourhood to work) use more variants of the social groups above them thus aspiring towards the standard forms. On the other hand men of Ballymaccaret who work in the local shipyard and never travel to work outside the neighbourhood use local variants which are non-standard (Milroy, 1980:70-84).

Labov (1966:312), suggests that the women's wider range of variants in New York City was the result of hypercorrection. Later (1972:301-4), he says our answers at the moment are not better than speculations (p.243). He continues :
"Women are more sensitive than men to overt sociolinguistic values. But, why would women hypercorrect, and why would they be more sensitive?"

Trudgill (1972:182:-3) has the following explanation:

Women in our society are more status conscious than men, generally speaking, and are therefore more aware of the social significance of linguistic variables.

He gives two reasons for this, namely:

(i)   The social position of women in our society is less secure than that of men, and, usually, subordinate than of men. It may be, therefore, that it is more necessary for women to secure and signal their social status linguistically

and in other ways, and they may for this reason, be more aware of the importance of this type of signal, (this will be particularly true of women who are not working).

(ii)   Men in our society can be rated socially by their occupation, their earning power and perhaps by their other abilities - in other words by what they **do**. For the most part, however, this is not possible for women. It may be, therefore, that they have instead to be rated on how they **appear**. Since they are not rated by their occupations or by their occupational success, other signals of status, including speech are correspondingly more important.

The societies that Chambers (1995), Labov (1966), Trudgill (1972), Fischer (1958), Milroy (1980), Romaine (1978) and Wolfram (1969), are talking about here, are western societies. In Zulu the women reverse the proportionate use of the standard variants found in western societies. We explained earlier that the prestigious form is mainly spoken by those who have never set foot at school. Women in a typical Zulu speaking community tend to preserve these prestigious forms of the so-called low class, and these are the forms that they pass on to their children during the child's formative years. Kubeka (1979:229) confirms this fact saying that mothers have heretofore been staunch adherents of tradition and preservers of prestigious forms of the language.

What also needs to be mentioned here is that the standard language in Zulu, is the

spoken form. Regional varieties are taken as standard forms in their regions.

Reasons offered for this state of affairs in Zulu are similar to those of Bakir (1986:6) concerning gender variation in Basrah, Iraq. He concluded that women in the community under discussion do not lead in the use of the forms that they consider to be better. They furthermore, associate the better forms with men's language.

The reason being; the structure of this Arab community is such that the place and existence space of women is still the house. It is the men who deal with the outside world and handles public situations. Women are not generally required to communicate with the outside world with its cares and concerns. Besides, the social structure of the Arab communities is still segregative in essence. Although there are many types of institutions where men and women meet and work together, the men's society and the women's society are still separate. Women are expected not to trespass on men's grounds by doing men's work or assuming roles and participating in functions that men are expected to perform.

It appears that where women have not traditionally played a major role in public life, cultural expectations will lead them to react less strongly to the linguistic norms of the dominant culture (Labov, 1982:79).

In Zulu, for example, culture dictates that a married woman uses a special vocabulary for all words that are in the names of her in-laws. The names of the woman's in-laws, are taboo to her, so she ends up using what Nyembe (1994) calls the language of the traditional Zulu bride. If the name of ones father-in-law is **Nyamana**, for example, the bride will not say any word with **nyama** (meat). For her, **nyama**, and all conjugations of this word, is **ncosa**.

Finlayson (1983) calls this practice by women, **Isihlonipho sabafazi**. In our part of Africa, it is used mainly by Nguni and Southern Sotho, engaged and married women as a way of showing respect to their in-laws. The general use of the term in the sociolinguistic literature is restricted to a linguistic taboo process in which women are barred from pronouncing the names of their fathers-in-law, mothers-in-law and brothers-in-law. Among the Xhosa and the Zulu it is not only the name itself which must be avoided, but also any of its composite syllables.

A variety of linguistic mechanisms is used to achieve avoidance. For example consonant substitution, ellipsis, synonymy, derivation, archaicism, neologism and borrowing. These will be discussed in Chapter Four.

2.3.3 Age

Labov sees the acquisition of standard English as a `process of acculturation' (1964:89) in which adolescent linguistic behaviour becomes more similar to the

predominating pattern of the adult community. He means the Middle middle class adult standard. He says that the increasing linguistic similarities between the young people and the adults in measure ... the extent to which the young person has grasped the norms of behaviour which govern the adult community.

The six stages in the process of acculturation (1964:91-2) are:

*   Acquisition of the <u>basic grammar</u> in childhood normally under parental influence.

*   Acquisition of the <u>vernacular</u> from about 5-12, under the influence of peers in school and in the neighbourhood.

*   Development of <u>social perceptions</u>, beginning at age 14 or 15 under the influence of adult contacts, such that youngsters may still be vernacular speakers but their responses on subjective reaction tests (downgrading accents that were the same as their own) become more similarly to their parents.

*   Development of <u>stylistic variation</u>, probably also starting around the age of 14 under the influence of wider contacts with peers beyond the neighbourhood or high school, such that they begin to make adjustments in the frequency of particular variants in appropriate social contexts.

*   Ability to maintain the <u>consistent standard</u>, presumably in young adulthood and presumably under pressure from the still wider contacts at work or university, such that individuals are capable of maintaining standard speech consistently for as long as the situation warrants - a stage, which Labov says, "often not acquired at all" except by middle class groups.

*   Acquisition of the <u>full range</u>, evidently attained by a minority in most communities, for Labov notes that in New York, it is attained only by `college educated persons, with a special interest in speech.'

Although two years later (1966) Labov abandoned the terms like <u>full range</u> of language, the <u>adult norms</u> for the norms of one social class (middle middle class) his six stages make a useful frame of reference for the discussion of the developmental studies.

Chambers (1995:158) says, there appears to be three formative periods in the acquisition of sociolects by normal individuals.

First in childhood, the vernacular develops under the influence of family and friends. Second, in adolescence, vernacular norms tend to accelerate beyond the norms established by the previous generation, under the influence of dense networking. Third, in young adulthood, standardisation tends to increase, at least for the sub-set of speakers involved in language-sensitive occupa-tions, in the broadest sense of

the term. After that, from middle age onward, speakers normally have fixed their sociolects beyond any large scale or regular changes.

The earliest stage in the acquisition of a sociolect of a language for that matter, takes place in a social milieu, clearly divided between two generations, namely; parents, peers in a usually amicable arrangement. One obvious kind of replacement at this stage is lexical. At home children who have been encouraged to use nursery terms for excretory matters and parts of the body, soon learn to use communal terms, sometimes to the utter shock of their parents. Example:

wee wee > urinate

ukusibiza > ukuchama (Zulu)

Adolescence is the transition to individuation. Young people tend to extricate themselves from the family nucleus. The extremism of adolescence is observable in outer markings like blue dyed hair and also in marked linguistically by the use of a distinctive vocabulary called slang, in which terms become fashionable and serve as markers of in group membership. In order to serve their social purpose these outer markings must fulfil two requirements, namely, they must be deemed frivolous by elders. In teenage terms, they must be "way-out", "crazy", "fabulous". If and when the marker gains general popularity, "as did shoulder length hair for men in the 1960s", Chambers (1995:171) says, then it is incumbent upon adolescents to change their style, by say, shaving their heads. Teenage slang

always includes derisory terms for people in authority for they are usually regarded with suspicion, for example, police are called "pigs" second, it is essential that these outer markings be approved and shared by other adolescents. Markings that are not approved, lead readily to ostracism.

Peers who do not conform are given names like "square", "geek", "dweeb".

In Zulu, this stage is marked by the use of isicamtho which operates along similar functional parallels as the ones explained by Chambers (1995:173), for example:

Zulu   :   **ngiyahamba**

Is'camtho   :   ngiyavaya

Zulu   :   **ikhaya**

Is'camtho   :   idladla

For the stages of life beyond young adulthood, studies indicate that once the feature of the sociolect are established in the speech of young adult, under normal circumstances, those features remain relatively stable for the rest of their lives. Even when linguistic changes take root in the speech of younger people in the same community, the older people usually remain impervious to it.

Bloomfield (1933:347) in his influential synthesis of structural linguistics says, the process of linguistic change has never been directly observed ... But such

observation with our present facilities, is inconceivable.

Chambers (1995:186) in response to the statement above says, it was probably not the facilities so much as the axiom of categoricity that made it inconceivable, for the observation of change in progress integrally involves variability, social correlates, stylistic contexts and quantification - the observation of change in progress require a variationist view of language. Examples that have been used in this discussion are examples of change in progress.

2.3.4. Urbanisation

Urbanisation is a great eroder of linguistic frontiers. The result is the creation of thousands of bilingual and to a certain extent bidialectal speakers on a scale and of a diversity imprecedented in linguistic histories. Urbanization often brings with it the transformation of regional varieties into urban varieties. This process often involves the movement of rural speakers into low-prestige urban occupations and into rapidly growing ghettos.

When the rural speaker arrives in the city she usually finds that her country talk is ridiculed. Even if it was a marker of local identity and a source of prestige at home, she may already have been conscious of the provincial or regional character of their speech before she came to the city. A rapid shift of the more salient features of the rural varieties are often noticed as speakers enter the city (Labov, 1972:299).

Rapid shift from standard forms like **ukweshela/ukuqomisa,** to creations of popular urban speech like **ukudeyitha** emerge. In time speakers using standard terms will be classified as rural. Extreme rural forms are stigmatised, for instance, lexical items like **bhavu! nongenankomo uyayidla inyama!** are used less often. We will include under this section the Urban varieties of the two major cities namely Durban and Johannesburg in chapter four. Labov (1972:300) maintains that this rapid language mixing (people coming from different places, with their different languages or different varieties of the same language) seems to follow a kind of classic structural reductionism, and it would not be difficult to argue that it is a subtype of the same process that produces contact languages.

2.3.5. Political factors

2.3.5.1. Industrialization

South Africa is in the midst of industrialization. Zulu speaking people had to abandon their staid traditional way of life and join the work forces in mines, mainly gold and coal mines. Male members of the family move away from home and they are employed as migrant labourers in these mines and other industries like the textile and the steel industries. The coming together of people from different areas results in the crumbling of language barriers among the workers and the employers, for instance, the mining industry had to devise a special variety (we are told) to address this mixed bag of employees hence the resultant min *fanakalo*. Kubeka (1979:229) says that a fast moving society demands quick and easy

communication, and does not bother with purity of form. Kubheka calls this form of speech, **isidolobha/isidorobha**. He also says this new speech, makes use of all linguistic material at its disposal without breaking the grammatical tenets of Zulu. This practice loosens the conservative roots of Zulu opening up vistas of change. For example:

> **Ngizokubona**   <u>**ngezi 10**</u> **zikaDisemba**
>
>   **ka di 10 tsa December** (Sotho)

instead of **Ngizokubona ngomhlaka 10 kuDisemba**.

The language aspect within a multilingual workplace is one of the many areas which are a source of frustration in our industries today. Members of such a workforce do not understand one another. Some depend on stereotypes when communicating with one another. Problems are often experienced between management and workers, and also between Black and White mainly created by communication barrier; language. In communicating with their labour force, South African white managers tend to ignore the workers' personal background and circumstances, (which are mainly black) and to restrict communication to instructions aimed at the successful functioning of production. Fanakalo is a result of such reasoning. It is believed that it started in Natal from about 1860. Indian indentured labourers used English which they had adopted, with Zulu words in their communication with the Zulu. When Fanakalo moved to the mines, it was forced on the mine workers. Although it has been, and still is, in us in work places like the mines, it is utterly rejected and regarded as a slave language and it is also

associated with oppression.

Godsell (1992), for language in a multilingual workplace recommends a language that will connect the different language groups that find themselves working together; a lingua Franca, in Hall's words; a language that is used as a medium of communication among people who have no other language in common. UNESCO (1963:46) sees a Lingua Franca as an established language which is habitually different in order to facilitate communication between speakers. (cf. Todd 1974, Samarin 1968, Adler 1977).

Godsell (1992) continues saying that to establish this linking language, at least the differing individuals or groups should master a language which the other individual or group understands. Bearing in mind that the bulk of the workplace in South Africa is black and largely illiterate, he recommends that all employees who are illiterate will have to be given effective industrial literacy in one of our two industrial languages. We take it, the two industrial languages he mentions here are Afrikaans and English, judging by the date on which his paper was written. Afrikaans falls off in this era, since it is like Fanakalo regarded as the language of the oppressor. He stresses that the age of simple command of Fanakalo injunctive is over.

Until the first goal is achieved, that is industrial literacy for all, translators of a high order of skill and professionalism are needed in the work place, not whites who speak a smattering of an indigenous language or a black clerk whose English leaves

much to be desired. Effective translation requires a mastery of idiom, syntax and particularly it requires a realization of the translator's limits.

2.3.5.2.   Migration

Under the old regime, South Africa operated a government's politically motivated resettlement scheme, where long established communities were moved from their homes to new areas where they met new people who spoke differing varieties. This led to the levelling of varieties. This practice fed a larger scheme of Bantustanism. The *Chunu of Mahlabathini* though, migrated from *uMsinga* out of their own volition because of disturbances in that area, this settlement of the *Chunu* in *Mahlabathini* has affected the language position even if minimally. The *Chunu* speech surfaces repeatedly, for example in the area *(Mahlabathini)* where **yebo** is used to mean yes, in the speech of the *Chunu* that are here, <u>Ehhe</u> is the form used for **yebo**, a form they brought along from *uMsinga*.

2.4.   ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

According to Labov (1994) linguistic change is innovated by both internal and external factors. It is also a fact that linguistic change presupposes linguistic variation. He has also worked on five general principles discussed in this chapter as internal factors. Although his work deals with English which is obviously different from Zulu, some of these internal factors do apply to it (Zulu). External

factors that are generally associated with language changes and variation are social, political and geographical.

Labov (1966), (1974) and (1994) will largely inform the greater part of the analysis of linguistic variation that is observable in Zulu. A discussion and differentiation between variation across decades in real time and variation across age levels in apparent time will be undertaken in this work.

This variation may have occurred over many years in real time, but as we indicated in chapter one, there are no records by linguists to this effect. For languages like English, linguists have made a series of observations of the same population over decades in real time and their findings are recorded and they serve as a body of literature for future references.

The basic approaches in the collection of data in real time studies are that the researcher can:

(a)   research the literature dealing with the community in question and compare the earlier findings with current ones,

or

(b)   return to the community after a lapse of time and repeat the same study (Labov, 1994:73).

The first approach is the simple and efficient one in cases where linguists have recorded their findings over the years. The second approach is more difficult in the sense that observations have to be made at regular intervals, say starting when the subjects are ten years old and continue until those subjects were forty years old. This translates to a researcher doing this research for thirty years (Chambers, 1995:193). This period is too long. There are two types of longitudinal studies in real time observations according to Labov (1994:76) namely trend and panel studies.

2.4.1. Trend Studies

These involve replication. The sample for research is drawn the same way as in the study being replicated analyses of data is done the same way. Since this procedure is done a number of years later than the preceding one, it is unlikely that the same individuals will be in the second or third study. But if this does happen, then the most reliable type of replication will be produced. If severe changes have taken place in the community's demographic setting, between the studies, the changes observed in language may have little to do with the logic of linguistic change in progress. Other disadvantages of a trend study are that:

(a)   It produces no information on the behaviour of individuals over time (Labov, 1994:85).

(b)   It is not easy to achieve reliability for trend studies that involve repetition of similar procedures by different investigators (Labov, 1994:93).

2.4.2.   Panel Studies

Attempts are made to locate the same subjects of the first study. Changes in their behaviour are monitored by submitting them to similar questionnaire, interview or experiment. The first sample must be large to take the inevitable losses into account. For this type of study it is very difficult to get sponsorship for it is expensive to run, and losses are heavy.

The analytical framework envisaged here is based on internal and external factors discussed in the preceding paragraphs.The distinction between a standard and a standardised variety, as a logical by-product of variation will also be considered.

CHAPTER 3

ANALYSIS OF VARIATION IN ZULU BASED ON INTERNAL FACTORS

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3.0   INTRODUCTION

This chapter will investigate variation that is noticeable in the varieties of Zulu which have been identified from our field work. A number of variables to be examined on phonological and morphological levels have been identified and will appear under appropriate sub-headings.

Identification of varieties is done by means of isoglotonic lines. An isogloss is taken to denote an imaginary line passing through places whose inhabitants use the same variety of speech. An isogloss is regarded not only as linking but also enclosing or encircling regions or zones showing identical features (Bloomfield, 1967:325). When these lines have to do with tones they are described as isotonic, isophonic when they refer to sound, isomorphic when they refer to word-form and isosystagmic when they have to do with the arrangement of words in sentences. Gleason (1961:291) says an isogloss is a line indicating the limit of some stated degree of linguistic change.

Our isoglosses in this chapter will primarily be isophonic and isomorphic. The bundles of these isophonic and isomorphic isoglosses which we traced, indicate the boundaries within which the varieties are spoken. A bundle or fascicle of isoglosses is a result of

a number of isoglosses moving across an area at the same time with the expectation that they will tend to be retarded at the barrier and pile up (Gleason, 1961:272).

For example isophones **-ka-** and -ko- are used in Central KwaZulu variety and lower Natal coast variety respectively as negatives of **-se-**.

Positive	Gloss	Negative	Gloss
Sengidlile	I've already eaten	angi<u>ka</u>dli/	I have not
		angi<u>ko</u>dli	yet eaten
Usefikile	He has already	akakafiki/	He has not yet
	arrived	akakofiki	arrived

Isomorphs: The formation of imperatives using monoysyllabic radicals differs in certain regions, for example, the Central KwaZulu variety, the imperative morpheme which functions as an isomorph, in this analysis is the suffix /-na/, while in the Natal South Coast variety it is the prefix /yi-/. The pluralizing suffix in both varieties is /-ni/. In the Central KwaZulu variety, this suffix triggers the assimilation of the /a/ of /na/ to the /i/ of the following /ni/.

Examples

CKV   LNV

dl + a + na > dlana (Sing)   yi + dl + a > yidla

dl + a + na + ni > dlanini (Plur)   yi + dl + a + ni > yidlani

Our investigation has taught us that there are more than Kubeka's (1979) 6 varieties of Zulu spread across KwaZulu-Natal. We also took into account Faye's (1923) description of Zulu dialects in which he did not make use of geographical terms in his identification, but referred to influences.

Kubeka's (1979) identification of varieties of Zulu

1   The Central Zululand Dialect (CZD)

2   The Zululand Coast Dialect (ZCD)

3   The Natal Coast Dialect (NCD)

4   The Lower Natal Coast Dialect (LNCD)

5   The South Coast Natal Dialect (SWND)

6   The Northern Natal Dialect (NND)

Faye's (1923) identification of varieties of Zulu

1   The 'pure' Zulu dialect area

2   The area under Thefula influence

3   The area under Tekela influence

4   The area under English and Afrikaans influence

5   The area under Xhosa influence

6   The area under Sotho influence

7   The area under Swazi influence

Our identification of varieties in this work follows closely on that put forward by Kubeka, with the difference that we have included the border areas, KwaZulu-Natal-Swaziland border, KwaZulu-Natal-Eastern Cape border particularly the area inside the borders of KwaZulu-Natal South of Umzimkhulu River, and the Urban variety represented by Umlazi and Daveyton Townships.

Our identification of Zulu varieties (1997) are therefore:

1.   The Central KwaZulu Variety (CKV)

2.   The KwaZulu Coast Variety (KCV)

3.   The Natal Coast Variety (NCV)

4.   The Lower Natal Coast Variety (LNCV)

5.   The South-West Natal Variety (SWNV)

6.   The Northern Natal Variety (NNV)

7.   The Northern Natal-Swaziland Border Variety with Swazi influence.(NNSBV)

8.   The Natal-Eastern Cape Border Variety (with Mpondo and Xhosa influence. (NECBV)

9.   The Urban variety (Durban-Umlazi New Township; representative of urban varieties in the area and Gauteng-Daveyton Township) representative of urban varieties in the area (UV).

3.1. The Phonological Level

At a phonological level this study intends to establish:

(a)   the realisation of the /r/ sound in the Zulu speech community.

(b)   the realisation of /h/ in Zulu.

(c)   the pronunciation of /ng/.

(d)   the operation of palatalization.

(e)   the realization of click sounds.

(f)   other markers of the variety.

Each of the above variables will be discussed under each variety identified in our study.

