Investigating the retention of Kokni lexicon among the youth of Cape Town's Kokni community

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by

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COMPULSORY DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the reward of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

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I was, am, and will always be immensely grateful for this incredible opportunity. Thank you.

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**The interview data and consent forms are not attached, but are available if needed.*

ABSTRACT

Originating in the Konkan coast of Maharashtra, India, a large group of people immigrated to South Africa. The migrations took place in the period of colonialism in the Cape and Natal, and sometimes extended into the later Union and Apartheid periods. These people have settled into living in Cape Town and could essentially be the largest Kokni group outside of India. Generations later, the language "Kokni" is still spoken (maintained) among the Kokni people. However, this is true for the elders, as they still maintain strong ties to India. The Kokni youngsters however have shifted away from the Kokni language as a result of the schooling system in which English and Afrikaans are dominant. Despite this, some youth still maintain various lexical items from the Kokni language in their everyday conversations in which English and Afrikaans are dominant.

The study at hand set out to determine which Kokni lexicon (vocabulary) categories had survived and are still maintained among the post-shift generation of the Kokni youth, who now have English as their main language and Afrikaans as their second language. Additional emphasis was on determining whether gender, birth order, or grandparents in the home affects retention of the Kokni language lexicon (vocabulary). In order to do so, 40 Capetonians of Kokni descent, of both sexes between 18 to 35 years, born and raised in Cape Town, were recorded taking part in sociolinguistic interviews. The mixed-method approach was used to gather the background demographics and lexicon of the youth. Afterward, the data was organised and analysed using Guttman scaling; known as implicational scaling in Linguistics (Guttman, 1944; Babbie, 2011; Mesthrie, Chevalier & McLachlan, 2015).

The data shows evidence of particular lexical categories being maintained more than others. Kinship terminology, typical food dishes, counting and every day vocabulary are among these aforementioned lexical categories. This confirms that the Kokni youth have shifted away from the language, toward English and Afrikaans, yet maintained some Kokni lexical categories.

LIST OF FIGURES AND TABLES:

1. Introduction

1.1 Background

South African citizens are people from diverse linguistic, ethnic, and religious backgrounds. The City of Cape Town is one of South Africa's major cities, with a population between three and four million people (Statistics South Africa, Census, 2011). Among these millions of citizens, various Indian communities are found.

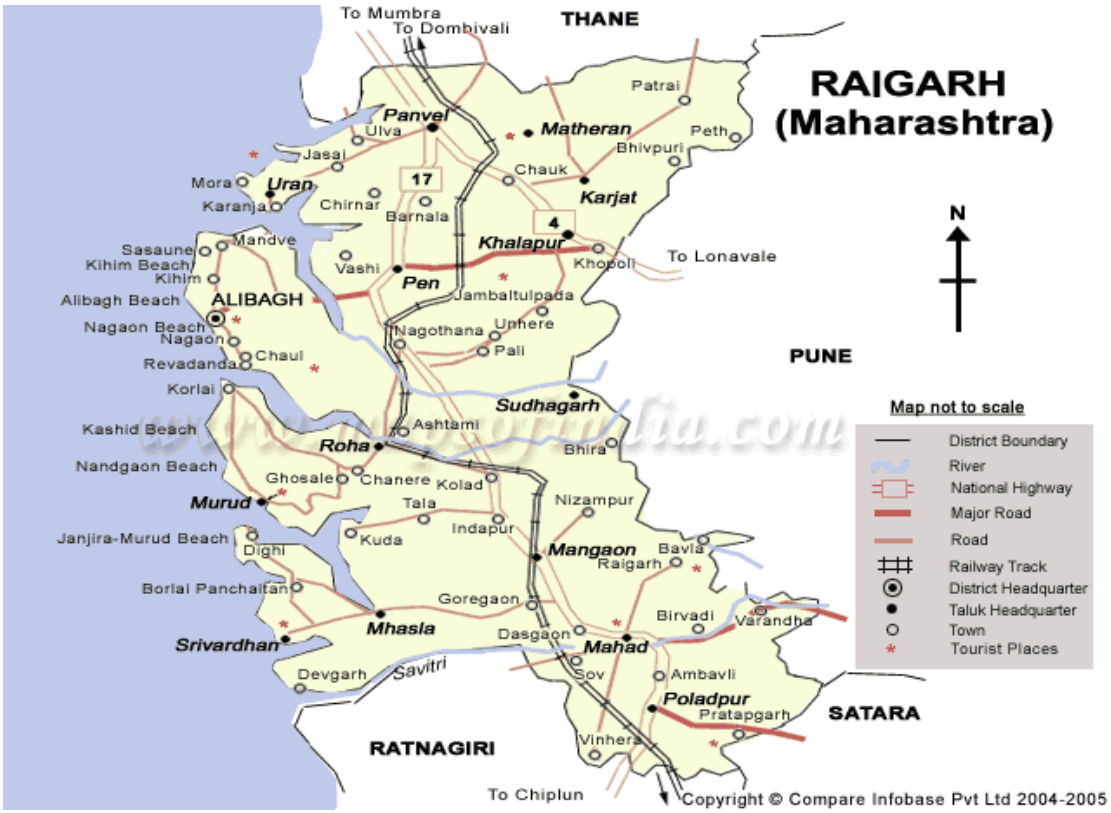
The community of focus for this research study is that of the Kokni Indian community in Cape Town. This community is comprised of descendants from people originating on the Konkan Coast (areas of Maharashtra) in India. The Konkan Coast extends into Goa and Karnataka further south. These descendants form the largest sector of the population of Indian descent in Cape Town (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2016: 2), and according to the 2011 Census, 1.4% of Cape Town's population are from the Indian or Asian population groups (42.4% Coloured; 38.6% Black African; 15.7% White; and 1.9% Other; Statistics South Africa, Census, 2011:2). Kokni (known as Konkani in India) is the heritage language of Cape Town's Kokni Indian community and it is the language still spoken in South Africa today by its members. This language has existed in South Africa, mainly Cape Town, for over 125 years and the Cape Town community of Kokni speakers is entirely Muslim (Mesthrie, Kulkarni-Joshi & Paradkar, 2017:73 & 78). 'Konkani' is the spelling used in India, and 'Kokni' is the spelling used in Cape Town. This is because the members of the Cape Town community refer to the former as the variety used in India in contrast to the Cape Town variety that evolved. The same could be true for the language in other communities outside of India, however, this will not be focused on in this research study. The spelling 'Kokni' is therefore used in this dissertation to refer to the Cape Town variety of Konkani.

Kokni in Cape Town and in other parts of South Africa has not been extensively studied. A preliminary study on Kokni in Cape Town has been published by Mesthrie, Kulkarni-Joshi and Paradkar (2017) describing the community, its history and the Kokni language in the Cape. They found the survival of Kokni remarkable; the main location for Kokni is in the Cape Town area, it is the home language of a noticeably smaller Indian community that is entirely Muslim, and the community utilises Urdu in writing, as opposed to Kokni (Mesthrie, Kulkarni-Joshi & Paradkar, 2017:77). Because of these factors, the authors believe that South

African Kokni is noticeably at a disadvantage, which will make "further long-term maintenance a significant challenge" (Mesthrie, Kulkarni-Joshi & Paradkar, 2017:77). This challenge is due to the fact that Kokni is in competition with languages such as English and Afrikaans in the Cape, as 35.69% of the population are first language speakers of Afrikaans, 29.82% are first language speakers of isiXhosa, and 28.40% are first language speakers of English (Statistics South Africa, Census, 2011). This dissertation, on the other hand, will focus primarily on the Kokni lexicon among the English and Afrikaans dominant youth (i.e. people between the ages of 18 and 35), who have English as their main language and Afrikaans as their second language. These younger community members were interviewed to investigate the research aim (see section 1.3) of determining which categories of Kokni lexicon were retained among the youth of the Kokni Community in Cape Town.

There was a noticeable pattern of geographic mobility of Cape Town's Indian population, mentioned by Dhupelia-Mesthrie (2009). She stated the Indians that came to South Africa can be placed into two categories. These categories are the indentured Indians, and the 'free' or 'passenger' Indians. The latter category of Indians arrived post 1875 (Mesthrie, Kulkarni-Joshi & Paradkar, 2017:77), and is the one in focus for this dissertation.

Map 1: Raigad District (Maharashtra), India



Source: http://www.kcl.org.uk/index.html

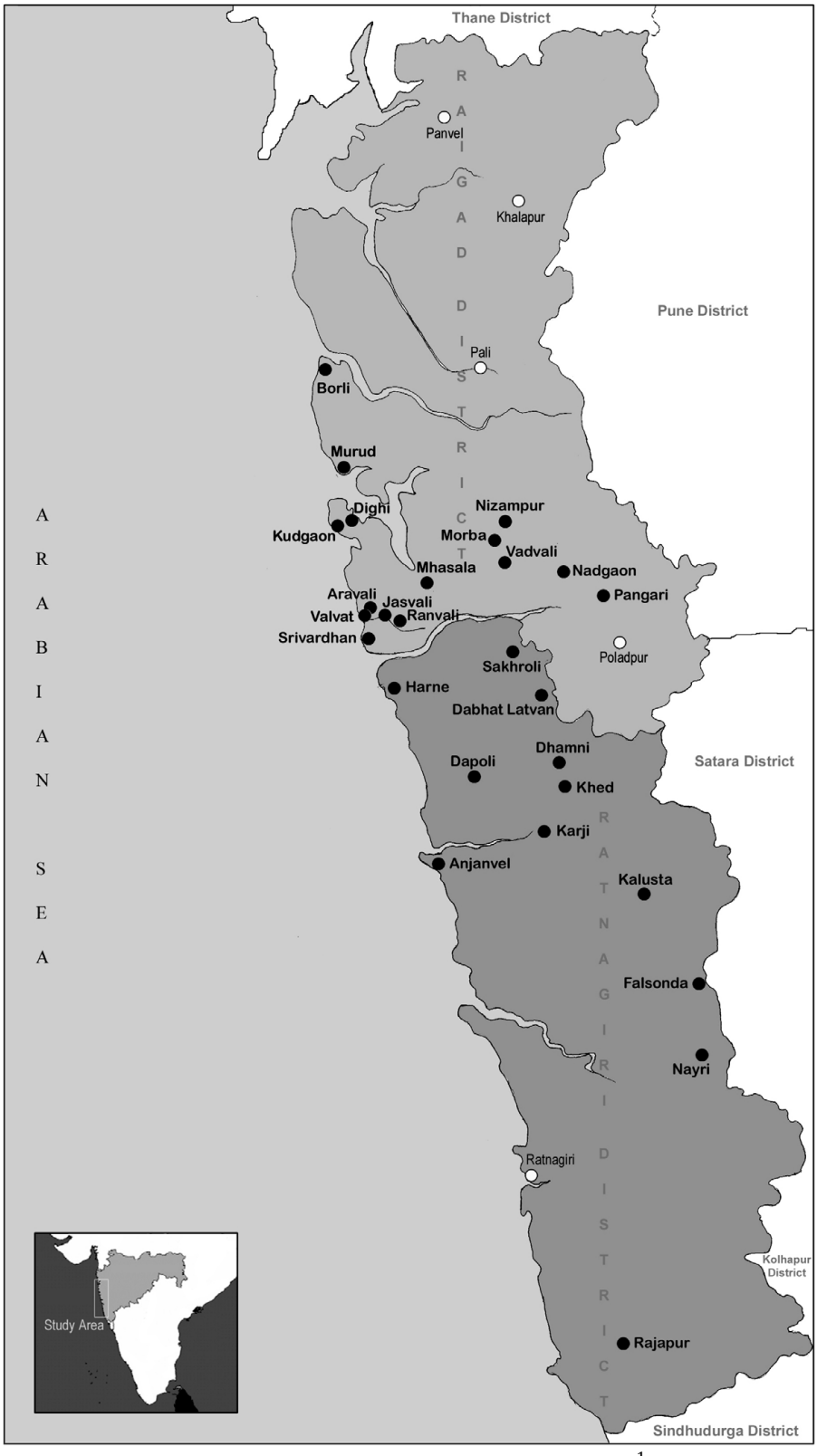
The second category of Indians are those who travelled at their own expense from India, among others, as traders to search for new opportunities.

