THE MELTING POT IN GA-MATLALA MASERUMULE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE BAPEDI CULTURE, LANGUAGE AND DIALECTS

by

MABULE LIZZY MOKWANA

submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

in the subject

AFRICAN LANGUAGES

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

SUPERVISOR: PROF. D M KGOBE

NOVEMBER 2009

DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation THE MELTING POT IN GAMATLALA MASERUMULE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE BAPEDI CULTURE, LANGUAGE AND DIALECTS, is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

_____   _____

Signature   Date

(M L Mokwana)

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank God Almighty for making all things possible for me, for giving me the strength and wisdom to undertake this study to its completion.

I wish to extend my heartfelt and sincere thanks to the following people who have contributed in a special way to make this research project possible:

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my younger sister, Mahlomola Queen Leshaba, who died before she could witness the fruits of her encouragement.

SUMMARY

The dissertation tries to explain why most of the Bapedi people do not feel free to speak their language when they are among other communities. It explains why the speakers of the so-called 'inferior' dialects of the Limpopo Province have an inferiority complex while the speakers of the 'superior' dialects are confident when speaking their dialects.

The standardisation of the Northern Sotho Language Board and the missionary activities within the Bapedi communities led to the creation of 'superior' and 'inferior' dialects.

A detailed discussion is presented of the social rural and urban varieties, which found in Bapedi culture. Some of these varieties are kept secret and therefore are unknown to the public; and others, which are not secretive in nature.

The use of language and the impact of language contact between languages is discussed.

Key words:
Sociolinguistic approach, rural and urban varieties, language contact, language variation, interference, code switching and borrowing.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER 4: LANGUAGE CONTACT, LANGUAGE VARIETIES, INTERFERENCE, CODE SWITCHING AND BORROWING IN SEPEDI LANGUAGE SPOKEN IN LIMPOPO PROVINCE (GA-MATLALA MASERUMULE)

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION, OBSERVATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

CHAPTER 1

1. INTRODUCTION

1.0 OVERVIEW

This dissertation entitled *'The Melting Pot in gaMatlala Maserumule with special reference to the Bapedi culture, language and dialects'* seeks to discuss the historical perspective and geographical distribution of Bapedi people. The dissertation further analyses the existence of various social activities among the Bapedi people. The study therefore focuses on language contacts, language varieties, interference, and code switching and borrowing in the Sepedi language and dialects spoken and written in the Limpopo Province. Several studies on the individual dialects have been undertaken but to date no single depth study from a changing angle has been tackled.

Accordingly, several very important factors make a study of this kind desirable.

To encapsulate some of the linguistic features of these dialects before they are thrown into oblivion is of special value to scholarship and posterity in the present era of rapid change including language change and reconstruction.

Similarities between these dialects are an interesting feature in view of their geographical distribution across the length and breadth of Limpopo Province. There might even be a common history and some genetic relationships between the groups.

The Sepedi dialect, as spoken mainly at ga-Rakgwadi (Mohlalaotwana), Phokwane, ga-Masemola, and Mogaladi in the Nebo district in the Southern part of Polokwane, has been selected as a basis for the investigation survey of the Bapedi dialects spoken today. Traditionally, most other Bapedi tribes regard the Sepedi dialect as the nucleus or parent stock from which they branched off.

The Bapedi still more or less occupy the same geographical area in which they are believed to have lived for many years and from which the other Bapedi tribes are believed to have split.

The Sepedi, being more central and the least influenced by the other African languages, would probably have retained more sound features and characteristics of the original Sepedi speech forms than the other Bapedi dialects.

The above reasons for selecting Sepedi as a basic dialect do not in any way overlook or underestimate the fact that, apart from the possible internal changes that may have taken place in its sound system over the years, it may have undergone some changes because of modern economic conditions, which have more or less eliminated the tribal boundaries. It also examines the extent to which language varieties have influenced the standard form of Sepedi.

People leave their homes to seek employment in the industrial centres in different locations. This is where they come into contact not only with other Sepedi dialects but also with those of other African tribes, with the result that when they go back home they carry with them the new speech forms that they have thus acquired.

The church has introduced new speech forms into the Bapedi dialects by using religious books, such as the Bible and hymnbooks written in Sepedi, and young people especially, have been influenced by schoolbooks written in other Bapedi dialects.

1.1   AIMS OF THE STUDY

The aim of this study is to investigate the varieties of Sepedi spoken in Limpopo Province and to examine how these varieties differ from the standard form. Furthermore, the study intends to investigate the extent to which the written form of Sepedi is influenced by the spoken varieties.

This study was prompted by an outcry among some of the Bapedi that the current Sepedi usage in Limpopo Province deviates markedly from the generally accepted standard language. The so-called 'poor' form of Sepedi is what is perceived as being heard everywhere; in the workplace, in taxis, on the streets and school premises. Code switching and borrowing are also identified as common features in modern Sepedi and can be regarded as some of the features, which could have contributed to the so-called poor form of Sepedi.

Another feature that appears to be a general tendency among the youth is the negligence of the home language. The reason for this apparent situation is that these speakers seem to adopt the attitude that Sepedi is no longer important since it has no viability and those who advocate the use of the home language are regarded as less educated and backward.

There is little, and often inaccurate, information on the number of language varieties spoken in the gaMatlala Maserumule area. There is also little information on the distribution of the varieties and the way they are used in the various domains in Limpopo Province; some of this information appears unreliable. The present study intends addressing this situation.

Another aspect that those who study language variation steadfastly stress is that social contexts are important, if not central, to this type of study. Very often students of linguistic variation are inclined to ignore the historical and social forces that have brought their field of speciality to its current situation. Some have never thought about this issue, perhaps taking for granted that only linguists focus on language variation or they consider that such concerns have arisen outside the usual social, political, economic or personal forces that are at work on any topic (Fasold 1984:4).

According, to Shy (in Sekere 2004:3), a great deal of information is found on the political, social and economic history of various areas of the world, but from where they originated is sketchy at best. The movement of people from one place to another contributed to the development of different language varieties. Since language is open-ended and adaptable, it changes according to the changing social circumstances and the changing needs of speakers, as well as the changing conditions in general. As with other languages throughout the world, changes have also taken place in the Sepedi language in the Limpopo province.

Although the different contact situations of the Sepedi language will be outlined, the focus will be on the changes of linguistic forms that have been adopted into the Sepedi language and their impact on the language.

This research will investigate language varieties in all their manifestations, whether determined by the geographical location of a speech community or by social, religious or any other activities/contexts.

It is a well-established fact in linguistics that all languages **change** through time. According to Thomason and Kaufman (as cited by Mulaudzi 1999:21), change in language may occur because of three factors, namely:

'**Drift** i.e. tendencies within the language to change on certain ways as a result of structural imbalances; the second factor is dialect interference, both between stable, strongly differentiated dialects and third factor is between weakly differential spread (in waves) of a particular change and foreign interference'.

1.2   SCOPE AND COMPOSITION OF CHAPTERS
This study comprises five chapters: an introductory chapter, three contents chapters and a concluding chapter.

Chapter One provides a brief introduction of the aims of the research, the research site, and research approach. Definitions are also given of language, dialects, diglossia, register, regional, social varieties etc., which are drawn from the foundational literature of sociolinguistics.

Chapter Two provides a historical perspective on the migrations of the Bapedi people as well as their modern day geographical distribution. A historical perspective always throws light on the current distribution of people and can explain some of the differences that may be detected in their language.

Chapter Three shows that the term 'dialect' is too restricted in this application, especially considering the various spoken forms that characterise the Bapedi language. A detailed discussion is then presented of language varieties, other than social varieties. The varieties occur in both the rural and urban communities. In this regard, it is shown that two major categories need to be identified and the need for such a categorisation is substantiated in the discussion under the heading of 'Urban and rural social varieties'.

Chapter Four provides a scenario whereby language variation becomes particularly manifest and is concerned with language contact and language variation. Against a background of language contact, this chapter also considers interference, code switching and borrowing as related phenomena among Sepedi speakers in Limpopo Province

schools, because when people are in contact with speakers of other languages or dialects these linguistic phenomena are bound to occur.

Finally Chapter Five presents the general conclusions. It highlights some of the observations and recommendations of the study and an overview of the most important features of the different language varieties that characterise the Bapedi language.

1.3 Data Gathering Techniques

This inquiry employed a combination of research techniques such as a qualitative interview, a quantitative research approach and questionnaires.

1.3.1 Qualitative interviews

Lindlof and Taylor (2002:170) as cited by Sekere (2004:16) define the qualitative interview as 'an event in which one person (the interviewer) encourages others to freely articulate their interests and experiences'. They point out that the interview technique has become so important that it is employed in nearly all-qualitative research. This method is particularly relevant for eliciting large amounts of authentic data.

According to Lindlof and Tayllor (2002:174–175) as cited by Sekere (2004:17), 'interviews provide accounts of people's experiences, offer explanations of behaviour, enable the researcher to understand native conceptualizations of communication and elicit the language forms used by social actors in natural settings. The qualitative interview is more focused on eliciting the interviewee's point of view than confirming the researcher has fixed positions'.

Interviews are also useful for gathering information about things or processes that cannot be observed effectively by other means and inquiring about the past. They can be used to verify, validate or comment on information obtained from other sources and achieve efficiency in data collection. The interview was thus utilized in this inquiry to obtain new information, for instance from the tribal councillors, to verify information and to get a clear picture of the various points of view on the issue of language and dialects in gaMatlala Maserumule.

In this inquiry, interviews were used to gather historical information, language contact and borrowing in gaMatlala Maserumule's schools. The questions used to elicit information were semi-structured to allow for maximum flexibility and to put the interviewees at ease. The researcher's list of questions was based on a broad area of inquiry and related questions and the questions were not asked in a fixed order.

Interviewees were free to express themselves at length and to digress, although the researcher endeavoured to cover all the important areas with each interview.

The focus in this study is on the spoken language rather than on the written form. It is a well-supported view that changes in the language were first attested in the spoken language rather than in the written form. To get information and to study the language effectively, interviews had to be conducted with the speakers of this language. This facilitates the reliability of the data.

Sociolinguistics is the study of a language as spoken by society. As a result, interviews are an indispensable mechanism to ascertain changing words in Sepedi. Because Sepedi is so dynamic, interviews are one way of corroborating information. Learners and educators were interviewed to establish their knowledge of Sepedi as well as their attitude towards it.

Sepedi is spoken in gaMatlala Maserumule and other parts of the Limpopo Province, Gauteng and Mpumalanga. Because of its large geographical dispersion and the resultant interaction with other languages, Sepedi has developed different varieties. Although it is spoken in this large geographical area, the present study intends focusing the investigation of the Sepedi language variation specifically in gaMatlala Maserumule.

Sepedi has various dialects; this study has chosen only five dialects, which are Pulana, Lobedu, Tlokwa, Kone and Serwa, because these are the most prevalent in gaMatlala Maserumule.

A qualitative research approach means that the research will rely on the quality of the data. Taylor and Bodgan (1998:3) as cited by Sekere (2004:10) define qualitative methodology as being more than a set of data gathering techniques; it is a way of

approaching the empirical world. In its broadest sense, qualitative methodology refers to research that produces descriptive data, in other words, the people's own spoken and written words and observable behaviour.

For the purposes of this study, the qualitative method was used as a natural approach because the researcher had to be present in the phenomena that occurred in that setting. The researcher also had the opportunity of interviewing people residing in gaMatlala Maserumule.

1.4 Quantitative Research Approach

The quantitative research method on the other hand was critical to the investigation because the researcher had to construct through direct personal observation of the social behaviour of the speakers of the language in that particular community.

This had to be done as closely as possible to the way the Bapedi view the universe and organize their lives within it. A 'primary source' refers to the interviews and conversations held with the informants from high schools (educators and learners). In this study, 18 informants were chosen for the quality of data to be guaranteed. The informants were chosen randomly from high school learners and their educators.

The radical change revealed by the analysis of this research represents the sole interpretation of the matter given to the writer by the informants and not the ideas of renowned scholars in sociolinguistics. Some ideas acquired from the source of reference were intended to support the argument presented.

1.4.1 Questionnaires

Questionnaires were used in this study to establish whether educators and learners know and speak Sepedi. This enabled the researcher to analyse the data as spoken in learning institutions such as schools. Two types of questionnaires were used in this research. The first type of questionnaire was structured for learners and included questions such as: When you are with your friends, which language do you most often speak? Which language do you speak inside and outside the classroom? Do your educators speak to you in Sepedi?

The second type of questionnaire was composed for educators and included questions such as: Do you address your learners in Sepedi? Do you think it is right for you as an educator to speak dialects? How do you as an individual see the future of a standard Sepedi language? (See appendix 3).

1.4.2 Analysis of the data

Data collected from the Kotole High School in the Ditholong village, the Motodi High school in the Mogalatšane village and the Nape a Ngwato High school in the Mooihoek village will be referred to from time to time (see Appendix 2, pages 158 to 165).

No method is equally suited for all purposes. The choice of a research method is therefore determined by the research interest, circumstances of the sitting, people to be studied and practical constraints faced by the research tools. This study made use of the following research tools: spontaneous interviews, formal questionnaires and the study of related documents.

1.5. Research site and research tools

The research was conducted in gaMatlala Maserumule, about 110 kilometres from Polokwane (formerly Pietersburg). (See map of gaRakgwadi.)

The method of data collection from the adult respondents started with light conversations, which aimed at securing biographical information about their ages, marital status, number of children, educational standard, place of employment, interests and hobbies. These interviews took place mainly in their homes, among family or friends. The interviews then developed into a more formal discussion on selected topics. The informants seemed most comfortable talking about traditional practices surrounding marriage, childbirth, initiation and death. Each interview lasted a minimum of one hour, with some stretching to three hours.

The main concern of the researcher when entering the gaMatlala Maserumule community was not to be seen only as a university student but accepted as a friend. The purpose was to reduce the social distance between the researcher and the informants. The researcher realised that the quality of the sociolinguistics data as well as an accurate comprehension of the social and linguistic phenomena under study would ultimately

depend on the establishment of a good report with the local people. The task was largely facilitated by the informants' tremendous cordiality and disposition to collaborate.

The explanation that the data was for research purpose was sufficient in most cases; only in rare cases did the researcher have to provide further details on the research project. No explicit reference was made to the actual details and aim of the research. Thus, concepts such as language variants, code switching and borrowing were not mentioned since this would have contributed to the feelings of linguistic insecurity that were initially noticeable in their behaviour and discourse.

Most of the fieldwork in gaMatlala Maserumule was carried out between June and December 2008. The first contact was made with the two Tribal Councils, facilitated by a friend of the researcher who comes from the area and resides in one of the villages of gaMatlala Maserumule.

The second contact was with the **Morwaswi Morithi Matlala** Tribal Council in the **Mogalatšane village,** facilitated by an elderly woman member of the Tribal Council. When the researcher began to carry out interviews with the council members, a few informants who were not acquainted with her were very suspicious and refused to receive her or let her record their conversations.

The following three reasons were provided for refusing to give the information:
• They did not give out information to outsiders.
• People who wanted their information must give them something in return.
• People who collected information earlier had not returned to show them what they had done with the given information.

In such cases, the research project was explained in more detail and reference was made to many local people in the different communities. All the reluctant informants then agreed to be interviewed and the council members were asked about their historical background (origins).

The third interview was at the **Jane Furse village with Rahlagane Matlala (Sekhukhuneland).** The brother of **Mokgome Matlala,** the local *kgoši* in **gaRakgwadi**

who holds a leadership position in the council. The researcher introduced herself as a fieldworker while making every effort to emphasise her status as a friend who needed his co-operation. During the course of the fieldwork, the researcher had the opportunity to return the favour, as she compiled the history of the gaMatlala Maserumule from various sources.

The next interviews were conducted at several schools in gaMatlala Maserumule. GaMatlala Maserumule is a large, complex region. To limit and define the area of research, three high schools were identified: Motodi, Kotolo and Nape a Ngwato. The research sample comprised learner's who were selected randomly, irrespective of their age and gender. The educators who were responsible for teaching Sepedi as a subject were also interviewed.

The research was primarily concerned with a descriptive analysis of how gaMatlala Maserumule High school learners use the Sepedi language in their different social settings.

The data for this research were obtained from the schools through interviews and questionnaires. The educators and learners were interviewed at the schools during the 2008 September holidays.

The questionnaires (see Appendix 1) were designed to elicit various degrees of languages usage in formal situations. The fundamental principle underlying the structural composition of the questionnaires was to ensure statistical validity for the data.

1.6 Definitions of some terms

Since this is a study of dialects, the first term to be defined is quite obviously, dialect and language. However, once definitions of these terms are attempted, a whole host of other terms inevitably require a definition. For instance, the definition of the word 'dialect' will distinguish it from a language and register. Again, such a definition will be related to the relevant speech community.

1.6.1 Language and Dialects defined

Since any definition of dialect will make mention of language, one must establish the difference between a dialect and language. Many speakers do experience difficulty in deciding whether what they speak should be called a language or a dialect of a language. Such indecision is not surprising. Exactly how does one decide what is a language, a dialect of a language and the essential differences between a language and a dialect?

Some researchers like Mulaudzi (1999) and Msimang (1989) have pointed out that language and dialect are ambiguous terms. Ordinary people use them quite freely to speak about various linguistic situations, but scholars often experience considerable difficulty in deciding which term should be used in certain situations. Gumpers (1982) as cited by Mulaudzi (1999; 20) has pointed out that language can be used to refer either to a single linguistic norm or to a group of related norms, and dialect to refer to one of the norms.

Many scholars such as McMahon(1994) have said language and dialect may be employed virtually interchangeably, particularly on certain political or social factors. Gumpers (1982) adds that 'socio-historical factors play a crucial role in determining boundaries'.

Hudson (1980:31–33) posits two criteria, which are the size and prestige. He argues that a language is larger than a dialect because it contains more lexical items. A language is a cluster of dialects and it contains a total of all the terms in all its dialects.

He argues further that language has prestige which dialect lacks, however, a language gains prestige once it has been elevated to the status of a standard language and is used in formal discourse and in writing. Consequently, it has become common practice to refer to unwritten languages as dialects and to written dialects as languages.

An alternative approach might be to acknowledge that there are different kinds of languages and attempt to discover how languages can differ from dialects, yet still be entities that most of the people would want to call languages rather than dialects. It might then be possible to define a dialect as some sub-variety of one more of these entities.

Standardisation is one of the criteria that is used to distinguish between language and dialects. It is also possible to speak of languages as being more 'developed' in certain ways than dialects, thus addressing a key issue in the language – dialect distinction, since speakers usually feel that languages are generally 'better' than dialects in some sense.

Standardisation refers to the process by which a language has been codified in some way. The process usually involves the development of such things as grammars, spelling books, dictionaries and possibly literature.

Standardisation also requires that a measure of agreement be achieved about what is in the language and what is not. Once a language is standardised, it becomes possible to teach it in a deliberate manner. According to these criteria, both Sepedi and Kopa are quite obviously standardized.

Crystal (1985) as cited by Mojela (1999:8) defines standardisation as a natural development of a standard language in a speech community or an attempt by a community to impose one dialect as standard. This definition is in line with Hudson's (1980:32) view, whereby standardisation is regarded as a direct and deliberate intervention by society to create a standard language where before there were just 'dialects' i.e. non-standard varieties. According to Ansre (1971) as cited by Mojela (1999:8), standardisation is 'the process by which a specific variety of a language emerges as the preferred variety of a speech community'.

This means that one variety is elevated among the various dialects to become a standard language used especially in education and selected official and socio-cultural communications.

Standardisation is also effected by creating a composite of all the major dialects to arrive at an accepted standard form, as suggested by Whitely (1957:224): 'Standardisation may be effected in either of two ways: by elevating one of a number of dialects to be the standard form, or by attempting to create a composite of all the main dialects'.

Standardisation is a process of promoting a language as a legitimate and intelligible norm to serve the interest of a particular society. Dittmar (1976:8) defines standardisation as 'that speech variety of a language community which is legitimized as the obligatory norm for social intercourse on the strength of the interest of the dominant forces in the society'. The standard is therefore legitimized and institutionalised as the supra-regional method of communication as a result of socio-political and power-political circumstances in the historical process.

Thus, the standard is a language or a variety that is codified by means of norms, which lay down the correct written and oral usage; it is used in official proceedings, social institutions and schools. In standardising any language, one takes cognisance of five domains, namely, orthography, lexical items, morphology, syntax and function.

However, it must be emphasised that standardisation is a result of direct and deliberate intervention by society. This intervention produces a standard language where before there were just dialects. This process of standardisation involves four aspects, namely the selection, codification and elaboration of function and acceptance.

Selection. A speech community will select one of its dialects and develop it into a standard language. This is usually the dialect used in political, economic and religious intercourse.

Codification. The linguistic features of such a dialect must be fixed in dictionaries and grammar books by an academy or similar language bureau. Once it has thus been codified, it will become necessary for the members of its community to learn and use it correctly.

Elaboration of function. This dialect must now be used in all types of communication, especially in government, courts of law, education and various forms of literature.

Acceptance. This means that the community must recognize the dialect as its national language; its symbol of independence, autonomy and sovereignty (Hudson 1980:33–37).

On these extra-linguistic grounds, the Sepedi that is spoken South of Polokwane qualifies as a language. But is the Sepedi that is spoken East of Polokwane a language or a dialect? Surely, the area known as Lobedu is not a sovereign state.

As it is unable to draw the line between the two, it can be concluded that there is no real distinction between a language and dialect. The word 'dialect' is usually understood to mean the dialect of a particular language. This means that a language comprises a cluster of dialects and there are no linguistically justifiable grounds on which to draw a distinction between a language and a dialect.

A dialect is therefore a subordinate variety of a language and there are no linguistically justifiable grounds on which to draw a distinction between language and dialect.

Another distinction between dialect and language was made by G.L. Brook (1979:45) who said:

> One test that can be used, along with others in making a distinction between dialect and language is the degree of mutual intelligibility. The differences between two dialects are so great that speakers of one are unable to understand those who speak to others, the two dialects are on the way to developing into separate languages.

The test is only approximate because mutual intelligibility cannot be measured with precision. Although it is sometimes said that the speakers of two different English dialects cannot understand each other, it is doubtful whether such a statement is true.

The differences between American English and British English far outweigh the resemblances. Someone speaking American English could be completely misunderstood by someone speaking British English. It is therefore reasonable to describe British and American English are different dialects of the same language.

On the other hand, mutual intelligibility is not a reliable test of distinction between a dialect and a language among African languages, because in the majority of cases, the speakers

of one dialect are intelligible to those of the other; for instance, the Serwa speakers can understand the Sekone speakers without much difficulty.

With regard to the difference between a dialect and a language, Fried (1961) as cited by Stubbs (1983:43) says:

> Language and dialect are only two names for the same thing, as looked at from different points of view... 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 of a body of related forms of speech. The Science of language has democratised our views on such points as these. It has taught us that one man's speech is just as much a language as another man's that even the most cultivated tongue that exists is only the dialect of a certain locality.

There are standardised written forms that have become the norm of what is generally accepted by governments as a standard public form of speech for educational and other purposes such as in writing (Mokgokong 1966:33).

The standardised forms are found in everyday speech and they are called the language of their particular locality or country as against the variants spoken in local communities, which are called dialects (Mulaudzi 1987:19).

In the African languages, the position is not so well defined. In South Africa, there are 11 official languages, all of which are fairly standardised as regards spelling.
Normally, dialects of the same language are considered mutually intelligible while different languages are not. However, dialects are seldom completely mutually intelligible. On the other hand, speakers of a closely related language can still communicate to a certain extent when each uses their own mother tongue. Thus, the criterion of intelligibility is relative.

The basic cause of dialectal differentiation is linguistic change. Every living language constantly undergoes a change in its various elements. Languages are externally complex systems of signs. It is almost inconceivable that linguistic evaluation could affect

the same elements. Sometimes these elements are even transformed in the same way in all localities when all the speakers in the same locality speak one language. When one looks at this, one would find that the differences caused by linguistic change seem to be slight but inevitably accumulate with time. Related languages usually begin as dialects of the same language.

The following examples apply to the Sepedi dialects:

Example: **to hit – English**

Sekone	Serwa	Lobedu	Setlokwa	English
Tlo go tia	Ke tla go itiya	taya	tia	to hit

If one looks closely at these examples, one will realise that there is no difference between the adopted standard forms.

When a change appears among only one section of the speakers of a language, it automatically creates a dialect. Sometimes there is innovation in dialects and different dialects, as a whole, can be considered archaic in any absolute sense.

In defining languages, Anderson (1975) takes into account the following basic considerations:
- The form the language takes, that is, whether it is spoken, written or signal. In most cases language is spoken, but not exclusively, as it also encompasses all forms of signs, which convey understandable meaning. These include gestures, and symbols, which facilitate effective communication.
- Language as a social element, which is used mainly for the purpose of social interaction among the different groups of society.

In this regard, Trudgil (1974:45) says language is more than just simply a means of communicating information; it is also a very important means of establishing and maintaining social relationships.

Anderson also points out the function of language as being that of communicating the ideas, feelings and attitudes of individuals towards one another. Language can also serve

as a way for people to communicate with each other. It assists them to transmit information, such as attitudes, behaviour and thoughts, effectively.

According to Cooper (1984) as cited by Sekere (2004), language reveals and defines a social relationship with the people one is talking to, with people who can overhear the conversation or read letters etc.

Herskovits (1948:448) as cited by Anderson (1975:18) defines language as a:

> System of arbitrary vocal signals, by which members of a social group co-operate and interact, and by means of which the learning process is affected and a given way of life achieves both continuity and change. The function of language in the social group links it to all the social and behavioural sciences and its use as vehicle of cultural transmission relates it inexorably not only to the social behavioural sciences but to the theological sciences and humanities as well.

Dialects may be either geographical or social.

Crystal (1985:102) defines dialect as a:

> Regional or socially distinctive variety of language, identify by a particular set of words and grammatical structures. Spoken dialects are usually also associated with a distinctive pronunciation or accent. Any language with a reasonably large number of speakers will develop dialects, especially if there are geographical barriers separating groups of people from each other, or if there are divisions of social class. One dialect may predominate as the official or standard form of the language, and this variety, which may come to be written down.

Finally, a dialect is any set of one or more varieties of a language which share at least one feature or combination of features setting them apart from other varieties of the language, and which may appropriately be treated as a unit on linguistic or non-linguistic grounds (Ferguson 1960:7).

1.6.2 Speech Register

The word 'register' is a sociolinguistic term, which is estimated to have been in use since the inception of the study of language in relation to society. Dembetembe (cited by Sekhukhune 1988:18) said:

Some linguistics prefers to employ the term register for types of language that correlate with situation and use the term to signify individual variation with each register. Others have reserved the term register for the different sub-types of language that people use when they act in different social roles.

In other words, it is the linguistic variations that bear a mutual relation with the context in a wide sense of the term, including both the textual and situational context. Furthermore, the term 'register' is preferred here to 'style' for the simple reason that, although style is a concept, which is common and widely used, it is also elusive. It should however be stressed that 'register' is a national term and not a linguistic prime, that is a term that can be defined in terms of other more basic notions.

According to Hudson (1980:48–50) the term 'register' is widely used in sociolinguistics to refer to 'varieties according to use' in contrast with 'dialect', defined as 'varieties according to user'. Hudson's statement maintains that a register is 'a variety according to use'. What this amounts to is that a speaker, in conceiving an act of communication, also conceives the type of social group he/she wishes to communicate with, and adjusts his/her behaviour accordingly.

A 'register' is therefore a speech variety that one uses in a particular monolingual context to identify one's relationship with the person or group one is communicating with. A language is comparable to a formal register while a dialect is comparable to an informal register. A speech register is a type of language variety, which emerges because of the relationship between language behaviour and social interaction.

Therefore, a speech register becomes a situation type language that is obtained from a common linguistic repertoire that occasionally undergoes a semantic change within certain speech domains in a community. This semantic change varies from a slight to a

complete shift depending on the pragmatics or social functions of language. There are ways in which language is used to accomplish its various functions in our everyday life.

Richards, et al. (1992:313) writes as follows with regards to a speech register:

A particular register often distinguishes itself from other registers by having a number of distinctive words, by using words or phrases in a particular way and sometimes by special grammatical constructions e.g. legal language.

In addition, some scholars like Stubbs say a:

speech register is a term used in sociolinguistics to refer to a particular form of language usage which is characteristic of a specific socio group i.e. the language used by students, by juvenile peer groups, by the members of a specific profession such as medicine,and by initiates in the traditional initiation school.

1.6.3 Diglossia
Ferguson (1959:336) defines diglossia as follows:

Diglossia is a relatively stable language situation in which in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of large and respected body of written literature, 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.

1.7 Theoretical Framework
The main concern here is to outline a theoretical framework, which will form the basis of our analysis in subsequent chapters. This will be preceded by a 'detour' paragraphed sociolinguistic theory and sociological approach. The envisaged approach will be informal and include loaded concepts or aspects such as **sociality** and **morality.**

These concepts, related as they are, will form self-contoured chapters, in the body of the dissertation.

Sociolinguistics theory relates to the study of language in relation to its society. Neubert (1976:152) as cited by Sekhukhune (1988:1) states the following about sociolinguistics:

The practical question of how language is an integral part of society and above all, how social or rather extra-linguistic factors have shaped and are shaping language particularly words and meanings were in fact the concern of linguistic research long before the term sociolinguistic was coined so that linguistics has always had social aspects.

Fishman (1968:5) defines sociolinguistics as 'the study of the complex interaction between language, its range and the roles it plays with or across speech communities. Sociolinguistics address the parameters that society or sectors of society assign to languages, as well as attitudes towards those languages and their roles'.

Fasold (1984:1–2) concurs that 'sociolinguistics denotes the interrelation between language and dialects. The attitudes and interests of different members of given societies and resultant section of [a] particular language for communication in a specific area'.

The sociological approach is the essence of the sociology of the language – the study of the society in relation to language (Hudson 1980:50). This sociological approach must be seen to be an integral part of or complementary to sociolinguistics. To properly understand the language of a particular community, one should first know its culture.

This research therefore intends to integrate these approaches in the analysis/investigation of the changes in the Sepedi languages and dialects. The approach to sociolinguistics is that it should encompass everything from considering '**who** speaks **what** language and **what** language variety to **whom** w**hen** and to **what** end? That is, the social distribution of the linguistic variables might relate to the formation of a specific grammatical rule in a particular language or dialect and even to the processes throughout the language change (Fishman 1979:46).

1.8 Conclusion

This introductory chapter sets out the aims of the study, which are to analyse and describe the nature and general trends of change in Sepedi because of its contact with other languages. Different terms such as language, dialect, standadisation, speech register and diglossia have been defined using the literature. The sociolinguistic terms and the sociological approach methodology were addressed and the research site, informants, learners and educators whose views inform the study, were identified.

CHAPTER 2

ORIGIN OF THE BAPEDI PEOPLE AND THEIR CURRENT GEOGRAPHICAL DISTRIBUTION

2.1   Introduction: Historical and Geographical Perspective

Theoritically, this dissertation is situated within a critical studies framework. It therefore draws from critical work that relates key concepts such as language, culture, dialects, standardization, register and diglossia. The study relates the argument that language can play a key role in revealing the cultural activity.