3.1.1 The Central KwaZulu Variety (CKV)

This variety is spoken in and around the following districts: Melmoth, Eshowe, Nongoma, Mahlabathini, Emakhosini, Ntonjaneni, Inkandla, Babanango and Nqutu. This coincides with the original area settled by the Ntungwa-Nguni group. This variety more or less approximates IsiNtungwa, what Faye (1923) calls `pure' Zulu. Contributing to the softness of this variety is the influence of thefula. For example: Thefula or thefuya is a variety of Zulu that uses a /y/ sound where other varieties use the /z/ sound.

<u>Thefula</u>

izingane	iyingane
izicathulo	iyicathulo

Sometimes thefula uses /y/ where other varieties employ /l/.

<u>Thefula</u>

imali	imayi
indali	indayi
lala	yaya

The /y/ sound is very softly spoken, it sounds like baby-talk.

3.1.1.1   The realization of /r/

Zulu has only one liquid namely, the lateral /l/. The liquid /r/ of English and the vibrant of Afrikaans were both initially perceived as /l/ in all the varieties of Zulu for example:

iphalishi	<	porridge	(English)
isikolobho	<	skrop (Afrikaans) `part-time job'	

The speakers of the central KwaZulu variety, especially the older generation irrespective of their educational level, have remained with this perception over the years. The /r/ which the Zulu have incorporated as a trill, into their phonetic system, is generally not accepted in this variety. Liquid /l/ generally substitutes the /r/ hence

			Gloss
iray'si	>	ilayisi	"rice"
irobhothi	>	ilobhothi	"robot"
ifriji	>	ifliji	"fridge"
irediyo	>	ilediyo	"radio"
ilori	>	iloli	"lorry"

In Zulu the /r/ presents a problem of analysis since it has not been given one phonemic classification. In some environments it is perceived almost as a voiced fricative while in others, it functions as a liquid. It is in root-initial position where /r/ functions as a voiced fricative for it is extra low-toned and functions as a depressor. In a non-root initial position /r/ functions as a regular liquid, it is voiced and it is a non depressor. Examples:

ikhorela

uMariya

With older Zulus in some of the other varieties except the central KwaZulu, an interesting phenomenon, regarding the sequencing of /l/ and the new phoneme /r/, manifests itself in the following examples.

ilura	>	ruler
ikhorela	>	cholera
UFrola	>	Flora (proper noun).

An educated guess by Khumalo (1987:83) is that the /r/, complex and new, is moved to precede the easier /l/ whenever the two are in adjacent syllables.

/r/ as a trill is found in a few exclamatory or onomatopoeic such as

> phr... representing the flying of a bird
>
> ndr... ndr ... representing the droning of a bus

The /r/ is found in loan words except for onomatopoeic ones (Khumalo, 1987:84).

We agree that the /r/ is a foreign sound that has gradually become an adopted asset in the language as a result of this language coming into contact with other languages especially Afrikaans and English. We realise an instance where languages are in co-operation and a fair amount of /r/ bearing vocabulary items is used in Zulu. Even in Central KwaZulu where we came across some conscious resistance against the /r/, speakers especially among the youth, do spontaneously use this sound, and realising where they are, quickly "correct" to /l/. As more and more of the items whose names have an /r/ sound get used by the speakers of Zulu we strongly believe that even in Central KwaZulu it is going to be a matter of time until it is fully adapted.

New sounds like the /r/ are totally and uncompromisingly resisted. Words with this sound borrowed from English and Afrikaans are modified and adapted to fit the phonology of this variety. The /l/ sound invariably replaces the /r/.
For example:

	<u>Gloss</u>
ilo<u>r</u>i is pronounced ilo<u>l</u>i	lorry
irobhothi is pronounced ilobhothi	robot

Even teachers who readily volunteer their awareness of /r/ as an adopted sound in Zulu, say, **Asikukhulumi lokho lapha** (we do not speak like that here). This statement also implies that the /r/ has not been accepted into the Zulu sound system by the speakers of this variety.

3.1.1.2   The realisation of /h/

The Central KwaZulu variety is characterised by the absence of the velar fricative /<u>h</u>/ even in instances where other varieties use this sound in borrowed words. The sound operating in its place is the glottal /h/ (the velar fricative [x] will be represented with /<u>h</u>/ to avoid confusion with the click /x/ (Khumalo, 1987:107).

honqa	snore	other varieties	<u>h</u>onqa
hudula	drag	"	<u>h</u>udula
hamba	go	"	<u>h</u>amba

The voiceless glottal fricative in foreign roots is sometimes perceived as its voiced counterpart for example:

ihhotela	<	hotel
ihholo	<	hall

3.1.1.3   The realisation of /ng/

In Zulu orthography [ŋ] is represented by the digraph /ng/ which is confusing since the same digraph represents the prenasalised stop [ŋg]. In the central KwaZulu variety, the nasal [ŋ] in addition to its occurrence as the nasal component of the prenasalised velar stop, it is also a dialectal variant of [ŋg].

The [ŋ] in this variety is restricted to the non-root-initial position. Kubheka (1979:107) maintains that the nasal /ŋ/ replaces the prenasalised stop /ŋg/ in non-root-initial position.

Examples (in phonetic script to illuminate the differences).

[ɲijaɓɔːŋa]

[ŋaːɲilɛːlɛ]

Note that no Zulu speaker would ever say [iɲanɛ] because the /ng/ of **ingane** is on the root initial position of the noun **ingane**.

Khumalo (1987:79) claims (in his own words) that when the nasal /ŋ/ occurs on its own, that is, not as a component of a prenasalised consonant, then some rule has applied deleting the consonant component of the prenasalised consonant. In all cases of /ŋ/ occurring on its own, an underlying /ŋg/ can be postulated. The velar nasal /ŋ/ therefore occurs as a nasal component of a `velar' prenasalised stop, and where it occurs on its own, then the velar stop has been deleted. Khumalo concludes by saying that Zulu orthography employs the letter "n" to represent the velar nasal when it is a component of prenasalised stops and prenasalised clicks, for example:

ingane	[iŋga:nɛ]	baby
incēma	[iŋ/ɛ:ma]	grass for making mats

The deletion of high vowel [i] occurs with subject prefix and object prefix singular /ngi/

Examples	ang'namali	[aŋama:li]
	akang'thandi	[akaŋtha:ndi]

3.1.1.4   The realisation of Clicks

The nasal click compounds, /nkc/, /nkq/, /nkc/, as distinct from nasal clicks /nc/, /nq/, /nx/ do not occur in the central KwaZulu variety. Where in other varieties these nasal click compounds occur, in this variety, their place is taken by ordinary nasal clicks. Examples:

CKV	other	Gloss
chinca	chinkca	ooze
gqunqa	gqunkqa	become dark
xhonxa	xhonkxa	prod

3.1.1.5   The operation of Palatization

The phenomenon of `palatalization' in Southern Bantu Languages specifically languages of Nguni and Sotho groups (Doke, 1967:39-40) has evoked considerable discussion in the generative phonological literature (O'Bryan 1974, Stahlke 1976, Herbert 1977, Ohala 1978, Khumalo 1987, Gorecka 1989). While individual languages within this group display variation in the details of the palatalization process, the phenomenon of interest here may be characterised as an alternation between labial prepalatal segments which occur in passive forms of verbs, and in locative derivates of nouns. Previous accounts of this phenomenon have treated this system of alternations as partially or entirely morphological in nature. Beckman (1992:1) argues in her paper that labial palatalization phenomena in Zulu, are to be understood as a result of a phonological restriction on labial sequences in Zulu.

Beckman notices that palatalization of labials in Zulu has been analysed variously in the literature as a process of assimilation to or fusion with a following palatal glide (Stahlke 1976, Ohala 1978, Khumalo 1987), dissimilation from a following labial

segment (Doke 1954, 1967, Gorecka 1989), or as a morphologically termined segment substitution not triggered by phonetic factors in the synchronic grammar (O'Bryan 1974, Herbert 1977).

Beckman argues that the phonological phenomena described as `labial palatalization' in Zulu result from a pervasive dispreference for [labial] sequences in the language; this very general constraint is satisfied in quite different ways. In passive verb forms, a rule of labial dissimilation applies to the leftmost of the two [labial] c-place specifications when the trigger is a [+ sonorant] segment. The passive suffix /-w-/. However denominal locatives, surface prepalatals are derived by [labial]. Pruning, a rule which repairs the labialized labials created in haitus resolution. By assuming that the constraint against labialized labials is relaxed in prefix domain, in accordance with the version of the strong domain hypothesis proposed in Meyers (1991), Beckman can account for the otherwise mysterious contrast in secondary labialization in Zulu (Beckman, 1992:22).

This work as far as palatalization is concerned will be informed by Khumalo (1987) for his explanations and derivations are more insightful as a first language speaker of Zulu. The latest paper by Beckman on this issue also draws a lot from Khumalo (1987).

In this variety palatalization occurs in order to avoid the juxtaposition of incompatible consonants, namely bilabial and alveolar consonants in non-root-initial position, in the

formation of the passives, diminutives and locatives. The following is a list alternating segments in all forms of palatalization as it appears in Khumalo (1987:3).

Bilabial sounds	Alveolar sounds
bh > j	d > j
ph > sh	th > sh
p > tsh	t > tsh
b > tsh	n > ny
m > ny	nd > nj
mb > nj	nt > ntsh
mp > ntsh	

Examples:

(a)   In locative construction

noun   locative

isigubhu   esigujini

iphaphu   ephashini

imbobo   embotsheni

(b)   In diminutive construction

umlomo   umlonyana

uthando   uthanjwana

isigodi   isigojana

uphu<u>th</u>u   uphu<u>sh</u>wana

(c)   In passive construction

hle<u>b</u>a   hle<u>tsh</u>wa

khulu<u>m</u>a   khulu<u>ny</u>wa

In Khumalo (1987:182) it is stressed that in all constructions where palatalization occurs, it does so in non-root-initial position. In the construction of the passive in Zulu, the passive suffix /iw/ is converted into /yw/ in polysyllabic roots. The palatal glide in /yw/ triggers palatalization, and thereafter the glide is deleted by the y-deletion rule. The rule that converts /iw/ to /yw/ is termed passive glide formation rule by Khumalo (1987).

Sample derivation

u-ku-khulum- iw-a

u-ku-khulum-yw-a   passive glide formation

u-ku-khuluny-yw-a   labial palatalization

u-ku-khuluny - w-a   y deletion

"ukukhulunywa"   "to be spoken"

Khumalo elaborates on labial palatalization as a rule that states that a [+Pal] autosegment linked to a glide, spreads to a non-root bilabial stop or nasal. The bilabial

stop or nasal on to which the autosegment spreads, then delinks from its place of articulation tier. If there should be another non-root initial bilabial stop or nasal, then the auto-segment spreads to it also.

Sample derivation

-gubh - iw-

-gubh - yw-   passive glide formation

-guj-yw-   labial palatalization

-guj- w-   Y deletion

-"gujw-"   `dig'   passive

In locative construction, labial palatalization applies in locative bases ending in a labial consonant and a labial vowel. This is the most straight forward case of labial consonant, labial glide dissimilation.

Sample derivation

esigubhu-ini

esigubhuini   syllabification

esigubhwini   vowel/glide realization

esigubhyini   labial dissimilation

esigujyini   labial palatilization

esigujini   Y deletion

esigujini   "gourd (loc)"

In the diminutive construction palatalization applies to both labials and alveolars. Contrary to what Doke (1927:73-4) says with regard to the diminutive suffix in Zulu as /-ana/ Khumalo (1987:178) gives an underlying diminutive suffix as /-yana/. He argues further by saying the palatalization of bilabials in the diminutive does not differ from that applying in the passive and locative, but that of the alveolar will be treated as a different rule termed, alveolar palatalization. This rule does not apply to a root-initial alveolar stop or nasal.

The rule states that the [+Pal] autosegment linked to the initial segment, namely, the glide of the diminutive suffix, spreads to the roof-final alveolar stop or nasal. This rule differs from labial palatalization in two respects namely:

(a)   it applies to alveolar stops and nasals.

(b)   it applies to root-final segments only not to other non-root-initial segments also.

If the final vowel of a noun that takes a diminutive suffix is [+bk] it is realized as a glide, otherwise it deletes, for examples:

	imoto	imotshwana
	isipunu	isipunywana
but	isiketi	isiketshana

Sample derivation

uphuthu

uphuthuyana	Diminutive delink
uphuthwanyana	Vowel/glide realization
uphushwyana	Alvelar palatalization
uphushwana	Y-deletion
uphushwana	"Stiff porridge" (dim.)

3.1.1.6   Other markers of this variety

3.1.1.6.1   The realisation of [k'] and [k]

The Central KwaZulu variety restricts the occurrence of [k'] to root initial position. Ejection according to Khumalo (1987:85) is a phonetic feature supplied by a late rule in the language hence our phonetic presentation of the [k'] ejective k. In all varieties, root initial [k'] may recur. Examples:

ukuk'ak'a	to surround
ukuk'ek'ela	to walk sideways

Khumalo (1987:86-87) has proved that it is all the [-sonorant] velar stops, that is, the ejective, the aspirated and the depressor, that are restricted to root initial position, unless recurring. It is then the lenis voiced /k/ that occurs in the non-root-initial environments.

There is a morpheme structure condition stipulating this distributional fact in the form of a negative condition termed the Velar Constraint. This constraint bars a non-sonorant velar stop from occurring non-root-initially, unless the root-initial syllable incorporates another velar stop. Since the condition is iterative, it would admit the following examples:

isikhakha   leather skirt

ukuk'ik'iza   to ululate

By restricting the feature [-son], the velar constraint, permits the lenis-voiced velar stop /k/ to occur non-root-initially (it is specified [+son]) without restriction. Yet this stop may only occur morpheme-initially with monosyllabic forms. This is as a result of the Voiced Velar Constraint which bars the root initial occurrence of the voiced velar stop /k/, where the root is dissyllabic or longer. This accounts for the occurrence of /ke/ of the verbal root as in -

woza-ke

hamba-ke

khulumani-ke

It is also worth noting that ejective stops are barred from occurring in monosyllabic roots and in affixes (Khumalo, 1987:84-87).

3.1.2.   The KwaZulu Coast Variety

This variety is spoken within an area that stretches from uMkhuze, spreads across the Thukela into Natal and ends at about the vicinity of the uMdloti River mouth. On the Natal side it covers the lower Thukela district including Stanger and Maphumulo. It is very strong in Glendale and Mthandeni areas. The Qwabes are found in Dalton and the traces of Thefula are noticeable to this day. These traces of Thefula are the very characteristics that set this variety apart from the Central KwaZulu variety. Otherwise a large number of qualities are shared by the two varieties. Contrary to the geographical label, this variety is not restricted to Zululand in its distribution.

We would also like to add that, perhaps with the dominance of the neighbouring Central KwaZulu variety, Thefula has been toned down, but not to an extent that it is not noticeable. There is a sizable number of words in which /l/ changes /y/ which is what happens in Thefula, for instance:

	CKV (dim)		KCV (dim)
imali	imadlana	>	imayana
isikhala	isikhadlana	>	isikhayana
ingane endala	endadlana	>	endayana

When we were conducting fieldwork in this area, we came across speakers who

invariably used a /y/ sound where other varieties used the /l/ sound. Contrary to the claim by Kubheka (1979:12) that Thefula is dead or dying, there is proof that it still exists. This is the beauty of doing field research; and not sucking data from one's thumb. For example Kubheka says, the change of /l/ to /y/ has virtually disappeared in everyday speech. We found it very pronounced not only in vocabulary, but also in everyday speech especially in the speech of the non-school-going sector of the community, for example:

	KCV	Gloss
indali	indayi	"sale"
imali	imayi	"money"
ukulala	ukuyaya	"to sleep"

In the formation of diminutive in nouns with /l/ in their final syllable, this variety does not change the /l/ into /dl/.

KCV	Diminutive	Gloss
indali indayi	indayana	sale
ikhala ikhaya	ikhayana	nose
imali imayi	imayana	money

Sometimes in the diminutive forms the /l/ surfaces, for example:

indayi	>	indalana
imayi	>	imalana
ikhaya	>	ikhalana

3.1.2.1   The realization of /r/

The /r/ is used interchangeably with /l/ in adopted words from other languages unlike in the Central KwaZulu variety, where the /r/ is consciously resisted. In the KwaZulu coast variety is used including the hypercorrective forms, for instance, the word `lorry' has the following versions:

				Gloss
ilori	iroli	irori	iloli	lorry
irayisi			ilayisi	rice
iringi			ilingi	ring
uRozi			ULozi	Rose (Proper Noun)

There is also an abundance of transferring the /r/ to adopted words with an /l/ sound, for example:

			Gloss
upholishi	>	uphorishi	polish

ipho<u>l</u>isi   >   ipho<u>r</u>isi   policy

3.1.2.2   The realisation of /h/

The KwaZulu Coast variety is characterised by the absence of the velar fricative /<u>h</u>/

even in instances where other varieties use this sound in borrowed words.   The sound

operating in its place is the glottal /h/ (the velar fricative [x] will be represented with

/<u>h</u>/ to avoid confusion with the click /x/ (Khumalo, 1987: 107).

honqa	snore	other varieties	<u>h</u>onqa
hudula	drag	"	<u>h</u>udula
hamba	go	"	<u>h</u>amba

The voiceless glottal fricative in foreign roots is sometimes perceived as its voiced

counterpart for example:

ihhotela   <   hotel

ihholo   <   hall

3.1.2.3   The realisation of /ng/

The subject prefix singular /ng/ comes out as a homorganic nasal. Labial sounds are preceded by a labial nasal, alveolar sounds are preceded by an alveolar nasal and velar sounds are preceded by velar nasal.

KCV	other varieties
M̲funa imayi	N̲g̲ifuna imali
A̲n̲thandi ukuyaya emini	a̲n̲g̲it̲h̲andi ukulala emini

In other positions other than that of the subject prefix the velar nasal /ŋ/ is used freely. Example:

[thɛŋa]	thenga
[ujaŋibɔːna]	uyangibona

3.1.2.4   The realisation of clicks

Nasal click compounds /nkc/, /nkq/ and /nkx/ are found only on the final syllable of those words with nasal clicks in this position, for example:

			Gloss
chinca	>	chinkca	ooze
gqunqa	>	gqunkqa	become dark
xhonxa	>	xhonkxa	prod

Since this occurs mostly on the Natal side of this area, the influence comes from the south.

3.1.2.5   The operation of Palatalization

Palatalized forms are used along side with unpalatalized ones, for instance,in the construction of the passive, the second form defies all rules of palatalization.

hlupha	>	hlushwa	or	hluphwa
hlaba	>	hlatshwa	or	hlabwa
bhema	>	bhenywa	or	bhemwa

diminutive construction

intaba	>	intatshana	or	intabana
inkomo	>	inkonyana	or	inkomana
umpuphu	>	impushana	or	impuphana

locative construction

umlomo	>	emlonyeni	or	emlomeni
impuphu	>	empushini	or	empuphini

3.1.2.6   Other markers of this variety

3.1.2.6.1   The realisation of [k'] and [k]

The KwaZulu Coast variety restricts the occurrence of [k'] to root initial position.

Ejection according to Khumalo (1987:85) is a phonetic feature supplied by a late rule in the language hence our phonetic presentation of the [k'] ejective k. In all varieties, root initial [k'] may recur. Examples:

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Ukuk'ek'ela	to walk sideways

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There is a morpheme structure condition stipulating this distributional fact in the form of a negative condition termed the Velar Constraint. This constraint bars a non-sonorant velar stop from occurring non-root-initially, unless the root-initial syllable incorporates another velar stop. Since the condition is iterative, it would admit the following examples:

Isikhakha	leather skirt
ukuk'ik'iza	to ululate

By restricting the feature [-son], the velar constraint, permits the lenis-voiced velar stop /k/ to occur non-root-initially (it is specified [+son]) without restriction. Yet this stop may only occur morpheme-initally with monosyllabic forms. This is as a result

of the Voiced Velar Constraint which bars the root initial occurrence of the voiced velar stop /k/, where the root is dissyllabic or longer. This accounts for the occurrence of /ke/ of the verbal root as in -

woza-ke

hamba-ke

khulumani-ke

It is also worth noting that ejective stops are barred from occurring in monosyllabic roots and in affixes (Khumalo, 1987: 84-87).

3.1.3.   The Natal Coast Variety (NCV)

This variety is spoken within the area surrounding Durban stretching from south of Umdloti River to Ndwedwe, Inanda, the Valley of Thousand hills (the Nyuswa area), Mngeni valley up to south of Pietermaritzburg, Mfume, Ilovu up to the mouth of uMkhomazi River.