Maps 1 and 2 are of the Raigarh and Ratnagiri districts of India, which are the locations of Cape Town Koknis' original villages. Map 3 shows the location of these districts within India.

Map 2: Ratnagiri District (Maharashtra), India

Source: http://mahasainik.com/Districts/Ratnagiri.aspx

Map 3: Ratnagiri and Raigad Districts within India



Source: R. Mesthrie, S. Kulkarni-Joshi, and R. Paradkar (2017:79)[1]

[1] Permission for use of Map 3 obtained from Mesthrie, R.

Indian Background of Kokni speakers

Based on information gathered from various participants, their families, and informants, their ancestors' background in India can be considered according to the generalised experiences and practices of (a) men, and (b) women and children.

It was stated that the men who came from India had little to no formal education as they were mainly from poor agricultural villages and they immigrated from these villages to Cape Town following the example set by others that were in similar situations searching for alternate sources of work (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2009:115). The men would commonly travel between their home villages in India and their place of work (in Cape Town), as often as every three or five years, based on their family situations. For example, if their parents, spouse and/or children were all living in India, the men were more likely to travel to meet them. Whereas if their parents, spouse and/or children lived with them (in Cape Town), they would not travel as often to India.

Similarly to the men, the woman, also possessed little to no formal education. They would instead be informally educated by their parents, most likely their mothers. The marriages, back in that time, were arranged when the children were still young and often from within the same village or from the surrounding group of villages. If the husbands of these women immigrated to Cape Town and could afford to bring them (the parents and/or the children) to live with them in Cape Town, then one of two scenarios were likely. Either the family also immigrated to the Cape and lived there with the spouse (and perhaps searched for jobs), or the family came to the Cape, but were not able to adapt and therefore returned to India without the male spouse. The situation was quite different from what Indians in Natal experienced, where the indentured workers were "physically cut off from India to a much greater extent" (Mesthrie, Kulkarni-Joshi & Paradkar, 2017:77).

Background in South Africa

Firstly, the Kokni Indians travelled from the Konkan villages in India to Mumbai, by road and/or by boat. Thereafter, the Kokni Indians came to Cape Town in two noticeable ways. The most common itinerary was to travel to Cape Town directly from Mumbai, via Durban which was a compulsory docking point. A less common alternative was for some people to stay over in Durban, work there and eventually move to Cape Town. This was mentioned by some interviewees in connection with original migrants, but no one knew of an ancestor to

whom it applied. These routes taken depended on the purpose for their travels, and whether the individual was male or female. The older males would travel to obtain work, the younger males would travel to accompany older males in order to help them (in shops, for example), and the females would only travel if having to accompany their child or to live with their spouse that was already working and residing in Cape Town.

As stated, for the less common route, the person travelled to Durban's port by ship, worked in Durban for a period of time, and then travelled to Cape Town. The reason for their travel to Cape Town would be for better prospects or monetary gain. The men generally only knew about farming, but later learnt about doing business by working in shops, and later opened their own, if possible. There were, however, no participants that mentioned that their ancestors took this route, but recalled that there were people outside of their family who did.

The other route was directly to Cape Town. People came to Cape Town either via Durban's shipping port or by road. The participants recalled that their ancestors travelled by ship to Cape Town, but they could not elaborate on the issue. The reasoning for this route was for the people to meet their families that were already residing and working in Cape Town. The people that used this route were usually women and/or children who had come to live with their families working in Cape Town. These cases of female mobility also primarily occurred because of a law that did not permit minors to travel unaccompanied, therefore the mothers would have to accompany their children (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2014: 644). They therefore had to adapt to living in a new environment, wearing different types of clothing, working in their family businesses, and learning new languages, mainly English and Afrikaans (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2014: 655). Because of this, they would seek out familiarity from those that had also come from the villages of India.

On the other hand, the men who took the Cape Town-direct route did so for better, more lucrative employment or to help out in businesses now owned by family already residing in Cape Town. This was because those who have settled with businesses would call for their families to help out and live with them. The men would often have a wife in Cape Town (in order to obtain citizenship to enable them to reside permanently in Cape Town so that they would not be at risk of being forcefully sent back to India) and a wife in India (some of whom joined their husbands later on). Alternatively, Indian wives were sometimes abandoned. This new family dynamic with local Cape women challenged the idea of

“Indianness” and for some of the people, especially for the children, “India receded” (Dhupelia-Mesthrie, 2009:19).

However, for the Kokni community, this is not the case, as the Cape Town Koknis still maintained strong links and relations to the villages and districts of India, from where they originated. They maintained a great sense of awareness of this fact and often it was found that the various village-based societies would hold "fairly regular meetings" (Mesthrie, Kulkarni-Joshi & Paradkar, 2017:78). These meetings stabilized the family history and heritage of these villages from the main districts of origin: Ratnagiri and Raigard (Mesthrie, Kulkarni-Joshi & Paradkar, 2017:78; see Maps 1 and 2).

The Kokni language

In South Africa, speakers of the Kokni language can still be found. Many of them are Kokni descendants born and raised in Cape Town and all of whom are Muslim (Mesthrie, Kulkarni-Joshi & Paradkar, 2017:73). Considering Mesthrie’s (1991) work on Bhojpuri-Hindi in South Africa, which has similarities to that of Kokni, the following assumption can be made: similar to various other Indian languages within South Africa, Kokni can be considered a receding or obsolescent language. The reasoning behind this claim is that the youth have grown up as English-Afrikaans bilinguals as these are the compulsory languages implemented for learning in South African education, as well as being two of the major three languages spoken in Cape Town, the third being Xhosa. As a result of this, there has been a significant shift away from Kokni. This would result in the youth possessing a limited knowledge of the language. Some of which would either have partial knowledge of Kokni, whereas others would have no knowledge of the language. Realising that some of the younger generation still have some knowledge of Kokni provided the impetus for this research topic.

1.2 Studying selected Kokni semantic fields: a research project initiated

Based on the researcher’s observations and experiences as a community member she decided to run a pilot study between March and June 2016. The purpose of this pilot was to gain a closer sense of knowledge of Kokni amongst the youth of this Kokni community in Cape Town. The pilot focused on a small group of people from the Cape Latvan Society (CLS); one of the Cape’s Kokni societies that originated from India. The society's namesake is the *Latvan* village found in rural Maharashtra, India, from where a majority of the CLS members is descendants. The language repertoires and potential language retention of the Kokni youth

was investigated. Through the pilot interviews conducted with six youth members of this society, a noticeable pattern of retention (knowledge) of Kokni lexicon emerged.

The preliminary enquiries on patterns of retention suggested the following: the Kokni vocabularies for items used in the home, such as food and kinship terminology, were more likely to be retained than other terminology. This led the focus in the follow up study on discovering which lexical categories of Kokni terminology are more likely to be known by its descendants (youth) in Cape Town.

Furthermore, the pilot study helped identify further lexical items and a more suitable method of collecting data. The pilot used a language test, which showed illustrations of items to elicit the Kokni word. The illustrations were sometimes confusing and the participants became disheartened by the notion of a test. Therefore, this research study used a lexicon list instead. This eliminated the issue of a time limited, written test and replaced it with an engaging conversation between the interviewer and interviewee. See Chapter 3.2 for further details on the data collection procedure of this study.

1.3 Research aim, objectives & question

The main research question of this study is: "What categories of Kokni lexicon are known among the Kokni youth in Cape Town?" The focus is on the youth of Kokni descent in Cape Town and their Kokni language. Unlike the pilot, which only focused on The Cape Latvan Society, the youth of this study could be from any of the Kokni societies in Cape Town, to name a few: *Janjira Habsani Society, The Kalusta Karjiker Educational Society, The Cape Latvan Society, the South African Morba Social Society,* and others.

For this dissertation, it is hypothesized that among the Kokni youth, there are particular categories of the lexicon of the Kokni language that is retained (known) better than other categories of the same language. An additional hypothesis is that the categorical vocabularies known are those that are frequently used in the household, and kinship terminology for both paternal and maternal family members.

As this dissertation aims to investigate the Kokni lexicon and its retention, it is important to consider the social factors that influence this retention. Therefore, there is a focus on determining whether gender, birth order, or the presence of grandparents in the home influence the participants' knowledge of the Kokni language lexicon. As an additional aim,

the study will investigate the youth's attitude toward the Kokni language, and examine whether or not they believe it is relevant to know and learn.

1.4 Dissertation Outline

The outline of this dissertation is as follows: Chapter Two discusses literature related to mobility, language, repertoires, and retention. The chapter is divided into three sections, 1) mobility, 2) language use, 3) language retention. The first section discusses effects of mobility in terms of language shift, change and variation. Section two considers language use in terms of repertoires, communities and attitudes, and the third section puts emphasis on the role of gender, birth order, kinship, and multigenerational homes with regard to language use and retention.

The data collection and methodology utilized in the study is described in Chapter Three. The chapter is divided into four sections: 1) the participants as sample group; 2) data collection procedure; 3) ethical considerations; and 4) method of analysis. The first section maps out the social factors of age, gender, and birth order. Section 3.2 outlines the tools used to collect the data, how participants were found, the structure and methods used for the interviews, and how the data was transcribed. The third section provides a discussion of the ethics of the research study. Lastly, section four describes the methods used to analyse the data collected.

Chapter Four is the analysis chapter, which is split into two sections, namely (4.1) and (4.2). Both sections present data in implicational scales for each category (and subcategory). These are used to display the terms known by participants in the study. Each gender is represented by their own implicational scales and are discussed individually, and as a whole, in both sections. The categories focused on in section 4.1 are: colour terminology, body parts, cooking terminology (methods, kitchen utensils, typical dishes and ingredients), and numerical terms. Section 4.2 focuses primarily on kinship terminology, and touches on various miscellaneous terms. Each category is analysed in terms of a brief line analysis, participant demographic analysis, and a brief explanation for the data found.