This chapter reviews the literature in the areas of public interest, historical migrations and geographical distribution of the Bapedi speakers, their attitudes towards the classification of language, the dialects and the consequences of standardizing Northern Sotho.

The importance of a historical perspective in tracing the genetic relationship of the Bapedi dialects has already been noted.

This chapter gives a:

- brief overview (or general survey) of Bapedi origins
- geographical distribution of the various Bapedi groups
- description of the migration of the Bapedi to their present country concentrating on the Matlala Maserumule sub-group until its present day geographical distribution.

Although the history of a speech community is important for a study of change, only historical cultural aspects, which serve as a guideline for analysing change, will be considered in this study. A historical record of a language or speech community can help one to infer which words were changes from what and by whom. So far, very little has been written on the history of the Bapedi; recordings that have been made on the history of the Bapedi, especially at gaMatlala Maserumule, seem to be superficial and sometimes unreliable.

In the absence of a good-recorded history, it becomes very difficult to postulate reconstructions of the historical contacts the Bapedi had with other languages, particularly the earliest contacts. However, it is hoped that the few recordings that exist will assist in reconstructing the history of the Bapedi.

Postmigratory contacts arise mainly through geographical proximity and urbanisation. It is also indicated that the existence of various social activities has contributed to social language varieties. Details of the linguistic characteristics of all these language varieties will be discussed in the succeeding chapters. Chapter three focuses on language varieties in a soial setting, e.g. for initiation activities or rites associated with marriage and death. Chapter four focuses on the use of language in its geographical location and proximity to the other language groups.

2.2   Origin of the Bapedi people

The Bapedi language belongs to the Bantu language family. To probe the historical background of the Bapedi people, it is necessary to refer to the most important aspects of their movements patterns.

The literature from Prinsloo (1979) mentions that the Bapedi migrated from somewhere in central Africa to Southern Africa through Botswana. This is where they came into close contact with the Batswana people, as is evidenced in their linguistic borrowing from Botswana. At Gaborone, the Bapedi separated into two goups. One group joined the Botswana and another group went further South to occupy an area called Lesotho. While in Lesotho, a conflict brewed between Sekhukhune I and his brothers.

The problem was solved by allowing Sekhukhune and his followers to claim their own territory across the Vaal River, which served as a boundary between the two conflicting groups. Sekhukhune held his first "*Mphato"* 'initiation school' called "*Makwa*" at the river, which was subsequently named "*Lekwa".*

The Bapedi people moved from Botswana to South Africa, crossing the Limpopo River under the leadership of Chief Sekhukhune I. It is generally accepted that they arrived at the South of the Limpopo River at the beginning of the sixteenth century. The Bapedi found some Bantu speaking people, who had arrived long before and had settled at Tšhate (now know as Sekhukhuneland).

There is no clear reference as to when the people arrived at this site but one can conclude that they stayed for a considerable time because of the influence that the missionaries had on the Bapedi language.

Under the leadership of Sekhukhune 1, the Bapedi conquered the neighbouring tribes who came under the rule of the Bapedi.

According to Lombard (1985:6), the Bapedi are confined to the Northern and North-Eastern regions of South Africa in an area which is more or less bordered by an imaginary line running from the North from Pretoria, through Springs, Middelburg, Groblersdal, Lydenburg and Sabie; from the Sabie river it runs to Boskbokrant up to Klaserie and the Olifants river. From there it extends northward up to the Tsonga area, westward to Louis Trichart, and northward again up to Musina (previously Messina). It then stretches westwards to the border, then back towards the south, through the Potgietersrus district, across Warmbaths, and finally back to Pretoria. A wide variety of dialects occurs in this area that differ to a great extent in some cases.

Sepedi is one of over 400 languages that belong to the so-called Bantu language family. Bantu languages constitute a language family, which is spoken more or less from the equatorial area throughout Southern Africa. More than 44 groups who have divided into three dialect clusters, namely the Central Sotho Dialect, the Eastern Sotho Dialect cluster and the North-Western Sotho Dialect Cluster, speak the Sepedi language.

The division of these groups into three clusters has contributed extensively to the formation of the regional and social varieties of the Sepedi language namely, the Central Sotho Dialect cluster such as Pedi, Masemola, Kone, Mphahlele, in and around the Pietersburg and Mokerong districts. The dialects in these districts are 'prestige' Bapedi dialects and the speakers of these dialects speak the 'language' with confidence.

2.2.1. Origin of Ga-Matlala Maserumule

In this section, the researcher traces the history (origins) and dispersion of the Matlala Maserumule from their common homeland, Mogodumo, to their present domain in Ga-Rakgwadi (Mohlalaotwane). This migration is illustrated in the following map.

Map of Migration areas of Ga-Matlala Maserumule People

2.2.2. Origin of Ga- Matlala Maserumule People

To probe into the historical background of the gaMatlala Maserumule people, it is necessary to refer to the most salient aspects of their migrational patterns. According to Prinsloo (1976:246), the gaMatlala Maserumle people migrated from several places, namely, Mogodumo, Sipitsi, Tswai, Phiring (Lebopong), Nyane, Lebopong, Bonwatau and Phatametsane until they finally settled in Rakgwadi in 1957.

The Bapedi people were wanderers in the Limpopo Province. They originated from gaMatlala a Thaba, which was near a mountain.The name of the mountain was Mokwena Mabula, after which they named their totem. Their totem name becomes '*Bakone ba Mabula'*. King Thoka ruled the Maserumule Matlala people in 1657. They later moved to Mogodumo (now called Cheunespoort) in 1698. The group stayed there for 40 years before moving to Sipitsi under the rule of King Makgodi Maibela who was the regent for King Rakgwadi. In 1699, they moved to Tswai where Rakgwadi was initiated.

In 1700, they settled in Nyane (now known as Marble Hall) and lived near the mountain known as Mojako. Inside the mountain, there was a cave called Mphoma; many traditional stories tell of dangerous spirits in the mountain. They stayed near the mountain for two years before moving to Phiring (Ga Masemola) in 1772 under the rule of King Ntshweng.

In 1803 they moved to Sibitiela, still under the rule of King Ntshweng, because of the war between them and the Mampana tribe. Later, in 1805, they moved to Bonwatau. After the war, they met up with two tribes namely the Malefo and Matemotša in a place called Bonwatau. In 1808, they moved to Tubatse where the king built his home that remains to this day. In 1820, the Maserumule Matlala returned to Phiring (Ga Masemola) under the regent of King Shikwane Matlala. Most of the Maserumule Matlala movements were caused by wars among the tribes scattered throughout the province.

In 1857, they moved to Phatametsane where they stayed for 20 years under the rule of King Kotole I. The Sekhukhune War caused them to move to Matshereng (Maila a Mapitsane) under the regent King Mahlare. The group then moved back to Bonwatau in 1879 until 1956 under the new King Kotole II. In 1956, they moved to Mohlalaotwana (Rakgwadi) under the leadership of King Shikwane II. In 1957, King Mokgome Maserumule Matlala was inaugurated and rules until today.

Their apparent migration patterns caused the Bapedi people to develop socially and unified them as a society. Farming and cultural activities, such as initiations, helped form their present culture in the Limpopo Province.

2.3 Geographical Distribution of the Bapedi Groups

As a student of heterogeneous languages, it is necessary to have some background concerning African languages such as the Sepedi language. The African languages constitute a language family, which is spoken more or less from the equatorial area to the South of Africa.

There is a difference of opinion regarding the number of African languages. Different views are also held as to which are languages and which are dialects. However, it can safely be said that close to a thousand African languages and dialects are in use now.

The linguistic similarities between all these languages and dialects are so great that it is generally accepted that they all developed from some common proto language form. The Egyption language is thought to be the mother of the African languages according to the Church of Anta Diop and the afrocentric. Based on their linguistic relationship, the African languages are divided into different areas or zones. The languages in and around South Africa belong to the South-Eastern zone.

Lombard (1985:5) classifies the Sotho dialects into three geographical groups according to their position and mutual solidarity (which later came to be known as the dialects of Northern Sotho) as follows. The dialects spoken in the:

- South of Polokwane (formerly Pietersburg), which include Pedi, Kopa, Kone, Tau, Serwa
- North of Polokwane such as Tlokwa, Hanawa, Matlala, Molepo, Dikgale, and Moletši
- East of Polokwane such as Phalaborwa, Lobedu, Kgaga, and Mamabolo.

The dialects spoken to the North and East of Polokwane probably differ just as much from the dialects spoken in the South of Polokwane. Depending on the area where you live or the origin of the speakers with whom they have contact, they will thus meet up with differences between contents of their grammar and the language of the speaker(s) with whom they are in contact.

Louwrens (1994:54) cited by Mojela (1999: 32) adds to this by saying:

> Several dialects are distinguished in Northern Sotho such as Tlokwa, Hanawa, Lobedu, Phalaborwa, Pedi etc. dialects which are spoken in the same geographical area, and which are characterized by certain common phonological, morphological and lexical features, are often grouped together in what are called dialect clusters.

Mokgokong (1966:3) says the following with regard to the classification of Northern Sotho:

- The central Sotho dialect cluster, from whose dialects the written Northern Sotho language has developed, e.g. Pedi, Tau (Masemola) Kone, Mphahlele, are the most important i.e the dialect of Sekhukhuneland and adjacent parts.

- In the Eastern Sotho dialect cluster, the most important dialects are Lobedu, Phalaborwa. The related languages such as Kgaga show a strong influence of Venda.

- The North-Western Sotho dialect clustery have dialects common to the Polokwane and Potgietersrus districts, i.e Hananwa, Matlala, Tlokwa and Mamabolo. Birwa, a nearly extinct language, may also be included.

The geographical classification, as given by the above scholars, cannot be regarded as conclusive since each of the clusters is not a connected unity. For instance, although the North-Eastern cluster is generally characterized by the tendency to use voiced sounds, in Lobedu and Phalaborwa, the [h] is replaced by [r] in Kganga. Matlala and Moletsi, which geographically belong to the Northwestern cluster, are characterized by [j] as in [-ja] (eat) as against [ija] of the rest of the dialects within this cluster. There are clearly marked differences between Kopa and Pedi although the Kopa speaking area is geographically adjacent to Sekhukhuneland.

Mokgokong (1966:52–55) has made a proper and satisfactory classification because the phonological resemblances between two dialects by far outnumber the differences. No two dialects can ever share identical linguistic features, just as no two individuals have exactly the same speech habits. On this basis, three main divisions of the Northern Sotho dialects readily present themselves: the Pedi-like cluster; the Tlokwa-like cluster and the Lobedu-like cluster. For the purposes of this study, we will follow Mokgokong's

classification based on the phonological similarities rather than Lombard's classification, based on the geographical proximity and solidarity.

2.3.1 Pedi-like cluster

The Pedi-like cluster, which includes Pedi (Mamone and Mohlaletši), Tau (Masemola, Ntšhabeleng, Marišane, Nkadimeng, Phaahla and Kgaphola), and Kone (Maserumule, Phokwane, Manganeng, Mathabatha, Tšhwene, Maja, Roka, Nkwana and Moletlane), is characterised by the following distinctive features:

2.3.2. The Tlokwa–like cluster, which includes Tlokwa, Hananwa, Matlala, Moletši, Mamabolo, is characterised by the following distinctive features;

2.3.3. The Lobedu–like cluster, which includes Lobedu, Phalaborwa, Kgaga and Dzwabo, is characterised mainly by the use of voiced forms for the corresponding unvoiced Pedi forms, e.g.

2.3.4. The Kopa–like cluster, which includes Kopa, Ndebele–Sotho, Molepo, Mothiba, Mothapo, Makgoba, is miscellaneous in character, but its distinctive feature is the use of [t¹h] for Pedi [hl]. Other features are:

2.3.5. This map shows the classification of Bapedi Dialects according to the speaking areas.   **Bapedi Speaking Areas**

2.3.1 Attitudes towards the classification of language and dialects

Attitude plays a major role in the classification of the Sepedi language and the dialects into perceived inferior and superior dialects (languages). While some people have a conception that their languages are better than the others are, others have a wrong idea that theirs are inferior to other languages. These conceptions originate from the 'superiority' and 'inferiority' complexes within the minds of the speakers.

This 'superiority' attitude (thought) is found in every community, especially the communities whose languages are among the 'prestige' varieties. With regard to dialects, the people with this attitude regard theirs as languages and other varieties as dialects.

Allen and Linn (1986:220), as cited by Mojela (1999: 33), explain this as follows:

> This represents perfectly the popular idea and most of the connotations that surround the idea: a dialect is uncouth – an ugly, imperfect, corrupt version of a language, which we merely speak perfectly. On one level, this sense is merely a survival of the same classical attitude, which reduced unwritten languages to the status of 'mere dialects'. But on another it is closely related to the last definition that is important, the idea that a dialect is something like a patois in the French sense, a distinctive and honorable but rural and moribund by form of a language.

This is the attitude that triumphs in the minds of most speakers of the 'prestige' dialects towards the marginalized dialects. To these people, a dialect is an incorrect, corrupt version of their language, which is soon to disappear. The dialect is associated with rural people and poor civilization compared to their language variety, which to them symbolizes development, education and superiority. This is the situation in which most speakers of the marginalized dialects find themselves when they are to use their dialects openly.

The Sepedi dialects, such as Pedi and Kopa, are closer to the standard language than other dialects, such as Lobedu, Hananwa, and Pulana. Among most Sotho speakers, there is an opinion that the dialects, which are nearer to standard Northern Sotho, signify progress, education and prestige, while other varieties denote a lack of education and sophistication.

The standard of the Northern Sotho language has reduced many of its dialects to 'low-class' varieties, which has, in turn reduced the self-confidence of its speakers. The speakers of these dialects feel emotionally inferior in giving public addresses, or even engaging in open communication in their dialects.

The dialects that formed the standard Northern Sotho language are those found in the central Sotho dialect cluster, such as Pedi, Masemola, Kone, Mphahlele as well as some dialects in and around the Polokwane and Mokerong districts. The dialects in these districts are the dominant dialects of Sepedi and the speakers of these dialects speak their language with confidence.

Speakers of other dialects such as Pulana, Lobedu, Tlokwa, Phalaborwa and Bakgaga are shy to use the terminology of their own dialects in public for fear of being associated with the 'inferior' dialects.

The following are some of the phonemic differences between the Sepedi terminology and the Pulana dialect.

English	*Sepedi*	*Pulana*
Valley	*Lengope*	*Lekuru*
Wall (small)	*Mmotwana*	*Morutudi*
Wall (big)	*Leboto*	*Lepharo*
Peanuts	*Ditokomane*	*Dimake*
Sweet-potato	*Potata*	*Morepho*
Sorghum	*Mabelethoro*	*Leroro*
Mad	*Go gafa*	*tlata*
Forest	*Sethokgwa*	*Lešahla*
Cliff	*Lewa*	*Legaga*
Mealies	*Leheya*	*Selokwane*
grave	*Lebitla*	*Selahlo*
spider web	*Bolepu*	*Borara*
sleep	*Robala*	*Etsela*

Run	*Tšhabeša*	*Kobakoba*
Urinate	*Hlapologa*	*šišita*
dragonfly	*Dikokobele*	*Botshetshe*
porridge	*bogobe*	*bušwa*

The dialects, which were considered for the standardization of Northern Sotho, are viewed as languages of the educated by the speakers of other dialects, since most speakers who are educated use a standard language that is more or less the same as the 'prestige' dialects. The ordinary people, who were not educated and who regarded their dialect as a language, and not as a dialect of any language, were not consulted for standardization purposes. Lack of equal representation has not only led to the elevation of some Sotho varieties to be prestige dialects and other varieties to be inferior dialects, but also created a situation where the difference between some of the 'inferior' dialects and the standard Northern Sotho is very wide.

For instance:
The Lobedu and Pulana dialects are not close to the Northern Sotho standard language, e.g.:

English	Sepedi	Pulana	Lobedu
In the evening he was not there'	*Mantšibua o be a se gona*	*Ka Malobane o be a šiiyo*	*Ka Mantseboya ke a kheeyo*
He was hungry'	*O be a e kwa tlala*	*O be a lapile*	*Ke mo a khe odwa dala*
He arrived yesterday'	*O fihlile / gorogile maabane*	*O fihlile malobane*	*O fitile maabane*
He eats porridge'	*O ja bogobe*	*O ja bušwa*	*O la booswa*

The speakers of dialects faced social problems as a result of the standardization or unification. Speakers of other dialects encountered problems once a compromise was in place or once a single dialect was promoted or granted a status above the rest.

2.3.2 Why the Sepedi dialect has been elevated to a superior status while other dialects are inferior?

Most people to be superior to the other dialects regard the Pedi and Kopa dialects. These varieties are usually associated with people of high social standing. Most of the people who enjoy this status have a negative attitude towards other dialects.

According to Mojela (1999:13), dialects such as Pedi, have their own orthographies inherited from the missionaries prior to standardization, whereas dialects such Pulana, Lobedu, and Phalaborwa, did not have any orthography, which lead to an inferiority complex among the speakers of the marginalized dialects of Northern Sotho.

Again, because these dialects do not have any written forms, they are looked upon as 'languages' of people who are unable to read and write. Speakers of these dialects started to have no pride in their dialects and they strive to learn the Pedi dialects. They also prefer to use the terminology of the written standard language to avoid being associated with the 'low class' unwritten dialects.

Most speakers of the 'low class' dialects do not feel free to speak their language in public due to their inferiority complex. This is aggravated by the attitudes of some speakers of the written dialects who do not show respect towards the speakers of the other dialects and make their language seem unimportant because it does not even have a written form.

This is because the policymakers paid no attention to the development of the Pedi dialects and the standardized medium of communication was established at the expense of the development of a written form for the other dialects.

The Berlin missionaries, who had several mission stations among the Bapedi, created these attitudes during the early writing of Sepedi. During this period, the Pedi and Kopa varieties were regarded as the real languages, while all other varieties that are part of Northern Sotho today were considered mere dialects of Pedi.

It is not clear who wrote the catechisms, the Berlin missionaries or Northern Sotho writers. The Berlin missionaries were among the first Northern Sotho writers and wrote several works in the Pedi and Kopa dialects, such as translations of the catechisms and other religious manuscripts that were among the first Northern Sotho readers used in schools and churches.

In the case of Northern Sotho, the Pedi and Kopa dialect were the first to be used in writing and enjoyed the status of being the 'language' of education. They were the only dialects that were used in those missionary schools, while those dialects that were spoken in the areas remote from Sekhukhuneland were sidelined. This gave the Pedi dialect the 'better status' it enjoys to this day among the dialects of Northern Sotho.

By the time, the government took over control of the schools from the missionaries, all the educated middle class people had come from the missionary stations.

This means that all the dialects which were not represented because the people concerned did not have educated representatives on the Northern Sotho Language Board, were sidelined; they did not have chance to participate in the standardization of Northern Sotho.

The ordinary people who were not educated and who regarded their dialect as a 'language' and not as a dialect of any other language were not consulted because there was no one from that area who was qualified to be appointed to the relevant committees. By the time education started to reach these areas, the Northern Sotho standard language had already been established on the legacy of the missionaries.

The people in those areas had no option but to accept the standard Northern Sotho language and accept that their own dialects were inferior to Sepedi and the other dialects spoken around Polokwane, Groblersdal and Potgietersrus.

Sepedi dialects were considered as standardized language in Northern Sotho, since most speakers who are educated use Sepedi in their communication. The Sepedi dialect is officially recognized by the National Language Board and is taught in schools and universities, used on radio and television and for official government documents.

Dialects such as Pulana, Lobedu, and Phalaborwa did not have any orthography, and until today, very few people write these dialects even after consulting phonetic transcriptions to check the pronunciations. This means that the policymakers paid more attention to the development of the Pedi and Kopa dialects in establishing the standardised medium of communication at the expense of the development of a written form for the above-mentioned dialects.

The fact that these dialects do not have any written forms means that they are looked upon as the language of illiterate and uneducated people. It is therefore not surprising that the speakers of these dialects seem to have little or no pride in their dialects, and they strive to learn the dialects that are closer to the standard language such as the Pedi and Kopa dialects. For instance, most Pulana people do not use most of the terminology of their dialect. They prefer to use the terminology of the written standard language to avoid being associated with the 'low class' unwritten dialects. They usually tend to replace the Pulana words with the Sepedi words instead of promoting their vocabulary.

English	*Sepedi*	*Pulana*
Outside	*Kantle*	*tawong*
Teach	*Ruta*	*tšhuta*
mad	*fafahla*	*Tladimologa*
Frog	*Segwegwe*	*sekwele*
That side	*Kamo*	*kaho*
Bread	*Borotho*	*senkgwa*
To jump	*Go tshela*	*Go tlola*
Make	*dira*	*makelela*
Hit	*tiya*	*tshenyola*
These things	*Tšona tšeo*	*tsotsona*
Toilet	*tswaamare*	*lebethiri*

Robins (1989:55 quoted by Mojela 1999) summarizes the misconception of 'superiority' and 'inferiority' with regard to dialect and languages as follows:

> The term standard language must not mislead. Such forms of speech are descriptively dialects, just like any other dialect to be described and delimited on just the same criteria as the less socially and officially favoured 'regional dialects'.

Haas (1982:10) cited by Mojela (1999:40) also criticizes this wrong conception when he says:

When a form is selected as 'standard' and others are rejected as 'sub-standard', there are frequently, neither linguistic nor any more general social reasons to justify the preference.

Haas believes that the only reason for accepting certain forms as 'standard' is the social prestige of those who use them. Based on this reasoning, it is obvious that the selection of the Pedi and Kopa dialects as standard Northern Sotho did not have any linguistic justification; they were selected on the prestige of the dialects that was acquired from the presence of the missionaries in their areas.

Linguists have tried to show that dialects are equal and have the same function irrespective of whether they are regarded as 'superior' or 'inferior'; everybody has his/her own dialect.

2.3.3 Consequences of Northern Sotho standardisation

The psychological effects. Speakers of the dialects which were marginalized during the standardization, are reluctant to use their dialects or the terminology of these dialects because they do not want to be associated with the 'low class' dialects. On the other hand, speakers of the dialects, which formed part of the standard Northern Sotho language, have a feeling of superiority and some of them tend to undermine other dialects and the speakers of these dialects.

Decline of dialectal vocabulary whereby the marginalization of the so called 'low class' dialects not only had detrimental emotional effects on the speakers concerned, but also a negative effect on the development of these dialects. Right up to the present, these dialects do not have a written form and even those who speak the dialects cannot write what they say e.g. the Pulana speaker will write: *O fihlile malobane* (He arrived yesterday) while when speaking will say: *O fihlile maabane*, which the majority of the speakers cannot write because there is no orthography for these dialects.

The fact that these dialects were not considered in the standardisation of Northern Sotho means that they will not be developed further and this will lead to a decline in vocabulary instead of development. This is usually made worse by the fact that most of the knowledgeable members of the community who speak these dialects do not have the confidence to use it when they are imparting information, since they are the one's who are supposed to help improve the dialects.

The loss of dialectal vocabulary does not only affect the dialects concerned but also has a negative effect on the improvement of the vocabulary of the Northern Sotho

standard language as a whole, since most of the terminology used in the 'low class' dialects can still be used productively to enrich the standard of Northern Sotho. For instance, terms such as the following can still form part of the standard vocabulary of Sepedi.

Sepedi	Pulana	English
Ditokomane	dimake	Peanuts
Lefodi	lesoke	Pumpkin
Tlhako	sekoto	Hoof
Mabele-thoro	leroro	millet
Dikgobe	ditlhoko	Beans

Vocabulary imbalances among the Sepedi people happened between speakers of the centralized dialects and those of negligible dialects. The speakers of the marginalized dialects have the advantage of expanding their vocabulary since they already have knowledge of the vocabulary of their own dialects (which they are afraid to use) and the vocabulary of the standardised dialects of Sepedi, which they are compelled to acquire.

This means that most speakers of the 'low class' dialects of Northern Sotho are familliar with the terminology used in almost all the dialects of Northern Sotho, while at the same time, the speakers of the 'higher status' dialects have a limited vocabulary with regard to the terminology of the dialects of Sepedi.

These speakers use their dialects with confidence and they regard their dialects as being superior to all the other dialects of Sepedi, but their superiority complex demoralized these speakers from learning the negligible dialects since they are of the opinion that knowledge of these sub-ordinate dialects will not help them to achieve anything in life.

However, the speakers of the negligible dialects can communicate effectively with the speakers of the other dialects without any problem, since they can understand what the other speaker's say, while the speakers of the prestige dialect will have a problem in understanding some of the terminology of the insignificant dialects.

The preceding chapters established the theoretical foundations for this dissertation and placed it in a historical context. This chapter constitutes a brief historical distribution of the Bapedi groups.Together with the preceding chapters, this chapter lays the foundation for an analysis of the social varieties in chapter three, the language contact in chapter four and finally the conclusion, observation, recommodations and findings in chapter five.

2.4 Conclusion

The second chapter summarizes the historical and geographical perspective and origins tracing the migrations of the Bapedi dialect. The geographical distribution of the Bapedi groups has influenced the attitudes of superiority and inferiority towards the classification of language and dialects, as did the missionaries who elevated Pedi and Kopa by writing them down.

Finally, the consequences of Northern Sotho standardisation involve the psychological effects, declination of dialectal vocabulary, loss of dialectal vocabulary and the inbalance of vocabulary.

CHAPTER 3

ANALYSES OF BAPEDI LANGUAGE AND SOCIAL VARIETIES

3.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to augment the theoretical framework established in chapter two by dicussing the existence of various social activities among the Bapedi people. Language can be an important factor in enhancing diverse participation in various social activities.

For the purposes of the current discussion between language and dialects, the attitudes and interests of the various members of a given society and the resultant selection of particular languages for communication in specific situations, such as administration, education, the media, and the courts of law.

The literature of sociolinguistics is considered seminal to scholarship on the subject of language in multilingual nations even though recent schorlarship in the field of languages has differed from earlier sociolinguistics work in fundamental ways. The literature of sociolinguistics typically addresses two central issues: the utility of language in various spheres (e.g. education, the media, and courts of law), and the role of language in the formation of identities (hence ethnicity and nationalism).

The relevance of sociolinguistics for the current discussion is in the fact that sociolinguistics also deals with the role that language plays.

All languages change with time and as they change, special linguistics become associated with particular regions or groups. These changes form natural language varieties, because language is a form of human social behaviour and groups displaying language varieties tend to emerge in natural ways over time.

Language variety is defined by Mulaudzi (1999:3) as 'a set of linguistic items with a similar social distribution. It is determined in terms of a specific set of linguistic items that it includes'.

The changes that create varieties in a language indicate that there is no language in the world that can be regarded as homogeneous. Variation in languages results from differential change. No language spoken by more than a very small number of people is homogeneous, and when changes occur, they characteristically affect the speech of only

a part of the population of the total language community. Some speakers will adapt an innovation, others will either not be aware of it and in both cases; the response may be conscious or subconscious. Some innovations such as slang may be confined to a single social group.

It is rarely and impracticable to find a simple cause for a linguistic innovation because the factors involved are many and complex. Language should consist of varieties and these varieties should share a single superimposed variety. Variety refers to any form of speech such as idiolect, dialect, registers and standard language.

In addition, Mulaudzi (1995:5) defines language variety in the following manner:

> A variety 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 semantic scope to function in all normal contexts of communication.

He also points out that language is comprised of dialects, so dialects consist of varieties and these varieties should share a single superimposed variety.

Francis (1983:1), as cited by Mulaudzi (1995:5), says that dialects are varieties of language used by groups smaller than the total community is of speakers of the language. A dialect can be considered as a variety of a language spoken by a group of people who identify themselves as such.

3.2. Language Variety in Bapedi

As demonstrated in the literature review, it is very important to most Bapedi to know where they come from. For many of them, no matter what happens to them in later life or however much they move house or travel away from the area where they grew up, the place where they were born and spent their childhood and adolescence retains special significance.

Unlike in previous generations, families now often relocate or have a nomadic childhood; they are not really 'from' anywhere. However, the majority of the Bapedi people have pride and interest in the area where they grew up. Where they are from is thus an

important part of their personal identity and for many of them an important component of this local identity is the way they speak and their accent.

Nearly all of them have regional features in the way they speak Sepedi and they are happy that this should be so, although of course there are upper class people who have regionless accents, as well as people who for some reason wish to conceal their regional origins.

However, the vast majority of the populations speak in a manner, which identifies them as coming from a particular area. They speak like the people they grew up with and in a way that is different from people who were raised elsewhere. Of course, people may change the way in which they speak during their lifetime, especially if they move around the country, but most of them retain at least some trace of their accent and dialect origins.

This study on Bapedi dialects is about the various ways people speak Sepedi in Limpopo Province and in Ga-Matlala Maserumule especially. The way they pronounce their words gives them an accent and they all have the same accent. While some accents are more regional than others are. One can tell exactly where they come from if one is able to spot their accents.

The importance of the term 'variety' and the relationship between language and its varieties forms the core of this study. There are two types of language varieties namely, regional and social variety. People are identified as coming from a particular region belonging to at least one social group and having a specific gender. Only the social varieties are discussed in this chapter.

3.3. Definition of the term 'Social Varities'

The term 'social variety' refers to the varieties in certain groups regardless of the geographical area from which they come. Social variety originates among social groups and depends on a variety of factors; the principal ones apparently being social class, religion and ethnicity.

With regard to social varieties, Wardhaugh (1992:132) says:

> Just as a regional dialect, marks off the residents of one region from those of
> other regions a social dialect would be a variety associated with a specific

social class or group marking that class or group off from other classes or groups.

In addition, Ferguson and Gumperz (1960:9) say:

> Any group of speakers of language X which regards itself as a close social unit will tend to express its group solidarity by favoring those linguistic innovations which set it apart from other speakers of X who are not part of the group. The existence within a speech community of social distinctions such as those of caste, class, professional guild therefore gives rise to differential rates of linguistic change, favoring the creation of new speech differences or the preservation of existing ones.

3.4. Existence of various social activities among the Bapedi People

Several social activities are found among the Bapedi people. Each social variety binds people according to its needs, beliefs and norms. The social varieties of the Bapedi may be divided into two groups namely, those occuring only in the rural areas (e.g. Koma) and those that occur in both the rural and urban areas (e.g. Ditaola). Members of each social group are required to be socially accommodated in each grouping. The social varieties in this chapter are discussed in terms of the two groups referred to above. The existence of lexical items or grammatical features, styles or registers are socially accommodated in each institution or grouping.

3.4.1 Rural Social Varieties

'Rural social varieties' in this chapter refer to the varieties that are spoken across all the regional boundaries. Their existence depends on social groups rather than physical boundaries or artificial boundaries. With regard to some rural social varieties, Mulaudzi (1999:124) says that the 'variety of language is often used when the purpose it to be secretive or to deceive'.

The Bapedi initiation (*Koma*) is secretive in nature. Most of the lexical items and expressions of these secretive varieties are not standardised because they are either restricted to males or females.