Kubeka (1979:115) maintains that the linguistic substratum of this variety is Lala and that the most striking characteristics of Lala have disappeared. On the contrary we found in our field-work that it is these very Lala characteristics that distinguish this variety from others.

3.1.3.1   The realisation of /r/

The sounds /r/ and /l/ occur interchangeably in this variety. The industrial complexes of Durban, Pinetown, Pietermaritzburg expose the speakers to a multitude of foreign words with the sound /r/. This area also has a high concentration of educational institutions and the /r/ has been fully adopted even in the primary schools. In some primary schools, it was quite interesting to hear some respondents `correcting' themselves in the pronunciation of some words with /r/. For instance a pupil would start by identifying a lorry as **iloli** and immediately change to **ilori**. In mission stations like Adams many respondents went as far as saying that nobody used the forms with /l/ any more. Of course this was proved incorrect as we moved away from these centres of learning and Christian religion. Even in the very rural settings, the influence of weekend visits by heads and sons of families out in the country is obvious. We heard utterances like

> Angifuni ukudla <u>irayisi</u> noma ngisekhaya.
>
> Leyo <u>radiyo</u> ibanga umsindo.

In most cases a respondent would use the /r/ and /l/ interchangeably and not even flinch. For example:

> ULozi ufuna iringi.
>
> URozi ufuna ilingi.

Kubheka (1979:115) attributes this treatment of the /r/ in this area to the propagation of standardised Zulu that is taught in schools and colleges of education abundant in this area.

3.1.3.2   The realisation of /h/

The glottal fricative /h/ is more commonly heard than the velar fricative /h̲/ for example:

Natal Coast Variety		Gloss
honqa	is heard more than h̲onqa	snore
hudula	h̲udula	drag
hafa	h̲afa	scold

3.1.3.3   The realisation of /ng/

From the Natal Coast area, right down to Lower Natal Coast, there is a noticeable absence of the velar nasal /ŋ/. Where the Central KwaZulu Variety uses the velar nasal /ŋ/, this variety uses the nasal compound /ng/ even in the first person singular prefix. For example

Natal Coast Variety	Central KwaZulu
ngikhona	[ŋikhɔna]
[ŋgikhɔna]	

The /ng/ is so pronounced that speakers of the central KwaZulu variety notice this difference very quickly in the same manner that the speakers of this variety pick up the difference of the velar /ŋ/ by the former, hence they call one another **abasezansi** and **abasenhla** respectively.

3.1.3.4   The realisation of clicks

Here we found a peculiarity of the interchange of click sounds especially dental and palatal and also dental and lateral. In the earlier studies the Ngcolosi and the Cele were said to be the groups that excelled in this practice (cf Kubeka, 1979:117). This interchange we found to be generally practised by the speakers who never went to school. For an outsider, this practice tends to be confusing since this interchange, does, in some instances, interfere with meaning and the context of utterances.

Examples:

			Gloss
cela	>	qela	make a request
xoxa	>	coca	narrate
qina	>	cina	hard
cula	>	qula	sing
qhina	>	china	plait hair

Msimang (1989) gives this treatment of clicks as a feature of Tekela- Nguni and he also groups the Lala under Tekela. We conclude from our fieldwork that these are some of the characteristics of Lala that are visibly operative. In the lower classes in the out lying districts, teachers need to employ all their teaching skills and techniques, to guide the pupils in unlearning these forms.

For instance:

Ngigela ukuyoqhama   May I go to the toilet

Standardised Zulu does not recognise these forms.

Nasal click compounds are also fairly prominent in this variety /nkc/, /nkq/ and /nkx/ for nasal clicks /nc/, /nq/ and /nx/ in non-root-initial position, for example,

			Gloss
chonca	>	chonkca	grill
gqanqula	>	gqankqula	leap and bound
nxenxa	>	nxenkxa	coax

3.1.3.5   The operation of Palatalization

Labial palatalization in the formation of passive verbs, locatives and dimunitives is not a regular feature in this variety. Sounds which are considered incompatible in KwaZulu varieties like labials followed by /w/ occur in abundance in the Natal Coast variety of

Zulu. Kubheka (1979:119) attributes this to the latent influence of Lala, for instance, in the formation of passive verbs.

Examples:

hlupha	>	hluphwa
bhema	>	bhemwa

In the formation of locatives.

Examples:	isigubhu	>	esigubhwini
	umlomo	>	emlomweni

In the formation of diminutives.

Examples	isigubhu	>	isigubhwana
	umlomo	>	umlomwana

3.1.4.   The Lower Natal Coast Variety (LNCV)

This variety has a lot of features in common with the Natal Coast Variety. It spreads from South of UMkhomazi River, stretching down the coast until it reaches UMzimkhulu. The following districts are incorporated within this area: Umzinto, Umthwalume, Port-Shepstone, Umzumbe and Harding. Like the Natal Coast Variety, this area is an overlay of Lala.

3.1.4.1   The realisation of /r/

The /r/ sound in adopted words is commonly used by speakers who have been to school and those who have been exposed to urban environments. Those who have not been exposed to formal schooling tend to use the /l/ instead of /r/.

Examples:

	Gloss
irabha / ilabha	rubber
uFlorence / uFlolence	proper noun

3.1.4.2   The realisation of /h/

The glottal /h/ occurs as an allophone of velar fricative /h̲/.

	Gloss
hona or h̲ona	snore
hudula or h̲udula	drag
ihawu or ih̲awu	shield

There is also a noticeable substitution of /y/ for /h/ and /hh/ in a number of words.

Examples:

			Gloss
ihembe	>	iyembe	shirt
eHarding	>	eYadini	in Harding

amahhashi   >   amayashi   horses

Our interest was drawn by the fact that we realised that this was not a regular feature and some respondents were adamant that they used /h/ instead of /y/ especially on the words **ihembe** and **ihhashi.**

3.1.4.3   The realisation of /ng/

The nasal compound /ng/ is the feature that is freely used in this area instead of the velar nasal /ŋ /. Even the first person singular subject prefix for many speakers is /ngi/ in full, which gives the speech of this community a unique character.

Examples:

Ngingangena?   as opposed to   [ŋŋaŋgɛna] (CZV)

Angingabazi   [aŋŋgaɓazi] (CZV)

3.1.4.4   The realisation of clicks

Clicks that are found in this area are the same as those we discussed under the Natal Coast variety and their treatment or usage is the same, (cf paragraph under NCV).

3.1.4.5   The operation of Palatalization

The absence of palatalization is even more prominent than in the Natal Coast variety. This phenomenon is seriously understood as a feature of `isiZulu sasesikoleni' (school Zulu) especially by speakers who have never been to school. In the lower classes, teachers say this feature is a teacher's nightmare. Pupils take long to internalise the palatal sounds of standardized Zulu. A lot of unpleasantness arises when pupils go to an extent of writing their everyday unpalatalised form like:

hluphwa or hluphiwa	(passive)
esigubhwini or esigubhini	(locative)
isigubhwana or isigubhana	(diminutive)

The pronunciation of /zi/ as a plural noun prefix of classes 8, 10 and 11 as well as their subject prefix is another striking feature of this variety. It comes out as /yi/ a feature associated with Thefuya.

Examples:

CKV	Izingane zikhuluma izilimi eziningi
LNCV	Iyingane yikhuluma iyilimi eyiningi

3.1.4.6   Other markers of this variety

3.1.4.6.1   The realisation of /kh/

The aspirated velar plosive /kh/ of the class 15/17 in the formation of absolute pronouns and demonstrative pronouns does not operate in this variety. Speakers of this variety use either the lenis or the fortis velar explosive.

Examples:

khona	>	/kona/	or	/<u>k</u>ona/
lokhu	>	/loku/	or	/lo<u>k</u>u/

3.1.4.6.2   The dentalization of alveolar plosives

This is another prominent feature of this variety. This is also attributed to the influence of Lala. Alveolar plosives /d/ and /t/ are pronounced

as interdental sounds /d/ and /t/. Nasal compounds based on these plosives are also dentalised.

tetema	>	tetema
dudula	>	dudula

Nasal compounds

ndonda	>	ndonda
ntanta	>	ntanta

3.1.5.   The South West Natal Variety (SWNV)

It is spoken west of the Natal Coast variety, east of the UKhahlamba range. This area includes the following districts Ixobho, the Nhlangwini area of Highflats, Richmond, Bulwer, Underberg, Pholela, Howick. This area was once called no-mans-land since it used to be a sanctuary for a large number of fugitives, for example, the Nhlangwini (Kubheka, 1979:99). Kubheka, almost 8 years ago maintained that isiBhaca and isiNhlangwini were no longer spoken then, but we found that they are still very much alive. What is glaringly obvious about them is that they are not documented, and are influenced to a greater extent by Zulu and Xhosa. Msimang (1989) and Zungu (1989) classify isiNhlangwini under Tekela dialects of Nguni. Zungu (1989:3) singles out an outstanding difference between Zulu and isiNhlangwini namely that isiNhlangwini uses a /t/ sound where Zulu uses a /z/ sounds. For example, **izingane > itingane.**

3.1.5.1   The realisation of /r/

The /r/ is treated like in other varieties of Zulu where /l/ is used as its allophone, for example:

	Gloss
ireyiza or ileza	razor blade
iringi or ilingi	ring

3.1.5.2 The realisation of /h/

The glottal fricative /h/ is found as an allophone of the velar fricative /h̲/ in a number

 of words.

Examples:

			Gloss
hona	or	h̲ona	snore
huba	or	h̲uba	chant
amahawu	or	amah̲awu	shields

There is an added feature on the glottal /h/ and the velar fricative /h̲/ in this variety,

namely the third variant /kh/ in a number of words.

Examples:

					Gloss
hamba	or	h̲amba	or	khamba	walk
uheshane	or	uh̲etshane	or	ukhetshane	hawk
hebeza	or	h̲ebeta	or	khebeta	scare off
isihambi	or	isih̲ambi	or	isikhambi	traveller

3.1.5.3 The realisation of /ng/

The nasal compound /ng/ is as prominent as in the Lower Natal Coast variety. In the

speech of a number of speakers the /ng/ is interchangeable with /nd/ especially as a subject prefix, first person singular.

Examples:

/ngangingazi/ or /ndandingazi/

/ngingangena/ or /ndingangena/

The use of a velar nasal /ŋ/ raises eyebrows and a speaker is immediately labelled as from Kwelasenhla, meaning from Central KwaZulu.

3.1.5.4 The realisation of Clicks

Clicks that are found in this area are the same as those we discussed under tha Natal Coast variety and their treatment and usage is the same, (cf paragraph under NCV).

3.1.5.5 The operation of Palatalization

Speakeers in this area use forms as those used by speakers in the Lower Natal Coast and Natal Coast. (Cf. The operation of palatalization in the LNCV & NCV).

3.1.5.6   Other markers of this variety

3.1.5.6.1   The pronunciation of /z/

We did not discuss this sound in the other varieties because we did not come across any striking differences but in this variety, many speakers used /z/ and /t/ interchangeably. A striking observation was that although in the same utterance a speaker could use words interchanging these sounds, in nouns, the /t/ version in most cases is without a pre-prefix.

Examples:

izinja	zilume	izimbuzi
tinja	tilume	timbuti

This is attributed to the influence of isiNhlangwini.

Other speakers interchange the /z/ sound with the /j/ in some words.

				Gloss
/zaca/	/jaca/			get thin
/zwiba/	/jwiba/	or	/shwiba/	swing
/isizumba/	/isijumba/			package
ngedwa /zwi/	/jwi/	or	/shwi/	all alone
/zuba/	/jwiba/			jump

/sh/ is sometimes interchangeable with /j/ in words with /zw/. In a limited but very

constant number of words /zw/ is represented by /v/, a feature brought about by the influence of isiBhaca.

/zwela/	>	/vela/
/ukuzwa/	>	/ukuva/
/izwe/	>	/ive/
/izwi/	>	/ivi/
/zwakala/	>	/vakala/
/isizwe/	>	/isive/

3.1.5.6.2   The pronounciation of /tʃh/

Another feature in the speech of many people within this area is the use of affricate /tʃh/ for the fricative /ʃ/. This is obviously an influence of Xhosa. To this day the Xhosa call amaZulu, amaTshaka a derivative from Shaka their King.

Examples:

			Gloss
Shesha	>	/tʃhetʃha/	hurry
Yisho	>	/yitʃho/	say
Shona	>	/tʃhona/	die
Sheshisa	>	/tʃhetʃhisa/	make haste

3.1.6. The Northern Natal Variety (NNV)

This area was originally settled by abaseMbo. Oral traditional narratives refer to this variety as **ulimi lwaseMaSwazini** despite the fact that this is taken as a variety of Zulu not Swazi. It is spoken north of the South West Natal variety area and to the north of the Central KwaZulu variety area. The following districts fall within this area in the north, Utrecht, Newcastle, Ladysmith, Bergville area in the west. Weenen, Msinga, Greytown in the south. To the west there is Escourt and Mooi River the Amahlubi area.

This area falls under the Mbo-Tekela group of languages. The Tekela qualities are not very prominent, and as a result, the speech of the people is taken now as a variety of Zulu rather than of the Tekela languages.

3.1.6.1 The realisation of /r/

Like in a number of varieties in Zulu the /r/ is mainly found in borrowed words (Afrikaans and English) and in most cases the /l/ is used as its allophone. In addition to this, the /r/ is found in a number of expressions that have no origins in Zulu. For instance:

<u>Gloss</u>

rwe!   bright red

purutshu!   escaping hurriedly through a small

                       opening

It is also found in a number of other words whose origin we could not trace.

	<u>Gloss</u>
umkakarambana	a thin tiny person
amarephurephu	rags, tatters
imburunga	round object
indumburuzi	peach stone

In all the other varieties, where this variety uses /r/ in words above, they use /l/.

	<u>Gloss</u>
amalephulephu	rags, tatters
imbulunga	round object
indumbuluzi	peach stone

Kubheka (1979) explains this variety's freedom with the /r/ as the result of the influence exerted by the pockets of Sotho found within this region. He also says a number of abaMbo crossed the Drakensberg and mixed with the Sotho. To us, the above words with /r/ do not sound like Sotho. We attribute the use of the /r/ sound

to stylistic innovation within this variety.

3.1.6.2 The realisation of /h/

There is free variation of the velar /h̲/ and the glottal /h/ in certain words.

Examples:

			Gloss
hamba	or	h̲amba	walk
hola	or	h̲ola	get paid
amahawu	or	amah̲awu	shields

The voiced velar /h̲h̲/ is a unique feature of this variety in some words where the speakers of other varieties use the voiced glottal /hh/.

	Gloss
h̲h̲ah̲h̲ama	growl
ih̲h̲ashi	horse

3.1.6.3 The realisation of /ng/

Speakers of this variety use the velar nasal /ŋ/ in the first person singular prefix and other environments.

Examples:

	NNV	Gloss
Ngingumfundi	ŋiŋumfundi	I'm a student
Ngingena ngo 8	ŋiŋgɛna ŋgɔ8	I start work at 8

3.1.6.4 The realisation of clicks

Like the variety which obtains in the Lower Natal Coast and Natal-Easter/Cape border regions, here we also find voiced nasal clicks where other varieties use plain nasal clicks.

Examples:

			Gloss
ingqama	for	inqama	ram
ingqina	for	inqina	lower limb of animal
umngcele	for	umncele	boundary

Voiced clicks are used where other varieties use ordinary clicks.

			Gloss
igceke	for	iceke	court yard
igxolo	for	ixolo	bark of tree

3.1.6.5   The operation of palatalization

Palatal sounds as found in the Central KwaZulu variety obtain in this region. In the
formation of locatives diminutives and passives, bilabial sounds change as indicated
in page 87 of this work. Examples:

			Gloss
hlupha	>	hlushwa	(passive
ithumbu	>	ethunjini	(locative)
isigubhu	>	isigujana	(diminutive)

Alveolar sounds in the formation of diminutives are also similar to those of Central
KwaZulu variety.

Examples: Gloss

isikhathi	>	isikhashana	(diminutive)
ikati	>	ikatshana	(diminutive)
idada	>	idajana	

3.1.6.6   Other markers of this variety

3.1.6.6.1   The realization of /k/ and /kh/

The lenis /k/ is used in demonstrative of classes 15 and 17 and absolute pronoun of
the same classes.

Examples:

/loku/ /loko/ /lokuya/   demonstrative

/kona/   pronoun

3.1.6.6.2   The sound /ts/

Of interest is the preference of the speakers of this variety to us /ts/ where other varieties employ the sound /tsh/. For example:

			<u>Gloss</u>
itshako	>	itsako	gap between upper incissors
itsheketshe	>	itseketse	ant
itshwele	>	itswele	chick
isitshwebhu	>	isitswebhu	whip
tshaza	>	tsaza	squirt out

3.1.7.   The Natal-Swaziland Border Variety (NSBV)

Ngubane (1991) calls this variety, the Ngwavuma dialect indicative of the area where it is spoken.

There are 3 varieties that are spoken in this area, namely isiTembe, isiGonde and the isiNgwavuma varieties. IsiTembe is highly influenced by isiThonga from Southern

Mozambique. Isi-Ngwavuma has a strong influence of isiSwazi and isiGonde shows an influence of Lala.

The Tembe variety is spoken in the KwaNgwanase area which borders on Mozambique. The contact between the Thonga/Tekela from Maputoland and the Zunda speaking clans like the Ntuli, Gumede, Mntambo resulted in an emergence of a Zunda variety. Ngubane (1991:3) classifies isiTembe as a variety of Zulu. He says womenfolk in this area still tekela but the men speak Zulu, to the extent that it is not uncommon to find men addressing women in Zulu and the women responding in isiTembe.

Webster (1991:8) says men find the Zulu portrayal to be more advantageous since chances of finding employment are better if a person is Zulu. Men even go as far as changing their surname from Tembe to Mthembu which is Zulu. Zulu is also used as a language of prestige by those Tembes who would like to be identified as Zulu. Despite all the claims that it is a variety of Zulu, some of the vocabulary used here is very strange; for instance:

		Gloss
impande (Zulu)	umuqu (Tembe)	root
ndiza (Zulu)	punda (Tembe)	fly

The IsiGonde variety is spoken along the Coast. Though it is said to be a variety of

Zulu, we could hardly follow in other conversations. What we have said with regard to isiTembe also holds for this variety.

For Example:

		Gloss
amatimba (Gonde)	ummbila (Zulu)	mealies
umkwenyana (Gonde)	umntwana (Zulu)	child

IsiGonde is spoken on the shores of Lake Sibhayi in the areas of Mabibi and Chithumuzi, and also in Kosi Bay in the areas of KwaBhunga and Esicewini.

Data from Tembe and Gonde will not be thoroughly analysed in this work due to communication breakdown which occurred repeatedly during our fieldwork. Despite the claim by the speakers of isiGonde and isiTembe that. _Thina siZulu_!!!, thorough research is still to be done on them to establish their link and relationship with Zulu, language. We were first struck by the persistant declaration that _Thina siZulu_ instead of Thina singuZulu/singamaZulu or siwuZulu. We were tempted to disown them but we decided to take a scholarly approach to this puzzle, hence our recommendation of indepth research.

The IsiNgwavuma variety is said to be a mixture of Swazi and Zulu. Many speakers of this variety have a double identity. They are politically Zulu and culturally Swazi. The Mngomezulu clan for example, is divided into two. One section falls under

Swaziland and the other lives in South Africa. IsiNgwavuma is spoken in the following areas Ekuhlehleni, Lundini, Machobeni, Ntabayengwe, Sihlangwini, Ophondweni. In our fieldwork we dealt more with this group and most of our data is drawn from it.

3.1.7.1 The realisation of /r/

The /r/ has been adopted as a voiced alveolar rolled consonant and is found in adopted words. The /l/ sound is used as its allophone.

irula	or	ilula
irediyo	or	ilediyo
irandi	or	ilandi

3.1.7.2 The realisation of /h/

There is a velar fricative /h̲/ which is used as an alternative for the glottal fricative /h/ for example:

hola or h̲ola	get paid
litoho or litoh̲o	temporary job
liholo or lih̲olo	wages

3.1.7.3 The realisation of /ng/

A voiced velar nasal is used, which in some words is used as an alternative for the nasal compound /ng/ where it is not in root initial position.

Example:

nangu	or	[naŋgu]
nango	or	[naŋgu]

3.1.7.4   The realisation of Clicks

Ngwavuma radical clicks /c/ and /q/ are used interchangeably in speech since no difference in meaning is carried by these clicks:

Examples:

			Gloss
qeda	or	ceda	finish
qala	or	cala	start
qoqa	or	coca	tidy up
qhuqha	or	chucha	shiver
inqola	or	incola	wagon
kugqoka	or	kugcoka	to wear

3.1.7.5 The operation of Palatalization

The occurrence oa palatalization in this area is the same as that of the Northern Natal Variety and has a touch of Swazi influence as well.