Finally, Chapter Six summarises the findings of this study. In addition to this, what was learnt, problems that arose, limitations and restrictions of research, and suggestions for future studies are all outlined.

2. Literature Review

This chapter provides an overview of the theoretical framework and concepts used in this study. The focus is to review relevant literature on the aforementioned theoretical framework and the corresponding concepts. This chapter is divided into various sections, each discussing literature related to the topic at hand. These topics are namely: mobility (language maintenance and shift, as well as language variation and change), language use (repertoires, communities, and attitudes), and language vocabulary retention (including the retention influencing social factors of age, birth order, kinship and multigenerational homes).

1. Mobility: language maintenance & shift, change, and variation

The concept of mobility encompasses many facets, some of which are: language maintenance, language shift, language variation, and lastly, language change. These interlinked aspects are relevant to the study of Kokni; in the sense that it seems to have changed some facets of the language as a result of its mobility to and within Cape Town.

1.1 Language maintenance & shift

Kulick's (1992) work focused on language shift, its stages, and the shift of language among individuals of various groups. An important group that was focused on was that of immigrants and their consequent descending generations. He mentioned authors such as Boyd (1985), Clyne (1982) and Fishman (1964), who highlighted that there is a period between the emerging stages of shift, and its completion that has shown to be significantly unstable (Kulick, 1992: 248). According to these authors, in the immigrant group, this period is known to extend minimally to three generations. In indigenous (non-migratory) situations this could also extend to approximately three generations after significant contact, which Dorian (1981) documents in the case of the languages such as Scottish Gaelic, and Hill and Hill's (1986) study on Nahuatl in Mexico (Kulick, 1992:248).

Kulick (1992:248) emphasised that when it comes to language shift, the literature proposes that individuals are believed to begin learning the dominant language or languages that come to be thought as more useful in certain important contexts. Additionally, this occurs when there is a large-scale in-migration of members of the dominant group where that language is used broadly (Kulick, 1992:249). Kokni in Cape Town is a minority language, well behind English, Afrikaans and isiXhosa in numbers, and it is not very well known outside the Indian community.

With regard to language shift and language maintenance, there have been several theoretical and experimental studies done across generations. Abdalla (2006) highlighted some of these intergenerational works by authors such as Schiffman (1995), Al-Khatub (2001), Ramachandran (2000), Lay (1997), Slavik (2001), and David (1996). These studies all show that the dominant language has become more important, as the speakers of the minority language had shifted toward it. An example of this is in the study conducted by Schiffman (1995; cited in Abdalla, 2006) in Malaysia, where it was found that Tamils who were educated were shifting toward the use of English. The next example is where language maintenance and shift was explored among the Maltese Canadians, which uncovered that this ethnic group made up of post-World War II settlers had attempted to maintain their language (Slavik, 2001 cited in Abdalla, 2006). Here it was found that among the first generation, the Maltese language was broadly used. However this was not the case for the next generation, where the language was not used in any domain. With regard to these types of cases, Ramachandran (2000) found that when it comes to the younger generation of any of these types of communities, the dominant language being utilised was English.

On the other hand, the study on Malaysian citizens born in Saudi Arabia and (the same generation) moved to Malaysia yielded different results. The language of this minority group; Arabic, was not the same as the dominant language of the country: Malay (Abdalla, 2006:103). These Arabized Malays did not encounter any cultural problems when utilising Arabic in speech. This was because their root culture was Malay, and in Malaysia, their Arabic culture was welcomed. The reasoning behind this was because of the Arabic language being highly regarded, and respected in the country as it was a significantly "strong factor for people to maintain their language" (Abdalla, 2006:103). According to Holmes (1992:63), "There are certain social factors, which seem to retard wholesale language shift for minority language group…language is considered an important symbol of a minority group's identity, for example the language is likely to be maintained longer." Therefore with regard to the Arabized Malays, despite living in a non-Arabic dominant language country, the people experienced no loss of the Arabic language in any way (Abdalla, 2006:114). This study on Kokni could therefore follow any of these possibilities, where either the minority language *Kokni* will be maintained or there will be a major shift occurring toward the dominant language, either *English* or *Afrikaans.*

Considering immigrant minorities, Chini (2011) speaks about particular criteria that could assist in identifying these groups. This criteria consists of (a) the existence of an immigrant

community that shares the same culture and language, and (b) the creation of institutions that are specific to this community and is based on culture, sport, religion and union (Chini, 2011:52). The Kokni community in this study filled both these criteria in the sense that they share the same Muslim-Indian culture and the Kokni language, as well as keeping up several village affiliations that are specific to the Kokni community and its ancestral background.

Studies show that immigrant minorities could essentially maintain their language within domains of their community and within families despite the fact that they may hold a negative attitude toward the minority language (Chini, 2011). If they hold this attitude then they are most likely to shift away from the minority language, toward the dominant, such as English (Chini, 2011). This however is not always the case, as attitudes and rationalizations are quite complex. In some cases the minority language is used between the parents and elders, whereas the offspring would use the more dominant language with these same people based on fluency of that language (Chini, 2011). In these cases there is often a claim, by parents, that their offspring would identify with a particular language despite the language use or language loyalty of the parents. This seems to be the case with Kokni as well, as the parents and elders speak and utilise Kokni. However despite this use, the offspring tend to side with the dominant language, English. On the other hand, language compartmentalization could be at play where a certain language is utilised only within certain domains, which seems to be the case with the Kokni members in this study as elders and parents use Kokni among themselves but would shift to the language the child(ren) are dominant in when addressing the youth.

Another factor in this context of migration is age and generation, which could essentially be responsible for the offspring's language use (Gogonas, 2011). Therefore the language used with parents could essentially be used with their siblings and friends, but it is more likely that they would only utilise this language with adults that are their parents and elders in the family (Gogonas, 2011; Clyne, 1990). The generalisation is made by Gogonas (2011: 123-125) that parents are more inclined to maintaining the minority language than the youngsters, but that there are some cases where the youngsters are equally bilingual in both the minority and dominant languages. The deciding factor for this scenario seems to be in whether there is value for the speaker, for example in terms of religion or culture, which could lead to a shift. In the case of the shift in language from Kokni to Arabic, Kokni is not used for religious purposes as Arabic is. For the participants in the study, Kokni has instead become a cultural aspect to signify heritage.

1.2 Language Variation & Change

There are cases where some members of immigrant families are faced with the dilemma of whether they would retain their language and culture or whether they would forsake it or change it to comply with that of the country or city in which they find themselves.

In the study conducted by Hill and Hill (1986) it was found that the speakers were not particularly upset or dramatic about favouring Spanish over their language (Mexicano). This was because they viewed language change differently to other kinds of changes. The kinds of changes that they were more focused on was that of clothing styles, or various types of housing, as well as personal preferences (Hill and Hill, 1986: 402-440). The authors argued that the Mexicano speakers' attitudes toward shift allowed them to shift their notion of in-group membership easily from the use of language to expression through other means, which as a large part was essentially through participation in the use of ritual kinship systems, clothing, housing types and personal preferences in their groups or communities (Hill and Hill, 1986; Kulick, 1992). The Kokni community being studied has in a similar fashion displayed this notion, where they would express their culture in terms of complex kinship systems, other rituals: ceremonies, cultural aspects of religious practices, cooking, and clothing. The elders in the Kokni community view the Kokni language as important and as one language in a repertoire of languages. However, the youngsters of this community view other means of expressing their culture as important and that change is welcomed, as they would still regard themselves as part of the in-group based primarily on their Kokni family background.

2. Language Use: repertoires, the communities, and attitudes

2.1 Language Repertoire

When speaking about language repertoires it is inevitable to speak about the concepts of monolingualism, bilingualism and multilingualism. Duran (2014) noted that multilingual language repertoires are a fundamental aspect with regards to the history of an individual. As there could be some aspects of each language that the person would fare better in than another or in some cases where they are equally proficient in some but prefer a specific language or combination of languages in a particular domain or with particular speakers (Canagarajah 2009; Kramsch 2009). The speakers therefore can be seen as possessing a collection of knowledge which can be seen as a resource for the objective of "comprehension", "social interaction", and "communication" (Duran, 2017:22). In the case of

many of the participants in this study on Kokni, it is seen that many of them are multilingual but with different levels of proficiency. There were four languages: English, Afrikaans, Arabic and Kokni, that stood out, of which the speakers would dominantly utilise either English or Afrikaans, use Arabic for religion, and use Kokni either with elders, for community or cultural functions or alternatively for humour.

Another way of viewing multilingualism is in terms of the resources drawn on languages at the larger community level and at an international level. For the first, it is the interaction of the Kokni community among the other ethnic communities in Cape Town. Cape Town is a diverse city with many different ethnic communities. Despite this the Kokni community remain strongly attached to their ancestral homeland (Konkan Coast of India) and the language. However, as was mentioned earlier, there is a shift in the language use among the youth of the community. Additionally, there are now increasing intermarriages between Kokni Indians and the Malay community of Cape Town, mainly attributed to their shared religious affiliations. Previously the Indian community were encouraged to marry fellow Kokni Indians instead of Malays, as there was a fear of losing the Kokni culture. The prerogative has now shifted to marry within the same religion.

Blommaert (2010:6) works on multilingual repertoires and provides a different perspective, where he says that there are both local and world-wide levels where culture and language travels from many parts of the world. This occurs despite a popular language such as English being vastly utilised among people of different linguistic backgrounds (Crystal, 2003). It is explained, by Blommaert (2010), that among immigrant neighbourhoods there is always a multitude of complex multilingualism at play where forms of language are intermixed. This is also where cultural communities and organizations are created, and where there is an exchange of “news and information”, “media from home country”, “support networks”, “services” and the acquisition of “supplies of foods and cultural products” that are connected to their ancestral background (Duran, 2017:23). The Kokni community to this day still hold ties with their ancestral background. They had also created cultural organisations and to this day the exchanges mentioned above by Blommaert (2010) accurately applies to the Kokni community.

2.2 Communities

The Cape Town Kokni community is primarily determined by an individual's background and family history. If an individual is a descendent of any of the villages along the Konkan Coast of India then the individual will automatically be accepted as part of the in-group. For elders, to be Kokni means to be fluent in the language. However, the youth are inherently Kokni without necessarily needing the language. As a result of this, the youngsters receive criticism from the elders for not upholding the Kokni culture. Bakhtin (1981) spoke about language histories and mentioned that they are shaped by interactions that are continuously on-going. Therefore as Kokni declines in use, not continuously on-going, then the Kokni community will eventually be seen as a community based on the heritage of the members (in this case from Kokni descent) instead of a community that speaks Kokni. Alternatively, it could be replaced with either Urdu or Hindi, as these languages are cultural varieties that still exist in the broader Indian community and are languages that could be formally taught to the youth. This is unlike Kokni which cannot be formally taught as it is not a written language. Alternately, it can be verbally taught in an informal setting by the elders of the community only. However, they have been reluctant to do so as they believe Kokni should be taught to the youth by their direct elders, i.e. the parents.