On the other hand, some varieties such as traditional religion, mourning, taboo and other varieties are characterized by lexical items and expressions that are also used in the

standard variety. As Brook (1979:13) says, 'sometimes a variety of language seems to depend not on the people using it but on the occasion when it is used'.

Others such as Weinreich (1953) supported his view by saying, 'some varieties are also selected as appropriate to a given situation'. The social rural varieties discussed here also refer to the speeches of lower, middle and higher classes. The rural varieties can also be subdivided into 'closed and open' rural varieties.

3.4.1.1. 'Closed' Rural Varieties

The term 'closed varieties' study refers to varieties that are restricted to the initiates of the initiation schools. For example, the use of the *Koma* variety is restricted to males who are attending or have attended *Koma*. The same can be said of the *Ditšwabothuhu / Diyabothuhu* variety, which is restricted to females who are attending or have attended *ditšwabothubu*. Most of the lexical items and expressions of the 'closed' varieties are not standardised because it is taboo to utter them in public.

3.4.1.1.1. Initiation (Koma) Activity

Social activities *Koma/Thabeng* is a circumcision school for males. This school is attended by boys between 12 and 15 years of age. Older men may attend for various reasons such as pressure by the community or their families.

Previously, the initiation was held at intervals of about five years provided that at least one of the chief's sons was ready to take part in the ceremony and that a good harvest had been reaped, but these days it is a annual event. When *Koma* is to be held, the headmen and councillors ensure either that the initiation school lasts for only three months or that the initiation is staged for one month during the winter holidays.

The main purpose of the initiation school is to educate young men in the values and traditions of a specific tribe. Among other things, oral work is an important aspect dealt with during the initiation process.

Each of the boys is expected to compose a self-praise poem. The result is that young men become familiar with the act of composing and memorizing praise poems early in their lives.

The literary merit of such creations is not always impressive of course but gifted young praisers' often figure during these occasions. A young man may inherit a poem on condition that the effect of the words contributes to the heroic image of the original possessor.

After the initiation ritual, the initiates gain respect from both young and old as they have now attained adulthood. They can now marry, start families of their own, own property and bear children.

According to the informants, male initiation among the Bapedi, as with other groups, is a sacred institution that is strictly taboo to women and the uncircumcised. The men are extremely reticent when asked about it, believing that one who reveals the secrets of the school will be punished supernaturally. During the initiation, the tribe's legends, myths, proverbs and customs are revealed; the initates are also taught how to hunt and fight, and they are inculcated with the beliefs about religion, sex and responsibility to elders. The courage is tested by ordeals such as being whipped with lashes. The language of the initiation school is secretive and all members of the 'in-group' (past and present) can communicate with one another using their secret language
The non-initiated, knowing that only the other initiates will understand them. A popular linguistic device of shrouding meaning is by the use of euphemisms and antonyms.

Examples of euphemisms used by the initiation school:

Thipana (knife) refers to the traditional doctor (witchdoctor) who performs the operations.
Motšabelo is used for the leather skirt especially prepared to cover the private parts of the initiate to protect his wound from being hurt by grass and shrubs – *tšhabela* (hide).
Kwalankwata – thick, salted mealie-meal porridge eaten by initiates and dished out into special wooden bowls. The porridge is fashioned into a pyramid with mealie-cob cores.
Tawana – normally a small lion but 'fire' at initiation school – probably a comparison of the dangers inherent in both.
Bana ba kgwale – chickens of a partridge but at initiation school it is a warning. 'Hide you' lie flat! To avoid being seen by passersby.
-Ihlwana – (small eye) but at initiation school it means close your eyes, we are passing; said by initiated person to a group of initiates.

Examples of antonyms used by the initiation school:

Maruthong – (at the warm places) means a cold place (mogotonyang)
Modungwane / *Modumo* (sound) – means lešata (noise clamour).

3.4.1.1.2. Mountain (Thabeng) Variety

Hudson (1980:28) defines this type of social group as 'a set of people who have something in common linguistically'.

This variety has a social group to maintain its social identity.

It is the culture and tradition of the Bapedi to practice this social variety used during *Koma*. Because it is kept secret, this social variety enables males who have been initiated at *Komeng* to detect those who have not been initiated.

In all the areas where *Koma* is practiced, the boys who are uncircumcised are known as *Mašoboro* (singular *lešoboro*). The circumcised males are called *Badika*. The word *ledikana* is derived from the infinitive verb *go dika* meaning to encircle, referring to the process of circumcision.

Each male who is to be circumcised, is made to sit on a stone called *thipana / letlapa la bogoši* meaning little old man. The hands of one of the assistants cover his eyes while the old men perform the operation so that the initiate may not witness how the operation is performed.

The doctor in charge of this operation is called *Rabadia,* which means the master of the lodge in the initiation school. The blood resulting from the operation is known as *Malekapetla / Moneka*. A medicine known as *letala* is made from the foreskins from the operation and the bodies of all the initiates are covered with white clay known as *kgetla*. This white clay protects the initiates from the cold. The males who were circumcised at previous lodges, namely *baditi* are largely responsible for taking care of the *badika*.

They also have to see to it that the initiates eat properly. The porridge they eat is known as *kwalakwata;* the naked *initiates* eat the porridge, which is displayed on reeds known as *mogopo*. They eat the *kwalakwata* without beef, pork, chicken, vegetables or water. They

are also supposed not to vomit, because if they do, they are punished. They must swallow the porridge quickly like wild animals. The initiate who is always unwilling to eat is referred to as *sephele* meaning somebody who knows very little. The women (*bašiledi*) who bring the *kwalakwata* to a place where the *badika* fetch their porridge, shouting out '*Re a swa'* meaning we are burning. The *baditi* respond by saying '*O a swa*' '*O kgauswi le koma'* meaning burn madam clitoris. *Baditi* use this foul language to show the women that there is nothing hidden from the initiates because they now know the secrets of manhood.

The initiates are punished if they misbehave. One of the punishments is known as *diphata (dipudi)*. The initiate's fingers are pressed together with an instrument to elicit information from them. The carrier of these instruments is known as *moswara-pudi* meaning to carry the instruments for punishment. The phrase '*ga se ga mmago'* is usually uttered when one of the initiates misbehaves and it implies that the offender is getting the right punishment; the instrument is placed between his fingers while his hands are clasped.

The lexical items and expressions used during *koma* express the immediate surroundings of the initiates and parts of their bodies. Some lexical items and expressions used during the circumcision school are as follows:

When the circumcision school is about to end, they use the phrase '*mphato o a swa*'. This expression suggests that the initiates are now mature men and they can be answerable for any action they take. When this happens, the initiates are allowed to eat porridge with beef, chicken or vegetables. The initiate is known as '*mogwera*' – they are completely disguised with grass and brushes.

On the eve of the closure of '*mphato*', the initiates are called to witness, '*go hwa ga makgolo'* (the grandfather or grandmother is dead). On the following day, *mphato* closes down and it is said that '*mphato o a swa'* meaning the Circumsicion School is being closed down.

The initiates who are in charge of kindling the fire at the lebollong do this process of burning the 'mphato'. They burn everything when the other initiates go home. The bodies of the initiates who have died during the circumcision are not taken home; they say '*o jele ke mphato'* meaning they hide them in the lodge.

The main purpose of initiation is to educate young people between the ages of 12 and 15 years in the values and traditions of a specific tribe. Among other things, the art of oration is an important aspect dealt with during the initiation process.

Below is a praise poem belonging to a member of the Bakgaga kraal, S.M. Mphahlele, which was initially composed during his initiation and later developed into a fully-fledged praise poem.

Ke Maputle ka mpapedi a selepe,
Fase ga sehlakahlaka ke ile ka hlakahlaka,
Fase ga mogokare ka gokara selepe,
Fase ga modibo ka dibola naswa,
Ge nkabe kgoši a nthata,
Nkabe a nkabela mathari,
Ka fela key a kua le kua,
Ba re: Moloto ka mpapedi morwa kgoši.
('I am the traveller with [a] two-bladed axe,
Under the Island I once suffered,
Under the Cape willow, I carried an axe,
Under the tree (*Modibo*), I turned the black cow over,
If the king should love me,
He would give me women,
Then I would go hither and tither,
They would say: *Moloto*, the double stomached, son of a king.)'

Maputle (known by his praise name Moloto) is one of the heroes of Mphahlele's tribe. His praise poem was finally completed after the Bapedi were able to halt the British at Chuenespoort near Polokwane (Van Warmelo 1938:189).

3.4.1.1.3 Girls Initiation (*ditšwabuthuhu)* Activity

The *Ditšwabothuhu* is a circumcision school for females. It is held in a small hut outside the village. Among the Bapedi tribes, the girls attend initiation schools while very young. During this period, girls are isolated for a couple of days. They are educated about morality and secret lessons are given on improving the quality of their womanhood.

Although the content of the initiation programme remains mostly a secret, it is known that aspects such as their relationship with their future husbands and cooking are dealt with. The main aim of this institution is to bring the women on par with the circumcised men and to instill discipline.

On their return from the initiation school (*ge ba aloga*), their new status is announced publicly by means of a song. The young women who have just undergone the tough initiation process are proud of their achievements. They have obtained a new status and therefore they look down upon the girls who have not undergone initiation.

The following song reflects their pride:

Owe! Ngwana mašala re wela,
Mosinini morwa noga,
Ngwana mašala re wela,
Tšea dinta šidio.
(Oh! The child who remains when we suffer,
Mosinini the son of a snake,
The child who remains when we suffer,
Take those lice).

The common moral in most of the formulae pertains to sex and its place in the relationship between husband and wife. Some of these initiation lessons are rendered in song to enable the initiates to remember them throughout their lives. For instance, in indoctrinating the initiates to take care of their future husbands, the following formula is pitched at the beginning of any song:

Ke re, ke --- kee --- kee!
E tlang le bone.
Molwetši wa pelo e tšhweu,
Ke re ke mo kgwatha,
O a sega.
(So I giggled with excitement!
And I invite you all!

To witness with me a pregnant person
Who laughs despite her ill health?
As I casually induce her with a caress).

An initiation formula, like the above examples, leaves the initiates with a very strong and effective message that they must always observe as future wives. They are instructed to indulge in conjugal rights until their confinements are due. The girl initiates are taught to honour men at all times by praising them using eulogies, regiment names and heroic praises.

3.4.1.1.4. Girls Initiation (Ditšwabothuhu) Variety

Stayt (1931:139) defines the *Ditšwabothuhu* as being 'more in the nature of a secret society than a recognized feature of the social organization'. The most important part of the proceedings is the operation, which all the initiates must undergo.

The *ditšhwabothuhu* variety functions as a social maintenance among the people who attend it and helps them to express their needs and values. With regards to this type of social variety, Wardhaugh (1992:221) says it 'determines how speakers perceive and organize the world around them, both the natural world and social world'.

Ditšwabothuhu is also known as '*Bjale*' meaning the initiates are passing a certain stage. '*Bjale*' also go through the process known as *sekokonana (phephenyane)* referring to a small-pronged stick, which the female initiates are made to hold between their thighs while hopping forward as the others, sing. This ordeal makes this rite very painful.

The hut of the *bjale* is called *thupantlo.* Before the female is initiated, she must attend the undisclosed activity called *sebaeng (pharuma)*; a secret initiation-rite for females where they have to wear pieces of rawhide as clothing. During the *sebaeng,* those who were previously initiated get the opportunity to teach the initiates the traditional morals, ethics and customs. After all the teachings are received, the initiates are regarded as the foundation of the future generation.

The following are the lexical items and expressions that distinguish the *ditšhwabothuhu* variety from the other social varieties.

- *Melao* (laws) but *go hlaba molao* means to recite poems taught at the initiation school i.e. to prove that one has been circumcised.
- *Mêmêmêê* (tell lies) bleatings of a goat. Also refers to the punishment meted out during initiation for telling lies.
- *Go tšholla melora* (throwaway ash) means to urinate when the initiates are covered with ash.

3.4.1.2. Language of Maternity

Women's language among the Bapedi traditional societies is characterised by a specialized variety of language. Its practical functions are further removed from those of the men's language. The variety relates to the woman's sexual, confinement and maternity experiences. The idiomatic expressions and utterances used in everyday life reflect the general influence of the female role. The hearer associates them readily with a woman or anything relating to womanhood. The distinct stylistic device, which commonly characterises the whole of the communicative system, is use of 'metaphorization'.

This is indeed valid as far as the language of maternity is concerned. To grasp the symbolism implied in an idiom or utterance, one should first familiarize oneself with the cultural traits of one's people. In this way, one will realize that the generous use of figurative language in maternity circles becomes a common tendency. This stylistic device is intended to hide the obscene nature of things expressed. The element of profanity and obscenity is, however, inevitable since the leading literal translations of the expressions and utterances analyzed will always presage the conveyed meaning.

It is prohibited for a Pedi traditional woman to indulge in pre-marital relations. The idioms expressing the woman's first sexual experience are:

- *Go tseba monna* (to know a man i.e. to copulate with a male partner for the first time).
- *Go tšolwa lebole* (literal meaning to have someone stripped of one's loin or kilt i.e. to experience intercourse for the first time.

From the above expressions, one concludes that the result of sexual relations is that the female partner usually conceives. The newly conceived woman again experiences physiological changes, which mark the beginning of her pregnancy. These symptoms are

also expressed in euphemistic ways. The following are some of the expressions used by women to describe such a person:

- *O tshetšẁe ke kgwedi* (she has been skipped by a month i.e. she did not menstruate)
- *Ga a sa bona kgwedi* (she does not menstruate any longer, implying that she is expecting a baby. She does not see the moon any longer).
- *O ribogile* (she has bloomed, i.e. she has conceived).
- *O swere* (she caught up, i.e. she has conceived)
- *O akgotše* (she hurriedly extended her helping hand i.e. she conceive without delay)
- *O selagantše* (she swiftly went across, she conceived instantly).

Some symptoms of pregnancy in the Bapedi culture are so peripheral that they are allegedly ascribed to personality disorders in the expectant mother. It is believed that she becomes unnecessarily fastidious, especially in the partaking of daily food.

Should the mother-to-be act against such psychological convictions, she will suffer from morning sickness, which is characterized by nausea and vomiting. The common expression used to describe such a state is *Go gantšhwa* (to be made to detest i.e. being easily disgusted with).

The opposite expression would be *Go ratišwa* (to be made to have love for i.e. to develop excessive taste or liking for).

With the passage of time, a pregnant woman obviously undergoes physical changes. She normally gains weight, her complexion becomes lighter and brighter and she gradually loses shape so that everybody becomes fully aware that she is expecting a child.

The following expressions are used to describe her:
- *O reketšwe* (she made some good sale or other i.e. at least she succeeded in expecting a baby).
- *O a iphepela* (She personally looks after hers i.e. her child that is still to come).
- *O tšhileng* (She is impure i.e. an understatement which implies her sacredness).

- *O mmeleng* (She is bodily succumbed i.e. about to reach the advanced stage of pregnancy).

The further investigation will be based on the analysis of the ritual speech often used in a maternity context. There can be serious complications in maternity life, which pose major health problems that call for medical attention. Such complications are common in Bapedi society and the sole consultants are the traditional healers and medicinemen. Their social interaction provides an obvious platform for ongoing ritual communications.

In defining ritual communication, Sekhukhune (1988: 175) writes:

The subsequent analysis obviously consists of expressions and utterances contained in the ritual communicative systems obtained from everyday consultations with traditional mid-wives, medicinemen and their clients.

Dissatisfaction in a traditional Bapedi family always arises in any husband whose wife gives birth to children of the same sex whereas the one who gives birth to alternating sexes is gladly described as:

Go belega thari ye nnyane (to give birth to minor children, i.e. being blessed with baby)

- The term ritual communication is used to describe the formal and conventional of the symbols used in ritual events. Thus by ritual communication is meant the set of communicative symbols used in conventionally specified contexts in which the patterns of interaction and communicative choices are restricted or elaborated along certain definable directions and set apart from those of ordinary everyday conversation. The symbols used in ritual communication are of two basic types, i.e. linguistic (words) or material (things) girls only.

- *Go belega thari ye kgolo* (to give birth to major children, i.e. being blessed with baby-boys only). Under the circumstances, a husband typically seeks help from a medicineman who he believes will be capable of alternating the sex of the children still to come. The speaker would ask the traditional healer for help.

Go retolla letheka (to turn the waist, i.e. to be on treatment that would influence changing from one sex to another in the birth of children). The women will then be subjected to medical treatment and will be left under the care of the medicineman until she conceives.

Barrenness and infertility pose yet another problem, which may require medical attention. It is customarily believed that a woman who finds it difficult to conceive can be helped to surmount the problem. A man is rarely suspected of any infertility and as a result, it is the woman who is subjected to medical treatment, which is commonly expressed as follows: *Go remela* (to chop for or on behalf of someone, i.e. to be under treatment for purposes of begetting a child).

While the wife is busy receiving treatment, the husband may, at the discretion of the 'doctor', receive his prescription; medication intended to fortify his sexual desire. He will always be told that the mixture is prepared for the purposes of *Go tiiša letheka* (to strengthen waist, i.e. to improve virility or potency).

A woman may choose modern medicine when she suffers from what is referred to as spontaneous and habitual abortions,

After treatment with modern medicine, the woman goes to the traditional medicineman again to:

- *Go fo boa tséleng* (to take a short turn on the way i.e. for her womb to be subjected to immediate cleansing).
- *Go hlatšwa letheka* (to wash the waist i.e. to cleanse the womb).

The medicines are intended to ensure conception and protect her against future miscarriage. The idea behind the whole process in Bapedi culture is expressed as:

- *Go bofela* (to tie up for or on behalf of i.e. be subjected to treatment that will ensure conception and protect her against future miscarriage).
- *Go buša noga* (to bring back the snake i.e. rejuvenating the womb).

This expression uses a far-fetched metaphor, which compares the process of ovulation to a snake that has gone to hibernate. This encourages the womb to take time to regain its conception vitality. *Go ba le noga ya kgauswi* (to have a little snake in the nearby, i.e. able to conceive with ease).

The registers above analysed the study of maternity speech, proving that the feminine role influences language. Both men and women may use the female register, which embodies the feminine role in the society.

3.4.2. Open Rural Varieties

The term 'open' rural varieties in this research refers to the varieties used when not secretive traditional activities are performed. Mulaudzi (1999: 162) says that:

> such varieties have sometimes been called situational dialects. Because of this, most of the lexical items and expressions used in these varieties are part of the standard variety. The varieties, such as the traditional religion variety, the mourning variety, taboo variety and others are classified as 'open' rural varieties because they are not traditionally secretive in nature.

3.4.2.1. Traditional Religion Variety (Ancestor worship)

The Bapedi speech community has ancestor-worship as the key indigenous religion. Lexical choice related to this variety revolves around religious belief and communication with God through the gods.

The ritual activity is universally known as '*go phasa*' (to make a sacrifice). This communication does not only serve the purpose of communicating to God through '*Badimo*' but also helps to soothe the angry spirits of the ancestors or appease the spirits who feel that they are being neglected.

The head of the tribe or family normally takes the lead in conducting this ritual activity, assisted by the medicinemen. '*Badimo*' (ancestors) are believed to be omnipresent and, as a result, they are worshipped everywhere but preferably where the dead are buried or in a brackish spot known as '*Sebatabadimo*', a place believed to have been prepared by the departed themselves.

The act of *go phasa* (to make an offering or to spit out water) is generally multi-purposeful. Among some groups. it is executed for the purpose of asking for rain in times of drought and famine, curing and alleviating pain from the sick and protecting the community from any epidemic. When '*go phasa'* takes place, *Sehlabelo* is used. Any objects or animals can be used as *sehlabelo*' which assist the ancestors to contact the

living. Such objects can be axes, bows, arrows, hoes, old horns, copper and stone. Animals, which are regarded as 'sehlabelo', are goats and cattle. There is a belief that the use of these objects or animals during *go phasa,* solves problems.

Although any person can perform the rite of '*go phasa',* the *Rakgadi* (father's sister) is an important figure who should first be contacted and asked whether she can perform this rite. After this rite, *go phasa, motšoko* (snuff) is sprinkled on the place where a measure of grain (*mahlatswa leselo*) was spat to appease the ancestral spirits.

No special prayer is designed for communication; there is only a standing pattern of wording that varies from one regional dialect to another. It is in this communicative event that we find appropriate registers associated with ancestor worship.

The following illustrates the *modus operandi*:

Hlabirwa a Bauba, ke nna yo Phatudi,
Ke tlile go phophotha
Ke kgopela ngwana thari.
Ke go swaretše mahlatswa leselo
Maphoroma šea, ke nwa nago.
Motšoko šo, ke soba nago,
*Nama ya le šimega le yona se, ke já nago***.**
(*Hlabirwa of Bauba*, here am I Phatudi,
I come to pray
For my barren daughter to procreate,
Here is a measure of grain for you,
Please drink with me this unstrained beer.
Take with me this snuff.
Share with me the sosatie).

In an attempt to make the meeting a natural and everyday occurrence, the speaker first greets the ancestor with his usual praise: **'***Hlabirwa a Bauba'*

The whole approach has humble undertones throughout the communication. This ritual is performed in the manner of addressing the ancestor spirits, the attitude is certainly one of humble worship or of a sorrowful approach towards omnipotent supernatural beings.

3.4.2.2 Mourning Variety

The lexical choice for this variety in a Bapedi speech community is pertinent to ritual activities such as death, funerals and the cleansing activity, which rounds off the mourning period. With regard to this, Sekhukhune (1988: 55) says:

> Their meaning depends on shared beliefs and values of the speech community coded into communicative patterns, and they cannot be interpreted apart from social and cultural context.

This variety is characterized by lexical items and expressions that express the feeling of people during this time. For example, '*bailedi*' (mourners) refers to the closest relative of the deceased. '*Mohlologadi*' (widow) refers to the wife of the deceased. The infinitive noun '*go hloboga'* means to pay the last respect and refers to the contact of relatives and friends with the body of the deceased for the last time. This is a recent practice whereby the children are allowed to see the body of the deceased. Culturally, the children were told that their deceased relative has gone for a visit.

The rite of '*go boula',* meaning to shave the head, is done immediately after the burial. This is done to show that the relatives of the deceased are mourning. When the shaved hair begins to grow, they are referred to as '*go hlobola'.* The beer brewed after the growth of the hair is known as '*bjalwa bja ditlhobolo'* and symbolizes the new lease of life after losing the beloved member of the family.

The rite of *go buša mohu,* meaning to bring back the spirit of the deceased within the family, is performed immediately after the burial. This expression implies that the spirit of the deceased is brought back within the family by burying the bones of the goat slaughtered for the burial together with the soil scooped from the grave of the deceased.

The rite of *go tloša moriti* means to remove the spirit of the deceased among the living. This is done by consulting the diviner who informs the relatives about the cause of death of their relative. The Bapedi speech community is inclined to respect the dead more than the living.

(a) Lexical items and expressions

The following are some of the lexical items and expressions that distinguish the mourning variety from other social varieties.

(i) The following nouns are used during the period of 'mourning':

    bailedi – (mourners)
    mohlologadi – (widow)
    mohu – (the deceased)

(ii) The expressions that are used during the mourning period are:

    go hloboga – (to pay the last respect)
    bana ba mohu – (the children of the deceased)
    go buša mohu – (to bring back the spirit of the deceased within the family)
    go tloša moriti – (to remove the spirit of the deceased within the family).

3.4.2.3. Taboo Variety

Webster (1973:1) says that 'taboos are prohibitions which, when violated, produce automatically in the offender a state of ritual disability. Taboos form a specific series of 'thou – shalt – not'.' This language variety is associated with puberty in Bapedi embodies some of those conventional deterrent formulas used to encourage the young minds to conform to the norms of the society in which they live. These are commonly known as '*diila*' (taboos). These are descriptive terms used with reference to words (or acts) that are not used in a polite society.

According to current researchers in sociolinguistics, this variety is characterized by lexical items and expressions, which are considered undesirable and socially unacceptable. With regards to this, Trudgil (1974:24) says:

> Taboo can be characterized as being concerned with behaviour that is believed to be supernaturally forbidden or regarded as immoral or improper – it deals with behaviour that is prohibited or inhibited in an apparently irrational manner. These lexical items or expressions referring to the taboo acts are avoided because they are considered undesirable. They are governed by values and customs of those societies, which do not allow a speaker to use them. In order to use such words or names the speaker is rather advised to devise certain phonological or lexical

strategies, which substitute words or names with permissible speech sounds or syllables. The types of words, which are taboos in language, are a good reflection of the system of values and beliefs of the society in question.

The taboo variety can be used to restrict the society not to mention certain lexical items and expressions in order to uphold the values and beliefs of that society. This can be illustrated by the following examples:

The Bapedi do not allow a pregnant woman to enter a hut where there has been a recent birth. A pregnant woman is dangerous in many other ways. If she enters a hut where a child has just been born, its skull will part asunder, again a pregnant woman who meets a sick person must silently sprinkle water on his back, otherwise 'his heart will stand still within him and his sickness will increase and he will die'.

The birth of '*Mafahla*' (twins) in the case of human beings should be avoided. It is believed that misfortune will befall a family or community. The Bapedi generally continued sexual intercourse right up to the wife's confinement so that the husband's 'blood' (his semen) may help to strengthen the child in its mother's womb.

The Bapedi regard a woman who has had a miscarriage as very dangerous. A man may acquire a certain disease from cohabiting with her. Her husband will not resume cohabitation with her until she has been purified. The dead children are often buried inside the hut near the wall, so that their bodies will be in perpetual shade. Should the sun ever shine on their remains, the mother would be afflicted with abdominal pains.

The Bapedi required a mother to be carefully secluded in her hut until the child's umbilical cord dropped off after about four days. After her confinement, the husband was informed of the birth of the child and of its sex, but he could not see or touch the child until after the mother's seclusion. An infringement of this taboo would result in him having an eye disease.

A widely observed rule requires men to abstain from intercourse with their menstruating wives or risk getting thin and finally dying; the rule may take the form of a taboo against such intercourse.

A menstruating woman must not prepare food for any man, even for her husband; she has to arrange for someone to cook his meals.

Diila in Bapedi are different in form and content from verbal taboos, as they are not based on individual words or word groups but on utterances. The utterances command restraint by using coercion and threats towards teenagers. They are distinctly characterised by *O se ke* (do not) and a possible coercive consequence *gobane o tla* (lest you will… i.e. such and such a misfortune will befall you). Though the probability of experiencing such misfortune is an idea far removed from reality, the Bapedi traditional child accepts it as true and in turn, he/she is persuaded to conform to the verbal order.

The types of words that are taboo had in language are a good reflection of the system of values and beliefs of the society in question.

Though emphasis here falls on linguistic taboos, there is some point of convergence with Bapedi traditional *diila* in the fact that both of them are regulated by culture-specific beliefs and practices comprising a system of values. On the other hand, Bapedi *diila* concentrate largely on social control throughout the developmental stage of the youth while dominated by the subconscious belief in and fear of the supernatural.

This variety can also be used to encourage the youth to conform to the norms of the society in which they live. The imperative 'do not (*o se ke*) is repeatedly used and thereafter followed by 'lest you will' (*gobane o tla*) in each case. This means the speaker tells the listener what not to do and subsequently suggests a threat to ensure that the listener conforms to the command. The following analyses of some of these taboos should prove the point:

O se ke wa ora mollo o o fularetše gobane o ka mela mosela. (Do not sit by the fireside with your back to it lest you grow an animal tail, i.e. if one sits by the fireside with one's back to the fire one is likely to burn oneself). Believing that the danger is likely, the young ones refrain from transgressing the taboo to disprove it. This then saves the youth from the possible danger.

O se ke wa taboga mollo, o tla rota madi (You must not jump over the fire because you will urinate blood). This expression warns the youngsters not to run the risk of jumping over the fire as he/she may fall into it; this keeps them safe while seated around the fire.

O se ke wa goelela bóšego gobane baloi ba tla go tšea lentšu (You must not shout at the top of your voice at night because the witches will get hold of your voice). This expression

teaches the youngsters to maintain as much silence as possible. Traditionally, this was done to secure the safety of the society against unexpected enemy attacks.

O se ke wa gora dikhuduo gobane o tla hloga matswele (You must not lick the cooking spoon because you will grow breasts). This expression warns the boys not to interfere with women in the kitchen. It also encourages the boys to carry out the heavier duties entrusted to them and not to neglect their manly responsibilities.

O se ke wa jela ka pitseng gobane ka lenyalo la gago pula e tla na letšatsi ka moka (Do not eat directly from the pot lest it rain heavily throughout your wedding day, i.e. avoid greed and avarice).

The Bapedi speech community has no set conventions for table etiquette. To discourage avarice and greed among its youth, a threat of this nature in the form of a taboo is always upheld. This could be regarded as another measure to control human behaviour.

Bapedi traditional taboos reveal the following remarkable notion: avoidance language, as a distinct language relating to behaviour control and restriction, could be termed 'the adult language' for the simple reason that it is only used and observed by older people. On the other hand, Bapedi *diila* are regarded as belonging to 'the teenage language' on the grounds of its short lifespan.

3.4.2.4. Marriage Rites (Ceremonial Marriage)

The end of puberty in the Bapedi speech community is often marked by a ceremony. Boys and girls are regarded as men and women who may be assigned with responsibility. Above all, they are qualified for marriage. Marriage in the Bapedi tradition could be initiated even before the child is born or immediately after birth.

An infant can be engaged to be married and the prospective in-laws will present a bull to symbolize their intent. The delivery of a bull or bullock seals the agreement and officially prevents anybody else asking for the girl's hand in marriage.

The rites of marriage in the Bapedi speech community are fully entrusted to an appointed intermediary delegated by the groom's party. *Batseta* (the intermediaries) conduct the necessary negotiations set forth in the process of matchmaking, while conforming to the traditional norms common to both parties. In subsequent meetings held from time to time,

there is a network of utterances and metaphorical expressions used to define and describe the various processes in the on-going social interaction.

3.4.2.4.1. Betrothal

Members of the royal circle than by commoners view a betrothal differently.

One's daughter marrying into another family, tribe or nation determines a betrothal within the royal circle. The daughters from a senior house of a *kgoši* (king) are destined to marry into another *kgoši's* tribe or nation, while those from the junior houses must marry minor *dikgoši* (kings). The betrothal is normally arranged during infancy with the following defense motives in mind: *go thiba difata* (to close down the ports). This means that they are determining one's daughter for marriage in another *kgoši's* tribe or nation for purposes of evading future invasions. Once a traditional Bapedi tribe destined a woman for marriage into another community, it was more difficult for the said community to take up arms against the bride's tribe, as she would secretly send out someone to alert her people beforehand.

This practice takes place among the members of various dialects in the Bapedi speech community but more often in royal circles. The following proverbs originated out of this cultural background:

Kgoši ga a e ile mohlana (a king may marry the daughter of his own family). Similarly, after the death of his father, the eldest son from the most senior house of the extended family is legitimately allowed to cohabit with his father's youngest wife and hence the saying:

Ke lala le mmane, ke hloboga dinathomo, dinathamagana tše šo(I cohabit with my father's youngest wife in despair of a dowry).