Example:

Zulu		Swazi
hlupha > hlushwa		tingane > tinganyana
isigubhu > esigujini		

3.1.7.6 Other markers of this variety

3.1.7.6.1 The realization of /t/ and /z/

Whereas with Swazi it is a clear case that the Zunda /z/ sound is a /t/ sound, in Ngwavuma there is no such consistency. Sometimes the voiceless ejective alveolar explosive /t/ takes the place of the voiced alveolar fricative /z/, sometimes not.

Examples:

			Gloss
ingati	or	ligazi	blood
inhlanti	or	inhlanzi	fish
ndiza	or	ndita	fly
luzipho	or	lutipho	nail
nkanyeti	or	tinkanyezi	stars

3.1.7.6.2   The realisation of /d/ and /dz/

Here too there is no consistency. These sounds are used inter-changeably.

Examples:

			Gloss
lidadza	lidada	lidzadza	duck
indodza	indoda	indzodza	man

3.1.7.6.3   The realisation of /th/ and /ts/

We found that these two sounds are also used interchangeably in the isiNgwavuma variety.

Examples:

			Gloss
thatha	or	thatsa	take
thandza	or	tsanda	love
bathi	or	batsi	they say
kithi	or	kitsi	at our place
natha	or	natsa	drink

3.1.8.   The Natal East Cape Border Variety (NECBV)

This variety is spoken within the area South of Harding. It borders on a predominantly Mpondo speaking area. Like in most border areas, languages in contact, in some instances co-operate and in others, they conflict, depending on the situations under which they operate. For example, languages conflict when they compete for recognition or use in the same domain(s) such as in education, media and everyday communication. As a political Issue, language conflict brings about feelings of loyalty and even patriotism.

In this area the Mbutho and Machi clans are found in large numbers and their speech is marked by what Kubheka (1979:97) calls features which are suspiciously unZulu and van Warmelo attributes these features to the existence of Bhaca clans along the Ifafa River stretching to the south. IsiXolo and isiZosha are spoken here.

3.1.8.1   The realisation of /r/

This sound is mostly found in adopted words and the tendency amongst the sector of the community which never went to school, is to replace it with an /l/ sound.

Examples:

			Gloss
irediyo	or	ilediyo	radio
iredo	or	iledo	radio
iringi	or	ilingi	ring
irisithi	or	ilisidi	receipt

Very common in this area especially is the replacement of /r/ in words from English and Afrikaans, with an /l/ sound.

speld	>	isiperede	Afrikaans
kalkoen	>	igarikuni	Afrikaans
lace	>	ureyisi	English
elastic	>	irastiki	English
pillow	>	iphiro	English

3.1.8.2   The realisation of /h/

This variety uses a velar fricative /h/ instead of the glottal fricative /h/.

	Gloss
ihawu	shield
hela	cut grass
ihobhe	dove
umholo	wages

hamba, we noticed is pronounced as ḥamba or khamba.

3.1.8.3   The realisation of /ng/

The first person singular subject and object prefixes are realized as /ngi/, /ndi/ or /ndri/. The /ngi/ is obviously Zulu influence of the lower Natal coast variety. The /ndi/ is obviously Xhosa and the /ndri/ is said to be an influence of Bhaca but we could not trace it to any of the other Tekela varieties. The Baca that are in the border region do use the subject/object prefixes singular /ndri/ and /ndi/.

Example:

        ngiyadla   or   ndiyadla/tya or   ndriyadla/tya

In some environments /ng/ is used interchangeably with /nd/.

For example:

        ngingedwa or   ndingedwa   or   ngindedwa or   ndrindedwa

Children on the Natal side of the border learn Zulu at school and this mixture of languages is every Zulu teacher's nightmare especially in the lower classes in this area. On the former Transkei side of the border Xhosa teachers experience the same.

3.1.8.4   The realisation of Clicks

The full complement of click sound found in the Zulu language is found in this variety. Among speakers who have never attended school, there is a tendency to interchange the clicks, the dental and the palatal, and the dental and the lateral.

cela	as	qela
cabanga	as	qabanga
qinisa	as	cinisa
qoma	as	coma
xova	as	cova
xoxa	as	coca

In the non-root initial position of a word nasal click compounds /nkc/, /nkq/ and /nkq/, an obvious influence of Xhosa, are used instead of the Zulu nasal clicks /nc/, /nq/ and /nx/.

Examples:

	Gloss
xhonkxa	prod
gqunkqa	become angry
gxankxa	sew in hem stitch
gqinkqa	beat firm

3.1.8.5   The operation of Palatalization

This is not a common feature in the formation of diminutives, passives and locatives. Sounds which are said to be incompatible in the eyes of linguists, are juxtaposed in every day speech amongst the people in this region.

Examples:

				Gloss
umlomo	umlomana	or	umlomwana	(diminutive) mouth
intambo	intambana	or	intambwana	(diminutive) (rope)
luma	lumwa	or	lumiwa	(passive) bite
hlupha	hluphwa	or	hluphiwa	(passive) worry

Some speakers of this variety do palatalize, but they also use these unpalatalized forms interchangeably.

3.1.8.6   Other markers of this variety

3.1.8.6.1   The pronounciation of /sh/

The affricate /tʃh'/ sound (not to be confused with /ts/ sound as in **utshani** in Zulu), is very noticeable, as interchanged with /sh/..

The Xhosa, Bhaca, Nhlangwini influence on this variety becomes very apparent through the use of this sound, interchanged with a fricative /ʃ/ used by the majority of speakers of the other Zulu varieties.

Examples:

	Gloss
tshaya for shaya	bit up
tshisa for shisa	be hot
yitsho for yisho	say
tshetsha for shesha	hurry

3.1.9.   The Urban Variety (UV)

The urban communities which are identified to represent this variety are Umlazi Township in KwaZulu-Natal and Daveyton in Gauteng.

Speakers of Zulu in the metropolis area of Durban move from one variety to the other with ease, especially varieties that are on the Natal part of this province. Illustrative of the fact that Durban is on the Southern coast of Natal, is the predominance of the Lower Natal coast and the Natal-East Cape border varieties. Many inhabitants of Umlazi New Township and other Townships in the Durban area come from surrounding rural areas. For example we more often came across speakers using:

/ngikhona/ more than [ŋikhɔna]

/ehhe/ more than /yebo/

in affirming something.

Being in one locality as next-door neighbours in a township setting (closely built houses), boarding the same trains and buses, working in factories in the same area, breakdown the linguistic barriers among the speakers of Zulu who originally came from far and wide. Some speakers who are born and bred in urban areas even dissociate themselves from varieties that are spoken outside their urban community. Although there are speakers of other indigenous languages like Sotho, Swazi, Xhosa in and around the Durban area, their presence has not had much influence. What is noticeable is Zulu spoken with different accents of Xhosa, Sotho or Swazi.

The Gauteng Urban Variety is very different from the Durban one. Distance and the setting far away from the predominantly Zulu speaking KwaZulu Natal is one of the factors that contribute towards the major differences. Daveyton Township in Gauteng is populated by speakers of several indigenous languages, namely Sotho, Tswana, Pedi, Tsonga, Venda, Xhosa, Swazi, Ndebele and Zulu. During the apartheid era, the township was divided along ethnic lines for instance the Tsonga were allocated houses in the Tsonga section, Zulu in Zulu section and so on.

In the post apartheid era, new sections build within this township, there are no lines of demarcation.

Lines of dermacation between sections never worked. People work in the same factories, worship in the same churches, attend the same funerals, weddings and many other activities where they found themselves communicating with one another. Due to this diversity of languages, the resultant form of communicative language is a mixture of all these languages. For those born and bred in Daveyton we found their Zulu full of noticeable influences from other languages. Anyone with a purist approach to language study will find it difficult to accept the Zulu that is spoken here.

Examples:

	Gloss	
ngiyezwa		(Zulu)
ngiyeva	I understand	(mixture of Zulu and Xhosa)
ndiyezwa	I understand	(mixture of Xhosa and Zulu)
siyophila	we are going to peel vegetables	(Zulu and English)
siyokera	we are going to peel vegetables	(Zulu and Afrikaans
siyocwecwa	we are going to peel vegetables	(Zulu)

We also found special urban varieties that are used by youth to distinguish themselves from the rest of the community. These will be dealt with in Chapter 4 under social factors. These varieties are **isithamundo** in Umlazi and **is'camtho** in Daveyton.

3.2. The Morphological Level

On this level we will only take those grammatical characteristics that we did not touch on in anyway on the discussion at the phonological level. The subsections to be discussed under this level include the Noun and the Demonstrative.

The Noun Prefixes

Meinhof's classification of Zulu nouns is as follows:

Noun prefixes		Examples
1	umu-um	umuntu, umfana
2	aba, abe	abafana, abelungu,
1a	u-	ugogo, uSipho
2a	o-	ogogo, oSipho
3	umu-, um-	umuthi, umfula
4	imi,	imifula, imithi
5	ili-, i-	ilizwi, izwi

6	ama	amazwi
7	isi-, is-	isitsha, isandla
8	izi-	izandla, izitsha
9	iN-	inkomo, imbuzi
10	iziN	izinkomo, izimbuzi
11	ulu- u-	uluthi,uthu
10/9	iziN-	izinti
14	ubu-	ubuso
15/17	uku-	ukudla

We noted some regional variation in the manner in which speakers use nouns.

Class 5 ili-/i- prefixes

The ili- is the full prefix of this class and the i- is the abbreviation form. There is a marked difference in the use of nouns from these groups especially by speakers in the KwaZulu varieties and those in Southern Natal.

Examples:

KwaZulu varieties use the abbreviated noun prefix i-

	Gloss
izwe	country
izwi	voice

iva	thorn
isu	plan
iso	eye

The Natal Coast, Lower Natal Coast and Natal-Eastern Cape Border varieties usually employ the full noun prefix.

Examples:

	Gloss
ilizwe	country
ilizwi	voice
ilisu	plan
iliso/ilihlo	eye
iliva	thorn

Class 11, ulu-, u- Prefixes

ulu- is the full prefix and u- the abbreviation.

Central KwaZulu and KwaZulu Coast varieties use the abbreviated u- for class 11 nouns.

Examples:

	Gloss
uthi	twig
usu	tripe
utho	something
uju	honey

Natal Coast, Lower Natal Coast and Natal Eastern Cape Border varieties take the full prefix for the words above.

uluthi

ulusu

ulutho

uluju

The Ngwavuma variety uses the full noun prefix for both groups 5 and 11, but minus the initial vowel, due to the influence of Swazi.

Examples in the ili- class (Swazi)

live	country
livi	voice
lihlo	eye
lisu	plan

Examples in the ulu- class

lutsi	twig
luju	honey
lusu	tripe
lutso	something

The plural noun prefixes izi-, iziN- of classes 10, 10/9 and 11.

The KwaZulu varieties use izi- or iziN- or iz'-

Examples:

Singular	Plural	Plural	Gloss
isicathulo	izicathulo,	iz'cathulo	shoes
ingane	izingane,	iz'ngane	children
imbongolo	izimbongolo,	iz'mbongolo	donkies

The Natal Coast, Lower Natal Coast, Natal border varieties use, iyi- or iyiN- for similar classes.

Examples:

Singular	Plurals		Gloss
isicathulo	iyicathulo	iy'cathulo	shoes
ingane	iyingane	iy'ngane	children
imbongolo	iyimbongolo	iy'mbongolo	donkies

These forms iy- and iyi- for some people are the same as the ii- of the Xhosa, Baca and Mpondo.

Examples:	imoto iimoto	cars
	ihagu iihagu	pigs

Our respondents definately did not use this ii-.

The Ngwavuma variety uses iti- and ti- interchangeably with izi- and iziN.

sicathulo	I/ticathulo	izicathulo
ingane	i/tingane	izingane
imbongolo	i/timbongolo	izimbongolo

The Demonstrative Pronoun

In all varieties we found that demonstrative pronouns are used to refer to three positions, first position refers to object and objects near the speaker, or addresser, the second position, to object/s nearer the person spoken to or addressee and it can also be used narratively to refer to something which was mentioned before.

The third position demonstrative refers to object/s away from both the addresser and addressee irrespective of the distance, although Kubheka (1979:146) says there is a fourth position demonstrative which refers to object/s which are a great distance away from the speaker.

Demonstrative Pronouns as used in Central KwaZulu

	1st Position	2nd Position	3rd Position
1	lo	lowo	lowaya
2	laba	labo	labaya

	1st Position	2nd Position	3rd Position
3	lo	lowo	lowaya
4	le	leyo	leyaya
5	leli	lelo	leliya
6	la	lawo	lawaya
7	lesi	leso	lesiya
8	lezi	lezo	leziya
9	le	leyo	leyaya
10	lezi	lezo	leziya
11	lolu	lolo	loluya
14	lobu	lobo	lobuya
15/17	lokhu	lokho	lokhuya

Noticeable differences are between KwaZulu varieties and Natal Coast, Lower Coast and Natal border varieties.

<u>Central KwaZulu and Coastal Zululand varieties</u>

Examples:

	1st Position	2nd Position	3rd Position
1	lo	lowo	lowaya
2	laba	labo	labaya
3	lo	lowo	lowaya
5	la	lawo	lowaya
9	le	leyo	leyaya
15	lokhu	lokho	lokhuya

For the classes above, Natal varieties use:

	1st Position	2nd Position	3rd Position
1	lona	lowo	lowa/lowana
2	laba	laba	laba/labana
3	lona	lowo	lowa/lowana
5	lawa	lawo	lawa/lawana
9	lena	leyo	leya/leyana
15	loku	loko	lokuya/lokuyana

When the demonstrative pronouns especially of positions 1 and 3 are used with nouns, in the Natal varieties the -na with lo, la and le is dropped resulting in the following

forums:

lo muntu	never lona muntu
le ngane	never lena ngane
la madoda	never lana madoda

3rd position becomes

lowa muntu	never lowana muntu
leya ngane	never leyana ngane
lawa madoda	never lawana madoda

The KwaZulu varieties use the full form of dysyllabic demonstrative position one, followed by the noun minus its initial vowel, for example:

Class

2	laba	>	laba + abantu	laba bantu
7	lesi	>	lesi + isitsha	lesi sitsha
5	leli	>	leli + izwe	leli lizwe
10	lezi	>	lezi + izitsha	lezi zitsha
15	lokhu	>	lokhu + ukudla	lokhu kudla

Natal varieties use the contracted form, for example:

<u>Class</u>

2	laba + abantu	la bantu
7	lesi + isitsha	le sitsha
5	leli + ilizwe	le lizwe
10	lezi + izitsha	le zitsha
15	loku + ukudla	lo kudla

Ingwavuma variety to a certain extent follows the Natal varieties in structure in that

it uses the contracted forms in 1st position demonstrative with nouns.

Examples:

laba	+	abantfu	la bantfu
leli	+	ilive	le live
lesi	+	isitsha	le sitsha
leti	+	ititsha	le titsha

Words that are heavily influenced by Swazi sounds like <u>t</u> for <u>z</u>,

-ntfu for Zulu -ntu, are used interchangeably with Zulu counter-parts in this region.

The Locative Copulative Demonstratives

Like all copulatives this copulative is used in grammatical description to refer to a

linking predicate whose main function is to relate to other elements of clause structure

especially the subject. Copulative demonstratives refer to 3 locative positions. The following are copulative demonstratives as found in the Central KwaZulu variety.

Class	1st Position	2nd Position	3rd Position
1	nangu	nango	nanguya
2	nampa	nampo	nampaya
3	nanku	nanko	nakuya
4	nansi	nanso	nansiya
5	nanti	nanto	nantiya
6	nanka	nanko	nankaya
7	nasi	naso	nasiya
8	nazi	nazo	naziya
9	nansi	nanso	nansiya
10	nazi	nazo	naziya
11	nantu	nanto	nantuya
14	nampu	nampo	nampuya
15/17	nakhu	nakho	nakhuya

In the Central KwaZulu and Zululand Coast varieties it is only in classes 7, 8 and 10 that the copulative forms are traceable to noun prefixes.

Copulative demonstratives that are used by speakers of Natal varieties are simpler and they are also traceable to noun prefixes except class 1. They are as follows (cf Central KwaZulu)

Class	1st Position	2nd Position	3rd Position
1	nangu	nango	nanguya
2	naba	nabo	nabaya
3	nawu	nawo	nawuya
4	nayi	nayo	nayiya
5	nali	nalo	naliya
6	nawa	nawo	nawaya
7	nasi	naso	nasiya
8	nazi	nazo	naziya
9	nayi	nayo	nayiya
10	nazi	nazo	naziya
11	nalu	nalo	naluya
14	nabu	nabo	nabuya
15/17	naku	nako	nakuya

While the asocial group of linguists would like to view any language as a homogeneous entity so that they can make the strongest possible theoretical generalizations, in actual fact when we look closely at any language, as we have done with Zulu, we will

discover time and time again that there is a considerable internal variation and that speakers make constant use of the many different possibilities offered to them. This fact throws up serious obstacles to attempts to demonstrate that it is possible to write a complete grammar for a language which makes use of categorical rules, that is rules specify exactly what is, and what is not possible in a language. For example, Chomsky would deliberately exclude all social variation from the subject matter of linguistics (Chomsky, 1965:3). Other tenets of this view according to Labov (1972:266) are Paul, Sweet, Bloomfield, Martinet, Kurlowicz, Halle among others. We, in this work did not follow the prescriptive view of these linguists who pay close attention to social factors in explaining change. We see expressive and directive functions of language closely intertwined with the communication of referential information and emphasize the importance of linguistic diversity and languages in contact. For example, see Whitney, Schuchardt, Meilet, Jepersen, Sturtevant, Weinreich, Labov and Hertzog among others.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS OF VARIATION IN ZULU BASED ON EXTERNAL FACTORS

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4.0. INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this chapter is to investigate the causes of change by searching for the location of the innovators within the social system. The inquiry will involve a number of independent variables of sociolinguistics. The exploration of social factors leads to the study of patterns of communication, the homogenizing and intensifying effects of social networks and the transmission of variable elements across generations. Social factors that are going to be taken into consideration are social class, sex, age, migration and industrialization.

Fasold (1990:227) says before the development of variation studies research on linguistic change, meant research on structural linguistic change. Once an analysis of linguistic structures was completed, perhaps a few comments about social setting where the change occurred, might be made, but the two were kept separate. Labov's(1994) formulation of the embedding problem takes account of social facts about the speech community, for it seeks to find the continuous matrix of the social and linguistic behaviour in which the linguistic change is carried out.

Labov and his colleagues have made a huge contribution towards the analyses of variation in the last two decades (cf. Weinreich, Labov and Hertzog 1968; Labov 1972a). Another problem and perhaps the most recalcitrant one, is the actuation `riddle' which has to do with what sets a linguistic change in motion in the first place.

4.1   Social Class

The importance of social class to sociolinguistics is based on the fact that one can estimate the relative social status of a person by the language he uses. A person being the social being that he or she is, likes to be accepted in society, not to be ostracised or shunned. Language is not only a means of communicating information, it is also a very important means of establishing and maintaining relationships with other people (Trudgill, 1974:13). An individual creates his systems of verbal behaviour so as to resemble groups with which he wishes to be identified (Russel in Romaine, 1982:126).

The aspects which are relevant in the recognition of such a social class variety are grammatical differences which are accompanied by phonological differences as well as different social class accents.

The major social division in industrialized nations is between people who earn their living by working with their hands and those who earn it by pencil work and services.

The manual workers are known as the working class and the non-manual workers as the middle class. The upper class consisting of people with inherited wealth and privileges which Chambers (1995:37) says is non existent outside Europe and Asia, is still in existence in KwaZulu, namely the King and the royal family.

A host of social differences follow these class lines: non-manual workers usually have more years of schooling, hold supervisory positions and earn more money. Social classes constitute barriers to communication every bit as real as mountain ranges and rivers. Most people carry on their meaningful interactions with people who are similar to them materially and occupationally, and with people in similar social networks.

Chambers (1995:50) warns that there is an inherent fuzziness in the notion of social class due to the fact that social classes all belong to the same community. Linguistic differences among the classes are quantitative rather than qualitative meaning, they are marked not by their absence or presence in the speech of the other group, but by their relative frequency. For example in the speech of the Zulu, **Qha, Cha** and **Ngca,** all mean no, but we noticed that within the royal household, **Qha,** is prominent. As a result, **izinduna** and **izinduna zamabutho,** who are close and work with royalty use the form **Qha** for negation.