2.3 Attitudes

The attitude and perception of speakers are often dependent on particular factors such as age and gender, which will be looked at later in this chapter. Attitudes with regard to minority languages are particularly interesting. This is because there are languages that are often said to be unable to accomplish a vast range of functions, as often they are believed to be unsuitable for the writing of literature (Garrett, 2010:10-11). It is this attitude that plays a pivotal role in the survival, revival or retention/ maintenance of a language, or in the opposite sense, the extinction of a language (Garrett, 2010:11). Additionally, Garett (2010) cites Price *et al*. (1983), and Bellin *et al.* (1999), all of whom stress that the researcher themselves could affect the attitude in which the participants express within the interview toward the language being studied, and is also dependent on the context in which it is expressed.

3. Language (Vocabulary/Lexicon) Retention

As a way to understand how a language is used, and to identify information about that language, documenting aspects of vocabulary can be rewarding (Mesthrie, 1991:214). In a situation of language obsolescence the vocabulary of the language utilized by the elders is the basis for which the vocabulary of children is highly dependent upon (Mesthrie, 1991:214). Specifically in the case of Kokni, it seems that the vocabulary of the elders are the sole basis for which the youth or children could learn the language. This is because Kokni is not taught in schools and have no literature. Therefore if the language is not taught to the youth by the elders, the Kokni language could become extinct in Cape Town.

Work by Mesthrie (1991) based on the study of Bhojpuri-Hindi, identifies that some categories of terminology or vocabulary in a language could have a high rate of retention, such as activities that are related to domesticity. Such activities are for example related to "cooking and cleaning up", "household utensils" and "appliances", "ingredients used in cooking", "names of vegetables and seasonings", "names of dishes and relishes" and lastly, "sweetmeats" and "desserts" (Mesthrie, 1991:219-221). It was highlighted by him that terms that were not related to such domestic activities and those that were related to "the external environment" were not retained as well (Mesthrie, 1991:214 & 219-221).This could be the case in Kokni as well, and the pilot study done by the researcher afforded similar results to that of Bhojpuri-Hindi.

Vaux and Cooper (1999:50) wrote about semantic matters that arose during their fieldwork, particularly, a sample between Gujarati and English, where they worked with a Gujarati informant. They placed emphasis on kinship terminology as they believed that the Gujarati kinship system was quite richer than in English. Therefore the emphasis was on discovering the exact meaning of the various terms provided by their consultant. In investigating kinship, they expected rich, productive sessions, and that is what they received. They specifically noted that the informant was constantly uncertain whether specific answers he was giving belonged to which language (Vaux and Cooper, 1999:59). Similarly in this paper, some of the speakers were often unsure as to whether the lexicon they provided was from Kokni, Hindi or Urdu, but crucially they knew that it was not English or Afrikaans.

3.1 Social factors influencing retention

Age

Utilising age as a variable in sociolinguistics is more in terms of life stages instead of for biological analysis (Deumert, 2004:90). She mentioned that an individual's age essentially is a reflection the person's social experience and is distinguished into four stages, namely, childhood, adolescence, adulthood and old age (Deumert, 2004; cf. Eckert 1997, 2000:8ff.). For Kokni, being in either of these stages could have an effect on the lexicon retained by the participants and whether their age is an indicator or an aspect that needs to be considered when it comes to the retention of a language.

Gender

Unlike "age", gender is a biological category in the study, as well as a cultural one which brings in issues of masculinity and femininity. It could be a factor in the retention of particular categories of vocabulary that are related to gender roles in particular communities. Deumert (2004:91; Raidt, 1994) mentioned that gender had indeed played a role in both language contact and language change in the Cape as it was seen that women were the leaders in linguistic change for Afrikaans in the 19th century.

Gender also has to do with education where in some cases males are educated to a higher degree than females as females move to reside with their spouses (Rammohan and Robertson, 2012:417-418). Determining whether this is true for Kokni is considered in this study.

Birth Order

Dorian (1981) states that in cases of language shift the older siblings bring back the educational language into the home and inadvertently introduce it to younger siblings. These siblings would then pick up that language rather than the minority language. Birth order is therefore important in this study to determine if this phenomenon influences the retention of Kokni.

3. Methodology

This chapter discusses the methodology used to study the Kokni lexicon in Cape Town, with emphasis on various lexical categories, and a focus on whether there are noticeable patterns with regard to the retained knowledge of particular Kokni lexical items in these categories. This chapter is divided into four sections. The first, section 3.1 describes the participants and the social factors involved in the study. Section 3.2 explains the data collection procedure followed, and 3.3 clarifies the ethical considerations undertaken when the study was conducted. The last part, section 3.4, delves into the method(s) used to analyse the data gathered.

3.1 The participants as sample group

Between February 2017 and April 2017, 40 participants were interviewed. A combination of snowball sampling, social media, and convenience was used to search and select participants to interview. The snowball sampling method allows existing participants to suggest additional participants, who they knew, who also meet the research criteria. The criteria that the participants in this study had to match will now be described.

Potential participants had to be South Africans of Kokni descent, who were born and/or raised in Cape Town (could have travelled to India and back), and they had to be between the ages of 18 and 35 years old. It was optional for them to have completed their schooling in Cape Town. It was an assumption that to be a South African Indian of Kokni descent, the Kokni language existed in their family history and could have been passed down to the participants' generation. It is important to note that there are people in Cape Town that are of Kokni descent who could identify instead with either (South African) "Malay" or "Coloured" population groups, instead of "South African Indian". This is also dependent, for example, on whether there is only one ancestor from the Konkan.

As the last criterion, the participants could have been from any of the South African Kokni Indian societies within Cape Town. These societies are essentially organisations that were created by South African Indians, based on their particular village of origin in the Konkan district of India, to uphold the heritage and culture among its members and to strengthen bonds between descendants residing in both India and South Africa. The societies typically bear the name of the village of origin, for example- *Janjira Habsani Society*, *The Kalusta*

Karjiker Educational Society, Cape Latvan Society, the South African Morba Social Society and more. Although participants for this study could have been a member of any of these societies, it was not a compulsory criterion.

Mapping the social factors

This study has four social factors, namely age, gender, birth order, and the presence of grandparents in the home. Each of these factors could have had an impact on the participants' retained knowledge of Kokni, based on the observations and findings of the pilot study (mentioned in section 1.2). This will now be delved into, in terms of the sample group composition.

Age and Gender

The concept of age, by itself, according to Milroy and Gordon (2003: 39) has no "explanatory value": it has to be studied "in the context of its social significance" as something that reflects the experience of life. Then only does it become a valuable analytical construct (Milroy and Gordon, 2003). Gender is also considered a crucial social concept as it is used to understand the occurrence of language shift between languages that is considered more powerful economically (Mesthrie *et al*., 2012). Additionally, gender plays a role in the differences in education, as in some cases it is typical for females to receive lower education than their male counterparts (Rammohan and Robertson, 2012: 417). Therefore, in order to investigate the factors potentially affecting retained knowledge of Kokni lexicon, age and gender were used as independent factors.

As stated, there were forty participants, ranged between the ages of 18 and 35 at the time of the interview.

In Table 3.1 below, the sample group composition according to Age and Gender is displayed:

Table 3.1: Structure of the sample by youth age group and gender

	Men	Women
Age 18 – 35	11	29
	11 *(27.50%)*	29 *(72.50%)*

The above table clearly shows an imbalance between the genders of the participants. As mentioned, this imbalance was because more women were more open to the idea of being interviewed and were more willing to participate in the study. However, the men displayed a

non-compliant attitude when it came to being interviewed. When potential male participants were asked to participate, they either immediately declined or considered the idea, but became reluctant to participate and later declined as well. Further attempts were made to find more male participants but many were unwilling to participate (the reasoning is explained in the section labelled: *finding participants).* Perhaps if the men were handed a questionnaire they would have been more open to participate in the study. However this was not possible for this particular study as Kokni is not a written language, it is purely oral, and one of the goals were to determine whether they were verbally able to display knowledge of the Kokni terms.

Birth Order

This variable is evidently important based on the work done by Dorian (1981), who studied the Gaelic language. According to her, there are different types of speakers of a language when language shift is involved; "young fluent speaker", "passive-bilingual" and "semi-speaker". Furthermore, the birth order has a connection to kinship in terms of the retention of a language (See Dorian, 1981:107, for more information). She highlights that language change shift is influenced by the language used by older siblings, such as the utilisation of the language used in the institutional setting with the younger siblings. The sample consisted of participants that were first born until fifth born, which established the distinct groups according to age groups and gender.

Table 3.2 on the next page therefore displays the composition of the sample group according to Birth Order and Gender

The table shows that 1st and 2nd born participants were among those most willing to be interviewed. The elder siblings, like Dorian (1981) mentioned, are among those that are more likely to have experience with the original language of the community, and this could indeed be the case in this study.

Table 3.2: Structure of the sample of birth order according to gender and age

	1st Born	2nd Born	3rd Born	4th Born	5th Born	**Total**
Men: 18 – 23	2	3	1	1	1	**8**
Women: 18 – 23	5	3	2	-	-	**10**
Men: 24 – 29	1	2	-	-	-	**3**
Women: 24 – 29	7	4	1	1	-	**13**
Men: 30 – 35	-	1	-	-	-	**1**
Women: 30 – 35	3	1	1	-	-	**5**
	18 *(45.00%)*	14 *(35.00%)*	5 *(12.50%)*	2 *(5.00%)*	1 *(2.50%)*	**40** ***(100%)***

Grandparents in home (currently)

Some families have multi-generational homes. This means that there are households where parents, children and grandparents all live together. As people tend to have a vast repertoire of their own, these language(s) known by the grandparents could essentially have an effect on the household language use, for example, greater use of the Kokni language in the home. Therefore, if there were grandparents that speak Kokni living in the homes of the participants, it was more likely that the participants would have greater retention of lexicon of Kokni than those that did not as a result of use within the home.

The following table displays the statistics for the grandparents that are still living or have previously lived in the home of the participants and could essentially influence the knowledge of the Kokni language. It was observed by the researcher that participants with grandparents that are currently living with them would be the same participants that have grown up in homes where grandparents have always lived. Those participants that replied "No" have never lived in the same home as their grandparents. The participants have not specified the number of grandparents that are living with them or have ever lived with them.

Table 3.3: Structure representing grandparents previously/currently living in the participants' home (by gender)

Grandparents in home	Yes	No	Total
Men	3	8	**11**
Women	3	26	**29**
	6 *(15.00%)*	34 *(85.00%)*	**40 (100%)**

From table 3.3, it is seen that only 15% of participants have ever lived with their grandparents in the same home. Most of the participants, 85%, have never lived with any of their grandparents.

3.2 Data collection procedure

It is stated by Mason (2002:225) that interview methodologies commence from the "assumption" that it is conceivable to explore and study social elements by "asking people to talk", and obtaining conceptual knowledge by simply "listening to and interpreting" what they have said and the manner in which they have said it. The latter, however, is completely dependent on whether there is an interest in the fields of phonetics, syntax or stylistic variation.