If the married woman is barren, the responsibility of providing a substitute rests with her parents who must surrender her younger sister. The act of doing so is expressed as *go ba tlhatswadirope* (married to become a seed-bearer). Sometimes the brother of the barren woman is entrusted with the responsibility of betrothing his own child as a seed-bearer. The pledge to do likewise is expressed as *go tswalela motho ngwana* (to raise up a child for someone).

The above betrothal is destined to bring a dying family to life by way of perpetuating procreation and extending a helping hand to the disabled. This act is expressed by *go ya go goletša mollo* (destined to keep the fire burning).

The idea imbued in the above expressions whereby one brother's daughter is destined as a seed-bearer in one paternal aunt's marriage, becomes controversial when perceived outside the context of the Bapedi cultural tradition.

The idea behind the concept of betrothal is to perpetuate and entrench the established relationship between two family groups or tribes. It is believed, on the other hand, that the ever-present consanguinity will preoccupy the married couple and by so doing minimise their everyday petty squabbles and reserve their relationships. Among other things, betrothal guarantees the personal safety in one's marriage or national security in the event of a royal marriage contracted between two nations.

3.4.2.4.2. Choosing a Marriage Partner

Traditionally, the men are polygamous. They marry a number of wives and have extended families. Today lifestyles have changed. Many have converted to Christianity, live, and abide by the principle of one man, one wife.

The choice of a spouse was traditionally the task of the parents but, through the passage of time, the tradition is gradually fading away because of the obvious influence of modern tendencies. Instead, a young man tells the parents, particularly the father, that he needs a wife by using the following expressions: *Ke godile* (I am mature enough to marry) or *Ke bone mosadi* (I have courted a woman).

The parent still has the exclusive right to turn down the plea and offer an alternative. If his son's request is acceptable, the father is obliged to share the good news with the immediate relatives who must be practically involved in organizing the ceremony; a Bapedi marriage is a communal affair.

Cousins married (cross-cousin marriage), as they were within the same family group. This guaranteed that the marriage cattle (or wealth) did not leave the family group. A *malome's* (an uncle's) son or daughter married into a *rakgadi's* (an aunt's) family. Arranged marriages were preferred and parents chose husbands or wives for their children.

This further implies that in Bapedi tradition, a married woman is not supposed to be addressed as *mogatša wa semangmang* (the wife of so on so) but should be referred to as *mosadi wa kgoro ya gore legore* (a woman who belongs to such and such a court). Similarly, the husband is viewed as a seed-raiser delegated by a particular *kgoro,* and his offspring are likewise viewed in the same way.

In the case of a *setimamello* (tribal wife or queen), the choice is not individualized but rests solely in the hands of the king and his advisors in collaboration with the entire tribe. Furthermore, there remains a long-standing commitment that a particular tribe or nation marries from a particular tribe or nation. A woman married within such formalities is viewed as '*mosadi wa setšhaba'* (the tribal wife) not *mosadi wa kgoši* (the king's wife).

3.4.2.4.3. Engaging the Intermediary

When the groom's parents consent, a mediator is sent to engage in matrimonial talks with the other family group. This creates a situation that is characterised by utterances worthy of analysis. On his arrival at the prospective in-laws domicile, the mediator usually makes uses the following expressions to introduce the issue:

Ke tlile go kgopela sego sa meetse – (I come to ask for a water calabash)

This represents the most common metaphoric expressions used to ask for one's daughter's hand in marriage in Bapedi speech variety. With formal gesticulations accompanying these expressions, the daughter's father quickly understands the message and responds accordingly. While this expression is commonly used among the ordinary people, royalty have their own peculiar expressions to convey the same idea, such as *re tlile go kgopela serumula,* (we come to ask for a firebrand) or *re tlile go kgopela setimamello,* (we come to ask for a queen).

The use for the substantive**'re'** in the utterance signifies the honorific plural whose intrinsic value expresses the highest degree of formality. This extreme formality is further accomplished by the paradigm of the other linguistic features in context, such as *serumula* and *setimamello*. Once the intermediary has completed his task and the two family groups have reached consensus, the first stage of mediation is complete. The next step is to deliver the *magadi*.

3.4.2.4.4. *Magadi and other Marriage Goods*

The conceptual meaning of *magadi* regarding the indigenous custom in a Bapedi community as viewed by Sekhukhune (1988: 109) remains the one to which moral obligations; solemn alliances and social recognition are attached. *Magadi* and the manner in which it is organized and executed, clearly reveals the universal meaning of the marriage custom in Bapedi.

The general assumption is that marriage is a communal affair in which all relatives, friends and acquaintances of the bridegroom feel obliged to contribute towards the marriage goods. A preliminary stage of *magadi* is realized in the initial gifts offered to the bride-to-be known as *go iša dipute* – (to give presents to the bride-to-be)

The purpose of abiding by this custom is to deter any other person who may intend to marry the bride-to-be and acquaint the groom's party with the prospective in-laws. The presents consist mainly of garments and ornaments designed to be used by the bride-to-be. Should the groom's party find at some late stage that they are unprepared to deliver *magadi*, the verbal agreement is provided as an alternative. This is contracted by the following expressions: *go tša diroto* (to present the baskets) or *go thiba sefero* (to close down the entrance).

When it is time to deliver the *magadi,* the groom's party sets forth the marriage goods once more. This formal institution of *dikgomo* or *magadi* is based on the custom commonly known as *go tšwela*. *Magadi* consists of tributes known by the following phrasal names:

- *Dikgomo tša lapa* – (the key marriage goods, those contributed by the bridegroom and his family).
- *Kgomo ya malome* – (a beast contributed from the maternal uncle's family).

According to Bapedi tradition, a nephew is generally required to marry his cross cousin. Should the maternal uncle fail to provide his daughter as a wife for reasons beyond his control, he becomes obliged to surrender *powana* as a symbol, telling the counter-party that the groom still waits to marry his uncle's daughter, hence the following expression is used to explain the state of affairs: *Ngwana o sana le gamalome* (the groom still waits to marry his uncle's family).

Should the prospective son-in-law 'deflower' his fiancée, the delivery of *magadi* becomes *Kgomo ya go thiba pherwana* (beast paid in acknowledgement of 'deflowering').

The payment is understood as an admission of guilt, as well as a gift of consent to marriage on the part of the son-in-law. The beast, however, counts among what is destined for the *magadi*. *Kgomo ya go bula sefero goba kgomo ya go kokota* (a beast presented to mark the formal opening of the discussion of *magadi*).

On their arrival, the members of the groom's party usually find a gathering consisting of members of the bride's party waiting for them at the *kgoro* (gathering place). It is customary for the intermediary from the visiting party, in consultation with a representative of the host party, to present a beast that marks the formal opening of the talks. *Kgomo ya go beka* – (a special beast given to the bride's family to finalize the *magadi* and ask for the permanent release of the bride).

At the end of the formal discussion of *magadi*, the groom's party usually asks for the permanent release and formal transfer of the bride. This is not a verbal interaction. It is customary to give away a beast that would formalize the request and at the same time symbolize the act. Similarly, the beast stands to count amongst those selected for *magadi*. In the event of more cattle being requested by the bride's party, it is usual to ask the groom's party to contribute two or more head of cattle under the seal of a different tradition that is customarily referred to as:

- *kgomo ya lerumo* – (a spear beast)
- *kgomo ya mphaka* – (a knife beast)

Both beasts are intended to accomplish different purposes. For instance, *kgomo ya lerumo* symbolizes the real spear with which to slaughter the beast destined to honour the coming festive occasion and *kgomo ya mphaka* symbolizes the actual knife with which to skin the beast. Both beasts are accredited by the groom's party as part of *magadi*. Failure to surrender these heads of cattle on the part of the marrying party, entitles the bride's party to bring the whole process of presenting marriage goods to a halt. It further accords the host party the exclusive right to refuse merry-making altogether until such demands are met.

Owing to the fact that the act is intended to satisfy the existing Bapedi traditional custom and belief, the visiting party then slaughters one of the *magadi* cattle to grace the

matrimony, *go ba tšhweša lekgeswa*. Immediately after the festivity, the formal transfer of the bride takes place.

The above analysis of *magadi* and other marriage goods uncovers a network of social interactions from which utterances with a variety of interpretations are deduced.

The analysis further reveals that nuances of meaning attributed to the various utterances are accomplished by contextualization cues manifest in the Bapedi culture. This brings us to the notion that interpretation of utterance is not an arbitrary exercise. The institution of *magadi* is also not a sectional activity but somewhat universal, since it is practiced by people of ignoble birth as well as those occupying high standing in the social hierarchy. In the history of the Bapedi speech community, the idea of *magadi* is an indigenous custom.

3.4.2.4.5. Formal Transfer and Permanent release of the bride

This represents another formal ceremony in which only family members of the bride and the bridegroom take part. It is traditionally held on the day after the day of merry-making. This last lap in the marriage rites is generally expressed as *go beka ngwetši* – (to take the bride to her in-laws). A maternal uncle of the bride must publicly perform two important rituals before they can transfer the bride. The first is commonly expressed as *go phapha hlogo ya moswe* (performing the ritual presentation of the bride's gift – the slaughtered beast).

It is a common practice on the part of the maternal grandmother to grace the occasion with a pot of homebrew and a beast to slaughter. The uncle retains the head and the hide of the slaughtered beast, which he takes as a tribute (*sebego*) to the grandmother. He leaves the hide with the grandmother and keeps the head to eat (*majadihlogo*). The second act of performing the ritual is known as *go tlema tšhima* (blessing the marriage).

The maternal uncle is entrusted with the responsibility of taking the ritual gifts to the function. The beer is intended for the people to drink in celebration with his niece's in-laws. It is the duty of the maternal uncle to see that the welfare of his niece is always promoted. After the skinning of the beast, the maternal uncle draws the sinews just below the fillet and prepares what is traditionally known as *tšhima*. The sinews are tanned with a hard, waxy fat and tied around the neck of each of the newly weds. The symbol is

intended to tell the outside world that the couple are married. *Tšhima* could be equated to a Western wedding.

All the parents of the bride have to do is congratulate their daughter on her marriage and give away a complimentary beast traditionally known as *Letswele la ngwana* (a beast destined for milk production to supplement the rearing of the first child).

The greatest moment for the bride, is when her *kgadi* (most senior aunt) comes to give the last word of advice to the bride about married life: *go laya ngwetši* (to instruct and advise the bride about marriage life).

The *kgadi* is the most privileged of all the blood relatives who have the opportunity to attend the ceremony. The speech by the *kgadi* usually takes the form of an epilogue that epitomizes the whole festive occasion.

A few months after the bride has been transferred to the domicile of her relatives, tradition has it that she must pay a temporarily visit to her people. The expression used is *go tšholla bongwetši* (the going back home of the bride after marriage, where she remains for approximately a week before returning to her in-laws for good).

The whole procedure of the formal transfer and permanent release of the bride is also observed by royalty in the Bapedi speech community. It is a common route that may allow a few insignificant diversities, depending on the regional dialects.

3.4.2.5. Honorific

In Bapedi, honorification involves the use of the plural form when one addresses an older person or one who surpasses one in status. Plurality is ingrained in the social system of the Bapedi people. That is to say, either an individual is viewed in the light of his social background or he is one of a group of relatives, friends and tribesmen. To divorce him from this group is to degrade him.

In honorific, we use a grammatical form that will convey the idea that the speaker is being polite or respectful to the listner. Honorifics are based on social stratification, and in some languages, it is exceedingly important if one is to speak to people without grave social consequences for having used the wrong form. Sometimes, what passes as politeness or respect in one culture may appear to a member of another culture as slavishness or

boorishness. Some languages demand that the speaker make reference to the person's rank, age, sex or social position, when speaking to him/her.

As mentioned previous, the following expressions are used in the Bapedi speech community by royalty when asking for one daughter's hand in marriage.

- *re tlile go kgopela serumula* –(we come to ask for a fire brand).
- *re tlile go kgopela setimamello* – (we came to ask for a queen).

The use of the substantive **'re**' in the utterance signifies the honorific plural whose intrinsic value expresses the highest degree of formality. The extreme formality is further accomplished by the paradigm of the other linguistic features in context, such as *serumula, gore le re timele mollo* and *setimamello*. This mode of discourse in Bapedi belongs to what is currently known as diglossia.

Hymes (1964: 435) defined diglossia as:

> A relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialect of language there is a very divergent, highly codified superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely 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 his definition, Hymes touched on the most salient points common to the language used around the *mošate* (royal courts) in the Bapedi speech community. Expressions such as those cited above are divergent, as they employ lofty euphemism centered on the concept of fire. They are highly codified with their semantic system and they are associated with the highest social class in the Bapedi speech community i.e. royalty, moreover, they are not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.

Pedi women usually address their husbands and other men by their praise names such as *Phaahlé, Hlabirwa, Nape, Ngwato, Gobetse, Dimo, Moloto, Tshidi, Kanyane, or Gosebo.* They also address one another by praise names such as *Hunadi, Napšadi, Mologadi, Mosebjadi, Modipadi, Mahlaku, and Boledi.* Husbands address their wives and other women as 'mother of so and so' e.g. *Mmago Lesiba, Mmago Namedi.*

In many Bapedi dialects, the giving of a name to a new bride is regarded as an honour. This same name suggests that she will bear a child by that particular name, e.g. *MmaMaropeng* (mother of Maropeng), *MmaSelaelo*, *MmaNoko* (mother of Noko).

Alternatively, other men and women may address men by their respective totem:
- *Tau* or *Sebata* or *Mminašoro* (Lion)
- *Tlou* (Elephant)
- *Kolobe* (Wild boar)
- *Kwena* (Crocodile)
- *Noko* (Porcupine)
- *Tlhantlhagane* (Finch)

Sometimes tribal names are used as a mode of addressing men:
- *Motlokwa*   (a Tlokwa tribesman)
- *Mopedi*   (a Pedi tribesman)
- *Motau*   (a Tau tribesman)
- *Mokone*   (a Kone tribesman)
- *Letebele*   (a Ndebele tribesman)

Men from the initiation school deem it a pride and honour throughout their lives to be addressed by their regimental names: *Mangana, Mankwe, Madima, Makgau, and Malema*. They are so proud of these regimental names that they even swear by them to express their determination or truthfulness. If a person doubts his sincerity and he interjects, *Ka Maswena*, then one can realize that he is telling the truth.

An examination of the following sentences will illustrate that the meaning may be either singular or plural indicating respect:
- *boMma ba tlile* (mother and company have come)
- *ke boditše bomalome gore ba ka se hwetše boRakgadi ka gae* (I told uncle and company that they would not find my paternal aunt and company at home).

3.4.2.6. Analysis of Language varieties according to sex (Gender Variety)

Like most societies, there are some differences between the language used by men and women. The languages used by men and women will be referred to as 'varieties' in this section. The differences between these varieties are brought about by the social differentiation between men and women. In this regard, Maltz and Borker (1983:199) as cited by Mulaudzi (199: 215), say that 'women produce the speech they do, not just because it its how they should speak but because it fits with the personalities they develop as a consequence of sex role requirements. But there is pretty much a unanimous opinion that the language we use is affected by the views and values of society. This is very apparent when we look at how the sexism in society is reflected in our language'.

In line with these views, there are certain expressions and lexical items associated with women among the Bapedi people. For example, the expression *Thobela*! (hello!) is always associated with women. Whenever a woman meets a woman or a man, she is supposed to greet her/him by saying *Thobela!* Culturally, this expression is not only meant for greeting, it is also coupled with respect.

The expression *atšhi!* is always uttered by women when they are surprised by something. One would hardly hear a man say *atšhi*! Only women are assigned the incorporate suffix – *adi* (mother) after graduating from *jobaneng* or after being blessed with their first born The expression *o bona kgwedi* (to menstruate) is always associated with the ovulation of women. This occurs either at the end or beginning of the month, hence the expression *o bona kgwedi* (to menstruate) which implies that the girl is natured. If a woman reaches this stage, it is believed that she is physically mature. Culturally, she must be told how to handle a man or satisfy him.

The expression *tameng!* is associated with men. When a man meets an older man, he should greet him by saying *tameng!* This is always coupled with respect. In the case of marriage, according to Bapedi customs, it is a man who pays *magadi* not a women, hence the use of an infinitive noun *o a nyala* meaning to marry. This is said because the man is responsible for paying *seroto* (the bride price). That is why this expression is always associated with men. The family is also associated with men because, culturally, the man is the head of the family. That is why each family is known by the man's name. For example, *Bana ba Matlala* – (the family of Matlala).

In the structural analysis of speech varieties, all levels, namely, phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics, occur according to sex. These linguistic aspects reveal the influence of the social meaning that they acquire in their everyday use. The general implication is that they are 'acting and having impact only within [the] specific social context to which they adapt [and] by which they are stimulated, but upon which they have, to a greater in lesser degree, a determining influence' (Geertz, 1937:361, cited by Sekhukhune, 1988:132).

Choice of vocabulary and word formation denoting differentiation according to sex in a Bapedi community can be likened to the sides of the same coin as far as the relationship of the speaker to the hearer is concerned. Regarding the lexical choice, the most important human quality on the part of the speaker is communicative competence; whereas word formation on the other hand could be coupled with his/her linguistic competence i.e. the ability to choose the right word and use it appropriately implies the ability to form new words and expressions.

The following grammatical constructions illustrate the feminine influence of the diminutive suffix – *ana* on some of the speech variables outside context:

- *so* (black) – *motho yo moswana* – (a black female person)
- *-šweu* (white) – *motho yo mošwaana* – (a light female person)
- *-hlaba* (dark) – *motho yo mohlabana* – (a dark female person)

There is a consensus that the function of the diminutive in some instances is to indicate admiration and love. This is accepted as valid and depends solely on the mood of the speaker and not on the mere paradigmatic relation of words in an utterance.
Whilst the foregoing examples reveal endearment and admiration in their social contexts, the key notion and role they serve is to manifest feminine qualities. The above word forms will always be viewed in the light of the relationship between language and sex.

Similarly, the use of the nominal suffix – *gadi* – with some words, either in context or in isolation, shows some sexual reference other than being augmentative. Nominals denotative of human beings are the most appropriate examples:

- *tlhalo* (divorce)   = *tlhalagadi* (divorcee)
- *mohlolo* (widower)   = *mohlologadi* (widow)
- *kgoši* (king)   = *kgošigadi* (queen)

Some female praise names take the suffix *gadi* to distinguish themselves from male praise names. At times, the suffix is not clearly visible because it takes the form of *adi* instead of the common form. The following examples give a fair comparison of the men versus women praise names in Bapedi culture:

- Nape > *Napšadi*
- Napo > *Napogadi*
- Gosebo > *Gosebjadi*

In some instances, the men's praise names are affixed with free morpheme such as *mosadi* to engender femininity. For example:

- *Ngwato* > *Ngwatomosadi*
- *Phaka* > *Phakamosadi*

The morphology of some of these word forms in the study of their socio-cultural meaning is inevitable because of linguistic sex distinctions. The following is the morphological analysis of contracted forms of family kinship terms in order to reveal their indigenous source. The cultural meaning of each kinship term is based on or named in accordance with a particular genealogical origin. Bapedi distinguishes among the following terms:

- *rakgadi* (paternal aunt) is supposed to refer to *kgaetšedi ya ntate* (my father's sister) but it may also refer to females that are said to be parallel and cross-cousin's of one's father.
- *mmangwane* (aunt) simply refers to one's mother's younger sisters in the matrilineal descent including the so called half-sisters. Today, the term has acquired another social meaning of referring to a father's younger wife.
- *mogwegadi* (parent-inlaw) is derived from *motswadi wa bogwe goba bogadi* (a parent from one's inlaw's place) from which the prefix *mo–* and the stems *–gwe* and *–gadi* were taken consecutively to form the term. Their substantiation overemphasizes the use of the term by both sexes to refer to either father or mother-inlaw.
- *mmatswale* (mother–inlaw) implies the contracted form of *mma tswala* (dear person, give me a nubile person). The use of the word *tswala* (give birth) in the expression provides the conveyed meaning of surrendering one's child to be someone's spouse.

Makgolo (grandmother) and *rakgolo* (grandfather) are contracted forms of *mma kgoloka* (mother, become aged) and *rare kgoloka* (father, become aged). These terms simply imply a woman and man's ageing. It is generally understood that when a person is aged, he/she becomes wrinkled and tends to take a round shape while bending toward the front. The key idea of sex differentiation in most Bapedi kinship terminology seems to be in the affixation of the archaic words *rare* (father) and *mama* (mother). The use of such nominal stems in the contractions reveals a subtle cultural trait regarding the general human relationship between young and old people

According to Bapedi culture *tate, mme, koko, rakgolo* are not necessarily a biological father, mother, or grandmother/father; this principle is embedded in the social organization of older people, irrespective of their genealogical status (Mokgokgong, 1975:32, as cited by Sekhukhune, 1988:141).

The use of interjections by members of different sex groups in any speech community is undoubtedly not the same. The members of the Bapedi speech community are no exception in this regard. There are different restrictive codes used by each sex group. Should a member of each sex group be heard interjecting another group of the opposite sex, it may lead to his/her ostracisation. Both males and females are therefore inclined to be a guard against this misnomer in their use of language.

Interjections are quite peripheral to language structure and some cases are so firmly tied to gesture as to form a bridge between sex distinction in language and non-linguistic behaviour.

Interjections in Sepedi clearly show that they are closely related to and are determined by the accompanying gestures of the speaker. Such gesticulations identify the speaker as male or female, because men and women do not use the same gestures when they shout. The structure of interjection sine language use varies from single words to full expressions depending on the situational context in which they are used, but they are mostly used to express emotions. For example, they could be a means of expressing surprise, emphasis or stating something on oath. One is able to understand the functional aspect of the interjective in the way these emotional reactions are concerned, without reference to their formal linguistic analysis.

The expression of astonishment in Bapedi male speech is realized in the following contexts:

- *Kom'a banna! Kgomo yela e hwile* (By male's initiation! God bless me! That beast is dead).

- *Komatona ya banna! Mosadi yola o rwele thoto* (By sacred oath of men! God bless me! That woman is gone, lock, stock and barrel).

The manifestation of the sexual allusion is realized by the use of masculine terms such as *banna* (men) and *komatona* (the sacred symbol of men).

Contrary to the above, women use some of the following interjectives as typical ways of expressing surprise:

- *Koma – basadi!* (by female's initiation)

- *Mme a hwile*! (by my late mother)

Šešane sa basadi! (the sacred symbol of women at initiations). The inclusion of the words *basadi, mme* and *šešane* in the above interjectives, marks them as distinctly feminine.

Despite this variety in the use of interjections, the pragmatics of each exclamation is enhanced by contextualization through the use of the appended clauses. Without these subsequent clauses, it would be difficult for the listener to grasp the intended message conveyed by the speaker.

These types of interjectives enable the reader to determine the sex of the speaker without reference to the whole text.

Both men and women in Bapedi have attitudes that are not so easily reconcilable with one another. Men have a tendency to dominate women, this is reflected in their use of language and can be derogatory when discussing or describing women. This reveals something about male attitudes, fears and prejudices concerning the female sex. Most of these derogatory terms in Sepedi evolve around sex and sexuality. An extremely sensual man in Bapedi may be described or referred to as follows:

- *Sephayathetho* (fornicator)

- *Sehlotlolo* (the one who grapes in the dark with intention of forcing sexual relations with a woman.

- *Sekatabatho* (one who pounces upon others and forces sexual relations i.e. rapist)
- Men have the following derogatory terms to describe women for their unbecoming sensual behaviour:
- *Mmalegogwana* - (one who goes about carrying a floor-mat in readiness for sexual relations and preparing a bed for every man)
- *Kobobane* (one who goes about seducing every man i.e. a slut)
- *Seotšwa* (one who habitually indulges in extra-marital relations)
- *Motlabo* (a mistress)

The terms that are analysed above are sometimes commonly used by both sexes without any prejudice.

Apart from the above terms, which detail the semantic derogations of men and women in Sepedi, there are others, which may be used to display appreciation and admiration. Mostly males rather than females use a vast number of these terms. The other probability could be that Bapedi men, like those of other speech communities, are naturally poets who could see beauty even where there is none. The following are some descriptive terms the Bapedi use to evoke the image of beauty:

- *Sehlapakamaswi* (implying her light complexion)
- *Nkuserekwamosela* (a better choice of a wife goes to the one with a sizeable bottom; bluntly put, the one with big buttocks)
- *Morihla – (*moderately fleshy but not obese)
- *Senoinoi* – (young and pretty)
- *Leragathetho* – (the one who has begotten a child already – beauty here is associated with her capability of bearing children not physical outlook.

The concept of beauty in Bapedi is seen as a complex phenomenon that is conveyed by a variety of metaphors. The admirable physical attributes are not the only criteria; the woman who shows fertility by bearing children is also worthy of beauty.

The use of sexism in the Bapedi language can best be understood in the analysis of proverbs and similar idiomatic expressions about women, which seem to take on their traits. Men's fear is that the next generation of men may take after women and lose their

qualities of manhood if they are not properly cared for. For this reason. when a boy does something silly, a Bapedi man will vehemently protest with the following expressions:

- *kwa mmagwe* (he has taken after his mother)
- *fepetšwe diatleng* – (he is very spoilt)
- *Ke mosadi* (one who fails to have confidence in himself; he is sheepish, modest and shy)
- *Ke ngwana mokgekolo* (he is brought up by his grandmother)

When a young man is praised for being successful, the following expressions are used:

- *Ke ngwana monna* (he is brought up the manly way)
- *Ke ngwana rragwe* (implying his enthusiasm in taking heed of his father's advice)
- *Ke monna* (he can be entrusted with responsibility)
- *Ke sebata* (he is brave; a reliable man)

Apart from the above expressions, there are still other speech stereotypes, which men have coined. This utterance can either reveal a positive or negative attitude towards women. These indigenous proverbs used in everyday conversation are mostly motive-based and reveal the intended goals and attitudes of men towards women. For example, *Mosadi ke tšhwene o lewa mabogo* (the beauty of a nubile woman is weighed in terms of her industriousness and competence).

A choice of a marriageable woman in Bapedi culture is influenced by complex additional attributes. Beauty is probably the least of all her physical attributes that determine her worth. The most important qualities of a woman are hard work, ability to bear children, and a sound social and moral background, which breeds healthy human relations with others. Unfortunately the total impression gained here, is that a women is acquired for purposes of fulfilling a certain mission i.e. *Lebitla la mosadi ke bogadi* (marriage perpetuates the woman's place of domicile).

If the bride is exposed to petty or serious squabbles with her inlaws, she cannot divorce the family to go back to her parents. Divorce is taboo in Bapedi culture and is viewed as depraved. The Western concept of divorce is not similar to the above Bapedi traditional concept known as *go nyatša* (to humiliate). This social inequality is implied in the proverb between husband and wife: *Mosadi ke pudi, monna ke nku, o llela teng* (a woman always weeps while a man endures pain silently). It is common for a woman to cry out when she

is physically in pain, while a man is always capable of enduring pain and suffering. The metaphorical comparison in the proverb implies cowardice in a woman and bravery in a man. This enables a man to maintain his upper hand over a woman in their social standing.

This brings the present investigation to another in-depth analysis of some of the proverbs about men: *Monna ke thaka, o a naba* (man is culturally liable to indulge in polygamy). The number of women he has married determines the status of a man in the Bapedi traditional society. The greater the number of wives, the greater the number of children the man should have. The senior wife must support her husband by going out of her way to find a woman she has chosen to become a co-wife to her husband.

The following proverb endorses the power and authority that a Bapedi traditional man has over a woman: *Monna ke phoka, o wa bošego* (a woman must never ask her husband about his whereabouts). The cultural origin of the proverb alludes to a polygamist whose nocturnal visits to his wives cannot be predicted. Similarly, it cannot be said with certainty in which house he spent the night. In this way, he remains the overseer of his extended families.

Kgwale ya monna e sekwa e le thekeng (There is no case for any man who has eloped with a girl). A man who does not have *magadi* (marriage goods) to marry a woman can elope with her to keep her with him but it is understood that the marriage will still be contracted when he is ready. The latitude given to a man in this context suggests the obvious acknowledgement of his superiority over his fiancée.

The analysis of the male and female speech stereotypes in Sepedi thus far reveal few remarkable notions, which indicate very clearly the immeasurable influence of sexism. Most of these stereotypes, which are exemplified by idiomatic and proverbial expressions, relegate the social status of a woman to that of a nonentity. The sex role-played by the men command absolute power and authority while the women demonstrate non-assertiveness and uncertainty. The Bapedi women therefore show submissiveness and self-humiliation because most of the time they are deprived of the opportunity to protect their own human dignity.

The traditional custom favours male dominance over females. Everyday speech reflects the 'superiority' of the male and the 'inferiority' of the female, resulting in a master/subject relationship. The language of sexism relegates women to the status of children, servants or idiots. As the 'second sex' they are doomed to virtual invisibility.

3.4.2.7 Linguistic restriction Variety

Variety plays an important role in controlling social behaviour in society and cannot be regarded solely as a taboo. Variety does not reflect general customs or values and beliefs. Certain lexical items are avoided because they are undesirable in society. Their avoidance also promotes respect among youngsters and adults.

Such linguistic or verbal taboos are governed by the values and customs of those societies that do not allow a speaker to use specific speech sound or syllables in some words or names. To use such words or names, the speaker is rather advised to devise certain phonological or lexical strategies, which substitute words or names with permissible speech sounds or syllables. The Bapedi speech community has reached this point of observing language restriction as illustrated by avoiding vulgar words and using euphemism in place of undesirable words. For example, *Masepa* (faeces). The youth are taught not to mention *masepa* in the presence of adults. Any child that mentions this word in the presence of adults or any gathering is regarded as being disrespectful and may be punished. The euphemism of *masepa* is *mantle* (the outside things). Even for an animal such as a dog, the word *Lešepa* would not be used.

It is culturally indecent to say: *Monna o ilo nya* (the man has gone to defecate) but polite to use any of the following: *O ithomile* (he has sent himself) *O ile kgakala* (he has gone far). The infinitive noun *nya* is always avoided. In the case of a child, it is customary to say: O a *fapoga* (she/he is deviating).

The infinitive noun, *O a tšholla* (running stomach) is avoided when a running stomach troubles an adult. Instead of mentioning *go tšholla* (running stomach, *O swerwe ke mala* (literally meaning diarhoea), is used.

Additional euphemisms connected with excretion are *Go ntšha meetse* (take out water), *go hlapologa* (be unwashed), instead of the blunt *go rota* (urinate) and *go ntšha moya* (take out air) or *go gata katse* **(**step on a cat) instead *of go pshinya* (fart).

There are several euphemisms connected with drunkenness, a fact that shows that drunkenness itself was not regarded with respect. Instead of saying: *Monna o tagilwe* **(**the man is drunk) it is more respectful to say *Monna o khoše* **(**the man has eaten to the fill) or *Monna o hupile* (the man has filled his mouth).Socially it is unacceptable to say that a mother, the father, or any other adult is drunk.

Go bolela maaka means to lie. Socially it is unacceptable to say that an adult is lying. An adult person is joking, which becomes *O a swaswa* in Sepedi. Instead of saying *O bolela maaka* (he is telling lies), one says *O fošitše* (he is mistaken) or *O re apeile* (he has cooked us, i.e. deceived us).