4.1.1.   The upper class

Before the reign of Shaka who founded both the Zulu nation and the Zulu language, small tribes spoke a number of Nguni dialects which were scattered over Zululand and Natal. Shaka using his great military and diplomatic skill and also determination brought the small tribes together under his reign and once conquered these tribes and clans abandoned the use of their dialects and used isiZulu which was Shaka Zulu, the King's variety. Shaka would never allow anyone to address him in any other variety.

Bryant (1905:introduction) says it was only after the over-running of Natal and the universal leading into captivity of its people by the conquering Zulu host, that the ancient speech died out and all the youth of the land grew up knowing and speaking nothing but the language of the conquerors. The process of assimilation of new-comers into Zulu life was facilitated and accelerated by the fact that Shaka was a stern disciplinarian. It was a simple case of instant assimilation or annihilation.

Döhne (1857:xv) points out that, those of them who spoke another dialect than Zulu, were prohibited from doing so in the presence of Shaka and addressed him by means of an interpreter. This was continued until they were able to express themselves properly in the Zulu language, which was on that account called <u>ukukhuluma</u>. Döhne glosses **ukukhuluma** in this context as the high language. Further explanation could be that you were considered to be speaking or saying something only if you spoke Zulu

otherwise you would as well have been quiet.

What Shaka and other Zulu Kings did in the way of promoting Zulu as described above, has, to a certain extent persisted to this very day. Any outsider getting into a royal household needs to polish his or her Zulu or make **izinduna** or other personal assistants to royalty aware that his or her Zulu is not up to scratch, in which case an interpreter will be provided.

No one is expected to greet the King and members of the royal family by regular everyday form like **Saw'bona** or **Sak'bona** or **Sibonene**. The address form is always **Ndabezitha!** and the greeting and response and always **Balethe! Bayethe!** or **Bayede!!**

We realize that for this social class in Zulu there is a certain way that its members speak and there is also a special way its members are spoken to.

The King is addressed by metaphors of Greatness

> **Ngonyama!**
>
> **Wena wendlovu!**
>
> **Silo samabandla!**

Royalty has a way of addressing their subordinates, like **mfokazana**, which means no offence - if one is not of royalty, this term means just that, a person with no royal blood.

The central KwaZulu variety we spoke about in Chapter 3, aspires to the speech of this class. It is sometimes called **isiZulu sasebukhosini**. Speakers of this form are held in high esteem. The King's and the princes' households are spread in central KwaZulu and this forms the seat and the stronghold of the Zulu language. Added to these, this is also the prestigious form of Zulu.

Unlike the prestigious forms of the west, in which the educational level of the speakers is of prime importance, education does not feature at all in Zulu, for this form. Examples of this social class speech include:

The exclusive use of **Qha**

The soft **ng-** especially for the subject and object prefixes 1st person singular.

The persistence of palatalization of bilabial and alveolar sounds when they are in non-root initial position, in the formation of passives, diminutives and locatives.

What we also observed is the softness of voice among the speakers. It is as if these people are stressing the point that it is the order of things that they are always listened to, and there is no need to raise one's voice.

Researchers that have worked within Zulu as a language like Kubheka (1979),

Ngubane (1989) and earlier recorders of Zulu as a language like Bleek (1862), Bryant (1905; 1929; 1949) and Bryant (1949) all refer to the form spoken by this social class and repeatedly compare other varieties of Zulu using it as a yardstick. In Bryant (1949) the speech of this social class is labelled as "pure" Zulu and sometimes the King's Zulu.

4.1.2.   The middle class

Although social class is said to be fuzzy, it is usually fairly easy to judge whether an individual is middle class or working class. Middle class is usually non-manual and often work at supervising manual workers or other support staff, and earn more money than those they supervise.

In complicated industrial societies, middle class is subdivided into upper, middle and lower middle classes. The upper middle class comprises of people who are owners and directors. Middle middle class is formed by professionals and executive managers.

Lower middle class includes semi-professionals and lower managers (Chambers, 1995:37). The more splits we have, the cloudier the distinctions grow. Very few individuals match one another with respect to occupation, education, income and other trappings that might be taken as measures of class.

Labov (1966:170-174, 211-220) used a three-component index for his New York City subjects, based on information about occupation, education and income. There was too much fluidity and inconsistencies. The same applies to Trudgill's six component index which included fathers income, locality of residence and housing type, added to those used by Labov (Trudgill, 1974: Chapter 3). Macualey (1976:174) on his sociolinguistic study of Glasgow, relied solely on occupation, as a class indicator. His subjects fell into four occupational groups namely:

Class I professional and managerial

Class IIa white collar and intermediate non-manual

Class IIb skilled manual

Class III semi-skilled and unskilled manual.

Macauley's subdivisions are based on his intuition that the occupational use of language by clerks and sales assistants might make a sociolinguistic difference between them and plumbers and cabinet markers who share their status but not their need to talk in their jobs.

Chambers (1995:46) commends Macauley's reliance on occupation alone, as a class indicator for it turned out to be sufficient to give results which showed a fine and regular correlation for all phonological variable with class distinctions based on it. Macauley (1976:183:184) points out that the particular applicability of occupation in

Glasgow may be the result of conditions peculiar to this surveys. His sample had no 20-30 year old but only mature settled adults whose occupations were largely fixed. Glasgow's stagnant economy at the time of his survey imposed limits on social and occupational mobility and these may have made linguistic class markers more defined.

With regards to the Zulu speech community, we see it as one of those which are said to be fluid in as far as occupation is concerned. Ambitious and determined individuals do ascend the social scale, jumping up a class or two from their parents. Most of such individuals entrench themselves in their new class as far as possible rather than attempt to maintain relations in two classes.

Upward mobility usually goes with some stereotypes, depending upon who is judging. People who rise might be classed as people who put on airs or forget their roots (Chambers, 1995:48). What Chambers says about these stereotypes is sometimes justifiable. For example:

People forming class 1 according to Macauley, namely, professionals and managers are usually highly educated and the language of the educated is believed to be English. This has a direct effect on the Zulu that is spoken by most individuals in this class. Code switching and mixing is very common. What we found disturbing is the code mixing and code switching employed irrespective of who the addressee is, even to people who do not have the command of the other code used. This leads to communication breakdown.

Language is usually appropriate to the speaker's social class as well as for the particular occasion and situation it is used in. When a teacher talks of:

	Gloss
ukumakha	to mark student's work
ukukhorektha	to do correction on student's work
ukuphrepha	to prepare a lesson;

the terms relate to her work as a teacher. Likewise students understand one another when they talk of

	Gloss
ukubhanka	to absent oneself from a lecture
ukubhora	to study hard

Language in other words, varies not only according to the social class of the speaker but also according to the social context in which the speaker finds herself (Trudgill, 1979:108).

Hudson (1980:43) remarks that a speaker may show more similarities in her language to people from the same social group in a different area than to people from a different social group in the same area. Examples cited above are illustrative of this remark, since any teacher or student who is a speaker of Zulu anywhere will understand the meaning of these adoptives.

An example cited earlier of professionals and semi-professionals code mixing and code switching when addressing people who have never been to school, is a communicative anomaly it is talking above people's heads and it has no communicative value.

We requested an explanation from a number of semi-professionals and clerks who work in Home Affairs offices applications section regarding this said state of affairs. A very spontaneous response from more than half of the people interviewed on this was that they are more exposed to English in their occupation than they are to Zulu. They think in English. Sometimes they even forget the Zulu terminology for some of the things they want to say. Most of the time you hear some people in this class asking: **Konje** how does one say ... in Zulu?

Some speakers of Zulu in this social class speak it with an English accent. We were quoted the speech of some Zulu Radio and TV announcers. Falling within this class are some Zulu speakers who have gone through English medium schools. The tonal system, on which this language rests, has been corrupted in the speech of some such people.

Labov (1972b:178-80) speaks of a change from above being a change that is brought about consciously. It originates in the high status groups of the community. The changed form is then adopted in more careful forms of speech by all other groups in proportion to their contact with users of the high status model. It is not surprising

then, to find even that sector of the Zulu speech community, which is less exposed to English, trying very hard to throw words from English in their speech, more often words which do not fit the context unfortunately.

Example:

"Sijabule ngoba unfortunately siwinile"

A common example of this found both in KwaZulu-Natal and Gauteng is the random punctuation of speech with `I mean to say ...' even at the end of an utterance. For example:

Sesiyahamba, I mean to say.

A few people when asked why they practised this out-of-context code mixing and code switching said it is a way of showing that they can also speak the language of the educated. Le Page (1980:14) calls this an act of identity - when people create rules in their speech to resemble those of the groups they wish to identify themselves with.

We, however, came across a very interesting and heart warming discovery when we interviewed language practitioners at the highest level of education. They avoided code switching and mixing to the very end of the interviews. They said, without being judgemental on this issue, they have outgrown the level of mixing codes. They think and speak in the language demanded by the context, setting and audience. They do

not need to prove to anybody that they can speak English. It is a given, that they can. This group falls within the Middle Class, Professors in the language, Heads of Zulu Departments, Lecturers in tertiary institutions and Language planners.

Their sensitivity to the usage of the language stems from occupational positions they hold. They are able to weigh the merits and demerits of allowing foreign languages to override our indigenous languages, particularly during the period when there is an outcry to improve the status of all indigenous languages. If speakers of these languages do not use them, who will?

The Zulu that is spoken by most of the language practitioners interviewed is traceable to their places of origin especially between those from Natal and those from KwaZulu. The pronunciation of /k'/, /kh/ in demonstrative pronouns class 15/17 Natal variant being k'

<div align="center">

loku   loko   lokuya
</div>

and KwaZulu variant being /kh/

Example:

<div align="center">

lokhu lokho lokhuya
</div>

and also the /ŋ/ and /ŋg/ subject prefix first person singular. From Natal the /ng-/ could not be missed and /ŋ/ from those originally from KwaZulu.

Natal	KwaZulu
[ɲikhɔna]	[ŋgikhɔna]
[ɲijabɔna]	[ŋgijabɔna]

This internal variation between these speakers confirms what we pointed out in chapter three, that the different varieties we identified are regarded as standard forms in their areas.

The evidence at hand currently, is that Zulu has regional standards and no uniform spoken or literary standard. But there is a standardised, written form recommended by the Department of Education. There is also a prestige form spoken mostly by people who have never set foot at school.

The standard spoken form of Zulu is said to be still in the melting pot as far as Kubheka (1979:254) is concerned.

4.1.3.   The lower working class

This is a social class of unskilled workers, many of whom have never set foot at school in the case of Zulu. We would like to emphasize that they are lower in the occupational ladder. Our uneasiness in referring to this class as anything lower, is prompted by our awareness that these are the people who speak `undiluted' Zulu,

especially out in the country where the influence of other languages is minimal. These are the people to whom we run for consultation when we need enlightenment on the aspects of Zulu as a language. They are the bank of invaluable information. We obtained a unanimous response that these are the custodians of Zulu especially in KwaZulu, which is regarded as the seat of this language.

Our situation is very different from the case of English for instance where the prestigious form is spoken by the highest status class following Royalty. Educational level is a yardstick. In the case of Zulu the educated usually check their theories and data against the speech of the community which never went to school. We put these people in very high esteem regarding the standard of our languages.

In Daveyton (Gauteng) many of our respondents do not claim to speak a prestigious form of Zulu instead some under reported their speech. We were constantly referred to Grandmothers and Grandfathers who are originally from Natal or KwaZulu or to the Zulu who are in the Daveyton former hostels which are now family dwellings. We were told those are the people who spoke `proper' Zulu.

The two social classes that we did not discuss, namely, the upper working class and middle working class, comprise of skilled and semi skilled manual workers. In our case the skills that the people in this class usually have, are provided by the owners of business concerns. They look up to their bosses as owners of power and their survival

and as a result they learn the language on which their survivals hangs. Sometimes, some even feel that their father tongues are useless. The English, Afrikaans, Portuguese or any other foreign language that happens to be mainly used by owners of the work place, is generally used by these people in its `mutilated' form and it improves with time.

We found that many of the people in this class do not have much to say and do in as far as improving the status of Zulu. It did not surprise us then to get people who preferred to enrol in English literacy programmes than in their own language literacy programmes. Asked why they do this, the answer is clear - Zulu is not a language of power as yet. A disturbing aspect is that some readily dissociate and distance themselves from anyone pro-Zulu. Some respondents said Zulu as a language does not count, it is for the low class people. They say if they had it their way, their children would learn languages that matter like English. We could sense a voice of despair here, Zulu has not come through for them.

We are aware and we do agree with Wardhough (1992:147) that there are serious problems in using social class designations. Individuals are notoriously hard to classify for they belong to other networks within a society. For example a person can be a manager, a priest, a soccer player, a school committee member, a member of a cultural group.

4.2. AGE

Like social class, age exerts an irrepressible influence on our social being. Social classes may be altered in political economies that allow for mobility so that individuals need not live their days in the class they are born into, but our ages remain fixed. By and large, the physical indicators of age are shared by all people in all cultures. Certain activities are age-graded like grass-mat making for middle aged women in a Zulu traditional society attitudes can also be markers of age. Generally older people are thought to be less flexible and less tolerant than young people. In some societies like ours, old people are venerated. Clothing is also one of the cultural trappings that is age-graded. An old Zulu woman will never wear **isigege** 'a young gir's frontal covering made of beads' for example. Chambers (1995:149) says all these aspects above play a part in our ability to estimate people's ages - what they are doing and wearing and saying as well as how they look. Any one aspect might suffice by itself, but they normally come together. Speech is included in the aspects mentioned above. A person's speech is such a reliable indicator of age that we can usually guess the age of a speaker within seconds of hearing his or her voice for the first time. Pitch and creakiness in voice quality are some of the indicators of linguistic ageing.

In the acquisition of sociolects by normal individuals, there appears to be three formative periods, according to Chambers (1995:158). He maintains that vernacular variables and style-shifting develop along with phonology and syntax from the very

beginning of acquisition. The first period is during childhood in which the vernacular develops under the influence of family and friends. Second, in adolescence, vernacular norms tend to accelerate beyond the norms established by the previous generation, under the influence of dense networking. Third, in young adulthood standardization tends to increase, at least for the sub-set of speakers involved in language sensitive occupations in the broadest sense of the term. After that, from middle age onward, speakers normally have fixed their sociolects beyond any large scale or regular changes.

Sociolinguists know that children speak more like their peers than like their elders. This fact is not always received with equanimity by older people, especially authority figures, but the fact remains: classmates and close friends are linguistically more influential than teachers and parents. Although the family circle normally provides the first speech models for infants, within a few years, it is replaced by a significant one, the circle of friends. This becomes more apparent in a situation in which the parents belong to a different speech community from the one in which the children are being raised. For example, currently there is a lot of sociolectal displacement going on in the planting of the new world settlements, (informal settlements in our case) where none of the divergent founders' dialects gets transmitted to the offspring. The new world settlement children sound unlike any of the adults in the community, but like one another.

Chambers' impression is that linguistic adjustments between parental and peer group focus take place very rapidly at the age of between four and five when most children in industrialized nations are first enrolled in classes or some kind of organised educational setting. One obvious kind of linguistic replacement at this stage is lexical. Children who have been encouraged at home to use nursery terms for excretory and other matters, soon learn to use communal terms, sometimes to the shock of their parents. In our case this replacement usually takes place at about six or seven years since many children stay with grand-mothers until they go to school at the age of seven.

Excretory nursery terms like;

ukusibiza > **ukuchama** or more seriously **ukuthunda** which has more meaning than just urinate.

ukuzithuma > **ukukaka, ukunya.**

Swear words usually rank high in the vocabulary of children at this age. We are of the opinion that in their newly found independence from parental ever present monitoring and reprimands for using bad language, swear words become a fascination, a relish for adventure.

The next important sociolinguistic juncture, adolescence, sees the balance of power tip decisively away from the elders into forceful sometimes autocratic pressure from peers (Chambers, 1995:169).

If one wants to observe the most extreme forms of vernacular speech, the place to look, is among male adolescent peer groups. For example, Labov's (1972a) study of peer groups in Harlem, found higher percentages of copula deletion than among adult blacks. Peer groups of young people exert great normative pressure on each other, and are correspondingly less susceptible to society to society - wide norms conveyed to them by the institutions of the adult and outside world like schools. When this is reinforced by ethnicity, one gets a strikingly different dialect such as the black English vernacular, (Downs 1984:190) and **isithamundo/isicamtho** in our case.

The transition from childhood to adulthood is often, almost characteristically, accompanied by extremism. Extrication from the family circle is often enacted as a rebellion against suffocating authority. In addition to what they wear, make up their faces and dress their hair, their rebellion is also marked in a linguistically superficial way, by the use of a distinctive vocabulary called slang. Terms used in slang become fashionable and serve as markers of in-group membership, and then quickly out-moded in order to mark their users as outsiders.

It is essential that these markings be approved and shared by other adolescents. Teenage slang provides numerous terms for peers who do not conform such as `izimpatha', `izithipha', 'imixhaka', 'izipayi'. In adolescence, young people exposed to a greater inventory of linguistic variants because they are exposed to a wider circle of acquaintances. Conforming to peer group norms and distinction from adult norms

leads to the adoption of regional linguistic variables beyond the neighbour-hood, and sometimes a preference for variants not favoured by adults.

In KwaZulu-Natal we noted that most high school teenage male students punctuated their utterances with **ok'sh'uk'thi (okusho ukuthi)**, and rubbing of hands as they spoke. In Gauteng, a similar group punctuated with **e ... e ...** accompanied by rubbing of hands together and blowing into them.

These two groups of teenagers from different provinces display distinctive markers of the same kind in their speeches as compared to the speech of the older people in the community. (cf. Chambers' Jacks and Burnouts, 1995:176).

Adolescence gives way by degrees to adulthood. Under normal circumstances, the early adult years are a period of relative stability after the vagaries of the teen years. Young adults usually establish a set of personal preferences in areas where formerly it was a matter of peer group concerns. Their preferences may take years to crystallise and when they do, they are likely to fall within broad limits appropriate to the individual's social class, education, occupation and other social factors. Among the personal preferences is a variety of language. Some young adults appear to set their sociolinguistic range according to their ambitions, (Chambers, 1995:177).

In the case of French and the use of the auxiliary voir and êntre, it was found that

more highly educated people ... tend to use less voir. Holding constant `years of schooling' it was found that the tendency for younger speakers is to use more voir because of their experience that encourages less use of voir, (Sankoff and Thibault, (1977:340). This tendency does not seem strong enough to indicate a real change in progress. For the younger speakers the use of more voir is taken as rebellion by youth.

In our case, we mentioned in chapter three that some of the educated, especially the young adults, have taken to code switching and mixing and they have even gone further by putting their children in environments which encourage less use of Zulu like English medium schools. Some of these children claim they cannot speak Zulu anymore. Although this is a cause for concern, for the speakers of the language, it is not strong enough yet to indicate a change in progress. Weinreich, Labov and Hertzog (1968:188) say, not all variability and heterogeneity in language structure involves change, but all change involves variability and heterogeneity; how very true.

From middle age onwards, the speech of most people preserves markers, some subtle and some blatant. These indicate where they have been. Tell-tale signs of the home variety are noticeable, for example the fossilized slang of faded adolescence. Any person in Durban, for example who in 1997 still speaks of

ithekeni

umntwana

isibhuda

when referring to a young woman, he must have been in his teenage years in the 1960's. Today a young woman is addressed as

isishukuza

ubheyibi.

In Gauteng there is a difference between the **isishalambombo** spoken by old `guys' from Sophiatown and **is'camtho** by the youth of today.

The adoption of the /r/ by the under 40s in all (but one) varieties of Zulu in adopted words is a definite marker of a linguistic change from above.

Sociolectal adjustments are in a sense age-graded, because they involve changes correlated with a particular time of life and they are repeated in successive generations.

4.3 SEX

Very few biological differences between males and females have an effect on language. Sociolinguists and other social scientists sometimes fail to distinguish sex and gender. To this end, Eckert (1989a:246-7) remarks that although differences in patterns of variation between men and women are a function of gender and only indirectly a function of sex, we have been examining the interaction between gender and variation by correlating variables with sex rather than gender differences. This has

been done because although an individual's gender related place in society is a multidimensional complex that can only be characterised through careful analysis, his or her sex is generally a readily observable binary variable ... Because information about the individual's sex is easily accessible, data can be gathered without any inquiry into the construction of gender in that community.