This study agrees that questioning, listening and interpreting should be reinforced. Questions based for example on family or heritage which are interpreted from these responses must align with the research. Hence, interviews were utilised in order to collect both quantitative and qualitative data (a mixed method approach). The quantitative data was in the form of a selected lexicon (see Appendix 4) and the qualitative data was in the form of an in-depth semi-structured interview (guided by a questionnaire; see Appendix 3). The manner in which it did this was that the main part of the analysis essentially drew on the interviews and the researcher provided an implicational scale summarizing the responses from the interviews. All the interviews were conducted in English. The development of the tools, participant selection, interview methods and structure, and the transcription procedures will now be described.

Developing tools for data collection

It was necessary to first develop tools for data collection. Questions relating to the participants' background, family history, languages, and attitudes were developed. These questions became the background section of the interview, probed by a questionnaire.

Using the word list in Rajeshwari V. Pandharipande's *Marathi* (1997) as a guide, an extensive English lexicon list was developed. This list was used to ask the participants to translate words into Kokni. These included the following semantic fields: colours, kinship (ascending, descending, by marriage, by adoption/partial blood), cooking (methods, utensils, typical dishes, ingredients), numerical terms, and miscellaneous terminology. These English word lists became the word list section of the interview.

Once the official list was created, help was sought from a female acquaintance of the researcher who was well versed in Kokni to gather some of the possible Kokni equivalent terminology. She was schooled in India on Kokni, Hindi, Marathi and Urdu, and had completed all her schooling in India. The information supplied by her was broadly transcribed and kept for later use.

Finding participants (word-of-mouth & social media platforms)

Since the researcher is from the Kokni community and has in-group knowledge, she was able to approach some people for an interview. Some agreed, others declined. As she completed interviews, the participants recommended others who match the criteria. They also conveyed details of the study to those they knew, and told others that the researcher is searching for more participants. This method is known as snowball sampling, a nonprobability sampling method that is often utilised when members of a particular population are challenging to locate (Babbie, 2011). Additionally, once the researcher had the co-operation of the first few participants, more people were open to the idea of being interviewed based on the interview experience of the earlier participants.

In order to acquire additional participants, for a quota of 40, the researcher turned to social media (specifically, Facebook). The reasoning was that the researcher was a member of a private-group called "Kokni's of Cape Town", strictly on Facebook, which many (but not all) South Africans of Kokni descent were members. This enabled the researcher to identify additional potential interview participants residing in Cape Town who matched the researcher's criteria. This strategy was successful in accomplishing this goal, and the researcher recruited additional participants through this social media platform, along with the snowball sampling method. Finding participants, scheduling and conducting interviews took three months. Each month a new call for participants was made and the Facebook group, yielding either 13 or 14 participants per call (1st call: 13; 2nd call: 14; 3rd call: 13). Each interview spanned about one to one and a half hours, with exceptions. The shortest interview

was 25 minutes long. The longest interview lasted 1 hour and 29 minutes. The interviews were recorded on an iPhone 5s, utilising its voice recording option. This device was used as a result of continuous technical failures with an Olympus DM-5 digital recorder.

The problem that continually arose, however, was that each person insisted that they did not know Kokni. The potential participants were under the impression that a study being done on the Kokni language would require an individual to fluently utilise the language on a daily basis. As a result of this assumption, potential participants would automatically assume that they would not be able to participate in the study and that the interview itself would be conducted in the Kokni language. The young men were noticeably more reluctant to participate than the females, some seemed to think and had the mistaken impression that the interview would be conducted in Kokni, but this would not explain why the females would not make this mistake. This is similar to Mesthrie's (2013:86) interviews on the study on Bhojpuri where he said that "Men were more reluctant to be interviewed and would often switch to English, as they didn't want to seem old-fashioned: [he] had to make a special effort to collar them before they absconded." Due to this phenomenon, the message being conveyed and/or posted on Facebook therefore had to advertise that they did not necessarily need to know the Kokni language to do an interview. Once this problem was overcome, the 40 interviews were successfully conducted.

The interview methods and structure

This study was conducted utilising both qualitative and quantitative methods; i.e. a mixed methods approach. This approach integrates the use of elements of one method into the application of another method and by doing this the researcher is essentially "producing a comprehensive empirical record about a topic" (Axinn & Pearce, 2006:2). The study employed face-to-face interviews, which were divided into two parts: a questionnaire and a lexical list. The former was for qualitative data collection as it provided data that would be analysed qualitatively, and the latter was for the collection of quantitative data. The questionnaire section of the interview was in-depth and semi-structured to determine the participants' background and other demographics (see appendix 3). This qualitative research method, according to O'Leary (2010:113) values "depth over quantity" so that "interactions, processes, lived experiences, and belief systems that are part of an individual, institutions, and cultural groups" are properly explored and understood. It is also considered more flexible as it allowed participants to change topics and bring up new aspects of the research that the researcher had not initially thought of (Axinn & Pearce, 2006), such as the individual

variations and histories of the participants' ancestral generations' background. The questionnaire-guided interview was hence successfully used to elicit the background of the participants, their (family) history, current use of the language, and more.

Since the lexicon list (appendix 4) was for quantitative analyses, it required a larger sample group than a qualitative sociolinguistic study. In this case, however, a large sample group and its corresponding in-depth sociolinguistic study was required. This was because the information obtained in the qualitative section corresponded and contributed to their knowledge of the information gathered in the quantitative section. Quantitative data makes it easier to quantify observations in numerical form. This quantification makes these observations considerably more explicit (Axinn & Pearce, 2006). This method was therefore used to quantify the level of knowledge retained on a scale, and to determine which categories of Kokni lexicon are known more than others, as well as the specific items within these categories.

Onwuegbuzie & Leech (2005) suggested that the qualitative and quantitative approaches have more similarities than differences, and argued that utilizing both of these approaches fortifies social research. Hence, by mixing these methods, it became possible to produce a broad empirical account about the topic: Kokni lexical knowledge retention among people who no longer speak the language.

Transcribing collected data

The interview consisted of both the questionnaire and the lexicon list, and the transcriptions were thus also divided into two parts. Different transcription procedures were followed for these two parts.

The first part of the interview, the questionnaire, enabled the collection of qualitative data. These were manually transcribed into a Microsoft Word document. Only the relevant data pertaining to the questions asked were transcribed and any external material (such as any disruptions or interruptions by any persons apart from the interviewee) was omitted. This data was then coded according to various themes. Some of these themes include: age, gender, generation of South African Indian, placement in birth order, village alliances, travels to India, place of birth, repertoires, and more. These coded sections were then used to create a Microsoft Excel spreadsheet labelled *participant demographics*, which was used to identify commonalities among participants.

The second part of the interview, the lexicon list, collected the quantitative data. A Microsoft Excel spreadsheet was created to record the different categories, with their corresponding words, and suggested Kokni equivalents. Each participant's answers (spoken data) were phonetically entered into the same spreadsheet. A broad phonetic transcription method, used by Pandharipande (1997), was used to transcribe the aforementioned data. This method was used because the focus was on lexicon and language retention, and not on the phonetic pronunciation of the participants. The transcribed data for both the questionnaire and lexicon list sections were used for data analysis (see 3.4 for the methods used). To record whether the participants' answers were the same as that provided by the "expert" informant, a variant, or whether it was an alternate word, the following scale was used:

0	Unrelated or omitted response (from base form)
1	Correct response (same as provided by informant; the base form)
2	Kokni variant response (of the base form)
3	Alternate response (than the base form)

To explain this, the word "yellow" will be used as an example. The base form of this word is *həldwā.* The participants providing this base form were coded as 1 on the scale, as the correct response. The Kokni variant of this word would for example be *həldi* or *həldwi*, which would be code 2 on the scale. Lastly, the word *pīla* or *pīlɛ* would be coded as 3, as they are not the base form but these words can be used to refer to "yellow" in Kokni as well, although use usually associated with Hindi/Urdu. If none of these forms were provided then they would be coded as 0, as an unrelated or omitted response.

3.3 Ethical considerations

Since the research involved human participants, associated paperwork needed to be created and the research proposal needed to be approved (Bowern, 2008). A dissertation proposal was therefore compiled and sent to the Research Ethics Committee (REC) of the Linguistics section at the University of Cape Town. This was to outline the research, the focus and ethical aspects of the research, in order to obtain ethical clearance for the project.

Once clearance was obtained, fieldwork was initiated. Young people who met the criteria in 3.1 were contacted by both methods cited above (personal and Facebook contact). The participants were asked whether they were interested and willing to be interviewed (personal

contact). In terms of the social media platform, an advertisement message was written and posted to attract interested individuals. This allowed potential participants to decide for themselves whether they would be willing to participate in the study or not. In order to do so, a first contact message was conveyed (personal contact participants) and/or written and posted on the social media page, containing information relating to the researcher, such as her name, an introduction to her studies, and brief personal background. This message also explained aims of the research that was being conducted. Crowley (2007) mentioned that useful information about the project would need to be provided to those whom the data would be gathered from. Therefore if the potential participants required any clarity with regard to the research being conducted, such as the purpose, the benefits, and interest in Kokni, then the researcher would address any inquiries they might have in order for them to make an informed decision about whether or not to participate in the study. An example of this is as follows: one of the participant emphasised that he would only participate if the researcher thoroughly explained why she was studying Kokni and if there would be any benefits of studying the language[2].

Before the interview, an information sheet (Appendix 1) was given and the informed consent form (Appendix 2) had to be signed. Any outstanding questions were also answered. Only then could the interview be conducted. This ensured that the primary aim of ethical research was achieved, which emphasises that any potential harm to the subject should be avoided (Crowley, 2007).

The informed consent form focused on three ethical aspects. These were: voluntary participation, withdrawal from the study, and confidentiality.

The first aspect, voluntary participation, emphasises that the participation in the study is completely voluntary and that they may refuse to answer any questions or choose to stop participating at any time.

Withdrawal from the study explains to the participant that they are allowed at any time, for any reason, to quit participating in the study. That if they choose to withdraw from the study, any data that had been gathered would be destroyed.

[2] The researcher spoke about her personal experiences involving the Kokni language, in particular, the use of various Kokni lexicon with Kokni descendants and encountering an issue where there are misunderstandings due to the possessing of little to no Kokni lexical knowledge. The benefits explained was that the participants could interact with a broader range of people in addition to maintaining their ancestral heritage.

Lastly, confidentiality, ensured the participants that their information would be held in strict confidence by the researcher and that their anonymity would be guaranteed. Their names would not appear in any report or publication of the research and all data would be stored safely, only to be accessed by the researcher.

3.4 Method of Analysis

As mentioned already, the dissertation analysed the data quantitatively and qualitatively. The statistical (quantitative) data gathered was analysed utilising Guttman scaling (as also known as implicational scales). The goal of this type of analysis was to position both the subjects and the responses (i.e. lexical items) in a two-fold array of rows and columns (Abdi, 2010). When cross-tabulated, the scale should reflect "dichotomous responses" (Mesthrie, Chevalier & McLachlan, 2015).