In Bapedi culture, words having to do with anatomy and sex have remarkable affective connotations. It is considered vulgar to speak of *nnyo* (female genitals), but polite to speak of *mapele* (the front parts). Both young and old avoid the noun nnyo. A young girl can say the word among her peer group but not in the presence of an adult or a stranger. A man's private parts are referred to as *Ntoto* (penis), *Modišana* (a small shepherd) or *Mosela* (a small tail). *Marete* means testicles. This word cannot be uttered in public because it is regarded as an insult, but anyone of equal age, who is related or a friend can talk about testicles.

It is thought vulgar to speak of *go nyoba* (sexual intercourse). Any child mentioning this in the presence of an adult can be punished severely. The adult can also not mention this noun in the presence of children because sex is considered an activity performed by adults. The following euphemisms are used instead: *go kgopela mapai* (ask for blankets) or *go alelwa* (have blankets spread for someone). Similarly, *mogwete* (anus) is substituded by *ka mafuri* (at the back courtyard).

Madness in Bapedi is regarded as an undesirable condition. That is why *go gafa* is softened to *Go se tšeye gabotse* (be unwell / mad) or *Go hlakana hlogo* (to be mixed up in the head).

3.4.3. Urban and Rural Social Varieties

The phrase 'urban and rural social varieties' in this section refers to those varieties which are spoken in the rural and urban areas. They come into being because of the migration of labourers from rural to urban areas. Such varieties have sometimes been called situational dialects because most of the lexical items and expressions used in some rural and urban varieties such as church and gender varieties are part of the standard variety. On the other hand, there are linguistic features of certain varieties that are not part of the standard variety, for example *Tsotsitaal* and other Sepedi dialects.

A change from one situation to another may allow the participants to assume certain roles, which in turn influence the social activity in which they find themselves. This constant change from one social standing to another automatically prompts elocutionary change between the addresser and the addressee.

There is a diversity of speech domains in the Bapedi speech community comprising a variety of speech registers. Registers are usually characterized solely by vocabulary differences, either by the use of particular words or by the use of words in a particular sense.

The analysis of these lexical differences is the ultimate intention of this part of the investigation. This linguistic taxonomy, however, should not be regarded as an attempt to categorize certain linguistic patterning, which the social context always calls for. It is not a move to select a specialized language to suit a particular social situation; it is rather an attempt to illustrate the extent to which every day speech in Sepedi loses and sometimes acquires new meanings resulting from the influence of such extra and Para- linguistic contextual factors.

Analyses of urban and rural social varieties are also referring to the speech varieties of different social classes.

3.4.3.1 Speech Variety of Diviners in Bapedi (Ditaola)

The speech variety, known as *go tšholla ditaola* (to throw down the divinity), is spoken in rural as well as urban areas. *Go tšholla ditaola* is a speech variety that originated in the rural areas but is also popular in the urban areas today because diviners from rural areas

who frequent urban areas use it. With regard to this social variety, the focus will be the lexical items and selected praise poems that are used.

The group of people who use a certain speech variety should be those who share the same norms with regard to a language and have the same set of social attitudes towards language. There is no limit to the ways in which human beings league themselves together for self-identification, worship or the purposes that are held in common. There is no limit to the number and variety of speech communities found in a society.

This definition implies that any diviner in Bapedi is expected to know what to say to whom and how to say it appropriately in any given situation. An individual diviner is expected to adopt the norms and patterns of communication that will ultimately mean an adjustment to the communicative norms of the speech of diviners. In this manner, the register will result in social identity within a speech community.

Go tšholla ditaola (to throw down bones), as a speech variety, is characterised by lexical items and some praise poems which are used by diviners during divination. The chanting of praise poems when divining dice generally helps to emphasize what the person wants to say. Through *go tšholla ditaola*, diviners can communicate problems such as the cause causes and nature of disease, confronting their clients. Diviners can give advice on the remedy for disease as well as the solution to problems. They counsel when approached by any person or community troubled by something.

3.4.3.1.1 The main lexical items of the Variety

Go tšholla ditaola is centred on four dice, namely: old man, old woman, man and woman and the original dice: *Lerapo la phiri / Lerapo la phooko* (which represents a man)' *Lerapo la kgomo ya pholo/poo* (which represents parternal ancestors or an old man; *Lerapo la kgomo ya tshadi / letholegatse* (which represents maternal ancestors or an old woman); and *Lerapo la pudi ya tshadi* (which represents a woman). The four dice are normally marked differently.

During the divination, the mentioning of the subject concord 'di' of the plural noun ditaola.The use of the subject concord usually precedes the interpretation of the dice and the verb stem assists the diviner to identify the source of the problem. *Di wele*

makgolelwa is used in accordance with the groupings of dice when they have fallen. Each grouping should reveal the gender of the person with the disease or problem, the nature of disease or problem and in some cases the manner in which the problem can be solved. Each grouping may also use two sets of dice. This helps him or her to elicit more information about the client.

3.4.3.1.2 Terminology employed during divination

According to Mulaudzi (1999: 181), this speech variety revolves around the names assigned to each grouping of dice, which is determined by the marking or shapes of the dice when they fall. The grouping of divining dice will also be given and the symbol '**+**' represents 'up' whereas '**-**' represents 'down'. When the dice are thrown, possible predictions are made such as: to perform the ritual rites of *go phasa* (the ancestors) an old man and a man are used. In this situation, the divination can indicate an old man, a man facing up, and the rest facing down. This means that there will be peace in the family of the client or it may mean that the client should perform the ritual rite of *go phasa* (to spit out water or to make an offering) to appease his/her ancestors because there is no medicine to be used to treat ancestral spirits.

When there is happiness or disaster in the family, the diviner will use the complete set of dice including the old man. When the divination indicates the old man and the rest all facing down it predicts *bothata* (problems); when the old man faces up, it indicates happiness.

When all the dice face down, this means that the client will have to end the quarrel in order to appease his/her ancestral spirits. This means that the client has not performed the ritual rite of *go tloša seriti sa mohu* (to remove the spirit of the deceased among the living) since death occurred in the family. All of the dice must work in different directions.

The divination can indicate *morara* (confusion and danger) if the old man, a man, or a woman face up and the remaining dice faces down. When a set of dice positions itself in this manner, it means that the consultant should be aware of danger that may befall his/her family.

Makgolelwa (hardship) whindicates that things are going to be difficult for the client. When a set of dice indicates *Makgolelwa*, old man, old woman and a man face up while a woman faces down. This means that it is going to be tough for the head of the lineage and that he should perform the ritual rite of *go phasa*.

When a set of dice indicates *morara* (cause of trouble within the family) the old man, old woman, and a woman face up while the man faces down. This means that the person who is causing trouble is within the family or not far away from the family.

3.4.3.1.3. Characteristics of diviners praise poems as part of this variety

Any name mentioned during divination can also be praised, these praise poems, which are recited during divination, should be regarded as part of this speech variety. Praising each name of the dice or the name given to each grouping of dice gives more meaning or emphasis on the information given by the diviner and it also helps the diviner to elicit more information. The chanting of a praise poem is characterised by poetic features when each set of divining dice is praised.

The following is an example of a chanting praise poem:

Mošunkwane: (O a di reta) Di wele makgolela a sešunkwane sa
         kgatla'khungwane,
         Di re sa morara ga se kgole, se kgatha nko le molomo,
         Nka se bitša ka molodi se ka nyarela. (o letša molotšana)
         Ke tša bo montshepetšabošego ga a bonwe,
         Ge e le sehlotlolo le moloi ba a swana.
         Di wele mašupša a retele,
         Dirego o a seselela moopa,
         Ge e le monna ngwana ga a se selele,
         Selesele ke a selekega
         Ke selekwa ke ntšhi maswing…

3.4.3.2 Church Variety (Religion)

According to Mulaudzi (1999: 190), the term 'church varieties' in this section refers to the speech varieties used by the members of various churches, namely, indigenous churches and Western churches. The indigenous churches include the Zion Apostolic Church and the Zion Christian Church**.** The Western churches include the Dutch Reformed Church, the Anglican Church, and the Roman Catholic Church. The term 'church varieties' is also used for the speech variety of those who share the same norms with regard to language as is the case with members of various churches.

When one talks of a church domain, one considers the situation that prevails during church sermons. Though the church has its roots in the Western culture, the Bapedi speech community holds a fully established registrar with features associated with its situational context. Such language behaviour tends to become a permanent register of some ministers of religion and evangelists. They have, other than the missionary tone, a language choice associated with their manner of addressing their congregation as far as lexical choice its concerned.

One often hears references such as '*Ramaatlaohle*' (The Almighty) and *Mmopi* (The Creator). Fellow Christians are collectively addressed as **'***Bana Bešo Moreneng'* (Fellow worshippers in Christ) or *Bana ba Modimo* (The Lord's children).

If a person is a member of a certain church, he/she should be able to speak the relevant variety or have a joint knowledge of items of lexical items, expressions and norms of use.

The indigenous churches have some lexical items which are not used in the Western churches, for example *Mokhokhedi* (the priest's wife) in the Zionist Apostolic Church while in most Western churches the priest's wife is named *Mokhokhedi* with the assumption that she is the one who keeps the church dues or annual contributions. In the Western churches, *Mmamoruti* has the image of the mother and this is an indication that she is regarded as the mother of the congregation

The varieties used by various churches are regarded as social varieties because members of various churches regardless of the geographical area from which they come use them. The existence of these social varieties is based solely on their religious beliefs.

They are used in both rural and urban areas. The varieties spoken in the indigenous churches are different from those spoken in Western churches. These churches have a majority of black members whereas the Western churches have less black members.

The indigenous churches with many black members have to conform to the African way of life and culture. For example, these churches offer their members protection against witchcraft and superstitious beliefs because African people need protection and assurance by the church against witchcraft or an illness. A priest in one of the indigenous churches says that most leaders of indigenous churches have made it possible to present something African to the people, which could make themselves sufficient even in health. They have brought in some traditional practices and different ways of faith healing with the result that faith healing has often become more important than spiritual salvation.

These churches also have a hold on some tribal chiefs who find them instruments of order i.e. these chiefs have found explanations and solutions to their problems of administration in these churches. This may become a problem, because the structures of these churches resemble the normal tribal council. All rules and regulations applied in the tribal council are also applicable to the church council.

Western Churches, such as the Dutch Reformed Church, maintain that they have less black members than white members because they are based on the European way of life and culture. For example, these churches discourage superstitious belief, witchcraft and traditional practices. As a result, the majority of black people have turned away from Western churches.

It is quite common that whoever is engaged in earnest prayer within the Christian faith first acknowledges the name of the Lord and then defines it in a variety of ways. Common registers such as 'He is the way, the truth and the light' are all associated with the sermon and prayers that are regularly heard in churches services. To a true Christian, these Biblical expressions are pertinent to all the members of the holy congregation. Powerful preachers will always adopt this mode of discourse to invigorate their religious fervour.

They mention of Jesus Christ as 'Our Saviour and Keeper' at the end of a prayer is standing protocol in the Christian religion and brings the Son to us as a mediator. Lastly, the use of the word *'Amen'* expresses the strong wish 'that let everything be as requested'.

Some indigenous churches do not restrict their members from making sacrifices to their ancestors, but members are encouraged to worship God and honour their ancestors. Western churches, such as the Dutch Reformed, Anglican and Roman Catholic churches do not practice this. The indigenous churches do not forbid polygamy whereas polygamy is strictly forbidden in the Western churches

All these ideas and practices of the various churches are transmitted through the varieties that are used by the members of these churches. There are lexical items among the indigenous and Western churches, which have been borrowed from other languages. The Bapedi community has used some of the borrowed lexical items in the past, and today they are part of the varieties used in various churches.

The following are various categories of lexical items from the core part of each variety in the Bapedi community:

The following are adopted lexical items by the indigenous and Western churches from other languages with either a shift of meaning or no shift of meaning:

- *Mopišhopo* (superintendent) adopted from the noun Bishop meaning a Christian clergyman of high rank who organises the church. This is the case in both indigenous and Western churches.
- *Moporofeta* (formed from the *go porofeta* meaning to foretell). In some indigenous churches, this refers to a leader of a church or someone who can foretell the wisdom of the church. This noun is coined from the noun 'prophet' meaning a person who teaches religion and claims that his/her teaching comes directly from God.
- *Sion or Moria* (the headquarters of the ZCC) is adopted from the Biblical word Zion, meaning chosen city of God or the Biblical word *Moria,* which is the land where Abraham took his son Isaac as a burnt offering. The Church members are also referred to as *Masion.* This noun is also formed from *Sion* and shows that

they belong to the place known as Moria. This place is situated to the East of Polokwane in the Limpopo Province.

- *Lasabatha* (meaning let everything be as requested). Both the indigenous and Western churches have adopted this noun from the Hebrew 'Sabbath'.

- *Amen* (meaning let everything be as requested). Both indigenous and Western churches have adopted this noun from the Hebrew.

- *Jehofa* (meaning self-existent/eternal). Both indigenous and Western churches have adopted this noun from the Hebrew 'Jehovah'.

- *Kgothatša* (comfort) in place of preaching. This was the case in the early stages of some indigenous churches. Because most priests could not read or write, they used to tell the members of the churches how to overcome the problems in life. These days, normal preaching takes place where the Bible is read.

- *Kolobetšo* (baptism)**.** This noun is derived from the verb stem *–inela* (to soak). When *kolobetša* is used these days, it refers to baptism.

- *Makhura* (oil). These lexical items may refer to a fuel, which keeps the lamp burning i.e. the parable of the ten virgins. It may also refer to cosmetic fat such as was used to smear Jesus' feet after washing them.

Some existing lexical items are used to explain the process of healing and security. Most of the indigenous churches practise these processes of healing and security whereas the Western churches rely mostly on prayer.

- *Go phetha ditaelo*: The priest utters this to a member orders her/him to 'go in peace'. A member is told to fulfil orders after consulting the priest.

- *Mogamola* refers to the water used for blessing by the priest

- *Meetse a lešata* refers to the water from a waterfall that is blessed by the priest.

- *Meetse a sediba* refers to the water drawn from a spring and blessed by the priest.

- *Meetse a dikhutlo* refers to the water drawn from the intersections of rivers that is blessed by the priest.

- *Motlemo/ kutwana* is a blessed string or strip of cloth worn around the waist or shoulder to save the members from evil and witchcraft. *Kutwana* in some indigenous churches is used together with *motlemo*. The noun *motlemo* has been adopted from *go tlema* meaning to tie a knot. *Motlemo* is used for security reasons.

- *Letswai* (salt) is used in some indigenous churches to ward off evil spirits.
- *Phalatša/go kapa* (to vomit or to get rid of excessive bile. This verb stem appears to have been coined from –*phalaza* in Zulu.

The following are a few lexical items in indigenous and Western churches that have been borrowed from Afrikaans and English.

- *Moporofeta* – from prophet
- *Beibele* – from Bible
- *Kereke* (a collective body of people whose main purpose is to worship, that is a gathering of Christians) is adopted form the Afrikaans word *kerk*.

The following are lexical items coined or used specifically by the indigenous churches and some Western churches. The Bapedi community also uses most of these lexical items:

- *Lekgotla* (churches council or congregation) refers to a congregation. The noun *lekgotla* portrays the image of the tribal council where orders, peace and law are maintained.
- *Khwaire ya makgarebe* refers to the female choir.
- *Moneelo* (an offering). This noun is derived from the Zulu *umnikelo* and is commonly used by indigenous churches. In the Western churches, the word *dimpho* is used.
- *Mophološwa* (born again) is commonly used by the born again Christians in the Western churches.

The varieties used in Western churches have to do with the Christian belief, which is associated with faith in God through Jesus Christ's teachings. This belief gives rise to a shared experience in the church, for instance, the believers attend the church services regularly, one of the reasons being to promote fellowship among them.

The members of Western churches believe in Jesus Christ as *Mopholiši*. To the indigenous churches, everything revolves around the church leaders although God is seen as supreme. To the members of these churches, the leaders and not Jesus Christ are seen as *Baphološi*,(Savior) because they believe that God has given all powers to a church leader. The leader of the church is also regarded as the representative of God and

to despise him is to despise God in person. On the other hand, the Western churches believe in Jesus as the *Messiah* and not the leaders of the churches.

The varieties used in some indigenous churches have to do with Christianity, healing and giving their members hope in whatever they are doing. The lexical items, such as *kutwana* (protector from evil), *meetse a lešata* (water blessed by the priest but used for healing), *teye ye tshese* (tea for life) play a big role in the healing process, whereas during *Kgothatša* (comfort), members are comforted to have hope in life and confront social problems positively.

3.4.3.3 Courtroom Variety

The courtroom variety revolves around the spoken language used by the magistrate, court interpreters, lawyers, defendants and witnesses in a court of law. This variety is characterised by certain expressions and lexical items, which form the core part of the legal procedure. The use of this variety in a legal court aims at gathering information in order to reveal the truth of what actually happened at the crime scene.

With regard to this, Stubbs (1983: 40) says that 'it involves knowing how to say the right thing in an appropriate style at the right time and place. It involves complex knowledge of how to say what, to whom, when and where'.

The language of the law refers to the court variety and includes distinctive words, meaning, phrases and modes of expressions. The distinctive words include other terminology, which is still used as part of the legal vocabulary in Sepedi. For example:

- *Abitabithi* – adopted or coined from affidavit
- *Motšhotšhisi* – coined from Prosecutor.
- *Dokete* adopted from docket.
- *Peila* adopted from bail.
- *Ripota* adopted from report.

Some existing lexical items in Sepedi are as part of the legal vocabulary. For example:

- *Bega* meaning to report.
- *Bohlatse* meaning evidence
- *Ahlolwa* meaning sentenced

- *Ramolao* meaning Lawyer
- *Morena* meaning Lord
- *Molato* meaning court case
- *Moitšhireletši* meaning defendant

Expressions such as these are also used as part of the legal variety. For example:

- *Go ahlolelwa thapo goba lehu* meaning death sentence
- *Modimo nthuše ke bolele therešo, therešo feela* meaning so help me God.
- *Go hlagelela ka khothe* meaning to appear in court.
- *Go bonwa molato* meaning to be found quilty.
- *Go šuthišwa ga molato go sa nyakišišwa ka bohlatse* meaning to be suspended until further notice.

3.4.3.3.2 Traditional Court (Kgoro) Variety

The *kgoro ya kgoši* language is a Bapedi variety which is used by the Bapedi royalty in and around *kgoro* (the chief's palace). *Kgoro* language is used as a sign of respect and to show sacredness of all that belongs and is intimate to the chief as the ruler. The use of the commoner's language in and around the chief's kraal would belittle his dignity and show no respect from his subordinates.

This type of variety appears to be diglossia in nature because it is used in and around the *kgoro* premises; Ferguson (1959: 3360) defines diglossia as follows:

> Diglossia is a relatively stable language situated in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a divergent, highly codified superposed variety, the vehicle of large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community.

The *kgoro* variety may be regarded as a highly codified variety but it is not standardised although it revolves around the chief and is used in the presence of the chief wherever he goes. The *kgoro* variety is referred to as a social variety. It remains unique because it occurs in all areas where regional varieties are spoken. This variety is diglossia in nature.

The items used in the the *kgoro* variety revolve around the social structure and certain persons who are fluent in the kgoro language. There is no chance of the proposed legislation being rejected at the *Pitšo* because the tribal councillors are representatives of their various *dikgoro,* and before they discuss it in the tribal councils meeting, they would have already discussed it with their respective *dikgoro.*

Different tribal councillors represent a very wide area and by the time they come to the *pitšong* they know what discussions are needed and what to say. The chief should consult with each council in turn, before making a law.

3.4.3.4 Occupational Variety

The term 'occupational variety' in this section refers to speech varieties that are associated with a particular working class in a particular work situation and are inclined to reveal local allusions. These local allusions recur to illustrate the language changes as acculturation. The implication becomes pragmatic in the linguistic movement of adoption whereby foreign words and expressions are gradually incorporated and acclimatised into the host language.

It is possible to refer to social activities organised at tribal level such as a hunting expedition (*go tsoma*), the free labour services of a weeding party (*letšema*), and a harvesting party (*go buna*) as creating occupational situations with a language variety peculiar to them.

With regard to these, Sekhukhune (1988: 62) gives the following example: 'If the speaker is talking to the people he works with about their work, his language is likely to be rather different from that he would use, say at home with his family'.

This linguistic tendency is evident in Sepedi and is viewed as part of the characteristics of language usage in a tradi-modern milieu. Should the speaker, who takes the place of a character or participant in a social interaction, be compelled to talk to the people he is working with, their work situation and the writer of any text e.g. an essayist, is bound to do the same.

The following expressions represent part of verbal words relating to the working condition under white farmers:

Go phaka nkeketane ka sopo. Nkeketa meaning a chunk alludes to a sizable piece of bread given to them each day as part of their breakfast. The word *sopho* is an English adoptive of 'soup' or Afrikaans '*sop*', which refers to the type of soup prepared as part of their staple food. It has no reference to any other type of soup. In other words, the meaning of the word is narrowed to refer to the everyday soup served to them during that time.

Go wetša mmorogo wa khathune (plucked off cotton on a morgen). The Afrikaans 'morg' which is phonologically adopted to *mmorogo* in Sepedi has become so common among the members of the weeding parties employed on the White farms, that it no longer refers to the real morgen but any piece of land which approximates the size of the field. What matters in this instance is not the scientific measurement but the estimated size of the field meant to be worked on for the day.

Ba eja mapetlo ba bangwe ba enwa sekhampelene ka mpunyane (to eat a mixture of food remnants while others prefer red sweetened cold water with hard-baked scones). Words such as *mapetla* (mixture of food remnants) and *mpunyane* (hard baked-baked scones) are neologisms coined for local allusions and have no other reference apart from what they actually mean. They are mostly used by people working on farms and in the mines, and are conventional at all times. Regular contact with other racial groups precipitates adoption from languages outside the Sotho language group. The case in point is *sekhampelene* a word acquired from the Zulu lexicon, namely *sihambeleni* (why did we leave?

Sihambeleni (persuading members of the group to seek compensation for their distant walk by enjoying sweet drinks together). Sepedi speakers in the country adopted the word to refer to a sweetened drink of cold water taken with bread or cakes.

Ba yago go kweira, mola bangwe ba eya go gata setepe (when some took a leisurely walk while others went for a brisk one).

Kweira adopted from the Afrikaans word '*kuier*' (to pay a visit) is a word showing a greater shift of meaning. The word, particularly as people use it in the occupational variety, means 'to take a stroll'.

Another shift of meaning is highly discernible in the English adoptive 'step', which is Sotho-sized to *setepe*. The word usually denotes a type of dance performed by an organized group of boys and girls. A simultaneous setting down of their feet as a mode of dancing in rhythm of the played instrument. `

3.4.3.5 Tsotsi variety

Tsotsitaal is a social variety spoken in all Bapedi communities. Blacks in South African cities regardless of the geographical area and in the rural areas use it. It was introduced to the rural communities by migrant labourers who used to frequent urban areas, especially the Reef. Today, the majority of *tsotsitaal* speakers in most Bapedi communities are teenagers, young men and old men working in urban areas or old men who once worked in urban areas.

3.4.3.5.1 Origin of *tsotsitaal* and its use

The term *tsotsitaal* can be translated as *tsotsi* language in English, i.e. the language that is used by the *tsotsi*. *Tsotsitaal* is a contact medium, which originated from a mixture of linguistic subsystems such as the Nguni and the Sotho dialects in the metropolitan areas, especially in the Gauteng areas after the discovery of diamonds and gold. The mixture came about because of cultural contact between urban black communities on the one hand and whites in these areas on the other, coupled with a desire by the youth from the black community to communicate in the prestige white languages.

A lack of sufficient Afrikaans vocabulary resulted in the youth applying the meagre vocabulary they managed to acquire in the course of time and mixing this with the vocabulary of their own vernacular to communicate among themselves. Most of the vocabulary is derived from English, Afrikaans and other African languages and is used in a metaphorical sense to refer to related concepts.

With regard to the term *tsotsi*, Mojela (1999: 85) says:

The etymology of the term tsotsi is uncertain, but from the few informants interviewed it could be gathered that this term originates from stof-pipe, a term that was used to refer to the tight fitting trousers, which were worn by gangsters in the 40s. The township equivalent for stof-pipe was *tsotsi*.

The birthplace of the tsotsi language became the contact medium for these *tsotsis* is in the black urban areas of the Witwattersrand. Some scholars believe that *tsotsis* originated during World War II in the urban centres of the area that is known today as Gauteng.

According to one informant, Mr Rahlagane Matlala, one of the tribal councillors said that 'the community who speaks *tsotsitaal* comprises delinquent teenagers who lack proper upbringing and socialization. They may also be orphans or abandoned children. When they flocked to the Reef, they were used as a black labour force but were not accorded social and political status. Because they lacked education, these teenagers did not do well in the labour market. As a result, they resorted to stealing for survival and were regarded as social misfits or outcasts'.

The *tsotsis* distanced themselves from society and developed their own identity and variety to the Reef. The *tsotsis* in the Bapedi communities do not always speak *tsotsitaal*. According to Msimang (1987:84), 'there are certain social situations where they would speak their mother tongue, for example in conversation with their parents and other elders in their native society, or when speaking to authorities. However, among themselves, they always speak *tsotsitaal*. There is no doubt therefore that *Tsotsitaal* is used as register. It is abandoned where the *tsotsi* wants to maintain the distance between himself and members of the out-group, and he will use it to retain his identity and solidarity with members of the in-group. Distance is maintained in order to snub members of the out-group as well as to endorse his attitude towards them. People of the middle class are despised'..

The *tsotsitaal* vocabulary changes because it is often used in informal situations. Each generation of tsotsitaal, speakers create new words and vocabulary that are relevant to them. The *tsotsitaal* is more of a spoken variety than a written one. The spoken variety changes from time to time and it may differ from one place to another even if a variety

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

Tsotsis used this speech variety to demonstrate that they are ahead of the current fashion, and also to indicate that they are modern township dwellers. Anyone who does not understand *tsotsitaal* may be scorned or looked down upon as ignorant or stupid. To support this claim, a female educator who was one of the informants, related how one boy greeted another by saying: '*Dumela!*' (Hallo). The other responded by saying: *O ka re dumela o le authie, keng o sare 'heita'* (How can you, as a boy, say hallo, why do not you say *heita*?)

The people in the township use '*dumela*' when greeting someone, but the *tsotsis* commonly known as *magents* use *heita* more readily than *dumela.* It would sound funny for a *tsotsi* to say *dumelang magents*; but to say *heita magents* would sound more appropriate and acceptable to his peers.

Even though the *tsotsis* enjoy the role they play in the community, they know that most parents do not approve of their activities. In certain instances, elders may addres *tsotsis* in *tsotsitaal* to secure favours from the *tsotsis* or prevent being robbed by them. As a result, some elders greet *tsotsis* by saying *Heita!* instead of *dumela.*

Tsotsitaal is a pidgin language described by Hudson (1980:61 as quoted by Mulaudzi, 1999: 200) as 'varieties created for very practical and immediate purposes of communication between people who otherwise would have no common language whatsoever, and learned by one person from another within the communities concerned as the accepted way of communicating with members of the other community'.

Tsotsitaal uses lexical items that are usually derived from English and Afrikaans vocabularies in a metaphorical style to refer to different but related concepts. For example, *waai,* an Afrikaans word referring to 'blowing' (by wind) is used metaphorically to mean 'moving', leaving' or 'going'. The English word 'clever' is used in *tsotsitaal* to refer to a *tsotsi* or their comrades, and not necessarily to someone who is wise, but someone who understands their 'language' and *tsotsi* tactics.

A *tsotsitaal*, which is spoken by the youth from a Sotho background, is dominated by terminology from Afrikaans, English and Sotho. Mojela (1999: 89) gives the following example of *tsotsitaal* spoken by the older generation based on Sotho:

Speaker X: *Heita, Wakithi! Ho joang*?

Speaker Y: *Ho sharp, Wakithi, Verder*?

Speaker X: *Ho grand. Ha kesa ho tseba, my bra. O itjhafile waar*?

Speaker Y: *Ke teng rounding. Taba ke spani. Mos o a tseba hore dingamla dire tshwere ntswempu, di sguila le nyoko. Ako njwetse, re ka bloma kae re shape dwesh ya di poplar? Maabane jumpers ke ile ka blasa majasa wa seputla. Nou ke tshwerwe ke setlamatlama.*

Speaker X: *Ey! Enne ke lus blind vandag, my bra. Keng o sa re re ilo photha magrison a re kenye ka bukeng once. Weer nna ke sa mokolota. Phela ke ne kele ha oorla Bhiza gister ka di ngiba, ka gaya le timer la hae nyoko ebaie.*'

'Speaker X: Hello, pal! How's it?

Speaker Y: Fine, pal! What can you tell me?

Speaker X: Nothing except that you are pretty scarce. Where have you been hiding?

Speaker Y: I am around. I was just a little busy at my work. You know how whites are, very stingy with money. Tell me, where can we relax and have two quarts of beer? Yesterday evening I drank half a bottle of gin. Now I have a hangover.

Speaker X: Shame! I am penniless today, pal. How will it be if we could go and persuade the old lady to give us liquor on credit? By the way, I still owe her some money. Yesterday afternoon I went to the late Bhiza's place and gave his father a lot of money.'

People who come from Gauteng are highly regarded by both the rural community and those who do not live in Gauteng. Most of the migrant labourers worked in the mines in South African cities. When they went back to their own countries, they introduced *tsotsitaal* to those who had never been to Gauteng. Knowledge of *tsotsitaal* is one way to distinguish the so-called *clevas* (clever) of the urban areas from their fellow rural counterparts.

The desire of many people (like the youth in the remote rural areas such as Limpopo) to know this 'language' has led to the introduction of *tsotsi* terminology in many South

African indigenous languages. Today the *tsotsi* terms are used so widely that they have come to replace many existing indigenous synonymous words in these languages.

For instance, in Sepedi, the following slang terms (which may be regarded as loan words) are so widely used that many Sepedi speaking people no longer use the synonymous Sepedi lexical items. This is obviously, because many Bapedi youth regard *tsotsi* terminology to be more prestigious than their synonymous Sepedi terminology:

tšheri	'cherry'	instead of *moratiwa*	'girlfriend'
jola	'jolly'	instead of *go ratana*	'love affair'
polaka	'pluck'	instead of *go tšea mahlo a tšhipa*	'drink a bit of liquor to get courage'
skeifi	'skiff '	instead of *go tsobišwa*	'share a cigarette'
kuruba	'groove'	instead of '*boipshino*'	'enjoy a nice time'
shap	'sharp'	instead of *go lokile*	'good order'
tiribula	'dribble'	instead of *go gakantšha*	'trick'
semoko	'smog'	instead of *bothata*	'problems or troubles'
misheni	'mission'	instead of *maano*	'plan'

3.4.3.5.2. Tsotsitaal and its functions

Tsotsitaal fulfils the following three important functions as a language variety:

- It satisfies the desires of tsotsitaal speakers to communicate effectively with the listener. People involved in the communication process should understand each other very well when using the language. On the function of communicating, Swanepoel (1978:9, as cited by Ngwenya, 1995:22) says:

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

  Persons of the 'in-group' communicate with each other in *tsotsitaal*. Ideas, thoughts and wishes are transmitted from the speaker to the listener. In any communicative situation, it is important that the two parties understand the language used. The need for the speaker to convey his/her feelings and wishes is satisfied even if *tsotsitaal* is used. A person speaking this language in a public place is looked down upon or degraded.