At a risk of over-simplification, sex ... is a biological given, which begins to differentiate prenatally; and gender is a social acquisition, which differentiates postnatally, (Miller and Swift, 1976:51). The risk of over-simplification arises because the two are tightly interwoven. Gender differences are partly based on sex differences. For example the social role of mothering is traditionally assumed by women as a consequence of their biological functions in carrying and nursing their children. Nowadays though, mothering is not incompatible with running a low practice.

Chambers (1995:104ff) shows how the failure to make the distinction between gender and sex has disguised significant correlations of linguistic variation with gender on the one hand and with sex on the other. He says a gender-based variability emerges when gender roles differ in terms of the mobility of women and men in a community. He also shows that male-female differences evidently persist even in the absence of well defined gender roles, - he calls this sex-based variability.

Vocal pitch as a sex difference is probably the most obvious one linguistically due to the physiological difference between the size of a female and male larynx.

The observation that women master standard speech better than men is by no means new, it was made as early as 55 BC by Gcero in De Oratore (111, 12) in his argument in favour of the standard accent which he found when listening to his mother-in-law. He says women more easily preserve the ancient language unaltered, because, not having experience of the conversation of a multitude of people, they always retain what they originally learned, (Chambers, 1995:124). So in societies where gender roles are sharply differentiated such that one gender has wider social contacts and a greater geographical range, the speech of the less circumscribed gender will include more variants of the contiguous social groups. For example in Ballymaccaret, the less circumscribed gender, the women, use more variants of the class above them and in Rome, the less circumscribed gender, the men, used variants described as broad or rustic or too open, presumably from the social groups below them.

The sex-based difference is attributed to the neuropsychological verbal advantage of females which results in sociolinguistic discrepancies such that women use a larger repetoir of variants and a wider range of styles than men of the same social groups even though gender roles are similar or identical, (Chambers, 1995:134).

In Zulu, there are situations where the language of the females is different from that of the males. The majority of women have not traditionally played a major role in public life and cultural expectations lead them to react less strongly to the linguistic norms of the dominant culture. Culture dictates that an engaged and a married woman uses a special vocabulary for all words that are in the names of her in-laws.

In what Nyembe (1994) calls the language of a traditional Zulu bride, women are not allowed to pronounce or use words which have for their principal syllable, any part or syllable of the names of their husband's relatives namely, father-in-law, mother-in-law, father-in-law's brothers, husband's brothers, sometimes paternal aunts and paternal grandparents' names are included under this `avoidance' practice. Finlayson (1983) calls this

Isihlonipho sabafazi

The new bride is taught this new form of speech by her sister-in-law and mother-in-law. Mothers-in-law give invaluable information of **hlonipha** language of the bride because they went through the same process as brides themselves and there is no time at which a married woman is exempted from **ukuhlonipha**. It is a life long practice. There are also several ways by which a married woman may enrich her **hlonipha** lexicon. For example:

(a)   by replacing the tabooed syllable with another syllable

Zulu	Hlonipha	Gloss
saku<u>b</u>ona	saku<u>y</u>ona	greetings
i<u>ga</u>tsha	i<u>n</u>atsha	branch
i<u>bh</u>eshu	i<u>je</u>shu	skin buttock covering worn by men

(b)   by deletion of the tabooed syllable

Zulu	Ukuhlonipha	Gloss
in<u>ko</u>mo	I'mo	head of cattle

(c)   by associating ideas with items

Zulu	Ukuhlonipha	Gloss
iqanda	ichoboka	egg
ucansi	icambalala	sleeping grass mat

(d)   by using synonyms

Zulu	Ukuhlonipha	Gloss
imbazo	izembe	axe
igeja	ikhuba	hoe

(e)   by borrowing from other languages especially Zulu from Xhosa and vice versa

Zulu	Xhosa	Gloss
umukhwa	isisheshe	knife

f)   by using a core **hlonipha** vocabulary known across the Zulu speaking areas for

example:

Zulu	Ukuhlonipha	Gloss
amanzi	**amacubane amakwete**	water
umuthi	**umshanguzo**	medicine
umfana	**umkhapheyana**	boy

Ukuhlonipha by Zulu and Xhosa married women is said to be dying or already dead by

researchers and a number of reasons, among which education and urbanization rank

high. In the rural areas **ukuhlonipha** is followed irrespective of whether the woman is

educated or christian. A change is in the fact that, strict disciplinary measures for

those who break it have been relaxed. For example, mothers-in-law remind and

threaten with fines **inhlawulo'** which originally was an ox. Due to changed social

conditions, like women nowadays work, in-laws understand that in work places it

would create problems if a lady teacher for instance, would start avoiding certain

terms in class or in the office or factory in town. But within family circles know what

to do with regard to **ukuhlonipha**. We came across women at Umlazi Township in

Durban who practised **ukuhlonipha** and told us that they do not feel inferior to or

dominated or oppressed by their in-laws, contrary to what Herbert (1990:455)

suggests.

Dowling (1988:30) from her research findings among the Xhosa confirms that **hlonipha** is viewed as an important custom in so far as it persists into a woman's old age when she will have gained much more status within the community ... There are people living in both rural and urban areas who gave up the custom of **ukuhlonipha** for some reasons, but who nevertheless endorse it as being essentially desirable and correct. Nyembe (1994) concurs with Dowling on this last statement.

4.4. INDUSTRIALIZATION

In almost all South African texts on intercultural communication in the work place, **Fanakalo** ranks very high. We are not going to discuss any of its forms be it mine, garden, Indian or missionary, because in whatever form it is presented, it ends up being a master-servant pejorative and insulting type of communi-cation. It is also regarded as a slave language because it was fostered to promote advantages for the purpose of the industry in the mines with cheap training of an illiterate workforce.

Godsell (1992:4) clearly states that the age of simple command - of **Fanakalo** injunctive - is over.

There is no doubt that in a multilingual and intercultural setting, people do need a common language that facilitates communication. Godsell, as someone who has worked and learnt some lessons from the multilingual workplace, recommends a

language that will connect people who have different linguistic identities and allow them to interact. This requires at least one of the differing individuals or groups to master a language which the other individual or group understands.

In work places in South Africa all employees require effective industrial literacy in one of our two industrial languages. (We presume Godsell means English and Afrikaans). He says this training is a prerequisite for economic effectiveness. Literacy clones have often been seen in business as a desirable recreational activity. They are now as vital as hard hats and safety lamps.

In the interim period before the first goal is achieved, translators of high order of skill and professionalism are needed - not whites who grew up in rural areas as sons of trading store owners or the children of farm owners and missionaries who have had no training. Equally dangerous is the Black clerk who does not admit his lack of expertise in translation but translates sensitive documents like pension benefits, death benefits, leave procedures which end up confusing and misleading members of the workforce.

He (Godsell) is for a language that empowers the members of the workforce. He is aware of the move by the current government to uplift the status of indigenous languages in South Africa, so does Granville et al. (1972:2). Language planners and practitioners also say it out that the upgrading is long overdue.

Implementation of upliftment procedures should be speeded up. As a form of redress indigenous languages must be recognised and used as official languages especially regionally and provincially where they are applicable. But, for industrial literacy, our respondents see English as a language of power that they need.

Irrespective of the fact that 75% of our respondents were not literate and aware of the difficulties that would be involved in their training, they say their need is for a work-related simple English. One woman said they do not need to write or read English but to understand and communicate in the work place.

This type of response confirms what Godsell (1992:5) means that technocratically, languages are not equally powerful. In respect of this technocratic function of language, most South Africans will have no choice but to be bilingual. (Bilingualism in this context has to do with English and Afrikaans of courses prior to 1994) This is indeed a great challenge, and it is also a profound enrichment. In his paper Godsell also pushes for Afrikaans as part of the industrial literacy in the South African workplace but soon realises that it is not a popular language. Though not as bad as Fanakalo, Afrikaans is also associated with oppression. What happened in 1976, two decades later, is still very vivid in the minds of Black South Africans who happen to form a large percentage of the workplace. English then comes out as a better choice, as it is a world language and is therefore functional.

There is talk today of different kinds of English and this is a reality nobody can dismiss. The views of Peter Strevens and Braj Kachru (1992) shed some light towards the process which can be followed in the realizing English. Strevens (1992:27) says the label, English can be applied to many forms of the language which are identifiably different from each other: American English, Indian English and so on. In South Africa this kind of situation is also realized. The different South African English: English English, Afrikaans English, Black English, Coloured English, Indian English, and now we are proposing a South African Industrial English. The last form will be what Strevens (1992:34) calls the localized form of English, which will be identifiable through its distinctive mixture of features of grammar, lexis, pronunciation, discourse and style.

For the purists who are bothered by how will the correct usage of English be determined, Kachru (1992:52) says, it is difficult to define `norm' for various speakers of English. Even though the criterion of native-like control is appropriate for most language-learning situations, the case seems different. This is because of its global spread in various linguistically and culturally pluralistic societies; its differing roles in language planning in each country; and the special historical factors involved in the introduction and diffusion of English, in each English-speaking country.

Sridhar and Sridhar (1992:94) propose that the indigenized varieties of English (IVES) be acquired, because they are primarily for use with other speakers of indigenised varieties of English. The native-speaker norm, is therefore irrelevant in such contexts.

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Indigenised variety of English will empower the people in the workplace for it will be useful as a linking language in the workplace.

Our endorsement in using English in industrial literacy programmes, does not throw overboard the upliftment of indigenous languages. As people, our culture is embedded in our languages.

4.5. URBANISATION

Urban varieties of language probably owe their origins to language contact in a multilingual setting in the nineteenth century.

South Africa and to the rise of the urban and township communities. The discovery of minerals in the South African interior, brought with it people from all over who flocked to these diggings. For example Europeans speaking French, English, Dutch, German, Afrikaans and indigenous people of South Africa speaking Sotho, Ndebele, Swazi, Tswana, Pedi, Zulu, to mention but a few. These people from different origins had to communicate. Reinecke et al. (1975) gives an example of informal Afrikaans used by indigenous people living close to Johannesburg which sounds like a "broken" variety of this language for it was `mixed' with their own languages.

Totally unlike **Fanakalo**, urban varieties are more spontaneous in-group of social and linguistic interaction among people sharing similar socio-cultural values and perspectives.

Urban varieties go under different tags in different townships and regions. For example, **is'camtho, withi, sepantsula, isihumsha, isithamundo, shalambombo, s'jitha, flaaitaal**. While these largely regional appellations do not indicate the distinctive characteristics of each variety, they are illustrative of this language's vitality and provenance, (Makhudu in Mesthrie (ed 1995:300).

Speakers of these urban varieties are predominantly African males between ages 15 and 50 (Schuring 1983, Slabbert 1993). Flaaitaal is largely an urban male phenomenon, (Makhudu, 1980). One explanation for the non-representativeness of female users might lie with the establishment of male - only hostels and compounds in mining towns. Single gender dwelling would largely exclude women and include the world of work. Flaaitaal also carries over-tones of urban life, as evidenced by the superior attitude of its speakers to non-users, who are stigmatised as `country bumpkins'.

We have deliberately avoided the use of Tsotsitaal or **isitsotsi** as one of the labels given to these urban varieties, reason being, though these varieties have some links with prison varieties, a large number of users has no connections with prisons or the

underworld. Heitha, Comrade President Mandela, Heitha! Cyril Ramaphosa at the April 1993 funeral of Chris Hani. Even Archbishop Desmond Tutu (originally from Munsieville) admits to using flaaitaal when speaking casually with other flaaitaal-using friends, (Makhudu in Mesthrie (ed.1995:301).

Halliday's concept of anti-language gives some understanding with regard to the urban varieties. An anti-language stands in relation to an anti-society, in much the same relation as does language to society. In his understanding, an anti society, is a society that is set up within another as a conscious alternative to it, as a mode of resistance. The simplest form taken by an anti-language is that of the creation of new words for old ones; it is a language relexicalised, (Halliday, 1978:165). For example, terms for the foolish, dim-witted according to the standards of the users are:

bhari

mumish

pop

mu<u>h</u>u [muxu]

<u>h</u>ashu [xaʃu]

Terms for the notion of friend or in-group member is overwhelming and like other Flaaitaal cum **s'camtho** cum **sjitha** ... lexicon, is drawn from different languages. For example:

	Source Language
bra	English - brother
bab [b :b]	Zulu - baba
bri	English, French, Italian - brigade
brikhado	Portuguese - obrigardo.

In each case some sort of semantic shift has taken place through either calquing or certain phonological processes. These internal processes in the lexicon of the argot, render the language highly changeable, so that anyone who does not keep abreast, is soon left behind by the rapid turnover of vocabulary.

Are these urban varieties an in-group or secret means of communication? Yes in the case of the prison variety but less likely to be the case with general township lingo, where it is an in-group code. One young man stressed that it is a "men thing". Women who use these varieties are either shebeen rovers, or always hang out with men, he said. It is also true that each locality is slightly different from the others. For example, for despised peers in:

Gauteng	Durban
ubhari	i'sthipha
umqhaka	umxhaka
mumish	ulwatha

Madubanya (1975) refers to the shifting vocabulary of these varieties as the existential rationale behind this parlance.

Another feature of anti-language that Halliday (1978:195) notes as a defining characteristic, is its metaphorical character. An anti-language is a metaphor for an everyday language. There are phonological metaphors, for example:

	<u>Afrikaans/English</u>	<u>Flaaitaal</u>	<u>Gloss</u>
/d/ > /m/	dom	/mom/	beer
/d/ > /n/	duck	/nak/	dodge
/t/ > /n/	timing	/naiming/	wise

Grammatical metaphors, for example, using Afrikaans or English noun-plural forming morphemes:

			<u>Gloss</u>
ntwana	>	ntwanas	young men
baba	>	babas	in-group members

lexical metaphors, for examples;

[/tʃ'okleth/]	twenty rand notes
[/ints'imbi/]	a gun
/thwa/	a gun

Urban varieties seem to flourish in urban multilingual centres and the ripple effect is mildly out in the country. Those young men who frequently visit the city, return being a little bit "wiser" than the rest.

Social variation is noticeable among social groups depending on a number of factors, some of which are indicated and discussed above. A speaker may use the same variety as the people of the same social group, but in another area. For example, educated speakers of Zulu may claim to speak the polished prestigious variety of Zulu but, the language of educated people does not hold a monopoly of accuracy, beauty, tenderness or expressive force; it is the important form of language, simply because the positions of power and influence in society, tend to be held by educated people (Branford, 1969:13).

Thus, there is no linguistic reason why **impushana** is labelled better, than **impuphwana**, but there are excellent social reasons for avoiding the use of **impuphwana** at certain times and with certain people lest you loose out in life. For example, a teacher may find herself on the street if a subject advisor finds her teaching **impuphwana**.

CHAPTER 5

LANGUAGE POLICY, PLANNING AND STANDARDIZATION

CHAPTER 5

LANGUAGE POLICY, PLANNING AND STANDARDIZATION IN ZULU

5.0. INTRODUCTION

This chapter will briefly look into the current language policy of the country. By current we mean the post-apartheid era, 1994 to date and the standardization procedures pertinent to the language under discussion.

5.1. Language policy

The Republic of South Africa boasts of eleven official languages (Government Gazette, 1996:5). In Subsection 6:1-5, the issue of languages is clearly spelt out as follows:

6(1)   The official languages of the Republic of South Africa are Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, siSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa and isiZulu (11 languages).

2.   Recognising the historically diminished use and status of the indigenous languages of our people, the state must take practical and positive measures to elevate the status and advance the use of these [indigenous] languages.

3(a)   The national government and provincial government, may use any particular official languages for the purposes of government, taking into account usage, practically, expense, regional circumstances and the balance of the needs and preferences of the population as a whole or in the province concerned; but the national government and each provincial government, must use at least two official languages.

(b)   Municipalities must take into account the language usage and preferences of their residents.

4.   The national government and provincial governments, by legislative and other measures, must regulate and monitor their use of official languages. Without detracting from the provisions of subsections (2), all official languages must enjoy parity of esteem and must be treated equitably.

5.   Deals with minority languages.

Subsection (2) is a direct response and reaction to what occurred prior to 1994 in relation to indigenous languages of South Africa. No meaningful measures were put in place to elevate their status except prescribing them for lower primary education for different ethnic groups.

Mulokozi (LICCAP, 1997:76) says before colonialism, African languages were adequate for all spheres of life, including economy, culture, science and technology,

religion and mythology, politics and even international diplomacy. With an event of colonialism, the myth of inadequacy of indigenous languages was `invented' and, `our' governments and most of `our' intellectuals have continued to believe that myth up to the present time. What our intellectuals have not fully realized is that, that myth, like all imperial ideologies, was created to foster the economic and cultural interests of the conquerors.

If we Africans do not take the necessary steps, there will be no Africa in the twenty first century. If we lose our languages, we shall become linguistic appendages of French, English and Portuguese [and Afrikaans in our case], (Ngugi waThiong'o in an interview with Lee Nicholls, March 30, 1996, LICCAP, 1997:77).

The Republic of South Africa has the new government of National Unity to thank for the new procedures that include the official status of indigenous languages. If only we can take the necessary steps that, what is in the gazette is implemented, we will in the near future seize to be linguistic appendages of English and Afrikaans.

Huge sums of money were earmarked by the former government for the elevation of English and Afrikaans to the level at which they are today. Language planners of the nine official languages and other `stakeholders, must ensure that these languages get the necessary financial support from government to put them on par with English and Afrikaans.

Planning will take lots of dedication, time and money. Experts in each language group should consult broadly within respective speech communities before making decisions.

5.2. Language planning

Language planning is an attempt to interfere deliberately with a language or one of its varieties. That attempt may focus on either its status with regard to some other language or variety or its internal condition with a view to changing that condition or on both of these since they are not mutually exclusive. The first focus results in status planning; the second results in corpus planning (Wardhaugh, 1992:347).

Status planning changes the function a language or a variety of a language and the rights of those who use it. For example when a government declares that henceforth eleven languages rather than two, will be recognised in all functions, the newly recognised languages have gained status. So far as languages and their varieties are concerned, status changes are nearly always very slow, like, three years have gone by since Zulu and other indigenous languages became official languages but the languages mostly use in public places are still English and Afrikaans. Sometimes status changes, are actively contested and often leave strong residual feelings, for example, there are hot arguments and debates on the inadequacy of Zulu as a language of commerce, science and technology, there is no money for upliftment programmes for all indigenous languages as yet - and many

other reasons that are forwarded by government and some by opposition parties.

Corpus planning on the other hand seeks to develop a variety of a language or a language, usually to standardize it, that is, to provide it with the means for serving every possible language function in society. Consequently, corpus planning involves such matters as the development of an orthography, new sources of vocabulary, dictionaries and a literature, and the deliberate cultivation of new uses so that the language may extend its use into such areas as government, education and trade. These two types of planning may co-occur, for many planning decisions involve a combination of some change in status (Wardhaugh, 1992:347). This is the case with Zulu and other indigenous languages in the Republic of South Africa and there is an apparent third dimension with regard to these languages, that is, their official status is mainly on a regional basis in practice unlike English and Afrikaans whose status is all-inclusive.

Cobarrubias (1983) has described four typical ideologies that may motivate actual decision-making in language planning in a particular society: these are linguistic assimilation, linguistic pluralism, vernacularization and internationalism.

Linguistic assimilation revolves around the belief that everyone regardless of origin, should learn the dominant language of the society. France applied this policy within its borders, where French is used for all language functions, though Wardhaugh (1992:349) indicates that this has somehow been relaxed, there may be a level of

tolerance so that if a community with a minority language wishes to keep that language alive, it is allowed to do so but at its own expense.

Linguistic pluralism is the recognition of more than one language. It can be complete or partial, so that all or some aspects of life can be conducted in more than one language in a society. South Africa is included among such countries. Others are Belgium, Canada, Switzerland and Singapore.

Vernacularization is the restoration or elaboration of an indigenous language and its adoption as an official language. Internationalization on the other hand is the adoption of a non-indigenous language of wider communication either as an official language, or for such purposes as education and trade; like English in South Africa, Singapore, India ...

As a result of planning decisions, a language can achieve a variety of statuses (Kloss, 1968). A language may be a sole official language as French is in France, English is in the United Kingdom. Wardhaugh (1992:348) points out that the fact about the two languages stated above, does not necessarily appear in constitutions or recognised by statute, it is a matter of long-standing practice. Two or more languages may share official status in some countries, for example English and French in Canada, Zulu and TEN other languages in South Africa.