According to Trochim (2007), the key to this type of scaling is in its analysis. Several tables were therefore constructed to display the responses of all the participants per item from the lexicon list. The table was sorted in the manner that those categories with more correct (the base form), variant (from the base form), and/or alternate responses were listed at the top. Those categories with more incorrect or omitted responses were listed at the bottom. The following is an example of this table formatting and representation of data:

Table 00: Implicational Scale for Kokni lexical items known by males/females

Line no.	**No. of Participants**	**Lexical item 1**	**Lexical item 2**	**Lexical item 4**	**Lexical item 3**	**Lexical item 5**	**Lexical item 6**
1	**5**	+	+	+	+	+	+
2	**2**	+	+	+	⊖	+	-
3	**1**	+	+	-	⊕	-	-
4	**1**	+	-	⊕	-	-	-
5	**2**	-	-	-	-	-	-
no. of (+)'s		**9**	**8**		**7**	**6**	**5**
Group		**A** *(81.81%)*	**B** *(72.72%)*		**C** *(54.54%-63.63%)*		**D** *(45.45%)*

Scalability: 77.27%

This example shows 5 line numbers (vertically displayed in rows) and 6 lexical items (horizontally displayed in columns). Additionally, it shows the number of participants per line that displayed the same pattern of retention for particular items. It also displays the

responses (+/-) given by the participants based on the information in the table presented in 3.2. The line number with more (+) symbols are congregated toward the top of the table, and the line number with the most (-) symbols move toward the bottom. In this way, the reader can see that a noticeable pattern of decreasing use/knowledge occurs, which is consequently mapped and shaded. Additionally, it is worth noting that there are also circled responses (⊖ and/or ⊕), which indicate a differed response from participants in the same shaded and unshaded parts of the table. These individuals are exceptional in terms of the overall patterning's but only to a small degree. This shows that, although they are in a particular part of the table, there were still some participants that did not possess the same knowledge. The second last row summarises how many participants knew each lexical item based on the number of positives in the column. The last row groups lexical items in terms of whether they visually display a similar pattern of decrease and displays the percentage range of how well the lexical items were known.

At the end of the table, in italics, is the scalability score in percentage. This score expresses the percentage of consistent responses in the table selection. It therefore represents the accuracy or *correctness* of the aspects being studied relative to the overall responses, with 90% or more as a strong measure (Guttman, 1944). Mesthrie, Chevalier and McLachlan (2015:395) said that "statisticians in practice accept an 85% cut-off point". This essentially means that if this percentage is 85% or more then generalisations about the study (in this case lexical category) can be made. However if it is less than 85%, generalisations about the data cannot be made. It is obtained as follows:

$$\frac{\left([3]total\ obtained\ below\right) - (number\ of\ negatives\ on\ the\ scale)}{(number\ of\ participants\ on\ scale)\ \times (number\ of\ lexical\ items\ on\ scale)} \times \frac{100}{1}$$
$$= scalability\ percentage$$

In the case of the above example, 77.27%, generalisations about the category and the people cannot be made as it would not be accurate to make assumptions for the entire group based on a third of the participant group.

This scaling technique allows for the presentation of the data in summary form, and also maintains the original data as much as possible (Babbie, 2011). This makes it effective at data reduction. Using the implicational scale for the categories shows whether or not the words

[3] This is calculated as follows: $(number\ of\ participants)\ \times (number\ of\ lexical\ items)$

were known by the participants, the patterns that arose from the structures, as well as grouping similar patterns of retention based on percentage range and decline patterns.

The questionnaire responses was analysed in terms of whether the differential knowledge of Kokni was due to: (a) differences in the repertoire of the parent and participants, with attention to use of the repertoire; (b) the youth attitudes toward Kokni; and (c) the social factors previously mentioned in section 3.1. The tables (scales), questionnaire responses, and analysis are discussed in the next chapter.

4. Data and Analysis

Introduction

The following two sections, namely, (4.1) *Analysis: Main Categories*, and (4.2) *Analysis: Kinship terminology and Miscellaneous Terminology* will analyse the data presented in the corresponding tables (tables 4 - 36). The tables display the data in the form of implicational scales, separated by gender (males and females) and is then followed by an explanation. These scales are a representation of all the data collected in the interviews in terms of the lexicon being investigated. The scales are also separated according to various categories and subcategories. Each scale represents the data per category and per gender for that particular category.

4.1. Analysis: Main Categories

This section analyses the implicational scales for the Main categories of Kokni terminology.

4.1.1. Colour Terminology

Males

Table 4: Implicational scale for Kokni colour-terms known by males

Line no.	**No. of Participants**	***kāla* -Black**	***pāndhra* -White**	***lāl* - Red**	***nīlā* - Blue**	***həldwā* - Yellow**	***hirwā* - Green**	***nārəngī* - Orange**	***gahū* - Brown**	***zāmbla* - Purple**
1	**2**	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
2	**1**	+	+	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-
3	**1**	+	-	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-
4	**3**	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	**4**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
no. of (+)'s		**7**	**3**	**2**		**1**		**0**		
Group		**A** *(63.66%)*	**B** *(9.09%- 27.27%)*					**C** *(0%)*		

Scalability: 97.98%

The 16 (+)'s in table 4 are outweighed by the 83 (-)'s, showing that the colour terms are not very well known. The highest number of terms known by participants was four out of nine

terms (44.44%). It was more common that the participants knew either one term (three participants) or none (four participants). It was noticeable that there were no male participants that knew at least half of the terms.

Lines 1, 4 and 5 are shared by two, three and four participants respectively. The shared pattern in line 1 are for participants 6 and 21. They classify themselves as being 2nd generation South African Indian as both their fathers were born in Cape Town. Participant 21 mentioned that his mother however was not born in Cape Town, but that she moved to South Africa from India after marriage.

Participant 6 is the eldest, only male, among three siblings. He often stayed with his maternal and paternal grandparents, three of whom spoke Kokni as their first language, when his parents were at work. However, his parents are first language English speakers, and second language Afrikaans speakers, and his grandparents have passed away. He therefore believes he no longer has a Kokni circle where the language can be used, as there are no people that speak the language to him. Despite this belief, he has shown that in the colour category, he still retains 44.44% of knowledge of Kokni colours. This is the highest retained alongside participant 21 in this category. Participant 6 therefore shows that he passively retained knowledge of the Kokni colours, as he would utilise Afrikaans as an alternate language with his immediate family. This though is not an indication as to whether he has the knowledge to do so if he so wished.

Participant 21 on the other hand, is the youngest among two male siblings, living with his first language Kokni speaking mother and fluent Kokni speaking father. He is part of a large Kokni circle as his family still uses the Kokni language to converse in. The participant himself is a fluent speaker of the language. He actively uses the language to converse with his mother and the rest of his family, and extended families. He therefore has active knowledge of Kokni and has retained 4 of the 9 colour terms as a result of this knowledge.

Even though these participants differ in terms of their language use with immediate family and the size of their Kokni circle, table 4 shows that they display the same patterns when it comes to colour terms.

Line 5 on the other hand, shows the most shared pattern where four participants of eleven knew none of the words for colour. This could be a result of the language not being used within their social circles, as the participants identified that they were either part of a small Kokni social group or had none at all. A reason for this could have stemmed from using an

alternate language (for example, Afrikaans or isiXhosa) or as they mentioned was because they were not the eldest child in their families. Participants 7 and 23 were both middle children of three siblings, and participants 33 and 34 were the youngest children among two and four siblings respectively. As a result of this, the parents perhaps did not use the language with them as they would with the eldest child.

Females

Table 5: Implicational scale for Kokni colour-terms known by females

Line no.	**No. of Participants**	*kāla* **-Black**	*lāl* **- Red**	*pāndhra* **-White**	*nīlā* **- Blue**	*hirwā* **- Green**	*həldwā* **- Yellow**	*nārəngī* **- Orange**	*gahū* **- Brown**	*zāmbla* **- Purple**
1	**2**	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
2	**2**	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
3	**2**	+	+	+	⊖	+	-	-	-	-
4	**1**	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
5	**2**	+	+	+	-	-	⊕	-	-	-
6	**2**	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	**1**	+	⊖	+	⊕	-	-	-	-	-
8	**1**	+	⊖	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	**4**	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	**4**	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	**8**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
no. of (+)'s		**21**	**15**	**13**	**6**		**4**	**0**		
Group		**A** *(72.41%)*	**B** *(44.83-51.72%)*		**C** *(13.79- 20.69%)*			**D** *(0%)*		

Scalability: 97.32%

Similar to the males, the 65 (+)'s in table 5 are outweighed by the 196 (-)'s. Many of the terms are not very well known. The highest number of colours known was between five and six out of nine colours (55.55-66.66%), by two participants each. All other participants knew less terms. Additionally, eight out of twenty-nine (27.59%) of the females knew none of the terms.

There are multiple combinations found in table 5, however, lines 1 and 11 will be examined more closely. Line 1 is shared by two participants. They knew the most terms amongst the females, which was six out of nine (66.67%) colour terms. This shared pattern is for participants 17 and 31. These participants' ancestors are from Latvan and Kalusta

respectively. Both are 2nd generation South African Indians as both participants' parents were born in Cape Town, parents of whom were raised here by India village-born parents.

Participant 17 is an only child of parents that speak multiple languages, including, English, Afrikaans, Kokni, Urdu, Marathi, Hindi and Arabic. She was encouraged to speak many languages from a young age and still actively speaks these languages with her parents, grandmother, her large Kokni circle, the wider Kokni community and others. She also travels quite frequently to India to visit family and friends who reside there. This participant was able to fluently switch between these various languages. She believed that all these languages are important and that they are a benefit in her life as it helps her communicate with those that speak (any) of these languages. She actively teaches these languages to her young daughter as well. There were however 3 terms out of 9 (33.33%) that the participant did not know. She rationalised this by saying that there is no particular Kokni equivalents for these terms, but that people in India would utilise an object as its equivalent, for example *chocolate-y*[4] or *wheat-ish*[5] for the colour 'brown'. Based on this explanation, this participant effectively retained the Kokni colour terminology.

Participant 31 on the other hand is the eldest of three siblings, living with her husband, who is a fluent speaker of Kokni and Urdu. Despite this she mentions that her Kokni circle is relatively small. Unlike the above mentioned participants, this participant only lists English, Afrikaans and Kokni as part of her language repertoire. She explained that English and Afrikaans are widely spoken in South Africa, making it important to know as it is the primary language(s) of communication, and that in order to preserve the Indian culture, the Kokni language is important to know and learn if possible. She and her husband use as much Kokni as they know to teach their son, so that he can preserve the language and culture in some manner.

These two participants have noticeably different repertoires but possess similar beliefs when it comes to culture and the importance of the Kokni language, or language in general, as they both teach the Kokni language to their children.