  In contrast, standard language was and still is associated with educated people. This shows that a homogeneous group, that is, people speaking one uniform language, does not constitute a society but rather it is formed heterogeneously.

- *Tsotsitaal* functions for identification purposes. This means an individual can identify himself/herself with a certain group of people in society. Language is a means of communicating messages and is very important as a symbol to identify membership. An individual who does not identify with the group is ridiculed or ostracised. He/she may also be regarded as someone who is obnoxious if he/she does not speak the language of the group.

- The function of tsotsitaal is that of 'accommodation'. This means that a speaker who speaks this language 'accommodates' the listener. Tsotsitaal is important to its speakers, just as the standard language is important to its speakers. Speakers

of *tsotsitaal* accept it as a 'correct' and 'purified' variety. The reason for it being preferred by *tsotsis* is that the things in which they are interested can best be expressed in *tsotsitaal*.

3.4.3.5.3. Types of influences

The impact of *tsotsitaal* on the Bapedi can be noticed largely in three types of influence, which can be distinguished as follows:

- Zulu lexical items which are used in Sepedi as part of *tsotsitaal* with some shift in meaning, for example:
    - *-Canda* (eat) adopted from the Zulu verb stem *–canda* meaning to chop.
    - *Ntwana* (young boy) adopted from the Zulu word *ntwana* meaning a young boy.
    - *-tšhaela* (tell) adopted from the Zulu word *–shayela* meaning to drive.
    - *Nyuku* (money) is adopted from *inyuku* in Zulu. According to Msimango (1987: 86) the verb stem *–nyukubala* means to swell or to rise. This also shows the attitude of *tsotsis* towards money. The *tsotsis* always think of 'stacks' and 'stacks' of money.
    - *Gcwala* (like or love) is adopted from the verb stem *gcwala* in Zulu meaning full.
    - *Gidla* (sleep). According to Msimang (1987: 86), this verb stem is coined from idiophone *gigli!* Meaning the falling of a rock or pile of objects. This indicates that *tsotsis* do not have time to sleep because they are always thinking of their activities.

- Afrikaans lexical items are used in Sepedi as part of *tsotsitaal* with either some or no shift in meaning, for example:
    - *Furou* (wife or steady girlfriend) is adopted from the Afrikaans word *vrou* meaning wife.
    - *Grootman* (elder brother) is adopted from the Afrikaans word *grootman* meaning big man
    - *Vaya* (go) is adopted from the Afrikaans word *waai* meaning to blow.
    - *Gister* (the previous day) is adopted from the Afrikaans word *gister* meaning yesterday.
    - *Gedagte* (ideas) is adopted from the Afrikaans noun *gedagte* meaning ideas.

- - *Kasi* (residing place) has been derived from the Afrikaans adverb *lokasie* meaning residing place.
  - *Ou* (boyfriend) has been derived from the Afrikaans adverb *ou* meaning old.

- English lexical items which are used in Sepedi as part of *tsotsitaal* with either some or no shift of meaning, for example:
  - *Ankeli* (the brother of your mother) is adopted from the English word 'uncle' meaning the brother of your mother (*malome*) or the brother of your father (*rangwane*)
  - *Bayisa* (make one to buy) is adopted from the English word 'buy' meaning to get something in return for money.
  - *Shap* (all right) is adopted from the English word 'sharp' meaning okay.
  - *Smoko* (trouble, problem) has been derived from the English noun 'smoke' meaning visible vapour with particles of carbon.
  - *Six-nine* (urinate or urine) has been adopted from the names of numerical numbers in English.
  - *Half-tiger* (five rand) has been adopted from the English meaning half of the size of a tiger.
  - *Hola* (hello) has been derived from the word 'hello' in English

The *tsotsitaal* spoken in all Bapedi communities is based on Zulu, Afrikaans and English. The lexical items adopted from these three languages are used as they are, or adjusted to three Sepedi sound patterns. This clearly shows that this variety has been imported form urban areas and owes its existence to the black labour force, which was essential for economic growth in the past.

What clearly emerges in most of the literature reviewed in this chapter is that language is not a neutral medium but is prone to different types of manipulation to satisfy different interests.

Chapter 4 consist of language contact, language varieties, interference, code switching and borrowing in Sepedi.

3.5 Conclusion

Overall and against the above background, the analysis of language in-action clearly shows a diversity of shift in meaning. This has been quite evident throughout the speech varieties. Speech registers analysed thus far have indicated that language varieties are differentiated according to situational contexts.

Some varieties could be described as arbitrary and to a certain local allusions than words of the everyday speech repertoire. Occupational and church varieties are typical examples; perhaps the reason behind this is that they are more involved with morden trends and tendencies than their counterpart variety. A fundamental issue about the nature of register associated with varieties is the excessive use of metaphor, which seems to employ a shift in meaning at all times. Registral analysis, then, remains purely pragmatic in the study of language behaviour patterns and can therefore be regarded as functional throughout.

The contents of this chapter can be captured in the following illustration where the distinction is clearly shown between the various language varieties used by the Sepedi speakers.

RURAL SOCIAL VARIETIES	URBAN AND RURAL VARIETIES	
Closed	Open	Divination
(Secretive)	(Non- secretive)	
Initiation variety	Traditional religion	Church variety
Language maternity	Mourning variety	Courtroom variety
	Marriage rites	Occupational variety
	Honorific	*tsotsitaal* variety
	Gender variety	
	Linguistic restriction variety	

The social rural varietiese are language varieties, which are restricted to the rural areas of Bapedi. The researcher has distinguished two main varieties under this sub-heading mainly the 'closed' (secretive) and 'open' (non-secretive).

The 'closed' varieties are those found in certain initiation institutions that are secretive in nature. The public does not generally know the linguistic items and expressions of these varieties. Bapedi individuals who have attended the said institutions are well acquainted with the specialised use of these varieties.

The 'open' (non-secretive) linguistic terms and expressions are not secretive in nature in that the general Bapedi public knows them. These include the traditional religion, mourning and taboo varieties.

Furthermore, reference has been made to the variety which avoids the use of certain linguistic terms (linguistic restriction variety)., The varieties that permeate both urban and rural areas, were discussed under the urban and rural social varieties. These are varieties, which are found in specific environments, in some cases by a specific class of people.

CHAPTER 4

LANGUAGE CONTACT, LANGUAGE VARIETIES, INTERFERENCE, CODE SWITCHING AND BORROWING IN SEPEDI LANGUAGE SPOKEN IN LIMPOPO PROVINCE (GA-MATLALA MASERUMULE).

4.1. Introduction

The first three chapters gave an overview of the dissertation and laid out the theoretical and methodological framework within which this dissertation was conceived. The next chapter (chapter 5) focuses on interpreting the outcome of the entire inquiry as well as drawing conclusions, observations, recommandations and findings.

The current chapter (chapter 4) outlines how language changes through contact with other languages. The focus is on language variation between Sepedi and dialects such as, Kone, Pulana, Lobedu, Serwa and Tlokwa, because of language contact. In the northern part of this region, the Bapedi people live in close contact with the Venda people while on their Eastern border they are in contact with the Ndebele speaking people.

That languages change is a universally acknowledged fact and that the African languages have changed in the course of time and will continue to do so is also a fact. Evidence corroborating language change can be found in many of these languages such as the one involved in this discussion. Nowadays, most linguists agree that the only thing that can change a language is the people who speak it. Many of them believe that one of the prime external motivators of language change is language contact.

Linguists such as Neubert (1976) believe that, because of the vast number of African languages in Africa, language contact is almost an everyday affair. They have said in most countries, one finds African contact with one another. South Africa is not an exception in this regard. Its population comprises of many distinct people or population groups, each language spoken in this country is a separate unit of one of the four major linguistically distinct language groups i.e. the Nguni, Sotho, Tsonga and Venda, each traditionally occupying a different part of the country and each consisting of a number of individual languages and dialects.

In the past, when linguists in South Africa spoke of language contact, they usually meant the language situation in the urban black communities i.e. the so-called townships where Africans of all ethnic groups and widely different languages lived, resulted in language mixing as an everyday affair. The many rural areas in South Africa where these languages are in contact were largely overlooked by earlier scholars. The Bapedi live in close contact with the Venda and Ndebele, who are both members of the Nguni language groups.

An analysis of Sepedi reveals a number of peculiar features in its sounds, grammatical system, and its lexicon that clearly distinguish this language from the rest of the Sotho language family.

According to Allen and Corder (1973: 94), a 'language consists of all the varieties which share a single superimposed variety having substantial similarity in phonology, and grammar with the included varieties or which are either mutually intelligible or are connected by a series of mutually intelligible varieties'.

They further explain that a given set of varieties must meet certain minimum linguistic conditions, such as sociological conditions, where the speakers feel that they belong to that speech community.

4.2. Language Contact and Varieties

Language contact takes place between speakers of different languages in contact situations. For several reasons, the speakers of any given languages are always in some kind of contact with the speakers of one or more languages; we therefore speak of language contact or simply contact.

Sekere (2004: 27) states that 'when two different languages are spoken in adjacent areas, speakers on both sides of the boundary will be exposed to the other languages and many often gain some fluency in that other language'.

The situation described by Sekere accurately reflects what has happened in ga-Matlala Maserumule where speakers of Sepedi are exposed to the Ndebele and Venda

languages that are spoken in the adjacent areas. We will start by looking at how contact with the Venda and Ndebele affected the lexicon of Sepedi.

4.2.1. Lexical Changes

When languages come into contact, they tend to borrow from one another; the most obvious examples of this contact are borrowed lexical items.

McMahon (1994: 20) says 'the most common and obvious motive for borrowing is sheer necessity; speakers may have to refer to some unfamiliar object or concept for which they have no word in their own languages'.

Necessity remains the most important motive behind the profuse borrowing found in the African languages. It is essential to name the many new things and concepts that came with the advancement of Western South Africa; this is the prime reason for so many lexical borrowings from English and Afrikaans especially, in the lexicons of most of the African languages spoken in our country. However, this does not explain the large number of words that Sepedi has borrowed from its Venda and Ndebele, which today form an integral part of the Sepedi lexicon.

In other words, there are certain words that the Sepedi should have had no need to borrow as they must have had their own words for them. Compare for instance the loans from Ndebele provided in (1) in this regard. As will notice, they can all be regarded as basic vocabulary.

1. *Setšhaba > Isitjhaba*   > *'nation'*

    lotšha   *> lotjha*   *> 'hello'*

    naga   *> inarha*   *> 'veld'*

    kgadi   *> ukxari*   > 'father's sister'

Why or when these borrowings took place is not known. Neither is it known what the original Sepedi versions of these loan words looked like, as no evidence of their previous existence in this language could be found.

4.2.2. Phonological changes

When one compares class 9 nouns in Sepedi with their counterparts in Ndebele and Venda, one immediately observes that the same rule that governs the appearance of the nasal in the prefix of a class 9 noun in Ndebele applies. In other words, all class 9 nouns in Sepedi with multisyllabic stems beginning on a voiceless consonant have, like their counterpart in Ndebele, a denasalized class prefix, while those with monosyllabic stems retain the nasal in their class prefix just as their counterpart in Nguni. Compare the class 9 nouns in Sepedi and Ndebele given in (2) in this regard.

2. (a) <u>Nasal is dropped</u>

    Kgomo > *inkomo* > *'beast'*

    Kgogo > *ikukhu* > *'fowl'*

    Koloi > *ikoloyi* > 'car'

 (b) <u>Nasal is retained</u>

    mpša > *inja* > *'dog'*

    nkwe > *ingwe* > *'leopard'*

    ntwa > *indwa* > 'war'

Sepedi has adopted some nouns from Venda. Some of these nouns shifted to other noun classes while some have remained in the same classes. This is illustrated in the following examples:

Noun Class	Sepedi	Venda	English
1	*mogadibo*	*muhalivho*	'sister in-law'
1	*Mošimane*	*musimane*	'boy
3	*mokete*	*mugidi*	'feast / party'
5	*legapu*	*habu*	'watermelon'
5	*lekgolo*	*likhulu*	'hundred'
14	*boladu*	*vhulalu*	'pus'
14	*boya*	*vhoya*	'furs'
11	*leobu*	*luhuvhu*	'chameleon'

The verbs stems are probably adopted from Venda because of they are similar in form and have the same meaning to those in Sepedi.

Sepedi	Venda	English
thunya	*thunya*	'demolish'
tia	*dia*	'beat'
fokola	*fogola*	'to be sick'
nyaka	*nyaga*	'want'
hlaka	*thaga*	'suffer'

4.2.3. Grammatical Changes

Contact with its two Nguni neighbors (Venda and Ndebele) affected not only the lexicon and phonology of Sepedi but also its grammar. Several important changes in the grammatical system of Sepedi can be linked to its contact with these languages for example, the following change:

Noun Class Reduction

Noun class reduction is not an uncommon phenomenon in the African languages. Probably one of the best-known examples of noun class reduction in African language is found in the case of the three locative noun classes, i.e. classes 16, 17 and 18 which have been reduced to a single class in the south eastern African languages, viz class 17. Sepedi was naturally affected by this change as well.

The fact that there is no class 11 in Sepedi does not mean to say that this language never had class 11; it had such a class during earlier times. Some linguists confirmed that older generation Sepedi speakers still used class 11 noun in their speech while their younger compatriots all preferred class 5 for those nouns. Compare class 5 in Sepedi given in (4) with their counterparts appearing in class 5 in Ndebele:

Sepedi Class 5	Ndebele Class 5	English
Leoto	*inyawo*	'foot'
Leobu	*inwabo*	'chameleon'
Legong	*inkhuni*	'wood'

The following grammatical features distinguish Sepedi from the Venda languages. Sepedi, uses the perfect suffix *(-ile)*, which is also used in Venda to mark the perfect tense (*lefetile*). This can be illustrated by the following examples:

Sepedi	Venda	English
Pula e nile	*βuḽa nile*	It rained
Mošemane o kìtimilɛ	*Musimane u gidimiḽe*	The boy ran away
Bana ba šomile	*Vhana vha shumiḽe*	The children worked

Language contact often brings about new language varieties. Language contact between different languages and different dialects has led to the relatively straightforward influence of one variety on another. Labels such as interference, code switching and borrowing, typically describe the phenomena resulting from such influence.

Whenever people speaking different languages or dialects are in frequent contact, their speech is affected. According to tradition, the Bapedi, Tswana, South Sotho and Nguni-speaking people have had extensive contact since the 16th century through migration and intermarriage. This kind of contact has left its mark on the Sepedi languages as spoken in the Limpopo Province.

One of the outstanding features of modern Sepedi is the impact, which it has experienced from contact with the outside world. The opportunity for the people to move from one place to another has been promoted by developments in industrialization. This, in turn, has brought residents into contact with other people who would never have meet under different circumstances.

In addition to this phenomenon, the resettlement, especially of people from neighbouring areas, has also had some impact on the Sepedi language. As a result, the speech and habits of the people residing in rural areas changed because they wanted to be accepted by the other language groups. For instance, the younger generation living in the Limpopo villages acquire the township harms in their social relations, adopt the typically urban dress and manners and strive as hard as they can to urbanize their speech. For instance, most of the Bapedi youth use expressions such as:

- *O tšwa kae Mfowethu*? Instead of *tšwa kae ngwanešu*? *(Where do you come from, my brother?)*
- *Go bjang, wakithi*? Instead of *Go bjang, mogwera*? (How are you, my friend?)
- *Le tšwa kae, majita*? Instead of *Le tšwa kae, b*anna? *(Where are you* coming from, men?)
- *E kae bari yela*? Instead of *Se kae setlatla sela*? (Where is that stupid person?)
- *Ho moja / ho grand / ho sharp*. Instead of *Go lokile* (It's all right)
- *A ko njwetse*. Instead of *A o mpotše* (Please, tell me)

Even though the Bapedi population is greater than the other sections of the South, this domination only refers to 'official ethnic grouping' and not to the practical language that they use daily. The researcher discovered that Sepedi, while being a dominant language in Limpopo Province, is less spoken in Gauteng.

The reason for this is that the majority of the Bapedi people who went to Gauteng either have abandoned their language or just speak Sepedi, which is mixed with Tswana and Sotho. They practice to speak Tswana and Sesotho, which they refer to as the languages of *Makgoweng*.

They are inclined to use Sesotho and Tswana terms (in the form of code switching and code mixing) when speaking Sepedi while very few of the Tswana and Sesotho people speak their own languages. This is because they regard their terminologies as 'prestigious' and Sepedi terminology inferior to theirs. The Sepedi speakers fail to influence the Tswana and Southern Sotho people to abandon their language for Sepedi.

The discovery is based on the following observation: In the tertiary institutions, which are meant for the Bapedi youth in the Limpopo Province, very few Tswana are admitted. Within a very short period, the majority of the youth in these institutions start using Tswana and Sesotho terminology, imitating the few students who came with these languages from the south. None of those students ever bothers to speak Sepedi.

4.3. Language Variation

Language variation refers to the observable differences in the way a language is used in a speech community. According to Sekere (2004:29), variation is a commonplace observation where a single language is not used in a very homogeneous manner within a single community.

Sekere adds that variation often shows a strong correlation with social varieties such as social class, gender, and the social stratification of language, which is now a prominent feature of sociolinguistic investigation. We find diversity within languages at all levels – phonological, grammatical, lexical and syntactic. Such diversity can be studied along three synchronic dimensions – geographical, social and stylistic.

The geographical dimension is one of the main synchronic dimensions that has been presented in dialect atlases and has occupied the attention of dialectologists. The social dimension of linguistic variation is correlated with the socially established identity of the speaker or the addressee. Other dialectologists state that sociolinguistic variation may also be applied to cases where linguistic variation is correlated with other factors in the social context called stylistic, including formal and informal styles of speaking. They add that these differences within a given language are related to such external variables as geographic factors, education level, social class, and gender and age differences.

Language varieties found in specific geographical locations are referred to as regional dialects. The variety of a language is determined by how each speaker has learned a particular variety of the language of his/her language community. This variety may differ at or all levels from other varieties of the same language learnt by other speakers as their first language.

Regional variation may take place within the same country or even between different countries. Dialectologists viewed a dialect as the variety spoken by a group of people located in the same geographical area; this was a criterion to determine whether a spoken language is a dialect or not. They also indicate that the term 'dialect' was used mainly to refer to regional differences within a language.

There is considerable regional variation within the Bapedi language as it was is spoken in different parts of the Limpopo Province. The way people speak Sepedi has a lot to do with where they come from, where they grew up and where they first learnt the language. If you grew up in ga-Matlala Maserumule, your Sepedi will be different from the Sepedi in Sekhukhuneland, which will in turn be different from the Sepedi of Polokwane (ga-Masemola) and so on. People speak different kinds of Sepedi depending on their social background. In most language communities, it is the region of origin, which determines the dialectal variety of the language by a speaker.

If we consider that people speaking the same language do not all live in the same area, we will appreciate that a group of people already sets itself off from other groups by living in a particular place.

These regional and social kinds of language are known as dialects because they have to do with the speaker's social and geographical origins. Dialects are not peculiar, old-fashioned, or rustic ways of speaking; they are not something, which only other people have. It is important to emphasize that everybody speaks a dialect.

Our dialect is the particular combination of words, pronunciations and grammatical forms that we share with other people from our area and social background, which differ in certain ways from the combination used by people from other areas and backgrounds. The people's words, grammar and pronunciation tell us things about their regional and social background.

Regional dialects are regional variations in the way a language is spoken. It is likely to be one of the most noticeable ways in which we observe variety in language. When a person travels throughout a wide geographical area where a language is spoken, and particularly if that language has been spoken in that area for many years, he/she can almost notice a difference in pronounciation in the choices and forms of words, and in syntax. There may even be very distinctive local colourings in the language, which are noticed as he/she moves from one location to another.

According to Bright (1972) as cited by Sekere (2004:31), sociolinguistic studies may also be applied to cases where linguistic variation is correlated with the identity of other factors

called stylistic. The term 'style' refers to the variation that occurs in the speech of a single speaker in different situational contexts. This implies that speakers adapt their style of speech, the kinds of expressions they use and their vocabulary to be accepted in an environment where the conversation is taking place. Variations, which occur because of the adaptability of speakers, are an indication that language exhibits a great deal of internal variation.

Lyons (1981:295) explains further that there is much more to stylistic variation because whenever people speak or write in their native language, they do so in one style rather that another. They speak or write according to the situation, person to whom they are speaking or writing to, the purpose and nature of what they have to communicate and several other factors. Whether their stylistic choices are conscious or unconscious, they nonetheless form an important part of using a language correctly and effectively.

People do not speak consistently but use a different style for different situations. Every time they speak, they are not only communicating their thoughts to others, but also make language choices that indicate who they are. In any interaction, a person may speak formally or informally depending on the circumstances of his/her audience.

In stylistic variation, speakers tend to speak more casually and in a more relaxed way when conversing with people they know well. For instance, a schoolchild whose brother is an educator may greet his brother in *tsotsitaal* by saying '*Heita*, my brother' regardless of his status as a teacher in the same school.

4.4. Language and Dialect

A basic cause of dialectal differentiation is linguistic change. Every living language constantly undergoes change in its various elements because languages are externally complex systems of signs; it is almost inconceivable that linguistic evolution could affect the same elements. Sometimes these elements are even transformed in the same way in all localities when one language is spoken and for all speakers in the same locality. When one looks at this, one would find that the differences caused by linguistic change seem to be slight, but they inevitably accumulate with time. Related languages usually begin as dialects of the same language.

When a change appears among only one section of the speakers of language, this automatically creates a dialect difference.

Although the majority of the people of the Limpopo Province speak the same language i.e. Sepedi, there are small groups who speak their own particular speech variety. In such a case, we refer to the variety that differs from the accepted standard form as a dialect. A dialect is characterized by a particular set of linguistic items, grammatical structures and pronunciation patterns.

The missionaries wrote in the Sepedi dialect and the Bible was translated into it. After 1930, the dialects of the Limpopo Province began to influence the written Sepedi language, probably because many of the younger generation of writers came from the Polokwane area. In this area many Sepedi dialects are spoken and some are quite different from the written from, e.g. the *Lobedu*, spoken in Phalaborwa, Tzaneen and Leydsdorp; *Pulana, Kutswe and Pai* in the Pilgrim's Rest District and Bushbuckridge; and Moletši and Tlokwa spoken in the Mokopane and Polokwane areas.

Since the dialects of Polokwane made their influence felt, the written Sepedi of today does not always seem to be the same as that in which the Bible is translated. People should not forget that their own spoken dialect is not the only way of speaking and that it might differ considerably from the language of others.

Examples:
- The use of *hl* as in *-hlaba* (stab) for which the Western dialects employ *tlh*, e.g. *-tlhaba*, and for which the northern dialects use *th. Tlh* as an alternative for *hl* is no longer allowed in written language.
- The use of *š, tš* and *tšh*̤ as in *-šala* (remain), *-tlatša* (fill) and *-tšhela* (pour in) for *s, ts* and *tsh* respectively used elsewhere, e.g. *–sala, -tlatsa* and *–tshela.*
- The use of s in words such as *-swana* (be like), *-sela* (pass over), *-swara* (catch, hold) where other dialects use *tsh: -tshwana, -tshela* and *-tshwara.*
- The use of *h* in words such as *makhura* (fat) and *-humana* (find) for f or *kh* used elsewhere: *mafura, makhura, -fumana and -khumana.*
- The use of *sw* as in *leswika* (stove) and *leswiswi* (darkness) where other dialects employ *fs* or *f: lefika, lefsika, lefifi, lefsifsi.*

- The use of *fš* as in *-lefša* (be paid) *lefšega* (coward) where others employ *fšw: lefšwa.*
- The use of *jw* where the standard has *bj*, as in *jwala* (beer) for *bjala*.
- The use of the verbal relative suffix *-go* as in *monna yo a sepelago* where others employ *-ng: monna yo a sepelang.*

Until 1966, the northern Sotho orthography allowed the following alternatives: *hl/tlh, fs/sw/f, s/tsh, h/f/kh, fš/šw*. Alternatives have now been discarded as follows: *hl* is standard except its plosivated form, which is *tlh,* e.g. *go hlaba* (to stab) but *go ntlhaba* (to stab me); *sw* instead of *fs.* (E.g. leswiswi) except in the adjective stem *–fsa* (new); *s* and not *tsh*,e.g *–sela* (jump over) ; h, e.g. *mahura* (fat); *fš* only in words like *lefšega* (corward) and in passives like *go lefša* (to be paid).

The concept 'dialect' is usually associated with regional varieties as well as with sociolinguistic variation. A given set of varieties must meet certain minimum linguistic conditions, such as sociological conditions, where the speakers feel that they belong to that speech community. Dialectologists have confirmed this dichotomy by defining dialect as 'a variety of language, spoken in one part of a country (regional dialect) or by people belonging to a particular social class (social dialect), which is different in some words, grammar and pronunciation from other forms of the same language'.

The line of demarcation between language and dialect is however not well defined and no satisfactory set of criteria has yet been devised to distinguish clearly between the two. The distinction between language and dialect is complicated within African languages in South Africa where one of the regional dialects of each of the language groups has been elevated to the level of a standard language.

This regional dialect has been taken through a process of standardization whereby it has become codified and used for higher functions. In the process, its use has become prestigious, and mutual intelligibility may not necessarily serve as a criterion to distinguish between 'language and dialect'. In this respect, the findings are that Pulana and Lobedi are typical dialects of Sepedi, which show a great deal of structural overlap in their own morphological, syntactical and lexical system. The two varieties are also mutually intelligible with each other and with their standard form i.e. Sepedi. These dialects are

regional dialects because old people, who are usually not highly educated, mostly speak them in the rural areas of the Limpopo Province.

An intensive investigation into the speech of each individual, group reveals countless differences characterized by a particular set of linguistic items, as will be illustrated below under phonological and lexical structures.

4.4.1. Phonological variations between Sepedi and Lobedi/Tlokwa

Phonology involves the way language sounds and the way words are pronounced in a particular language. Phonology is that discipline of linguistics, which limits itself to the manner in which human speech sounds function when sound patterns are created. Where there are variations in vocabulary and grammar, these are normally accompanied by phonological variations.

As the dialects shown in the table below do not have any written forms, they are looked upon as 'languages' of the illiterate and uneducated people. People prefer to use the terminology of the written standard language, to avoid being associated with the 'low-class', unwritten dialects. They usually tend to replace the following Lobedu phonemes and morphemes with the standard Sepedi phonemes and morphemes, as in the following examples:

a**) Phoneme examples**:
The use of the standard ejected lateral *tl [tl']* for the Lobedu voiced interdental *d* as the following examples:

Sepedi	Lobedu	English
-tlotša	*dotša*	'smear'
-ntlo	*ndo*	'house'
-tlala	*dala*	'hunger'
-tlile	*dile*	'arrived'
-maatla	*maada*	'power'
-letlalo	*ledalo*	'skin'
-letlapa	*ledapa*	'stone'

In addition, the use of the standard voiceless lateral fricative *hl* for the aspirated interdentally plosive *th*, as in the following lexical items:

Sepedi	Lobedu	English
-hlatswa	ṭhatšwa	wash
-mafahla	mafaṭha	twins'
-hlaka	'suffer'	ṭhaka
-mahloko	maṭhoko	misery
-mahlatse	maṭhatse	luck/fortune'
-hlaba	thaba	stab
-fihlile	fiṭhile	arrived
-mohlolo	moṭhoho	'miracle'

b) Morpheme examples

The class prefix *se –* of class 7 is *khe* in *Lobedu*.

Sepedi	Lobedu	English
selepe	*kheebe*	'axe'
sefepi	*khefepi*	'whip'
selemo	*khelemo*	'summer
seema	*kheema*	'proverb'
seeta	*kheeta*	'shoe'
sehlare	*khethare*	'tree'
sephiri	*khephiri*	'secrete'
sereto	*khereto*	'poem'

The use of the locative ending –*ng* for the Lobedu –*ni.*

Sepedi	Lobedu	English
sekolong	*khekoloni*	'at school'
kgorong	*khoroni*	'at the court'
mpeng	*mpeni*	'in the belly'
maleng	*maleni*	'in the stomach'
komeng	*komeni*	'at the circumcision school'
nokeng	*nokeni*	'at the river'
kapanong	*kopanoni*	'at the gathering'
thabeng	*thabeni*	'at the mountain'

(a)   Lexical items

The following are some of the lexical items, which distinguish Tlokwa from other varieties. Most of these examples differ mostly in form but sometimes in form and meaning from their counterparts in the standard affricative *kg* as used by Batlokwa.

For example:

Sepedi	Tlokwa	English
kgoši	*khosi*	'chief'
kgoro	*khoro*	'court'
kgago	*khono*	'fowl'
kgale	*khale*	'old'
kgetha	*khetha*	'choose'
kgopa	*khopa*	'snail'
kgofa	*khofa*	'tick'

The use of alveolar *s* instead of the prepalatal *š* as in the following examples:

Sepedi	Tlokwa	English
-rweša	*rwesa*	'load'
-šupa	*supa*	'point'
-šala	*sala*	'remain'
-lešilo	*lesilo*	'fool'
-šila	*sila*	'grind'

The use of glottal *h* instead of standard *g* as in the following examples:

Sepedi	Tlokwa	English
-gola	*hola*	'grow'
-gafa	*hafa*	'mad'
-gana	*hana*	'refuse'
-magale	*mohale*	'hero'
-legapu	*lehapu*	'watermelon'

4.5 Interference, Code-switching and Borrowing in Sepedi

4.5.1 Introduction

In this section the effects of language contact, whereby elements are transferred from one language to another, will be on interference, code switching and borrowing and the role they play in language variation. The discussion will be on the patterns and extent of language contact and the result of interference, code switching, and borrowing involving Sepedi and other languages spoken by the Bapedi in the Limpopo Province.

This chapter will also identify these processes and the points at which they occur. The reasons why these processes occur are also examined. Furthermore, the three processes will be discussed together as related concepts because they exist because of language contact.

4.5.2 Language Interference

According to Weinreich (1953:1), the term 'interference' implies the 'rearrangement of patterns that result from the introduction of foreign elements into the more highly structured domains of language, such as the bulk of phonemic system, a large part of morphology and syntax and some areas of vocabulary such as kinship, colour, and weather.

Weinreich (1953:1) distinguishes three types of interference; viz. phonic interference, grammatical interference and lexical interference, which will include phonic interference because sound changes take place within the lexical and grammatical contexts.

4.5.2.1 Gramatical Interference

Sekere (2004:55) describes grammatical interference as: 'when elements of the first language enter the second language and are gradually grammatically integrated, or when a first language speaker starts to speak a second language and carries over elements of the first language into the second language. In grammatical integration, a word brought into the second language from the donor language must be assigned grammatical categories that are characteristics of the first language'.