The new states of Africa are often multilingual but as a result of their histories, they have elites who speak a European language such as English or French. This language not only serves many as an internal working language but is also still regarded as the language that transcends local loyalties and the one that opens up access to the world outside the state. It is most likely that such a language will continue to be used and that positions of leadership will continue to go only to those with access to it, unless conditions change.

Sometimes in language planning, a "neutral" language, that is a language which is not English and which gives no group an advantage, is found. For example in the case of Kenya, in 1974 President Kenyatha decreed that Swahili was to be the language of the country, a language of Unity even though the majority of Kenyans did not speak the language. It has come a long way and today it has become a matter of national pride. But it has also developed varieties for example, Kenyan and Tanzanian Swahili is different.

Deliberate language planning is therefore very necessary, for without planning, changes may occur that exacerbate existing problems rather than alleviate them.

The language planning policy of South Africa as contained in the 1996 Annual Report of the Department of Art, Culture, Science and Technology reflects the following:

There is a Language Plan Task Group known as LANGTAG established by the Minister of the said Government Department in November 1995. This body advises the minister on the development of a national language plan for South Africa. The LANGTAG main committee and sub-committees, are said to have consulted with stakeholders and conducted a series of workshops on language issues, nationwide. Langtag's report adopts the position that a national language plan for South Africa should not be a single policy document to be used as a rigid blueprint, but that the government should adopt a flexible policy approach by devising an enabling framework consisting of guidelines and microplans for language policy development and implementation (p.54).

Langtag recommends that the current situation of language inequality in South Africa, should be corrected by a systematic series of political, economic and socio-cultural interventions. This should include language awareness campaigns to sensitise to the importance of language equity, regulating the use of all official languages in the public service, promoting the principle of functional multilingualism, encouraging people to move away from a unilingual practice and establishing nation-wide language services.

There is also a Pan South African Language Board which was inaugurated on 24 April 1996. This board is supposed to cater for all the official languages of South Africa but its membership is not representative. In 1997 we know for a fact that South Sotho, North Sotho, Setswana are not represented on the Board, and yet

other languages are over-represented. Another area which raises concern about this Board are the criteria used for the appointment of members. It looks like the criteria are based on something else other than linguistic for a number of language practitioners of substance in their languages, are not members of this Board. Funds for this board are allocated out of the Department's budget. The States Languages Services is rendering administrative support services to the board until it has its staff.

Language planning reports aimed at the dissemination of language planning and policy information have been published. For example:

Report No 5.1: Language as an economic resource. August 1996. Proceedings of a Language Planning Workshop conducted by Joseph Lo Bianco from Australia.

Report No 5.2: The Economics of Language. August 1996. Workshop conducted in co-operation with the Language Facilitation Programme, University of the Orange Free State.

Report No 5.3: Lexicography as a financial asset in a multilingual South Africa. October 1996. Proceeding of a Language Planning Workshop conducted in co-operation with the Bureau of the Woordeboek van die Afrikaanse Taal.

In addition Language Planning compiles and maintains a comprehensive language planning database covering fields such as language and language-related legislation a register of translation and interpreter training institutions in South Africa, a register of translator and interpreting services/bureaux in South Africa.

There are also newly formulated Language Councils. Each under an appropriate provincial management. Zulu has one managed in the KwaZulu-Natal province. Its members are drawn from language practitioners from different sectors of the Zulu speech community. For example; Zulu language departments in:

tertiary institutions,

training colleges,

schools,

the media,

publishers,

the bible society,

libraries,

subject advisers,

writers associations,

Department of Education,

Culture Services.

The isiZulu Council under the Department of Education and Culture in the Province of KwaZulu-Natal is concerned with the development, promotion, standardization and implementation of Zulu as a language. This Council is, like Langtag and Pansalb, supposed to consult widely before making decisions on behalf of the speakers of the language. The former Language Board was said to be prescriptive because decisions it was said, were made and meted out with little or no consultation. The new isiZulu Council formulated in 1995 is hoped to have learnt from their colleagues, the members of the former Language Board.

We agree with Fishman (1971:447) that language planning is the organised pursuit of language problems typically at a national level. In fact, Fishman has a political approach to language and is concerned with developing ways for people to solve language problems especially in emerging nations [like ours].

Toffelson (1991:2) sees language planning as the conscious efforts to affect the structure or function of language varieties.

Before we look into standardization in Zulu, we need to clarify that an observation pertinent to our case is that a standard language in English speaking countries, for example, is usually taken to mean the fairly standard usage in terms of grammar and vocabulary of the educated middle class. Partridge (1935:305) adds that it also tends to be a written rather than a spoken language. This is not the case with Zulu, for the standard variety is spoken and mostly by people who have never set

foot at school and who live within the perimeters of the seat of the Zulu language which is KwaZulu-Natal. We found it very interesting when we conducted our field work that most subjects whose Zulu is `undiluted' have had connections with this region in one way or another. Educational level proved not to be an issue here.

The standardised form of Zulu that we have referred to in this work is the School Zulu or institutionalised form, concerned with correctness of rules and it is nobody's mother tongue.

5.3. Standardization

Standardization is part of language planning and it is also a by- product of language variation. Standardization flows from language planning policies. Standardization is a process by which a language is codified in some way including the development of grammars, spelling books, dictionaries and possibly a literature. A measure of agreement has to be achieved about what is in the language and what is not. Once a language is standardized, it becomes possible to teach it in a deliberate manner (Bell, 1976:147).

The standardization process goes through the following stages: selection, codification, elaboration of function and acceptance.

One variety of a language is made to gain status over other varieties. The aim of promoting one variety, is to make it serve every possible language function in a society. A language may be granted an official status where it satisfies the legal, political and cultural set up on a nation-wide basis. It may also function as a provincial symbol (Fishman, 1978:540). Zulu like the other eight indigenous languages has been granted this status.

The process of standardization may proceed only after a norm has been selected and accepted. If and when a speech community disagrees on the form of a model to provide a norm, standardization is not likely to proceed. The standardized variety of a language is normally the preferred dialect chosen for some reasons which may be political, social, religious or a combination of reasons. The standardised variety serves as a model or norm for other varieties. The convention for the writing of this variety may be one characteristic (Wardhaugh, 1992:30).

The Central KwaZulu variety is the one that has been chosen among the other varieties of Zulu. We want to believe it is chosen for political, social and sentimental reasons, not linguistic. KwaZulu is the seat of the Zulu Royal House since the times of Jama. Traditions, customs, norms, values, culture, language that are practised and used in KwaZulu are taken as `proper and correct'. Under the Department of Education and later, Education and Culture, inspectors and language advisors used this variety as a model.

The standardised variety is taught in a deliberate manner, used in formal writing, in government and also extended to trade. It is therefore expected that everyone, irrespective of origin, learns the dominant variety which is then labelled as `correct'.

Sometimes we loose sight of the fact that the standardised form of a language is mainly used for the written form of the language, the rules of an orthography, and expect people to transfer the same rules to their everyday speech. Notwithstanding the fact that standardization attempts to reduce diversity in a language, we cannot prescribe what, and especially how, people should say what they want to say. There is no linguistic justification why **ukushayela**, `to sweep' is taken to be a better form than **ukushanela**, which all mean the same, `to sweep'.

The tenets of standardization say that it has a unifying effect. With regard to written forms, most probably, yes. But we have also realized that it could also have a divisive effect. In the case of Zulu, a large sector of the speech community never gets exposed to the standardised form of language. It is for those who have been to school. It is labelled as `School Zulu'. For example, the school does not recognise the following variation in the formation of locatives from nouns.

Noun	Locative
ithumbu	ethumbwini/ethumbini/
iphaphu	ephaphwini/ephaphini/

`School Zulu' regards these as non-standard because they are unpalatalized. Standardised forms are those which are resultant forms after the neat rules of palatalization as operative in great grammar books, have applied, namely:

Noun	Locative
ithumbu	ethunjini
iphaphu	ephashini

The rules applicable for this change are explained under internal factors.

In the formation of diminutives, standardised Zulu does not allow the use of forms like

idadana; idadanyana   <   idada

umlomonyana; umlomwana   <   umlomo

Pupils are forced to unlearn these forms which they normally use in their home environment (Lower Natal Coast Variety) and they are penalised for using them. Standardised forms for the above are:

idajana   <   idada

umlonyana   <   umlomo

Fact is, the rejected forms are used by speakers of the other varieties of the language except the chosen one. This creates a negative attitude to those speakers of a rejected variety. The choice itself may mean favouring speakers of one variety over others. The chosen norm is associated with power, and the rejected alternatives with lack of power. Attitudes play a significant role here. Equations which are not necessarily true may be drawn;

standardised Zulu = elite, powerful, better, proper, correct, pure.

other varieties = low, incorrect, improper, powerless ...

Other varieties are often taken as equivalent to non-standard or even sub-standard forms of language. When such terms are applied to language, they can connote various degrees of inferiority, which in turn can be carried over to those who speak the variety (Haugen, 1966:924-5).

The descriptive nature of standardization imposes constraints on the language. Manuscripts have been rejected by language board and language council members on grounds that they are too dialectal. Grammar books, some of which are written by non-Zulu speakers, are very prescriptive.

In Zulu, the standardization process is still full of gaps that need to be filled. On the question of selection, ideally it is the speakers of the language who should decide

on choosing and standardizing a variety but governments usually involve themselves in the standardization process. They establish bodies to regulate language matters, and to encourage changes that are perceived to be desirable in the language. Language Academies, and language boards and councils are examples of such bodies.

These government bodies, form committees to look into different aspects of language. For example:

terminology

literature

examinations

curriculum

orthography

graphization

codification

The former Zulu Language Board was very active on the compilation of terminology lists, graphization and codification. Zulu orthography has come a long way. The early missionaries used to write Zulu disjunctively and aspirated sounds without an h, for example:

si	tanda	uku	keta	aba	pati
we	like	to	choose	the	leaders
Sithanda			ukukhetha		abaphathi

They transferred the sounds as they used them in their languages especially English (British and American) [k], [t], [p] and word division followed the English patterns.

Today, it is an accepted fact that Zulu is written conjunctively. Apart from the adoption of a writing system and the establishment of spelling, other orthographic contentions such as word division, capitalization and punctuation are constantly looked into and changed, if need be. For example, the writing of the demonstrative pronoun + noun. The pronoun is now detached from the noun.

			Gloss
lesisitsha	>	lesi sitsha	this item of crockery
lenja	>	le nja	this dog

the **ke** is separated by a hyphen from words.

	Gloss
woza-ke	come
hamba-ke	go

The days of the week: capital letters have changed positions several times over the years. Currently they stand as follows:

		Gloss
uMsombuluko	(from umSombuluko)	Monday
uLwesibili	(ulwesiBili)	Tuesday
uLwesithathu	(ulwesiThathu)	Wednesday
uLwesine	(ulwesiNe)	Thursday

uLwesihlanu	(ulwesiHlanu)	Friday
uMgqibelo	(umGqibelo)	Saturday
iSonto	(iSonto)	Sunday

Nje now stands on its own without a hyphen.

Gloss

njalo nje	always
uyakhuluma nje	he just talks

These are but a few standardization procedures that have taken root in Zulu. Anybody who has anything to do with the writing of this language is expected to know and use these stipulations for they have far reaching effects as many budding writers would tell. Many a manuscript has been returned to its owner for revision if these stipulations are not followed to the letter. Pupils and students have failed examinations and assignments by not following these stipulations.

Elaboration, consists of developing a grammar and lexicon, as well as different registers and styles, such that a language can meet old functions in a new way or new demands by fulfilling new functions. For example, in KwaZulu-Natal all government notices include the Zulu version. At national level we notice that the 1996 Annual Report of the Department of Arts, Culture and Science has, for the first time, all eleven official languages listed.

The complication of terminology lists involves a lot of borrowing, that is, linguistic forms being taken over by Zulu from other languages. Borrowing takes place by substitution and addition. It is substitution if the borrowed item is used for a concept which already exists in the culture and it is addition if the borrowed concept does not exist in the culture. For example:

radio	>	irediyo	/ilediyo/iledo
TV	>	iTV	
Fridge	>	ifriji/ifliji	

Sometimes language academics will attempt to "purify" the language by replacing borrowings or adoptives, with newly coined words. Due to little or complete lack of consultation with the broader membership of the speech community by such bodies, some coinages are rejected by speakers. For example, in Zulu the following coinages did not appeal to the users and preference is instead placed on the adopted terms;

isiqandisisi, preference is for ifriji/ifliji

umabonakude, preference is for ithelevishini/iTV

indizamshini, preference is for ibhanoyi

The standardization is also obviously one that attempts either to reduce or to eliminate diversity and variety. In our field-work we came across the following remarks which give an indication on how people who use non-standardized varieties feel about standardised forms.

(a) **Ufuna siphi isiZulu?**

Which form of Zulu are you interested in?

(b) **Phela thina asikhulumi sona esezicwicwicwi**

We don't speak the Zulu of the educated.

(c) **Lapha kukhulunywa esamaqaba isiZulu.**

Here we speak the Zulu of the uneducated.

These remarks imply that other varieties are despised.

Standardization imposes a strain on languages or, if not on the languages themselves, on those who take on the task of standardizing them. That may be one of the reasons why various national academics have had so many difficulties in their work: they are essentially in a no-win situation, always having to `fix-up' the consequences of changes that they cannot prevent and continually being compelled to issue pronouncements on linguistic matters (Wardhaugh, 1992:33). For example: `School Zulu' standardised written form does not allow the following diminutive forms:

ingalwana	for	ingalo
ingalonyana		

idolwana	for	idolo
idolwanyana		

The accepted forms are **ingadlwana** and **idodlwana**, respectively. The latter forms fit beautifully within the linguistic patterns and rules of grammar namely in the formation of diminutives in Zulu: l > dl if it is in the final syllable of the noun. It is neat and tidy where as the other forms do not fit neatly into this rule.

Unfortunately those who think they can standardise and fix a language for all times are often quite influential and often find easy access to the media, there to bewail the fact that the language is becoming degenerate and corrupt and to advise us to return to what they regard as proper and perfect - the purist approach.

In the case of Zulu, a large sector of the speech community never gets exposed to the standardised form of language, since this is for only those who have been to school. It is the form of Zulu that is labelled `School Zulu' and **Esezicwicwicwi.**

Highly prescriptive grammar books are in the market. We consider the grammar books by linguists like Doke, Guthrie, Van Wyk, Nyembezi prescriptive because they are necessarily modular and smack of Chomskys Mentalist hypothesis. In this work, we are more inclined to agree with the grammar which is a description of what people do when they speak a language (Palmer, 1971:13), or a grammar which is a linguistic' account of the structure of a language (Van Riemsdijk and Williams, 1986:3), in Chomsky N (1986). The very nature of this work has exposed us to the richness and depth enshrined in the variation found within Zulu as a language.

We are aware though, that linguists as investigators need to write grammars down, but writing them down, does not bring them into existence. A grammar of a language should not be an artefact, where grammarians impose patterns on language and come out with grammars, which turn out to be very prescriptive, leaving out most of what people do when they speak the language, instead they lay down RULES OF CORRECTNESS as to how language should be used. Using such criteria as purity, logic, history or literary excellence. Prescriptivism aims to preserve imagined standards by insisting on norms of usage and criticizing departure from these norms (Crystal, 1971:275).

As far as literature is concerned, there is a fair number of books on the market, though many are tailored to suit school readership. Kubheka (1979:234) says there is a paucity of Zulu books on the market which shows that not much attention has been paid, to the development of Zulu as a literary language. He could only mean the scarcity of books meant for adult readership since school books are in abundance. Obviously most of the topics meant for school children do not appeal to general adult readership. Adults need to read about most of what is usually censored out of school books like sex and rape. What Kubheka calls the `straitjacketing of Zulu literature' (production of books for schools) has had a crippling effect on its growth.

There is yet no uniformity in the Zulu used for literary purposes. There is, however, an obvious bias by the Language Council and education authorities, towards the

Central KwaZulu variety as far as the grammatical structures are concerned. This bias is based on social and political reasons not linguistic. Despite this bias, writers do use their own varieties of Zulu, to the extent that one can identify the writer's area of origin from his or her literary works.

The Language Council encourages the compilation of Zulu terminology lists, and dictionaries. The State Language Service Department also compiles terminology lists. There are too few dictionaries on the market, (Zulu-English/English-Zulu) and fewer Zulu - other languages terminology lists. There is an outcry for decent and reliable dictionaries and terminology lists. There are no Zulu theusauriases. Lexicographers are being trained especially attached to Zulu departments at tertiary level. The old Zulu/English-Zulu dictionary by Doke (1929) needs to be revised. The recent combination of the Zulu-English Dictionary compiled by Doke and Vilakazi (Second edition, 1953) and the English-Zulu Dictionary compiled by Doke, Malcolm and Sikakana (1958) by Wits University Press in 1990 was a welcome move. The New English-Zulu/Zulu-English Dictionary (1990) has a new preface by Khumalo, which updates the tone markings and orthography of Doke and Vilakazi's Zulu-English Dictionary.

The media, starting from the Zulu weekly newspaper `Ilanga laseNatali', to Radio Zulu, to Zulu television programmes, almost all varieties are noticeable. Some radio and TV announcers have been criticised on the basis of their varieties especially on click sounds, c, q, ch and qh. The interchange of c and q, ch and qh (a variety

spoken on the Natal Swaziland border region) is not appreciated by most Zulu listeners. For example:

			Gloss
icanda	for	iqanda	egg
ceda	for	qeda	finish
qula	for	cula	sing
amaqiqi	for	amacici	earrings
chela	for	qhela	move back
chubeka	for	qhubeka	proceed

Rather than saying that the media in Zulu, is a `linguistic circus' as Kubheka (1979:235) says we choose to say that the media is all inclusive in its approach.

There is no conscious and determined effort to standardise Zulu on the part of Zulu speakers. We came to a conclusion that there is no true single standard Zulu but a number of varieties, the sum total of which make up Zulu as a language. The mutual intelligibility amongst these varieties overrides the social inclination of some Zulu speakers, that the KwaZulu varieties are purer and more `correct' than others.

Human speech is after all a democratic product, the creation not of scholars and grammarians, but of unlettered people. Scholars and men of education may cultivate and enrich it, make it flower into all the beauty of literary language (Pearsal Smith in Patrige (1935:306).

Perhaps a literary standard will emerge out of the standardization procedures that are underway and will serve as a medium for writers like standard German which is first of all a written language.

Standardization should not render a language rigid and regimented because this would detract from its variety, vitality and growth. It is only natural that new systems of thought and new modes of living should, by the very strength of their process and by their widespread currency, generate new words, new compounds, new phrases and even new modes expression. In short, language, though regulated, must change in company with the changing conditions of life (Patridge,(1935:305-306).

We do not foresee the disappearance of the spoken varieties of this language. They are too vibrant to die a natural death. Even varieties like Thefula which have been reported to be dying have survived in their regions. Fortunately the varieties that have been identified in this work and other works, for example, Kubeka's (1979) are mutually intelligible, therefore it is far fetched that there could be a breach in language continuum. Standardization will obviously continue, with all the boards concerned with the `improvement' of the language. With the passage of time, perhaps a literary standard will be arrived at, perhaps favouring the already existing bias by language practitioners and boards, towards the Central KwaZulu Variety wrapped in its political, social and sentimental perspectives rather than linguistic.

CHAPTER 6

LOOKING BACK

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6.0   INTRODUCTION

A scientific study of language, its uses and the linguistic norms that people observe, poses a number of problems. It goes far beyond merely devising schemes for classifying the various pieces of linguistic data we happen to observe. Wardhough (1992:9) says a more profound kind of theorizing is called for: some attempt to arrive at an understanding of the general principles of organization that surely must exist in both language and the uses of language. It is such attempts that led Saussure (1959) to distinguish between langue and parole, (group knowledge of language, and individual use of language respectively). Bloomfield (1933) stresses the importance of constructive distribution such as /p/ and /b/ as in pin and bin. These are constructive units in the structure of English because they signal differences in meaning. Pike (1967) distinguishes between emic and etic features of language. For him (/p/ and /b/ are emic units and not binary oppositions. Pike further points out that the two pronunciations of /p/ in /pin/ and in /spin/, are not constructive, but etic). Sapir (1921) and much later Chomsky (1965) stress the distinction between the surface characteristics of utterances and the deep realizations of linguistic form behind these surface features. This is to show that there are several ways of doing linguistics. Linguistic variation provides a rich area for linguistic theorizing.