Line 11 shows that there are 8 of 29 participants (27.59%) who knew none of the colour terms. Once again, as mentioned under the males, this non-retention could be accounted for by the lack of or small presence of a Kokni circle in which the language is spoken to them. It

[4] The term *chocolate-y* was provided by the 'expert' informant and participant 17 to describe the colour 'brown' (dark) as they mentioned that Kokni does not have a word for this colour.
[5] The term *wheat-ish* is also alternately used to describe a lighter shade of brown.

can also be attributed to the lack of need of the use of colour terms in Kokni, when they are able to utilise the English and Afrikaans equivalents.

The scalability scores for both males and females in this category (tables 4 and 5) is more than 85%, therefore generalisations can be made. It is therefore more likely that participants will know the terms for *kāla* 'black' and *pāndhra* 'white', as opposed to any other colour. Perhaps as a result of these colours being in the most basic/primary form for colours (Berlin & Kay,1999).

Explanation

Berlin and Kay (1999:2) suggested that all languages would consist of terms for both 'black' and 'white', and that if that particular language would have another colour term then it would most likely be 'red'. Interestingly these three are the top three retained words in the current study. The reason for this is probably that these basic terms are of high frequency and hence heard most often by youngsters and hence retained best. Conversely, the least known would be the more complex colours that are not often used or referred to in the participants' daily lives. It is likely that these least known colours would be rarely used in the presence of the participants throughout their lifetime as the elders themselves use English or Afrikaans loanwords for these terms.

4.1.2. Body parts

a. Throat Upward

Males

The negatives 133 (-)'s outweigh the positives 21 (+)'s on the scale (table 6). The participant in line 1 knew the most terms, 9 out of 14 (64.29%) of body parts, on the list and sets the range for the scale. Line 1's participant was number 21, mentioned earlier in this paper, who was said to be fluently able to speak Kokni with his family. The person in line 2, participant 29 whom is able to speak Urdu, only knew 4 terms, which means that without the first participant, there would have been 6 terms (42.86%) that were not known by any participants. He is 18 years old and had identified only English, Afrikaans and Urdu as his repertoire, and did not mention that he knew Kokni. He placed importance in the Urdu language, as opposed to Kokni, as he had formally learnt it.

Table 6: Implicational scale for Kokni body-parts (throat upward) known by males

Line no.	**No. of Participants**	*nāk* - **Nose**	*ʧɛhrā* - **Face**	*dōlɛ/ dōla* - **Eye**	*kān* - **Ear**	*miʧ* - **Moustache**	*mātā* - **Head**	*ɖhāt* - **Teeth**	*dāri* - **Beard**	*ʤībh* - **Tongue**	*ʂhəsa* - **Throat**	*kēs* - **Hair**	*tōnd* - **Mouth**	*mān* - **Neck**	*mendū*- **Brain**
1	**1**	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
2	**1**	+	+	⊖	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	**1**	+	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-
4	**1**	-	-	⊕	-	-	⊕	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	**1**	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	**1**	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	**5**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
no. of (+)'s		**3**			**2**				**1**				**0**		
Group		**A** *(27.27%)*			**B** *(18.18%)*				**C** *(9.09%)*				**D** *(0%)*		

Scalability: 94.16%

Additionally, there was only one place (line 7) where the participants had the same pattern, as none of the them knew any (0%) of the terms. These were participants 6, 7, 33, 34 and 36. All of them mentioned that they felt that Kokni was not necessary to learn as it would not benefit them in, particularly in South Africa, for example: business; and that they feel that other languages (participant 6 mentioned Mandarin Chinese) as holding more importance and benefits within a world-wide context.

Based on the groupings A - D it can be seen that the terms are grouped together by three and four terms respectively, suggesting that the specific body parts in these groups can be interpreted as participants knowing a particular grouping (eg. Group A) as a set. However, as can be seen in table 6, it was more likely that if they knew *nāk* 'nose' then there was a possibility of the participant knowing *ʧɛhrā* 'face'. However if they did not know 'nose' then it was more probable that they knew none of the terms. The same premise then can be applied to the remaining groupings. The overall knowledge of body parts above the throat is seen as being quite poorly known.

Females

Table 7: Implicational scale for Kokni body-parts (throat upward) known by females

Line no.	No. of Participants	*nāk* - Nose	*ɖhāt* - Teeth	*ʃɛhrā* - Face	*kān* - Ear	*kēs* - Hair	*tōnd* - Mouth	*dōlɛ/ dōla* - Eye	*mātā* - Head	*dāri* - Beard	*ʂhəsa* - Throat	*ʤībh* - Tongue	*miʃī* - Moustache	*māin* - Neck	*mɛndū*- Brain
1	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	⊕	-	-	-
2	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	-	-	-	⊕	⊕
3	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	-	⊕	-	-	-
4	**1**	+	+	+	+	⊖	⊖	⊖	⊖	+	⊕	-	-	-	-
5	**1**	+	⊖	+	⊖	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	**1**	+	+	+	⊖	⊖	+	-	-	-	-	-	⊕	-	-
7	**1**	+	+	⊖	+	-	-	-	-	⊕	⊕	-	-	-	-
8	**1**	+	+	⊖	+	-	-	-	-	-	⊕	-	⊕	-	-
9	**1**	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	**1**	+	+	⊖	-	⊕	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	**1**	⊖	+	⊖	-	⊕	-	⊕	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	**1**	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	**1**	+	⊖	+	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	**1**	⊖	-	-	-	⊕	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	**1**	⊖	-	-	-	⊕	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	**1**	+	-	-	-	-	⊕	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	**1**	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	**1**	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	**1**	-	-	-	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	**10**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
no. of (+)'s		**14**	**11**	**10**	**8**		**7**		**6**	**5**	**3**	**2**		**1**	
Group		**A** *(48.28%)*	**B** *(34.48 - 37.93%)*		**C** *(24.14-27.59%)*				**D** *(17.24-20.69%)*		**E** *(3.45 - 10.35%)*				

Scalability: 89.41%

The negative 321 (-)'s outweigh the positives 85 (+)'s on the scale. The most known terms were known by participants 4 & 17 (lines 1 and 2), as they both knew 10 terms (71.43%) but retained different terms. Participant 4 (line 1) is a 3rd generation South African Kokni Indian, descending from Karji, and currently lives with her grandparents, aunt, uncle, and (younger) cousins, who she fluently speaks Kokni with. Her parents work and live in Ceres and she is the oldest of three siblings (one male and one female). Her mother was born in India and her father was born and raised in Cape Town and they are both fluent in English, Afrikaans,

Urdu, Hindi, Marathi and Kokni. However, all her grandparents, one of whom was born in Cape Town but raised in India, were only able to speak Kokni, therefore she was forced to learn to speak the language in order to communicate with them. Participant 17 (line 2), as was mentioned in the colour category, is also a fluent speaker, from Latvan whom knew two different terms than the previous participant. Both these females view the Kokni language as important, as part of their heritage. They stress the advantage of communicating in a different language, especially since they both frequently travel to India to visit family who reside in their villages in India.

Line 20 is the only place where participants had the same retention pattern, where 10 females of 29 (34.48%) that knew none of the terms. The rest of the females knew at least one term on the list. Participants 5, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 24, 27, 30 & 37 knew none of the terms. Four of them are first born, one third born, and the rest all last born. The last born show no retention of these body parts, it is most likely that they will retain the least amount of parts. However, it is not definite that if the siblings are born last, that they will always know none of these body parts.

Explanation

The females retained 'nose', 'teeth' and 'face' more than the other terms whereas the males retained 'nose', 'face' and 'eye'. All these parts are associated with the immediate appearance, the object(s) of view when conversing with an individual and places emphasis on beauty. The genders differ in one term here, females retaining 'teeth' and males retaining 'eye(s)'.

As the emphasis is on beauty, the teeth can be seen as affecting the appearance of a person and the possibility of a future spousal relationship. People think about teeth as it is the first thing they notice and often always speaking about the person's smile and in terms of teeth affecting a person's smile. Woman are often judged more for the beauty than men, therefore perhaps the emphasis is placed on this particular aspect.

The men on the other hand place emphasis on beauty by looking at an individual's eyes. The face is a representation of beauty but the eyes are often what the men are attracted to as it is the female's feature that determines the kindness of a person. The women would therefore often wear Kajol/ Kohl (black eye makeup) to draw the attention to the eyes. In the case where a woman would wear Niqaab (face veil), the eyes are the only feature visible and is the part that the men pay attention to.

b. Other Body Parts

Males

Table 8: Implicational scale for Kokni other body-parts known by males

Line no.	No. of Participants	*hāt* - **Hand**	*pāī* - **Foot**	*dil* - **Heart**	*pōt* - **Stomach**	*ʧāti* - **Chest**	*āy* - **Body**	*hāt* - **Arm**	*bōt* - **Finger**	*hār* - **Bone**	*nəkā* - **Nail**	*ʧāmbrā* - **Skin**	*pāi* - **Leg**	*dōpar* - **Knee**	*pāt* - **Back**	*rəkta* - **Blood**	*kōpər* - **Elbow**	*māndi* - **Thigh**	*bōta* - **Toe**
1	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	**1**	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	**1**	+	⊖	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	**1**	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	**1**	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	**1**	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	**1**	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	**4**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
no. of (+)'s		**4**				**1**								**0**					
Group		**A** *(36.36%)*				**B** *(9.09%)*								**C** *(0%)*					

Scalability: 97.48%

The negatives 174 (-)'s outweigh the positives 24 (+)'s on the scale. The only participant that knew 11 of 18 (61.11%) terms was participant 21, whom as was extensively mentioned earlier in this paper, is able to fluently speak Kokni. He is also the only male participant who stated that he is a fluent speaker of the Kokni language and that it would have been easier to recall the words if it were spoken in conversation: in Kokni. Line 2 is, as the previous sub-category, is participant 29, the fluent speaker of Urdu, however he only knew 4 of the terms and all the other participants knew less than that.

This sub-category is poorly retained and four participants (line 8), knew none of the terms. Of these people (participants 7, 23, 34 & 36) none are first born and all mentioned that did not know or use Kokni. They all either have no Kokni group or only a small group where the language is used. As a result of this they would not utilise the Kokni, and instead would use either English or Afrikaans.