In the grammatical adaptation of verbs, the verbal system of Sepedi derivations is made as the original verb stems. Learners at the Limpopo schools use the following:

- *Go phasa*   (to pass)
- *Go dansa*   (to dance)
- *Go phuša*   (to push)
- *Go koreka*   (to correct)
- *Go tlelina*   (to clean)
- *Go tšaefa*   (to jive)

With regard to the above examples, morphological adjustment is made because Sepedi has a different morphological structure from that of the English language.

A word that has been taken over from a foreign language and adopted to fit into the sound system and grammar of the borrowing language is called an adoptive. In, Sepedi, for

instance, adoptive words are subjected to the African syllabic structure, which is mostly 'CV' (consonant + vowel) e.g.

Sepedi	English	Afrikaans
Sekolo	School	*Skool*
Kuku	Cake	*Koek*
Teromo	Drum	*Drom*
Puku	Book	*Boek*
Koporo	Copper	*Koper*
Sepekara	Speaker	*Spyker*

The adoptive words in Sepedi conform to the linguistic system of Sepedi. For instance, if the word *spyker* is borrowed from Afrikaans, it is supplied with a class prefix *se-* in Sepedi i.e. *Sepikiri*. The adoptive word conforms to this morphological adaptation as is exemplified above. The adoptive word, once incorporated in Sepedi, becomes part of this language.

4.5.2.2 Lexical Interference

Lexical interference may result from contact between the vocabularies of speakers of two or more languages. Interference may take various forms whereby morphemes can be transferred from one language into another, while morphemes from the receiving language may be used with a meaning derived from the lending language to another.

Weinreich (1953:48) explains that if one language borrows from another, or expressions of one language are squeezed in the utterance of another, we talk about interference having taken place. For instance, in the sentence: *O tla i-identif-aya bjang*? The prefix *i-* is squeezed with the English 'identify' and the Sepedi suffix *–aya.* In this case, the morphemes from the receiving language (Sepedi) have identified with a meaning from the lending language (English).

There are two types of adoptive words in Sepedi, whose lexical items are taken over without any adaptation, e.g.

radio	from	English	'radio'
torowa	from	English	'draw'

tshese	from	English	'chess'
bideo	from	English	'video'

There are also words which are only partially adapted. The words below still show foreign elements in their structure after an adaptation. In such instances, there is more than one consonant that is juxtaposed, or appears within one syllable, e.g.

Moprista	from	English	'priest'
Stepise	from	English	'step'
Ilektrisithi	from	English	'electricity'
Peterole	from	English	'petrol'

Some of these words may be fully adapted into the morphological structure of the language, while displaying some 'foreign' phoneme combinations, e.g. *moprista* is placed in class 1 and makes use of all the regular concords of class 1. Some nouns may be foreign because they do not fit into the class system, although they may comply fully with the phonological system of the language, e.g. *rula* (ruler), which does not fit into any of the traditional, original noun classes. It does not display a prefix, nor is its first consonant inclusive, which is normally the case for nouns placed in class 9.

Today foreign words are widely used in Sepedi, some of which are partially adapted, while others are completely unadapted. This seems to be because most Africans are gradually assimilated into Western culture and everyone is trying to pronounce foreign words as the mother tongue speakers, e.g, pronounce them.

Helikhoptha	instead of	*helikhoptara*	'helicopter'
Mishen	*instead of*	*mmisini*	*'mission'*
Dram	instead of	*teromo*	'drum'
Khomphytha	instead of	*khomphutha*	'computer'
Erial	instead of	*eriele*	'aerial'
Septempa	instead of	*setemere*	'September'
Siliba	instead of	*silibere*	'silver'

This is what we call 'pronunciations evaluation' of the borrowed lexical items in most Africans because the borrowing languages try to imitate the original pronunciation of the borrowed words.

In this section, we have discussed different kinds of interference as they are observed from the learner's responses to questionnaires. The observation is that interference may take place in different forms, viz. grammatical, lexical and syntactical in Sepedi.

4.6. Code switching

Perhaps the most common type of spoken 'languages' today is a mixture of terminology and phrases from two or more different languages when communicating in formal or informal situations between people who are either, bilingual or multilingual. These types of varieties are found in almost all the population groups in South Africa between people of various ages.

According to Mojela (1999:102) code- switching is said to be the 'changing from one language or language variety to another in the course of using a language, usually determined by the particular function, participants, or setting and identifying what the speaker wishes to project'.

In the process of code switching, the speaker does not 'translate' what he has just said into other language as he goes along. Rather, he makes one point in one language then switches to the other to bring out different aspects of the argument.

On the other hand, Sekere (2004:52) defines code switching as the selection by bilinguals or multilingual of forms from an embedded variety in utterances of the matrix variety during the same conversation. The term 'matrix' refers to the language in which the majority of morphemes in a given conversation occur (i.e. the recipient language). The language from which material enters a matrix language is referred to as embedded (i.e. the donor language).

She further defines code switching as 'constitutes of the many forms of language contact phenomena and can best be understood by placing it in double context of speech economy of multilingual community'.

The range of language, which is involved in code switching itself, would depend on a number of factors such as the geographical area (which determines which language is dominant) the patterns of urbanization and the migrant labour system. Code switching at all levels become a means by which both the individuals and groups expressed and identified themselves as being capable of breaking down and transcending the institutionalized ethnic barriers of apartheid.

Language plays an important role in establishing the identity of the many sub-groups that can be found within these communities. People from different language groups residing in the same place have needed to accommodate and know one another. The strategy of switching codes is most often used as a form of accommodation rather than alienation. In the absence of a majority language, people have had to learn one another's languages.

Within this melting pot, no particular language has becomes dominant. This is one of the unique linguistic aspects in places were no single *lingua franca* serving the entire populace has developed.

Today, it is hardly possible for a speaker, especially those speaking the African languages, to speak continuously without mixing terms from other languages. Some of the words are used as loanwords while others are used in their original form. In Sepedi, for instance, the use of terms derived from English and Afrikaans words is very common, e.g.

Ke ngwana wa my suster	'It is my sister's child'
Ke swere loaf bread.	'I am holding a loaf of bread'
Ga ke rekiše pap en vleis	'I don't sell porridge and meat'
Moisa yo o lelik kudu	'This chap is too ugly'
Ke my girlfriend	'She is my girlfriend'
Ek glo gore o kgauswi.	'I believe she/he is nearby'
Perhaps o tla ba le understanding	'Perhaps she/he will understand'

Code switching may be either intersentential or intrasentential.

4.6.1 Intersentential Codeswitching

This involves switches from one language to the other between sentences that is the whole sentences are produced entirely in one language before; there is a switch to the other language. In intersentential switching, a speaker has the ability of alternating between two or more languages. For example:

'*It depend gore o na le bomang.* For instance, if *ke na le mathaka go ya ka gore ba kryile re bua eng*- if *ba fihla ke bua seZulu ba tla joina*- if slang *sa mathaka ele* ons sal almal withi. The situation, gore o na le bo mang.

'It all depends on whom you are with and the context. For instance, if I am with my friends and they find us speaking Zulu – when my other friends arrive, they will join in and speak the same language or slang – it may all depend on the situation and whom you are with'.

The above is an example of intersentential code switching. The speaker begins with am English sentence then switches over to Sepedi, Afrikaans, South Sotho and *tsotsitaal*.

4.6.2 Intrasentential Codeswitching

This occurs within the same sentence and involves the mixing of the morphemes of two languages in a single word. Such switches produce more than one type of constituent: those with material from two languages occurring within the same constituent and those entirely in the matrix language or those entirely in the embedded language. The following Sepedi examples illustrate this type of intrasentential code switching:

1.   *Makgowa a tseba dilanguage tša rena* (White people know our languages)
2.   *Ke lena le swanetšego go rectifaya mistake wo we* (It is you that is meant to rectify the mistake)

In example 1 above, the word *di-* language is made up of two morphemes from two different languages i.e. Sepedi prefix *di-* and English noun language. Similarly, in example 2, the word *rectifaya* is made up of morphemes from different languages i.e. the English 'rectify' and the Sepedi verbal suffix *–aya*

In discussing intersential and intrasentetial code switching, it is observed that intersential code switching involves the switching between two or more sentences from different

languages whereas intrasentential code switching involves the mixing of morphemes and words from two or more different languages.

From the example used in the data in Appendix 4, we note that it is the teacher only who codeswitches in the speech, however, students or ordinary people were also often observed to code switch in their speech.

4.6.3. Social Motivation for Codeswitching

It appears that many speakers switch from one variety to another to comply with the requirements of a particular situation or to achieve a certain communicative objective. Linguists have formulated the following hypotheses as motivations for code switching:

- To express meaning more effectively that the bilingual may have forgotten the term for something in the language(s) he/she currently speaking, and uses the other language term instead.
- The other language being spoken may not have for a particular concept the speaker wants to refer to.
- Code switching can also express emotion, close personal relationships and solidarity and to exclude a third person /from part of a conversation.
- To embellish a point.

Most Sepedi speaking communities prefer to communicate in a Sepedi, which is mixed with English or Afrikaans terms to 'elevate their standard'; it is an indication that one is civilized and educated belongs to high society etc. For example:

- When judging a case *motho o swanetše go ba careful* (When judging a case *a person must be careful)*
- O sepetše le his colleagues go ya ngakeng ya diphofolo (He has travelled with his colleagues to the veterinary doctor)

When these foreign words are used with Sepedi, the Sepedi speaking people regards them as prestige terms.

4.7. Borrowing (Loaning)

Loan words originate because of borrowing, and as such, it is important to discuss them briefly to show how they affect the theme of this dissertation.

When people of varied cultures come into contact, they have many things to share. This results in foreign acquisitions and an extensive increase in vocabulary. An increase in vocabulary is at the same time accompanied by changes and shift in meaning. This is usually a symbiotic process and fills the gaps in the vocabulary with foreign terminology and foreign culture, thereby facilitating improvement in the lexical development of the borrowed languages.

Language contact breeds, among other things, bilingualism, which in turn results in borrowing i.e. the integration of foreign words and phrases from a base language into that of a recipient language. Integration depends on the social acceptance of these foreign words and phrases by the host language speakers (Sekere 2004:64).

Whenever two or more speech communities maintain a prolonged contact within a broad communication, there are crosscurrents of diffusion that presuppose that a language is a dynamic system. English and Afrikaans influence Sepedi, like most African languages. Most of the loan words in Sepedi are derived from these two languages, and to a lesser extent, from neighbouring African languages such as Ndebele, Zulu, Venda and other Sotho languages.

The most common elements that are borrowed are words and in the receiving language, they are known as loan words. However, some linguists prefer to call this phenomenon adoption since the loaned items are rarely returned to the donor languages.

According to Lesoetsa (1997) as cited by Sekere (2004:62), linguistic borrowing is seen as an integral part of the cross-linguistic influences such as transference and code switching. Linguistic borrowing should therefore be sought among transference and code switching processes. Borrowing is also one of the primary forces behind changes in the lexicon of a language; whenever two more speech communities maintain a prolonged contact within a broad field of communication there are cross- currents of diffusion. These 'cross-currents' of diffusion presuppose that a language is a dynamic system.

Sepedi, like most languages of the world, has undergone linguistic changes because it is constantly in contact with other African languages, which are genetically related, as well as with English and Afrikaans, which are typologically related. These cultural interactions

lead to borrowing. Due to the continual development in the field of science, technology and culture, there is constantly a need for language to create new terms to name and describe new concepts. Words are also borrowed in various situations where two or more cultures co-exist and begin to influence each other within the broader society.

The names of new things and new concepts may be directly borrowed or they may be translated into the language of a borrowing culture. This borrowing either directly or indirectly leads to a shift or change in the meaning of some of borrowed lexical items.

Borrowed words are usually integrated into the language, taking the phonological form and affixes of the borrowing language. The principle of adjustment is employed to change the morphological make up of the borrowed item into the phonological make-up of Sepedi

Sekere (2004:63) says 'when words are borrowed into one language form another, the phonologically simplest way for this borrowing to occur is for the words to be assimilated to the native sound pattern, this assimilation enables the speaker to use already learned articulation and rules on the borrowed words instead of having to learn new patterns for the sake of a few lexical items'.

For instance, most verb stems in Sepedi end in –*a* in their infinitive form, such *as go bona* (to see). When verb stems are borrowed from Afrikaans or English, one of the changes effected on them is the suffixing of terminative –*a,* a tense –suffix which may be shifted forward when the various suffixes are attached to the stem or replaced altogether, as in the formation of the perfect.

- Push > *go phuša> phušitše* (perfect tense)
- Pass > *phasa > phašitše* (perfect tense)

The above examples are characterized by morphological adaptation of features of English to those of Sepedi. That is, these words take on morphological form typical of Sepedi words. The adapted words are converted to verb stems and, as a result, they have the terminative –*a,* and can use several other Sepedi affixes.

With changing conditions and contact with Western civilization, Sepedi speaking learners in the Limpopo Province was exposed to Nguni, Afrikaans, and English speaking people. As a result, many words derived from these languages are incorporated into Sepedi.

This is noticeable in a large number of loan words from these languages in Sepedi. Many of these loan words denote unknown items in the culture of the Bapedi, although many others are often used instead of a native word. These loan words form an integral part of the language spoken by Sepedi speaking learners who adapt to these new words/expressions in order to cope with new situations. Their language has to undergo suitable changes so that the users are able to uphold and express themselves in this new environment.

The following are examples of how the Sepedi use English and Afrikaans terminologies in their daily communication, which obviously leads to borrowing.

- *O be a enwa mmeleke* > 'He was drinking milk.' instead of *O be a enwa maswi*.
- *Mosetsana yo o 'praete'* > 'This girl is bright (intelligent)' instead of *Mosetsana yo o bohlale.*
- *Ke lekgarebe le le slenda* > 'It is a slender girl' instead of *Ke lekgarebe le lesese*.
- *O senya 'mmoi ka* leleke' > 'He destroys goodl (Afrikaans: *mooi*) things with bad (Afrikaans: *lelik*) things' instead of *O senya botse ka bobe*.
- *Monna yo ke 'dronklap'* > 'This man is a drunkard' instead of *Monna yo ke letagwa*.

Nowadays, the relative importance of English as a medium of instruction has grown as learners move from primary through to tertiary levels, and it is assumed that this has some effect on the distribution of borrowing and code switching among learners and students at various levels. The above examples indicate that borrowing is one of the primary forces behind changes in the lexicon of many languages.

Sepedi has also borrowed several words from Afrikaans and English and several hundred words have been brought to the language to express aspects of the social, economic and educational spheres.

4.7.1. Motivation for Borrowing

There are many reasons, which lead to borrowing in languages. Some of these reasons include, inter alia, the closing of cultural and communication gaps in the borrowing languages, linguistic innovation, etc. when new things or concepts are learned by one culture from another, there is a linguistic need to name them in one's own language. To name them may create new words, or ready-made foreign words may be borrowed.

Social prestige is another reason for borrowing. People who want to exhibit their familiarity with foreign culture, especially so-called prestige cultures, tend to use foreign words as proud evidence of such familiarity. For example, students in tertiary institutions often speak of *dikhoso* (courses), *di-assaemente* (assignments), and *accomodatione* (accommodation) instead of *dithuto, mošomo, lefelo la bodulo* respectively.

According to Weinreich (1953:60), 'lexical borrowing is beyond question the domain of borrowing because the vocabulary of language is considerably more loosely structured than its phonemics and its grammar'.

There are a number of tentative statements that can be made with regard to the reasons for lexical innovation in general as the need to designate new things, persons, places and concepts. One of the reasons of cultural borrowing from Afrikaans and English into Sepedi was because the Bapedi were particularly sensitive to the newness of the techniques and tools.

For example:
- *Sekotlelo* (*skottel*) 'dish'
- *Foroko* (*vurk)* ' fork'
- *Stepise* (*trappie*) 'step'
- *Peterole* (*brandsto*f) 'petrol'
- *Polasa* (*plaas*) 'farm'
- *Terekere* (*trekker*) 'tractor'

Only the foreign cultural concepts and not the words are adopted. Often when a world already exists in Sepedi for a particular concept, another word with the same basic

meaning is adopted. Furthermore, Sepedi has imported English designations mostly in the sphere of education, technology and science.

Examples:
- *Setifikeiti* > certificate
- *Thitšhere* > teacher
- *Mmetse* > maths (mathematics)
- *go feila* > to fail
- *go rephitha* > to repeat
- *wekeshopo* > workshop

Lexical borrowings are ready-made designations, which are more economical than describing or creating new words.

A language can also satisfy its ever-present need for euphemisms and slang by borrowing. For instance, the English word 'period' as often used by school learners becomes a welcome euphemism for 'menstruation' instead of *go ya matšatšing* (*lehlapo*) (to have your days). School learners instead of 'go ima' also often use the word 'pregnant'. These are words, which one is afraid or ashamed to mention.

Sepedi speakers sometimes use borrowed lexical items to express euphemism; to them, the impact that a taboo word has in Sepedi does not seem similar to that of a foreign word, even though they both refer to the same thing.

One other factor which prompts lexical borrowing on the part of bilinguals is that a comparison with the other language to which a person is exposed, may lead him/her to feel that some of his/her semantic fields are insufficiently differentiated. As a result of contact with English and Afrikaans speaking people, learners have felt the need to differentiate and borrow the English word *thišere* (teacher) and *misiterese* (mistress) or the Afrikaans word *meneer* as a designation for *morutiši* or *morutišigadi.*

Sepedi speakers borrow many words from Afrikaans and English because some Sepedi words are perceived not to be expensive enough to denote meaning. For instance,

learners often use the English words: boyfriend or girlfriend more freely than their Sepedi counterparts, *lekgarebe* or *lesogana*, specifically for romantic loves.

4.7.2 Types of Borrowing

Borrowing between languages can take place in many ways. The ways in which the vocabulary from one language can interfere with that of another are briefly discussed below. One of the ways in which a language acquires terms or words for concepts hitherto unknown to its speakers is through the adoption of vocabulary from a language of the people who have introduced the new cultural elements. There are various forms of borrowing such as cultural and lexical borrowing.

Cultural borrowing refers to the adoption of features from a different language and usually involves the introduction of new elements of culture into the adopting language. The borrowing language may incorporate some cultural items or idea and the name along with it from some external source, for instance learners in ga-Matlala Maserumule schools often use English words such as forms, certificate and bursaries as *difomo, setifikeiti* and *dipasari* in their speech. They use these words in the educational sphere, which is new to the culture of Bapedi. This linguistic adaptation distorts these sounds so that they conform to its phonological and morphological pattern.

Lexical borrowing is the most common type of interaction between languages. The vocabulary or lexicon is the most unstable part and discarded as a given community feels the need.

The following nouns are an example of borrowed words from English into Sepedi vocabulary that are often used by in ga-Matlala Maserumule schools:

English	Sepedi
Town	*Toropo*
Street	*Seterata*
School	*Sekolo*
Station	*Seteišene*
Shops	*Dišopo*

Transport	*Terasepoto*
Clean	*Tlelina*

The above examples indicate a number of consonants clusters foreign to Sepedi, which occur in adoptive. Such consonant clusters do not occur in Sepedi words, yet in English they do. In sound combinations like sound system, epenthetic vowels have to be inserted between the consonants.

In conclusion, this chapter puts forwad some recommendations for future policy. The purpose is to emphasise the role of language change through contact with other languages. Finally, the chapter suggests some areas for further inquiry into some of the phenomena examined in this dissertation.

4.8 Conclusion

This chapter discussed language contact between the different ethnic groups that lived in the Limpopo Province as well as those who migrated from other regions and came to live there. The situation has contributed to language variation in different situational contexts. The differences are revealed in the morphological, phonological, lexical and syntactic variations.

We have also discussed the three concepts viz. interference, code switching and borrowing as related social phenomena occurring in the Sepedi spoken by learners in the ga-Matlala Maserumule schools. Linguistics defines interference, code switching and borrowing as separate processes. However, the observation is that practically, it is not easy to separate them because interference is seen as an umbrella concept embracing code switching and borrowing. It was observed that interference, code switching and borrowing are always possible between any two or more languages and in an embedded language.

The discussion of the social motivation for code switching claims that interference, code switching and borrowing are everyday phenomena. This phenomenon is based in bilingual situations in schools such as in ga-Matlala Maserumule where it becomes justified to do so.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION, OBSERVATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1. Introduction

This chapter presents a general conclusion of the previous chapters, as well as the issues arising from the entire dissertation. In addition to the conclusion, the chapter provides observations, recommendations and findings of the study.

It also demonstrated that the term 'dialect', as used in the traditional framework of analysis, falls far short of accounting for the various linguistic differences, which occur, in a specific language. This term has been generally used in the literature to refer to speech forms, which are spoken within regional boundaries, and even to refer to speech forms generally associated with uneducated people.

In conclusion, this chapter puts forward some recommendations for future policy. The purpose is to emphasise that all so called 'marginalized' languages should be standardised.

5.2. Historical Background

Chapter 2 presented a historical overview of the migrations of the Bapedi people which led to their settling in what is today referred to as the Limpopo Province.The need for such a historical perspective is significant for this kind of study because it throws light on the nature of the dialectal differences which occur in the Limpopo Province. Obviously, migrations as well as the final settling of groups of people in specific regions are all subjected to influences from those who were conquered as well as neighbouring groups, who speak dialects of other languages. These influences resulted in the speech/linguistic differences that have often been referred to as dialectal differences in the Sepedi language.

Again, it is important to realize that all the languages are cultural carriers for the communities, irrespective of what we regard them to be or how we classify them. Even though it is not possible to classify the languages according to status, i.e. as 'inferior' and

'superior' languages, it is important to realize that, every language exists for the purpose of communication and carries important culture.

Every language is in the process of developing through foreign acquisition to enrich its culture from other languages. In this regard, the so-called 'inferior' languages grow much faster than the 'prestige' languages, since the 'inferior' communities strive to know the 'prestige' languages. Consequently, the 'inferior' languages acquire increased vocabulary and culture from the 'superior' languages while the acquisition of vocabulary and culture from the inferior languages by the speakers of the 'prestige' languages is minimal because the prestige communities are reluctant to learn the 'inferior' varieties.

Consequently, the languages of the 'inferior' communities are full of 'prestige' terminology, which is derived from the 'prestige' languages. This enables the 'inferior' communities to communicate in both their variety and the 'prestige' varieties, while the 'superior' communities have a disadvantage of knowing their own varieties only.

Many speakers of the 'inferior' dialects of Sepedi e.g. Lobedu and Pulana can speak Sepedi and Kopa dialects while those who speak the 'superior' language cannot speak the Lobedu or Pulana varieties. Most of the Venda and Tsonga speaking communities can communicate in Sepedi, while very few Bapedi people can communicate in Venda and Tsonga.

This research aims at promoting greater understanding of the reality of an inferiority and superiority attitude among speakers of the various Sepedi dialects.

5.3. Other Language varities found in Bapedi

Chapter 3 presented an overview of the 'language varieties' other than dialects. These varieties occur in both the rural as well as the urban communities.

For the purpose of convenience, two major categories were recognized among these varieties, the one is restricted to rural areas, and the other is found among both urban and rural communities. This overview is captured in the following diagram:

Rural Social Varieties	Urban and Rural Variety	
Closed	Open	
(Secretive)	(Non-Secretive)	Divination Variety
Initiation	Traditional religion	Church Variety
	Mourning Variety	Courtroom Variety
Language Maternity	Taboo Variety	Occupational Variety
	Marriage rites	Tsotsitaal Variety
	Honorific	Gender Variety
	Linguistic Restriction Variety	

The rural language varieties are restricted to the rural areas of the Limpopo Province. We have distinguished two main varieties under this sub-heading namely 'closed' (secretive varieties) and the 'open' (non-secretive).

The 'closed' varieties are found in certain initiation institutions, which are secretive in nature. The public does not generally know the linguistic items and expressions of these varieties. Bapedi individuals who have attended the said institutions are well acquainted with the specialized use of these varieties. These varieties include the initiation and language maternity.

With regard to the 'open' (non-secretive) varieties, we find linguistic terms and expressions, which are not secretive in that the general Bapedi public knows them. These include the traditional religion, mourning, taboo varieties, marriage rites, honorifies, and the variety which avoids the use of certain linguistic terms (linguistic restriction variety).

Under the urban and rural varieties, the varieties, which permeate both urban and rural areas, were discussed. In other words, they are not restricted to the rural community alone. These varieties are found in specific environments and were specified and identified in chapter three; divination, the church, *tsotitaal,* occupational, and the variety used in the law courts were included.

The study also considered the correlation between interference, code switching and borrowing in the Sepedi spoken in the ga-Matlala Maserumule schools. The investigation

attempted to indicate how the three phenomena interfere with the standard Sepedi in different contexts including a school situation.

The study indicates that teachers and learners in the ga-Matlala Maserumule schools due to the language varieties in these areas often use code switching and borrowing. Teachers also often code switched in English when communicating among themselves.

In many cases, it was observed that teachers are not conversant in Sepedi. Some only came to the Limpopo Province to study and, after the completion of their studies, they remained in the Limpopo Province to teach in the local schools. For these teachers and learners to understand one another, they code switched between Sepedi and other languages. This applies to the teachers from other African countries in particular, who use code switching when teaching the learners

The general conclusion drawn from this study is that contact with many languages has a great influence on the spoken and written Sepedi in Limpopo schools.

5.4. Observations

It was observed that most of the Sepedi spoken in the Limpopo Province is not the standard language because of the migration of the different ethnic groups to the province as well as the socio-economic and technological changes that have introduced new terms and lifestyles. The historical background has shown that as early as the 18th century, the Limpopo Province was inhabited by different ethnic groups, which affected the varieties of the language spoken in that area.

From the study, it has emerged that the Sepedi spoken in Limpopo has a long and interesting history. The language has undergone and is still undergoing many changes from interactions with many other languages. The Sepedi spoken in Limpopo has current problems and constraints, which need to be addressed urgently and effectively to ensure unity and communicative effectiveness.

Other issues were also noted. Generally, the native speakers of Sepedi appear to despise their language as well as their culture. In the villages close to the capital city and business centre, where contacts and interaction between people from different backgrounds are

more prolific, Sepedi tends to be weaker that in the more distant rural villages. It has also been observed that economic development has attracted many people from the farms and adjacent areas and these people have brought with them their various cultures and languages that have influenced on the existing cultures and languages in Limpopo.

While it is true that the people of Limpopo speak Sepedi, research has found that there are dialects. It is also observed that the schools in ga-Matlala have a mixture of learners from various ethnic groups whose home language is not Sepedi. The study reveals that learners who speak different dialects, such as Pulana and Lobedu, in a particular school, often end up speaking a language, which is not their home language.

It was also observed from the study that interference, code switching and borrowing as well as the associated language attitudes that have emanated in the ga-Matlala Maserumule's schools are largely due to language contact situations. Sepedi learners often use various code choices from English and Afrikaans as well as from other African languages, such as the Nguni group, within their own group boundaries when they are alone. The study has shown that these conversations generally show patterns of interference, code switching and borrowing among learners from various schools in ga-Matlala Maserumule.

The findings show that code switching can be used as a strategy to demonstrate the socio-economic status of the speaker and his/her level of education. English is a medium of instruction and learners are exposed to it early in their education. Some learners acquire their knowledge of English through interpersonal relationships and interaction with mother-tongue speakers in different situations, such as their friendship with English-speakers. English is used to teach most subjects in school and the textbooks are in English from grade 4 to 12. Learners receive their instruction in a language i.e. English, other than their mother tongue. Not only does this slow down the learner's education as a whole, but their knowledge of their own language and its acculturation is neglected.

Learners master new words that do not feature in the vocabulary of their parents. Children, who live in Limpopo, represent an urban generation. For many Sepedi speaking learners who were born and raised in urban contexts, the national language of the region is in actual practice, the mother tongue. However, the language these learners acquire is

a variant marked by profuse code switching. It is replete with words and structures from other languages and, therefore, the learners generally do not acquire the standard form of Sepedi.

The language of these learners actually shows some notable difference from that of their parents. The learners interviewed in this study made frequent visits to their relatives in urban areas and had considerable contact with the language of their peer group, so much, so that one may expect a mixture of different languages. However, being in a situation where varieties of language prevail, provides scope for some language peculiarities. The peculiarities characterizing the speech of learners living in Limpopo are likely to increase. We can confidently state that the urban areas are the main source of the varieties spoken in the ga-Matlala Maserumule schools.

5.5 Recommendations

It was pointed out in the introduction to this study that an important sociolinguistic issue to be investigated concerns the language varieties spoken in the Limpopo Province and their implication in linguistic situations. The study of language contact, language and dialects as well as language interference, code switching and borrowing, focusing on the speech community of gaMatlala Maserumule should necessarily include an assessment of the extent to which the learners themselves are aware of sociolinguistic variations.

The information on language variation, as well as language interference, which includes code switching and borrowing, is an aid for a country to establish a democratic educational policy that may consider other varieties of language in school situations. Investigating the social varieties is indeed another fruitful area for study in gaMatlala Maserumule society.

The field of gaMatlala Maserumule's sociolinguistic variation in spoken and written Sepedi also offers enormous possibilities for investigation. These are relevant, not only for geographical and economic reasons, but also because sociolinguistic research can certainly perform academic functions. Viewing dialect investigation as a kind of scientific study of language, leaners should be encouraged to see how dialect study merges with the social sciences and humanities. This study can be approached from the perspective of geography, history or sociology. It can also be linked with ethnic or gender studies.

Researchers interested in history may thus carry out independent research to determine the contributions of various historical groups to a particular location by searching the migratory routes of the original settlers of the area and showing how they are reflected in the dialect. It is hoped that this research has paved the way for further studies in sociolinguistic variations.

Given the present lack of an adequate language policy in the Limpopo Province, this study recommends the following as critical points of discussion for future policy debate:

- The government should review the Northern Sotho Language Board policy to accommodate all languages that are spoken in the Limpopo Province.
- Policy should address the necessity of putting in place the system of language policy that lays the foundation of prioritizing not only pluralism but also diversity, including linquistic diversity, and putting in place a rationalized language policy that seeks to strike a balance between the inferior and superior languages.
- Fundamentally, addressing the above areas through policy would give as many people as possible the best chance to participate fully in regional and social activities.
- The motivation for the above recommendations is the arqument of critical social variations studies discussed in detail in chapter three and the attitudes towards language and dialects discussed in chapter two.

Bibliography

1. Allen, L & Linn, M.D 1986. <u>Dialect and language Variation</u>. Academic Press. Harcourt Brace Kovanorich Publishers,London, Montreal

2. Allen, J.P.B& S.P Corder.1973. <u>Reading for applied linguistics</u>. Oxford University Press. London

3. Anderson,J.M. 1975.<u>Structural Aspects of language change.</u> Longman Group UK Limted

4. Brook, G.L.1963. <u>English Dialects</u>. Andre Deutsch. London.

5. Brook, G.L.1979. <u>English Dialects (2nd ed).</u> Andre Deutsch. London

6. Crystal, D. 1985. <u>A dictionary of linguistic and phonetics</u>. Basil Blackwell. Oxford

7. Dittmar, N. 1976. <u>Sociolinguistics: a critical Survey of theory and application,</u> Edward Arnold.

8. Fasold J. 1984. <u>The Sociolinguistics of Society. Introduction to Sociolinguistics: Vol</u>. Oxford Basil Blackwell.