6.1   The Case For Variation

Martinet (1964:522) develops what Labov calls a `catastrophic' view of the relations of social and linguistic events.   He argues that extraordinary social upheavals can disturb the linguistic equilibrium at rare intervals, setting off a wave of a linguistic readjustment in which purely internal factors govern the succession of changes over years, centuries and millenia.   Thus there is no one who would deny the importance of conquests, invasions and massive immigration, with consequent extinction, superposition, or merger of whole languages.   According to Lanham (1963) we can distinguish three sub-types namely:

(i)   an invasion in which the language of the conquered all but disappears, as with Celtic in Britain; in our case as with the tribes conquered by Shaka which had to abandon their languages and learn and internalise not only the language but also the culture and life style of the Zulu.

(ii)   a conquest in which the conquerors eventually adopt the language of the conquered, with consequent large-scale alteration in a class-stratified vocabulary as with the Norman hegemony.

(iii)   an invasion with results in an intimate mingling of two populations, with intimate borrowing of vocabulary and function words as with the Scandinavian invasions of England.

Chambers (1995:30) says that categorical theory and variation theory are luckily separate enough that they need only to share the general view of the language faculty. That shared view marks their common ground as linguistic theories. Beyond that, they have their own domains and ways of proceeding. In the earliest proposals for variable rules, social linguists concerned of these rules as a refinement optional rules in contemporary generative theory. Labov (1972a:93-5); Wolfram and Fasold (1974:99-100); Cedergren and Sankoff (1974:352) declare that the full importance of variable rules can be appreciated only from a certain paradigmatic viewpoint, one which constitutes a slight but distinct shift from generative theory. They enumerated the need for generative theory to broaden its notion of competence by including variability and also to use actual speech samples as data rather than intuitions. But these changes would amount to generative theory giving up the axiom of categoricity, thus moving the domain of study away from langue - energeia - competence, which are important aspects of categorical linguistics.

The fundamental difference between variationist and categorical theories is explained by Gleason (1961:391-2) that a categorical linguist goes about assembling and describing `a narrowed corpus' by restructuring his attention as far as possible to utterances produced by one native speaker under a single set of circumstances or sometimes even thinking up data that conforms to the rule/s.

Another valid but basically very different approach that Gleason puts forth is where a researcher takes an `unregularised corpus' and study the variants in it by seeking

correlations with non-linguistic factors, commonly the speaker and the circumstances. The results will be different from those of the narrowed corpus since the variation under examination is precisely that which the descriptivist will attempt to eliminate.

With the second approach a linguist might gather data by recording a conversation and then analysing the usage of the participants by looking at how the variants in their speech are determined by social conditions.

In this work we have seen how in Chapter 3, despite the categorical rules, we end up with different ways of saying one thing. Some variations can only be explained in terms of extra-linguistic factors. For example the following utterances mean exactly the same:

UThemba   usekhaya

UThemba   ukekhaya

(Themba is at home).

The copulative derived from the locative in the first utterance can be explained in terms of separating the subject prefix and locative prefix with locative -s-.

UThemba u-s-e khaya.

But how do you account for the -k- in the second utterance except by attributing it to social variation. This represents a variety of Zulu spoken in the Lower Natal Coast region.

We illustrated in chapters three and four, how variation is noticeable in Zulu. We

also realized that there is considerable variation in the speech of any one individual; but that there are definite bounds to this variation: No individual is free to do exactly what he or she pleases so far as language is concerned. You cannot pronounce any way you please, or make drastic changes in word order in sentences as the mood suits you. If you do any or all of these things, the results will be unacceptable even gibberish. Variation that is permitted has limits, these limits can be described with considerable accuracy and they apply to groups of speakers, that is, there are group norms so far as variation is concerned (Wardhough, 1992:6).

What Wardhough means here is that in putting together a language, there must be a systematic way of relating a given meaning to the superficial arrangement of parts of a sentence. For example, there has to be a way of telling apart the subject and object of a sentence, and there are only a limited number of logically possible ways to do this in the structure of differing types of languages.

Haugen (1976) describes the preoccupation with "correct" norms of usage when faced with varieties of ones own language as schizo-glossia - as opposed to Fergurson's (1959) diglossia which he defines as a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standard), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superimposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of literature (written) either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for

most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.

In all four cases studied by Ferguson namely, Switzerland, Haiti, Greece and the Arab world, where diglossia obtains, he calls the superordinate variety the High (H) and the colloquial variety the Low (L). In each case the H is very divergent from the L obviously marked in the grammar rather than in the phonology or the lexicon. The H has more grammatical categories and more exceptions to the rule. The H, a written variety is codified and thus `fixed' and self-consciously elaborated over an extended time whereas the colloquial variants are not (Downes, 1984:55-6). The L is relatively free to diverge and sine H is only formally acquired through education, those learning it must mediate it through their mother tongues, the L. Ferguson notes that there are often lexical pairs in H and L, synonyms which radically mark a text as belonging to one variety or the other.

In our case, what Ferguson says here in some way relates to the standardized Zulu learnt at school which is also very restricting and prescriptive, allows very limited, if any variation at all. Ferguson's H and L varieties sound like a kind of super-standardisation. The H is the vehicle for literary traditions, it symbolises the communities historical identity and its associated values, it is the prestigious form (Downes, 1984:58). There are usually the same judgements made on the beauty and efficacy of the H which is noted about standardisation in general. In Zulu as we indicated in chapter five, the standardised form is not prestigious and moreover

is not necessarily used in literature -it is just Zulu that is used in education. It is fixed and does not allow variation whereas the other varieties of Zulu embrace variation. We agree with Ferguson (1959:58) that the H is no one's mother tongue, not used by any sector of the community for casual conversation because it has a distinctive pattern of acquisition which is a consequence of its functional specialisation - in our case even that functional specialization is not in place yet.

Looking at the specialization of functions of H and L from Ferguson (1959) are not as clearly defined in Zulu at best, it is a mixture of both except in school and educational matters whereas Ferguson's research yielded the following results, (Downes, 1984:59).

	High	Low
Sermon in church a mosque	x	
Instruction to servants		x
Official letter	x	
Speech in parliament	x	
University lecture	x	
Conversation with friends		x
News broadcast	x	
Radio Soap opera		x
Newspaper editorial, captions	x	
Poetry	x	
Folk literature		x

The use of H is obviously divisive in nature for it is only the few, who have access to literacy and therefore can learn the H and simultaneously excludes most people from participating in key social functions like politics, law, education.

The High and Low distinction of varieties of the same language is a form of distinguishing between varieties in terms of the domains in which they are used or of the social role/status of those who speak them (Barbour and Stevenson, 1990:56).

In their discussion on variation in German, Barbour and Stevenson (1990:136) speak of a traditional German dialect, which encompasses an enormous range of varieties differing from village to village and not classified in terms of how they compare to the grammar and vocabulary found in the speech of educated middle-class people. This traditional dialect compares well with the variety of Zulu that we labelled as prestigious spoken form which is used predominantly by members of the speech community who do not know anything about standardised forms of Zulu.

Inferior school performance, and the general social disadvantage which stems partly from it, has been seen to result not just from the difficulty that traditional dialect speakers experience in switching from their native speech to the obligatory standardised language; some writers have attributed it to the very nature of traditional dialect speech itself, which, they claim, inhibits intellectual development. It is taken as a deficient variety, a `restricted code' according to the work of the

British educational sociologist Bernstein 1971. In his paper (1971:136) restricted code is very clearly equated with working class speech, whereas, middle-class speech consists of both elaborated and restricted codes. Restricted code is described (1971:134) as having low level and limiting syntacting organisation ... and little motivation towards increasing vocabulary. This view of the distribution of the codes and of the deficient character of restricted code can lead to a view of working class as fundamentally linguistically disadvantaged. For example, in our case when the Zulu in central KwaZulu resist the use of vocabulary items from other languages and code switching, Bernstein sees this practice as not only restricting the code but also as an inability on the part of these people to cope with the `more advantage' form of language, because of their social standing namely, mainly working class and never been to school. Halliday (1978:xiv) disputes Bernstein's approach by simply noting that speakers of different social groups show different attitudes to the use of, or the appropriateness of various registers in language.

Ammon in Barbour et al (1990:50) says working-class speech has an inadequate nature in that its vocabulary is restricted in areas connected with learning and modern technology. Perhaps this could be taken as one of the reasons why we do not have many distinction passes at all levels in Zulu. Pupils and students get into formal learning institutions with their traditional dialect and are forced to switch to standardised variety in order to discuss academic matters in a generally accepted way. Academic and technical matters are conventionally discussed in the

standardised variety, meaning that in order to produce socially acceptable language academic and technical registers, speakers of other varieties have to make considerable adjustments to their native speech.

Our work involves, in Barbour and Stevensons' (1990:74) words both the approaches of social dialectologists and sociolinguists views on variation and also that of traditional dialectologists in that we have shown interest, not exclusively but principally, in variation in and between speech forms and we have attempted to account for this variation in ways that incorporate both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors. Regardless of whether we are talking of individuals or groups of speakers, extra-linguistic factors are subsumed in the concept of social context as they all relate to the conception of a speaker as a social being. Sociolinguistic explanations of linguistic variation should then provide insights both into the speech variety and into the speech community, that is, supply answers to questions both on the nature and on the social function and the social meaning of linguistic variation.

We have also shown concern on trying to establish differences between one speech variety and another, which is variation based on the margins of linguistically defined territories (cf. Goosens, 1981:304), for example the Central KwaZulu variety, the Natal Lower Coast variety and others as indicated in Chapter 3. In this traditional dialectologist approach, variation is not regarded as an inherent aspect of speech varieties, but rather a peripheral and transitory phenomenon that is a symptom change in progress. Furthermore, language is seen as an independent organism

with a life of its own, so that individual speakers are of interest only as a source of linguistic data for a given location, as human reference books rather than as members of complex social groups or networks. Explanations in traditional dialectology do not take account of human behaviour patterns or attribute social meaning to linguistic variation; they are intended as answers to questions on the geographical differentiation between related speech varieties and on the shapes of linguistic landscapes.

> I talk the way I talk, and I ain't likely to
> change now. Laurence (1968:71).

Some people will concentrate on how a person says something rather than what he says, like Bram's wife criticising his language and not responding to the information he was giving. Occasionally such criticism might cause speakers to alter their speech or try to, but most people, like Bram, will not change. Some would like to change but find themselves incapable of it, the criticisms serve to make them self-conscious and insecure, especially where the participants are of unequal standing like teachers evaluating students, managers deciding the occupational rank of applicants.

The underlying cause of sociolinguistic differences, largely beneath consciousness, is the human instinct to establish and maintain social identity. From the distinct accents of the three old hunting bands in Sheshatshiu, the territoriality of the men

in Ballymacearett to the urbanity of their women; markers of adolescence and other cases, show the profound need for people to show they belong somewhere and to define themselves, sometimes narrowly and sometimes generally. If linguistic differentiation is imposed by a higher class to mark their position at the top of the hierarchy, we should expect to find that it is sustained by the higher class. It has become evident that this is by no means one-sided. The other classes too, play key roles in sustaining linguistic differentiation.

Jespersen's (1922) notion that non-standard varieties must inevitably diminish with the rise of nationalism and other kinds of centralization has proven false. All social strata, not just the empowered stratum, feel the need to assert their linguistic identity. The fact that the most powerful tools - educational materials, for instance, and other codifications - are not enough to overwhelm the need (Chambers, 1995:252). This partly explains why `the school' has failed to make children unlearn their traditional varieties. Sociolinguists have discovered, deeply embedded in the linguistic attitudes of several societies, that covert prestige clung to those varieties with no less tenacity than overt prestige attaches itself to the standard.

Prejudices passed on varieties rather than the standard one, are as insidious as prejudices based on skin colour or religion, and have the same results. They unfairly limit self-fulfilment. They do so partly by restricting an individual's occupational and social mobility. Limiting the social and occupational possibilities with non-standard accents for example, guarantees that their accents will endure.

The stigmatization of accents and dialects, even in fairly benevolent societies, preserves social asymmetries. Chambers (1995:253), cites examples of mothers who isolate their children from their neighbours lest they start sounding like them, teachers whose idolatry of prescriptive norms causes students to tremble as they write, supervisors who dismiss workers' suggestions because of the way they were stated, the manager who declares that the voice at the switchboard will reflect ignominiously on the whole corporation - all these done with an aim of promoting the standard at the expense of other varieties . Despite these and other measures embarked on in different situations, variation persists.

Enshrining the standard variety in print inhibits change as far as possible, although never very far, in Chambers's words (1995:251) since change is irrepressible, orthographies become ever more inaccurate reflections of speech, dictionaries become repositories of archaisms, and usage guides become edicts of ritualised grammar. Living languages never hold still. Every living language (including Zulu) is a product of change and it continues to change as long as it is spoken. For the most part these changes escape our attention as they occur. Over a span of centuries however, their cumulative effect is appreciable (Langacker, 1973:179).

All factors that have to do with variation in language, enrich it and give it depth and also broaden the language. Wardhaugh maintains that a language exists in a number of varieties, and is in one sense, a sum total of those varieties. In other words, a language could be taken as a unitary system of linguistic communication

which subsumes a number of mutually intelligible varieties.

We strongly support this line of reasoning in this work. Our fieldwork informed us that the varieties of Zulu are mutually intelligible irrespective of location and the stratum of the members of the speech community. An ideal situation would be to acknowledge the use of varieties of Zulu even in their written form especially in the institutions of learning where there is complete rejection of other forms other than the standardised. Fortunately for the spoken word, variation has survived against suppression, for no one has absolute power over <u>HOW</u> people should say what they want to say. For example, linguistically, there is no better form than others amongst the following, to mean:

Sweep	**and a**	**broom**
sha<u>ne</u>la		umsha<u>ne</u>lo
sha<u>nye</u>la		umsha<u>nye</u>lo Natal South Coast Variety
<u>tha</u>nela		um<u>tha</u>nelo Northern Natal Variety
sha<u>ye</u>la		umsha<u>ye</u>lo Central KwaZulu Variety

What we are saying here is, despite the obvious geographical variants (underlined) which are recognised, they do not interfere with the mutual intelligibility aspect. Based on other reasons rather that linguistic ones, <u>shayela</u> and <u>umshayelo</u> are the preferred forms, although the interchangeability of their meanings is known to all members of the speech community except those who have only been taught the preferred form like third language learners.

6.2   Conclusion

Our work is by no means exhaustive on the field of variation in Zulu. We have however remarked that linguistic change presupposes a phase of variation and there are changes taking place out there, not in grammar books where the language has been fossilised. For example we have deliberately left out lexical variation although the lexicon is the level of linguistic structure of which speakers are most consciously aware and consciously manipulate, and where even adults can learn new items. It is therefore a much less fundamental MARKER of different language types than are grammatical (Barbour and Stevenson, 1990:169). This is work that needs to be done not as addenda to research projects but full scale. We also urge researchers to look into the variety of Zulu spoken by interlopers and aspirers especially in recent years when there are numerous programmes geared to teach outsiders to speak the language. They must undoubtedly have come up with a variety of their own, which needs to be analysed.

This study also notes that negative attitudes towards spoken varieties used in other regions rather than the seat of isiZulu can be curbed through the introduction and upliftment programmes to promote the use of varieties of Zulu.

We also conclude by echoing the following pertinent statements made regarding the implentation of the resolutions taken at the second International LICCA Conference (held in Maseru, Lesotho during September 1993) that the recommendations

towards the upliftment of African Languages should not remain mere statements of intent, as has been the case in the past, but should be implented in real life. Full implementation is not possible with immediate effect, but steps should be taken immediately. In the implentation process, the language authorities should make full use of the available expertise in the field of languages and culture promotion, including language planning specialists and educationists (Calteaux 1996:208).

Questionnaire form

Ifomu yoluhla lwemibuzo

<u>Part One</u> **(Ingxenye yokuqala)**

Please give us your personal details (not your name)

Sicela usiphe le mininigwane emayelana nawe (kodwa hhayi igama lakho).

Age	:	Between			
Ubudala	:	**Phakathi kweminyaka engu -**	15	-	20 years
			20	-	25
			25	-	30
			35	-	40
			45	-	50
			50	-	60
			60	-	70

Sex	Male	Female
Ubulili	**Owesilisa**	**Osesifazane**

Place of residence	City	**Idolobha**
Indawo ohlala kuyo	**Rural Area**	**Isemakhaya**

Region or District :

Isifunda :

Level of education :   Never been to school

Izinga lemfundo   :   **Angikaze ngiye esikoleni**

                                        Between Grade   0   -   Grade 4

                                        Phakathi kuka   Grade 4 - Grade 8

                                        Grade 9 - Grade 12

                                        Degree

                                        Ngineziqu

Occupation

Umsebenzi owenzayo

Part Two **(Ingxenye Yesibili)**

What is your father tongue

Ukhuluma limi luni ekhaya

Do you ever hear people speaking different Zulu from the one you speak?

Uke uhlangane nabantu abakhuluma isiZulu esihlukile kwesakho?

Where do those people stay?

Bahlalaphi labo bantu?

Do you understand one another when you talk?

Niye nizwane ukuthi nithini uma nikhuluma?

Please mention two words which these people say differently from your way of saying them.

Ake usiphe amagama amabili abawasho ngokwehlukile kweyakho indlela yokukhuluma.

Do you like the way they speak?

Uyayithanda indlela abakhuluma ngayo?

Where do you think "good proper" Zulu is spoken?

Ucabanga ukuthi sikhulunywa kuphi isiZulu esihle?

Why do you say that?

Yini usho kanjalo?

How is the Zulu you speak?

Sinjani isiZulu osikhulumayo?

Part Three (**Ingxenye Yesithathu**)

The realization of **ng-** (especially non-initial position)

Respondents - informants encouraged to talk about what they were doing five years ago. Answering questions like

Wawuneminyaka emingaki ngo 1994?

Wawuhlalaphi?

Wawusebenzaphi?

Wawunemali eningi ngo1994?

Response most likely to be

Ngangi .... (Positive)

Nganginga ... (Negative)

The realization of /r/ (pictures of foreign items with /r/ shown and respondent-informants to say them out.

Yini le?

Items on flash cards

lorry, ruler, eraser, rice, robot, rama, radio, razor blade.

Obviously items used at school will not be shown to people who have never been to school.

The realization of /k'/ and /k/

Adverbs of manner: Give the opposites of the following:

Ngicela unginike igama elinomqondo ophikisana naleli engizolisho

kahle   (kabi)

kancane   (kakhulu)

kalula   (kanzima)

kade   (kafishane)

The realization of /h'/ and /<u>h</u>/

Pictures of individuals engaged in actions whose verbs have an /h/ sound

Wenzani lo muntu?

picture of a person   walking   (hamba)

                               receiving wages   (hola)

                               snoring   (hona)

                               panting   (hefuzela)

The persistence of palatalization in Zulu in diminutives where the following sounds

are in the last syllable of the word:

/m/, /mb/, /mp/, /p/, /bh/, /b/, /n/, /t/, /th/, /ph/

and locatives where the following sounds are int he last syllable of the word:

/b/, /h/, /mb/, /ph/, /m/.

Use of pictures and pointing of some parts of the body.

Ake unginike ukuthi uthini uma lokhu engizokukhombisa khona kukuncane uthi yini

ido<u>l</u>o

umlo<u>m</u>o

ithu<u>mb</u>u

iphe<u>ph</u>a

iko<u>p</u>i

isigu<u>bh</u>u

ingu<u>b</u>o

Locatives

Ake usho ukuthi kukuphi lapha

(touching the part of the body or showing a picture)

umlomo

imbobo

umbombo

uzipho

Passives

Ake usho ukuthi lokhu engizokusho kwenziwani

Isibhamu   (du<u>b</u>ula)

Isondo   (mpo<u>mp</u>a)

Inkomo   (hla<u>b</u>a)

Umthwalo   (bo<u>ph</u>a)

Umuzi   (kho<u>mb</u>a)

The realization plural subject prefix classes i-, in-, im-, ulu-

Uthi yini lezi zinto ozibona esithombeni uma seziziningi?

ingane

imbuzi

imoto

unyawo

The realization of /k/ and /kh/ class 15 demonstrative pronoun

Yithi lokhu engizokusho:

(1) kuseduze nawe, (2) kubuqamama, (3) kukude

                       ukudla

The realization of click sounds

Respondents will be urged to give all possible terms they know for an item.

Ake unginike igama lale nto oyibona kulesi sithombe

pictures of:

/c/   earings, a shoe

/q/   eggs

/x/   a frog

ch   a Zulu woman's head gear

qh   a small kerrie

xh   an old man

nc   a book

nq   a Zulu, harvest storage hut

nx   a big Zulu homestead

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