9. Ferguson, C.A. 1959. <u>Diglossia in Hudson R.A. 1980. Sociolinguistics.</u> Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

10. Ferguson, C. A & JJ. Gumperz.1960. <u>Linguistics diversity in South Asia: Studies in Regional Social and Functional Varaition International Journal of American linguistics, Vol. 26. Number 3</u>. Indian. Indiana University

11. Fishman, J. 1968a. <u>Nationality, nationalism and nation nationism in language. Problems of developing nations, edited by, J. Fishman. J Das Guphta. J Ferguson.</u> New York. N C John Wiley and Sons.

12. Fishman, J.A.1971. <u>Advances in the Sociology of language.</u> The Haque: Mouton & Co. M.V Publishers.

13. Hudson, R. A. 1980. Socialinguistics. Cambridge. Cambridge University Press

14. Hymes, D. 1964<u>. Language in culture and Society: A reader in Linguistics and Anthropolgy</u>, New York. Harper and Row.

15. Lyons, J. 1981. <u>Language and Linguistics. An introduction</u>. Cambridge. University Press.

16. Lombard, D.P.1985 <u>Introduction to the Grammar of Northern Sotho</u>. Van Schaik (Pty) Ltd. Pretoria

17. Louwrens, L.J 1994. <u>Dictionary of Northern Sotho grammatical terms</u>. Via Afrika. Pretoria

18. McMahon, M.S 1994. <u>Understanding language change</u> .Cambridge University Press.

19. Mokgokong P.C. 1966. <u>A dialect- Geographical Survey of phonology of the Northern Sotho area.</u> Unpublished M A dissertation. UNISA. Pretoria

20. Mojela, V.M.1999.<u>Prestige Terminology and its consequences in the development of northern Sotho Vocubulary.</u> University of South Africa

21. Msimang, C.T. 1987.'<u>Impact of Tsotsitaal.</u>'South Africa Journal of Africa Language, Vol.7.

22. Msimang, C.T. 1989.'<u>Some Phonological aspects of the Tekela Nguni Dialects</u>.'UNISA.Pretoria

23. Mulaudzi, P.A. 1987. <u>The dialects of Venda language.</u> University of the North. Pietersburg.

24. Mulaudzi, P.A 1999. .'<u>The Linguistic,Description of language varieties in Venda</u>.'Unpublished Dr Dissertation UNISA,Pretoria

25. Neubert, A.1976<u>. What is Sociolinguistics? Three Postulates for Sociolinguistic Research Arehivum Linguisticum Vol.17 No.2</u>

26. Ngwenya A.V. 1995. '<u>The Static and dynamic elements of Tsotsitaal with Special reference to Zulu. A.Sociolinguistic research</u>' Unpublished MA Disseration, UNISA, Pretoria.

27. Prinsloo, M.W 1976. <u>Grondslae Van die Adminisratief –reg by die Matlala Van Maserumule</u>. UNISA,Pretoria

28. Robins, R.H. 1989. <u>General linguistic, an introductory Survey</u>. Longman. London.

29. Sekere, M.B. 2004. <u>Sociolinguistic Variation in Spoken and written Sesotho: A case study speech varieties in Qwaqwa.</u> University of South Africa. Pretoria

30. Sekhukhune, P.D1988. '<u>Discourse Analysis and and Speech varieties in Northern Sotho: A Sociolinguistic Study.</u>' Unpublished M.A Dissertation,University of North Sovenga

31. Stayt, H.A. 1934. <u>The Bavenda</u>. Oxford University Press. London.

32. Stubbs, M. 1983. <u>Discourse Analysis: the Sociolinguistic analysis of natural language</u>. Basil Blackwell Publishers LTD. Oxford

33. Trudgill, P. 1974. <u>Sociolinguistics: An Introduction to language and Society</u>. England Penguin books

34. Van Warmelo, M.J. 1935. <u>A preliminary survey of the Bantu Tribes of South Africa.</u> Pretoria. Ethnological Publications, Vol.v.

35. Wardhaugh, R.1992. <u>An Introduction to Sociolinguistics. (2nd ed</u>). Cambridge. Massachusetts.

36. Webster. 1973. <u>Taboo; Sociological Study</u>. New York: Popular Press.

37. Weinreich, U. 1953. <u>Language in Contact: Findings and problems</u>. The Hague. Mouton & Co.

38. Whitely, W.H. 1957.<u>The work of the East African Swahili Committee 1930-1957</u>. Kongo- Overzee,23

1.1 Questionnaires

Two types of questionnaires have been used in this research. The first type of questionnaire was structured for learners. The second type of questionnaire was composed for educators/ teachers. The Learners questionnaire was set in English and Sepedi, whilst a teacher was set in English only.

1.2 Analysis of data

After the collection of data, it was analyzed from one institution to another. This concluded in generalization, comments and recommendations.

1.3. Institutions visited

Rakgwadi as an area is broad and complex. To delimit our area of research, three High schools were chosen randomly for conducting interviews. These High schools are Motodi Secondary in Mogalatšane village, Nape-a- Ngwato in Mooihoek (Tsimanyane village) and Kotole Secondary in Ditholong village.

From each institution, four informants, two males and two females were interviewed including two Sepedi language educators. The sample of the research comprises learners selected randomly, irrespective of age. The informants take Sepedi as their school subject.

1.4. Research hypotheses

Firstly, the hypothesis of the research was to prove beyond any reasonable doubt that learners are conversant with and do speak dialects either in the classroom or outside the classroom. Secondly, those teachers also know and do speak these dialects inside and outside the classroom. Thirdly, those teachers are from time to time confronted with dialects words, phrases and expressions in oral work or in the compositions of learners.

1.5. The area where research was conducted.

The research was conducted in GaMatlala Maserumule Schools in Limpopo Province. A map of gaRakgwadi is enclosed with different villages where schools were visited.

MAP OF GARAKGWADI AREA

APPENDIX 2

Questionnaire for Learners

The questionnaire with 39 questions was designed to elicit various degrees of language usage in formal and informal situations. The fundamental principle underlying the structural composition of the questionnaire was to ensure statistical validity for the analysis of the data.

1. Surname and name of respondent: _____

2. Age:_____

3. Sex : _____

4. Grade: _____

5. Ethnic Group _____

6. Home Language :_____

7. Sepedi: <u>Ke polelo efeng yeo o e bolelang ka gae? Dira leswao la X pele ga polelo yeo o e bolelago ka gae.</u>

English: What is your home language? Make a mark X to your home language.

Sepedi

    Sesotho

    Sexhosa

    Sezulu

    Setswana

    Seswati

   Sepedi: <u>Tše dingwe. (di ngwale</u>)

   English: Others (name them)

8. Sepedi: <u>Ke polelo efeng yeo o e šomišago ga kudu sekolong?</u>

English: Which language do you mostly use at school? _____

9. Sepedi: <u>Ge o o nale bagwera bagago ke polelo efeng yeo le e</u> <u>šomišago?</u>

English: What language do you use when you are with your friends?

    _____

    _____

    _____

10. Sepedi<u>: Ge o bolela le barutiši sekolong le šomiša polelo efeng?</u>

English: When addressing teachers at school, what language do you use?

_____

11. Sepedi: <u>Naa barutiši bagago ba tseba polelo ya Sepedi gabotse? Ke ka lebaka la eng</u>
<u>o rialo?</u>

English: Do your teachers have a good command of the Sepedi language? Why do you

say so?

_____

_____

_____

12. Sepedi: <u>Naa polelo yeo o e bolelago ge o nale bagwera bagago e nale khuetšo go</u>
<u>polelo yeo le e bolelago ka gae? Ge eba e nale khuetšo hlaloša gore ke khuetšo</u>
<u>ya mohuta mang?</u>

English: Has the language you speak when you are with your friends; have any influence

on your home language? If this is the case, explain how this happens.

_____

_____

_____

13. Sepedi: <u>Re fe maikutlo a gago ka polelo ya Sepedi e le polelo yeo e   rutwago</u>
<u>sekolong. O a se rata, o a se kwešiša, o a tseba go se bolela le go se ngwala?</u>

English: Give your own views on Sepedi, as a language taught at school. Do you like   it,

understand it know how speak and write it?

_____

_____

_____

_____

14. Sepedi: <u>Efa mehlala e meraro yeo o e šomišago ge le dumedišana le bagwera</u>
<u>bagago.</u>

English: Give three examples of expressions, which you and your friends use when

greeting one another.

_____

_____

_____

_____

15. Sepedi: <u>Seo se dirago gore le dumedišane ka wona mokgwa woo ke eng?</u>

English: What makes you great one another in this fashion?

_____

_____

_____

16. Sepedi: Ke mananeo afe a thelebišene a o naganago gore o ka ba le khuetšo le ka

mowe le dumedišanago ka gona? Ke ka lebaka la eng o realo?

English: Which television programmes do you think influence the manner in which you

greet one another? Why do you say so?

_____

_____

17. Sepedi: Polelo yeo e šomišwago radiong e fapana bjang le eo e   bolelwago

thelebišeneng?

English: How does the language spoken on radio differ from the one   spoken on

television?

_____

_____

_____

18. Sepedi: Ke polelo efeng yeo o naganang gore e loketšwe go šomišwa dithutong tša

lena dikolong? Gobaneng o nagana bjalo?

 English: Which language do you think should be used as a medium of instruction in your

school? Motivate.

_____

_____

_____

19. Sepedi: Polelo yeo le e šomišago mmileng (seterateng) e nale khuetšo le dikamano

tše bjang go lena le batho ba latelago?

English: How does a common language spoken on the streets affect your relationship

with the following people?

Batswadi ba lena.

Your parents.

Barutiši ba lena

Your teachers

Baruti

Religious leaders

<u>Boramabenkele</u>

Business people.

Explain:

_____

_____

_____

20. Sepedi: <u>Ke mabaka afe a o a dirago gore le ikhwetšeng le le ka gare ga dipolelo tše dingwe e sego polelo yeo le e bolelago?</u>

English: Which reasons are responsible for your language being adversely influenced by other languages?

_____

_____

_____

_____

21. Sepedi: <u>Efa mabaka a a dirago gore polelo ya Sepedi e khupetšwe ke dipolelo tše dingwe ga golo ka gare ga Limpopo province</u>.

English: Give reasons why Sepedi language, especially in Limpopo province, is adversely influenced by other languages.

_____

_____

_____

_____

22. Sepedi: <u>Ke dife dipolelwana (dimotwana) tšeo di bolelwago ka gare ga Limpopo province?</u>

English: Which dialects are spoken in Limpopo province?

_____

_____

23. Sepedi: <u>Dipolelwana tšeo di bolelwa mafelong afe mo Limpopo province?</u>

English: At which areas (villages) in Limpopo province are these dialects largely spoken?

_____

_____

_____

24. Sepedi: <u>E ka ba ke batho ba ba kae ka palo bao ba bolelago dipolelo tšeo? Akanya dipalopalo feela.</u>

English: How many people do really speak these dialects? Estimate the number.

_____

_____

_____

25. Sepedi: <u>Ke mafelong afe a we go bolelwago tšona dipolelo tšeo? Mohlala: Dikolong, Magae, Mapatlelong la dipapadi?</u>

English: At which areas are these dialects mostly spoken? For instance, at school, at home, play grounds?

_____

_____

_____

26. Sepedi: <u>Naa dipolelwana tše di a amogelwa dikopanong tša dipoledišano?</u>

English: Are these dialects socially accepted in areas where people live and interact?

_____

_____

_____

27. Sepedi: <u>Ke magato a mafeng ao a ka dirwago (tšeago) go emelediša goba go phakgamiša maemo a polelo ya Sepedi ka gare ga Limpopo province?</u>

 English: What measures can be taken to ensure that the standard of Sepedi is enhanced in Limpopo province?

_____

_____

_____

_____

28. Sepedi: <u>Dipolelo tšeo di bolelwago ke dihlophana tše nnyane di ka hlohleletšwa goba go phagamišwa bjang gore le tšona di kgone go hlomphiwa dikolong, le gore di kgone go šomišwa mafelong a fapanego bjalo ka Dipetlele, Diposong, Dikgwebong, Dikhoto le Diyalemoyeng.</u>

English: In what way can the dialects (e.g Pulana) be enhanced, be regarded as important in schools, and be used in places such as Hospitals, Business areas, Post offices, Magistrate courts as well as on Radio stations?

_____

_____

_____

29. Sepedi: Naa Sepedi se se bolelwago se fapana le seo se ngwalwago? Ga e ba karabo ke Ee, gona hlaloša gore se fapana bjang?

English: Is spoken Sepedi different from the written one? If your answer is yes, explain this difference.

_____

_____

_____

30. Sepedi: Polelo ya setsotsi o a se tseba naa? Ke polelo e bjang?

English: Do you know tsotsitaal? What kind of language is it?

_____

_____

_____

31. Sepedi: Naa polelo ya setsotsi e a bolelwa ka gare ga Limpopo province? Ga eba o re Ee, se bolelwa ke bo mang? Neng?

English: Is tsotsitaal spoken in Limpopo province? If you say yes, who are the speakers of this language? When do they speak it?

_____

_____

_____

32. Sepedi: Ke polelo tše kae tšeo o kgonago go di bolela? Di ngwale.

English: How many languages are you able to speak? Mention them.

_____

_____

_____

33. Sepedi: Ngwala dipolelo tšeo di bolelwago sekolong seo o tsenago go sona.

English: Mention the languages spoken at your school.

_____

_____

34. Sepedi: Naa go nale phaphang magareng ga Sepedi seo o se bolelago le seo sebolelago ke batswadi ba gago goba batho bao o phelago le bona? Hlaloša pharologanyo ge e le gona.

English: Is there any difference between Sepedi spoken by yourself and that spoken by your parents or people in your community? Explain the difference.

_____

_____

_____

35. Sepedi: Sepedi seo ba se bolelwago Afrika Borwa se fapana bjang le se se bolelwago Limpopo Provnce?

English: How does Sepedi spoken in South Africa differ from that spoken in Limpopo province?

_____

_____

_____

36. Sepedi: Naa barutiši ba lena ba a le hlohleletša gore le bolele Sepedi ka phapošing ya borutelo?

English: Do your teachers encourage you if you speak Sepedi inside the classroom?

_____

_____

_____

37. Sepedi: Naa bokamoso bja Sepedi modikarolong tše dingwe tša Limpopo Province o bo bona bjang?

English: How do you anticipate the future of the Standard Sepedi language in other areas of Limpopo Province?

_____

_____

_____

38. Sepedi: Naa polelo yeo o e bolelago le bagwera bagago e dira motswakonyana le polelo ya gago ge o ngwala mošomo ka phapošing?

  English: Does the language you speak with your friends in the street corners, not affect your language performance in your classroom?

_____

_____

39. Sepedi: Naa maikutlo a gago ke a afe mabapi le go rutwa ga Sepedi bjalo ka thutwana mo dikolong?

English: Comment in a few sentences, what are your views concerning the study of Sepedi language as a subject at school?

_____

_____

_____

APPENDIX 3

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE EDUCATORS FROM KOTOLE SECONDARY SCHOOL

1. Surname and name of respondent : **Alison Mashego**

2. Age: **50 years**

3. Gender **: Male**

4. Academic qualification **: Matriculation**

5. Professional **: Secondary Teachers Diploma**

6. Ethnic group: **Sepedi**

7. Home Language **: Sepedi**

8. Do you know tsotsitaal or to speaks other dialects**: Yes**

9. When you are with your friends which language, do you speak at school? : **Sepedi, English and Serwa.**

10. Which language do you speak with your family at home? **Sepedi**

11. Do you speak to your learners in standard Sepedi or dialects? **: I speak Serwa when it is necessary to do so**.

12. If in standard Sepedi, what is their response? **: They also speak the standard language.**

13. If in tsotsitaal/ dialects, what is their response? **: They become excited**.

14. Do you think is right for you as a teacher to speak dialect/ tsotsitaal?: **Yes**

15. If Yes why? If No why**? It is because the present generation of learners do not know the real standard Sepedi language, so one finds oneself being compelled to speak the language, which they understand so well.**

16. Do you reprimand/ encourage your learners when they speak tsotsitaal/ their dialects inside the classroom? : **Yes, I do reprimand them.**

17. How do you anticipate the future of tsotsitaal in other areas, especially in Limpopo province? : **I see it growing and expanding, it will reach a stage when the educational authorities will accept it.**

18. How do you anticipate the future of standard Pedi language in other provinces, especially Limpopo province? : **In the long run, the standard of Pedi language would be so much more difficult because it would be contaminated by dialects. It is very bleak.**

19. When giving pupils an essay to write in Sepedi, do you at times\ always use tsotsi\dialect words**? : Always**.

20. How do you correct that situation? **: I find myself in a problematic situation. I underline the dialect word, and, write the correct word. Nevertheless, I do not penalize them for doing that.**

21. What could be the reason for those tsotsi\dialect in your opinion? **: Firstly, it is the lack of appropriate standardized words. Secondly, their vocabulary is too limited; it is dominated by dialects that they are speaking at their home.**

22. How do you strike the balance between the language you speak outside the classroom and the language you speak inside the classroom? **: It's a problematic situation, though you can prepare thoroughly for a lesson, but one finds himself speaking dialects, one condescend to the level of understanding of the learners**. **It is difficult to raise the standard of Pedi in the classroom situation. Again, I always try to speak the standard language**.

APPENDIX 3

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE EDUCATORS FROM MOTODI SECONDARY

1 Surname and name of respondent: **Shoba Thokwane**

1.   Age: **46 years**

2.   Gender : **Female**

3.   Academic qualification :   **Matriculation**

4.   Professional : **Senior Primary Teachers Diploma**

5.   Ethnic group: **Sepedi**

6.   Home Language **: Sepedi**

7.   Do you know tsotsitaal or to speaks other dialects: **Yes**

8.   When you are with your friends which language do you speak at school: **We mix Sepedi, English and Afrikaans**

9.   Which language do you speak with your family at home? : **Sepedi**

10.   Do you speak to your learners in standard Sepedi or dialects**? I speak standard Sepedi language and sometimes-in Kone, Serwa to drive a certain point home**.

11.   If in standard Sepedi, what is their response? : **They have difficulty in expressing themselves in standard Pedi.**

12.   If in tsotsitaal/ dialects, what is their response? : **They become happy when I speak the language which is relevant to them.**

13.   Do you think is right for you as a teacher to speak dialect/ tsotsitaal?:**YES/ NO**

14.   If Yes why? If No why? **: Yes, because we must maintain the standard Pedi language.**

15.   Do you reprimand/ encourage your learners when they speak tsotsitaal/ dialects inside the classroom? **I discourage them**.

16.   How do you anticipate the future of tsotsitaal in other areas, especially in Limpopo province**? : I foresee dialects playing a dominant role. In fact it is gaining momentum.**

17.   How do you anticipate the future of standard Pedi language in other provinces, especially Limpopo province? **The future of the standard Pedi language needs to be looked at carefully. It is fading.**

18.   When giving pupils an essay to write in Sepedi, do you at times\ always use tsotsi\dialect words? **: Always**.

19.   How do you correct that situation? **Give the relevant words instead of a dialect word in the essay, and scratch the dialect word.**

20.   What could be the reason for those tsotsi\dialect in your opinion? **The reason is the environment, which is influencing them strongly.**

21.   How do you strike the balance between the language you speak outside the classroom and the language you speak inside the classroom? : **It is a matter of adjusting your language with the different people you meet and the different situations you find yourself in.**

22.   How do you strike the balance between the language you speak outside the classroom and the language you speak inside the classroom? **It is a matter of adjusting your language with the different people you meet and the different situations you find yourself in. I always try to speak the standard language. I sometimes speak dialects to drive some points home.**

APPENDIX 4

Long Conversations

Setting: Nape a Ngwato School

The following conventional rules will be followed in discussing code switching and borrowing:

1.   English = Bold
2.   Sepedi words or sentences = underlined
3.   Enlish Translation = (   )

In order to identify the factors determining code switching, examples of different interactions will be presented.

The following data was collected in real life situations by Nape a Ngwato High School learners in Limpopo province. The conversations are between an educator and learner and have been selected to exemplify particular but typical phenomena.

Learner: Le ruta Sepedi bomme? (Do you teach Sepedi ladies?)

Educator: Ke eng bjale? (What now?)

Learner: Ke ka lebaka la eng le sa re hlohleletše gore re ithute go bolela Sepedi le re tlogela re hlakanya Sepedi le dipolelo tše dingwe?

(Why do you not encourage us to learn Sepedi, so that we must not mix Sepedi with other language?)

Educator: Le swanetše le se rutwe ke bo mang? (Who must teach you Sepedi?)

Learner: Ga re sa bolela Sepedi gabotse re sepela re se hlakanya le dipolelo tše dingwe.

(We no longer speak Sepedi correctly; we mix it with other languages.)

Educator: Tšeo ke ditaba tša lena, sepelang le yo botšiša batswadi ba lena, le re ba le rute **primary education, basic education.** Kganthe gaba re **charity begins at home, language** ye e bolelwago ka gae ke **language** yeo o swanetšego go e bolela, mo sekolong re le ruta **formal language**.

(It is your own responsibility, go and ask your parents, tell them to teach you

primary education, basic education, when it is said charity begins at home, the language you speak at home is the language you should speak, even if you are here at school, here we can say that we teach formal language.)

Learner: <u>Re tla tseba Sepedi bjang le sa re rute sona?</u> (How will we know it without you teaching it to us?)

Educator: <u>Re tla le ruta</u> **if ever** <u>wena o sa se bolele ga geno</u>, and as educators <u>re swanetše go le hlohleletša</u> **not to speak** <u>Sepedi only gobane le tlo ya</u> <u>ditoropong</u> **where you must going to mix the languages and where you must communicate, this is the era** <u>moo e lego gore makgowa a ruta</u> **dilanguage** <u>tša rena</u> **and in South Africa it is even worse because we have eleven official languages.**
(We will teach you if ever you do not speak it at home and as teachers, we must encourage you not to speak Sepedi only because you are going towns where you are going to mix languages, where you must communicate, this era were Europeans teach our languages and in South Africa it is even worse because we have eleven official languages)

Educator: **Charity begins at home; the home is the place where you live, where you learn everything from your mother, your father and siblings. The community outside, they are just going to support you**, <u>bona batla go supporta ka dilo tšeo o di rutilwego ka lapeng. Ngwana wa ka o tsena sekolo makgoweng, ge a tsena ka gae it is my duty as a parent, gore ke bone gore ngwana o bolela polelo ya ka gae. Sekolong a ka bolela sekgowa eupsa o swanetše go tseba segagabo.Go rutega ga se gore o swanetše go lahla segageno, segageno ke</u> **identity** <u>ya gago, ge bare</u> **identify yourself** <u>ditšhabeng tše dingwe o tla</u> **i identifaya** <u>bjang? Lena ke lena le swanetšego</u> go **rectifaya** mistake woo. If le a o bona o **rectifayeng**.
(Charity begins at home; the home is the place where you live, where you learn everything from your mother, from your father and from your siblings. The surrounding community would then support you with what you have learned or have been taught at home. My daughter attends an English medium school, but when she arrives home, it is my duty as a parent to make sure that she speaks her home language. At school, there is no problem using any other language for interaction but at home she knows her culture. To be educated does not mean that an individual must neglect their culture. A person's culture is their identity, when it is said that you must identity yourself to other nations how will you identify yourself. You are the person who must rectify the mistake, as you are well aware of that mistake)

Educator: <u>Lena Bapedi le bo keta ka leleme. Ketakaleleme ke motho yowe a thopšago ka mogopo. Bapedi ba **sacrifice**-a ka polelo ya bona. Le tshaba go bolela polelo ya lena. Mopedi o etela Gauteng beke feela, ga a bowa, o bolela mehlolo.</u>

(You Bapedi – you behave like foreigners to your language, because you make your language seem foreign. When somebody is called a foreigner, it is because he/she makes his/her language foreign. Bapedi sacrifice their language to please others, it seems they are ashamed of their language. Mopedi can visit Gauteng for only one week, and come back he/she will be speaking wonders.)

Learner: <u>Go lokile bomma, šalang gabotse</u>.

     (Okay mothers, goodbye)

Educator: **Thanks for going**.

1.2 Analysis of Data from Learners answers

What follows here comprises a summary of answers to the research questionnaire. The questionnaire has 39 questions. These questions can be divided into two types. The first type comprises those questions aimed at getting information on Sepedi and its dialects that are spoken in Limpopo province. The second type of question sought information on general. Question **7,13,14,16,17,26,28,31** and belong to the former and questions **13,15,18,19,20,21,27,29,and 30** belong to the latter.

Summary of answers to the above-mentioned types is as follows:

<u>Question 7</u>

This question aimed at getting a learners home language. Most learners indicate that they are Sepedi speakers in Limpopo.

<u>Question 8</u>

The question aimed at getting information about the language mostly used in schools. For this question, English is the language mostly used in schools.

<u>Question 11</u>

The question aimed at getting information about how much knowledge of Sepedi the teachers who teach the language have. Different views are given to this question. Some

learners believe that their teachers know Sepedi because they speak it without mixing it with other languages, when teachers speak; learners can understand what they say. Some learners mentioned that their teachers do not know Sepedi well.

Example answers are as follows:

1. Barutiši ba ka ba bolela polelo ya Sepedi ka gobane ba a e tseba. (My teachers speak the language Sepedi because they know it)
2. Ge ba bolela ke a ba kwešiša ka gobane gaba tswake le dipolelo tše dingwe.(When they speak I understand, they do not mix with other languages)
3. Bothata bjo re nalego le bjona ke barutiši bao basa tsebego Sepedi, ba tlilego mo Limpopo province go tla go nyaka mošomo gomme ba dumelelwa go se ruta. (The problem we have is of teachers who do not know Sepedi, who came here in Limpopo province to seek jobs and were allowed to teach it)
4. Ke gore go thwalwe batho bao ba tsebago Sepedi gore ba se rate.(It means that people who know Sepedi should be hired so that they teach it)

Question 2

This question sought to get information on the number of dialect spoken in Limpopo province. Most learners choose Sepedi, Serwa and other languages. The choice of the Sepedi language and other languages is the indication that learners still do not know the difference between a dialect and language. The choice of Sepedi, Pulana and Kone indicates that learners have no knowledge that Pulana, Kone, Sepedi are all dialects.

Question 13

This question sought information on learners' views on Sepedi as language taught in school. Most learners showed that they like Sepedi, they understand it, know how to write it and they can speak as the following answer states:

Nna Sepedi ke a serata, ke a setseba ebile ke tseba le go sengwala
(I like Sepedi; I know it and I can write it)

Question 15

The question aimed at getting information of the reasons why learners found themselves greeting each other they way they do.

The general view is that they spend most of their time with their friends, they do this to please their friends, and everybody needs to be accepted by the peer group. It is show off that one understands their language.

Example answers:

1.   E mongwe le e mongwe, o nyaka gore bagwera ba gagwe ba mo kwe gore o kgona go bolela scamtho sa majita, o kene majiteng ga bonolo o bontšhe go hlalefa go go itšeng go bagwera ba gago. (Everyone wants to show his/her friends that he/she knows the language of the group, he/she has entered easily into the group, to show them that he/she is advanced.)

2.   Ke ikhweditše ke se ke bolelago polelo ya tseleng gobane ga ntši ke fetša nako ke le setarateng kena le bagwera baka.

(I find myself speaking street language because most of the time I am with friends on the street.)

Question 19

The question sought information on how the street language affects learners' relationships with their parents, teachers, religions leaders and other adults.

From the learners' point of view, they are so used to this language that they cannot live without it .The street language does not have any negative impact on their relations with the only speak the language when they are with their peers.

Examples of responses to question 19:

Polelo yeo o e bolelago seterateng ga e swane le yeo o e bolelago le batswadi, barutiši le baruti. Bathong ba bagolo bana ba swanetše go kgetha mantšu ge ba bolela, ba šomiše le mantšu a tlhompho. (The language we speak in the street is not similar to the one we use when we speaking to our parents, teachers and ministers. When speaking to these people, we are forced by the situation to choose words especially words, which show respect.)

Question 20

This question is aimed at getting learners views about the reasons why they find themselves in situations of being influenced by other languages. Most learners indicated that they found themselves adversely influenced by other languages because they live with people of different languages and cultures; they attend school together, and spend a lot of time with speakers of other languages.

1.   Ke ka mabaka,a gore re kopane le merafe e mentsi, baPulane, baTlokwa, Mandebele, baVenda, baTsonga, ke ka moo re ikhwetsago re wetse ka gare ga dipolelo tse dingwe ka ntle ga polelo yeo re swanetsego go e bolela (It is because we mix with different cultures, BaPulana, BaTlokwa, Bakone, Mandebele, BaVenda,BaTsonga that is why we find ourselves influenced by other languages.)

Question 27

The question aimed at getting learners views about measures that can be taken to ensure an improved standard of Sepedi in Limpopo province. Learner's responses are as follows:

1.   Ke nagana gore ge ba ka refa dipuiku gore re bala…
(I think that if books can be provided so that they can be read…)
2. Ge go ka thogwa mekgatlo ya baswa, gomme e etelwe pele ke batho bao banago le tsebo ya Sepedi ba dire mekgatlo gore ba kgonego ruta batho ba bangwe bohlokwa bja polelo ya Sepedi. (Youth organizations led by people knowledgeable in Sepedi should be established or conferences be held to teach people the importance of Sepedi)

Question 29

This question sought to get information about how spoken language differs from the written language. The general opinion of the learners is that the language taught in schools differs from the everyday spoken Sepedi.

Example answers:

29   Sepedi se se bolelwago se fapana le se se ngwalwago gobane go na le mantšu a o a sego gona Sepeding eupša ge ba ngwala ba šomiša maadingwa.

(Spoken Sepedi is different from the written one because there are words which do not exist in Sepedi but writers used borrowed words)

General Comment about Learners Answers

From the data collected from learners, it is clear that they know and speak Sepedi. Some learners state emphatically that it is good to study Sepedi language at school because it preserves the culture of Sepedi speakers, which they inherited from their parents. Other learners categorically that it is of no use to study Sepedi because English is the dominant language.

According to the informants, female learners say that they know other dialects, but do not like it because it spoils the standards of the language. To them studying Sepedi is good and should continue. On the other hand, male learners feel differently. Finally, learners feel that the Grade 12 First Paper (P1) of Sepedi should be based on the context of their situation, rather than to be based on things, which are remote to them

Analyse of data from educators/teachers answers

Two of the educators who were interviewed assert that they know and speak dialects inside and outside the classroom. They state that they use dialect words inside the classroom to be on the same level of understanding with learners rather than to be too abstract.

According to them, learners do not understand the standard language that is used in the teaching and learning situation. They say that in compositions they always find dialect words as standard words. From the information supplied by them, they felt that the standard language is threatened by dialects. They are seriously worried about the future of the standard language