Females

Table 9: Implicational scale for Kokni other body-parts known by females

Line no.	No. of participants	*dil* - **Heart**	*hāt* - **Hand**	*pōt* - **Stomach**	*pāī* - **Foot**	*pāi* - **Leg**	*nəkā* - **Nail**	*hāt* - **Arm**	*bōt* - **Finger**	*pāt* - **Back**	*āy* - **Body**	*ʄāti* - **Chest**	*dōpar* - **Knee**	*rəkta* - **Blood**	*bōta* - **Toe**	*hār* - **Bone**	*ʄāmbrā* - **Skin**	*kōpər* - **Elbow**	*māndi* - **Thigh**
1	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	-	-	-	-
2	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
3	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	**1**	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	**2**	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	**1**	+	+	+	+	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	**1**	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	**1**	⊖	+	+	+	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	**1**	+	+	+	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	**1**	⊖	+	+	-	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	**1**	+	+	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	**2**	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	**1**	-	-	⊕	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	**2**	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	**1**	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	**5**	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	**5**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
no. of (+)'s		**18**	**15**		**13**	**6**		**5**	**4**	**3**			**2**		**1**	**0**			
Grp.		**A** *(62.07%)*	**B** *(44.83-51.7%)*			**C** *(17.24 - 20.70%)*			**D** *(10.35 - 13.79%)*				**E** *(3.45 - 6.90%)*			**F** *(0%)*			

Scalability: 95.79%

The negatives 426 (-)'s outweigh the positives 96 (+)'s on the scale. As the previous sub-category, participants 4 and 17 remain at the top of the scale (lines 1 and 2 respectively) as they know the most terms (72.22% and 66.67%). However, this sub-category has more shared patterns (lines 5, 13, 15, 17 and 18). Line 5 is toward the top of the scale, where 33.33% of the terms were known, but the rest of the combinations are found toward the bottom of the scale where only two or less of the terms are known (0%- 11.11%).

Lines 17 and 18 show shared patterns by 5 females each. The first (line 17) where only one term was known and the last (line 18) where none (0%) of the terms of the list were known. Those that knew none of the terms were participants 8, 9, 10, 11 & 37. Participants 8 & 37 are the oldest children in their families, the rest (9, 10 & 11) are all the youngest among their siblings. They all mentioned that they do not use Kokni to refer to these body parts

Explanation

For both the males and the females, the most retained words were *hāt* 'hand', *pōt* 'stomach', *pāī* 'foot', and *diḷ* 'heart'. These terms would have been used, by a young speaker, as a point of emphasis in specific spaces where Kokni is used. A person would be required to think about or sympathize with the speaker as attention would be drawn to a specific body part by using the Kokni word instead of the English or Afrikaans equivalents. For example, "I was so in a hurry today that I knocked my *hāt* [hand] against the edge of the cupboard."

It is more likely that the youth know or retain this set of terms, as it can often be used by elder speakers on a daily basis, or used more in the home by elders to refer to perhaps ‘pain’ that they have in their “foot” or that the translation for “heart” in Kokni is the same as that of Urdu and Hindi. Alternately, some participants have gone for Urdu classes and are interpreting Kokni and Urdu terms as one and the same. Whereas the rest of the terms, especially those not known at all, are less likely to be retained by youngsters as they are more specific body parts which are not often used on a daily basis by elders or at times would never be used as they are considered more complex.

4.1.3. Cooking Terminology

a. Methods of Cooking

Males

Table 10: Implicational scale for Kokni methods of cooking- known by males

Line no.	No. of Participants	*gərəm kərtau* - **to heat**	*masala tāk* - **to add spices**	*kāptau* - **to cut/chop**	*sukothau* - **to dry**	*būztau* - **to put on fire**	*təltau* - **to fry**	*wātnā/ kutau* - **to grind/to pound**	*hālou* - **to mix/stir**	*ū kəlnɛ* - **to boil**	*wərt* - **to pour**	*khoəntau* - **to grate**	*werltau* - **to roll (bread)**	*ffāltau* - **to strain**	*fizotau* - **to cook**	*məltau* - **to knead**	*ū kərtau* - **to steam**	*thāptau* - **to spread**	*piltau* - **to squeeze**
1	**1**	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	**1**	+	+	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	**1**	+	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	**1**	-	-	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	**7**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
no. of (+)'s		**3**	**2**	**1**				**0**											
Group		**A** *(18.18 - 27.27 %)*		**B** *(9.09%)*				**C** *(0%)*											

Scalability: 98.49%

Table 10 shows an obvious imbalance of the scale, where the positives 9 (+)'s are completely outnumbered by the negatives 187 (-)'s. Only 6 of 18 (33.33%) terms were known in some capacity and the rest 12 of 18 terms (66.67%) were not known at all by the males. Those that were known were hardly known as only between 1 and 3 males (9.09%-27.27%) retained knowledge of those terms.

The fluent male in the study, participant 21 (line 2) and participant 29 knew only three terms. This is more than all the others, but noticeably more than seven participants in line 5 who did not retain any of the terms for methods of cooking.

Females

Table 11: Implicational scale for Kokni methods of cooking- known by females

Line no.	No. of Participants	*gərəm kərtau* - **to heat**	*masala tāk* - **to add spices**	*kāptau* - **to cut/chop**	*taltau* - **to fry**	*hālou* - **to mix/stir**	*ū kəlnɛ* - **to boil**	*wātnā/ kutau* - **to grind/to pound**	*sukothau* - **to dry**	*wəṛt* - **to pour**	*būztau* - **to put on fire**	*wəṛltau* - **to roll (bread)**	*ɟāltau* - **to strain**	*ʃizotau* - **to cook**	*məltau* - **to knead**	*ū kərtau* - **to steam**	*khoəntau* - **to grate**	*thāptau* - **to spread**	*piltau* - **to squeeze**
1	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	**1**	+	⊖	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	**1**	+	+	+	+	⊖	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	**1**	⊖	+	⊖	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	**1**	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	**1**	+	⊖	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	**1**	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	**1**	+	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	**1**	+	-	-	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	**5**	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	**14**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
no. of (+)'s		**15**	**6**			**4**	**2**		**1**					**0**					
Group		**A** *(51.72%)*	**B** *(13.79-20.69%)*				**C** *(3.45- 6.90%)*							**D** *(0%)*					

Scalability: 97.89%

As with the males in table 10, the females in table 11 also depict an abundance of negatives- 476 (-)'s more than positives 46 (+)'s. Unlike the males, the females show that of the 18 terms, only 6 (33.33%) was not known at all by them. This is the opposite of the males, where this (33.33%) was the percentage that was known in some capacity. The term that was

most well known was *gərəm kərtau* 'to heat', with 15 of 29 (51.72%) females had retained knowledge of this term. This is 24.45% more retained than the males for the same term.

The rest of the terms, 11 of 18 (61.11%), were all hardly known as only between 1 and 6 people possessed knowledge of the term (3.45%-20.69%). Even though these figures may seem insignificant, it shows that the terms are still in use within the Kokni community, particularly amongst the females. The two participants that are at the top of the scale (lines 1 and 2) remain participants 17 and 4, however in this case the former knew more than the latter participant.

The table shows that there are only two lines where there is a shared pattern (lines 11 and 12), with five and 14 participants respectively. The latter 14 people (48.28%) knew none of the Kokni terms.

Explanation

From tables 10 and 11, it is seen that the knowledge of this sub-category is low and that there is a vast difference in the knowledge of the terms known by the males and the females; where the latter (females) possessed more knowledge of methods of cooking than the males.

This is perhaps as a result of the Kokni females being expected to take an active role in the kitchen with elder females, specifically the mother, the grandmother, and often mother-in-law, than is expected of the males. There are instances where males are asked to participate. Conversely, within the Kokni household this usually does not hold true.

It is depicted that knowledge of the Kokni method of cooking terminology is retained more because of this. However, there is a large loss of the terminology shown by both genders. Perhaps on account of the Indian culture (Cape Town) and its gender roles which are relatively more likely to ascribe the kitchen tasks to females, more than males. Though these gender roles may be more flexible now, the retention of the Kokni terminology are more known by the females than their male counterparts.

In this sub-category the most known terms are retained as they are utilized on a daily basis, by many Kokni Indian South Africans, whereas for the least known words, the English word is used. They only tend to use Kokni words in place of the English ones in some cases, as the sentences are mostly English.

b. Kitchen Utensils

Males

Table 12: Implicational scale for Kokni kitchen-utensils known by males

Line no.	No. of Participants	*səlipō* - **Wooden Spoon**	*həməndəsto-* **Object (pound/grind)**	*bārki ʧimʧi* - **Small spoon**	*surī* - **Knife**	*sto/ ʧūlō* - **Stove**	*ḍhākən* - **Lid**	*masala dəbō* - **Spice box**	*bərni* - **A jar**	*hāndī* - **metal pot**	*mōta ʧimʧō* - **Big spoon**	*glās* - **A glass**	*khoən* - **Grater**	*lātnī* - **Rolling pin**	*mōta ʧīni* - **Big plate**	*kat ho* - **Metal bowl**	*tōp* - **A pot**	*douli* - **A ladle**	*bārki ʧīni* - **Small plate**	*towa* - **A pan**	*tʃālən* - **Strainer**	*kukər* - **Pressure cooker**	*ʧimʧō*- **Slotted Spoon**
1	**1**	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	**1**	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	⊕	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	**1**	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	**1**	+	⊖	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	**3**	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	**4**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
no. of (+)'s		**7**		**3**	**1**								**0**										
Group		**A** *(63.64%)*		**B** *(27.27%)*	**C** *(9.09%)*								**D** *(0%)*										

Scalability: 98.35%

The scale shows that the positives 21 (+)'s are heavily outweighed by the negatives 221 (-)'s. 11 out of 22 terms (50%) were not known by any of the male participants (group D). The one term that was relatively well known among males was *səlipō* 'Wooden Spoon' (group A). In line 1 is participant 21, who despite being a fluent Kokni speaker, only knew 36.36% of the terms. This is more than the person in line 2, participant 13. This person is a descendant from Latvan in India, and the oldest sibling among three males aged 23. He has never lived with his grandparents but often visited his maternal grandparents when he was a child, before his grandparents passed away. He mentioned that his parents are fluent in English, Afrikaans and

several other languages, and that they are able to speak in Kokni if necessary, however they always revert back to Afrikaans and English. He is not able to speak Kokni, but he shows some retention in Kokni lexicon. In this sub-category he knew five of the terms (22.73%).

Similar patterns of knowledge were found in lines 5 and 6 by three and four participants respectively. Both these combinations are found at the bottom of the scale. Line 3 shows that three people only knew one term. Four of the males (line 6) knew (0%) none of the kitchen utensils in Kokni. These people are participants 19, 29, 33 and 34. All of them are the youngest of their siblings, except for participant 29 who is an only child.

Females

Similar to the males, table 13 shows that in the scale for the females, the positives 66 (+)'s are also outweighed by the negatives 572 (-)'s. The difference, however, is that instead of 50% of the terminology not being known at all, those not known by the females are only 5 out of 22 terms (22.73%). This shows that the females knew approximately 77.27% of the terms in some capacity. Of the 22 terms in this sub-category *səlipō* 'wooden spoon' was the only one that was somewhat known (see below for an explanation). This term *səlipō* 'wooden spoon' was among the top term retained in this sub-category by both the male and female participants.

The people that knew the most terms were participants 17 (line 1) and 20 (line 2). The first person knew 59.09% of the terms as she still utilises the Kokni variants for kitchen utensils when cooking with her mother and when speaking to her grandmother about cooking. The second person is a 19 year old descendant from Waawguhr and she is the oldest amongst three siblings. She boasts a large Kokni circle as her immediate family all speak the language in the home and amongst her cousins and grandparents whom live in India. She often cooks with her mother, who was born in India and moved to Cape Town after marriage.

There were two groups of six participants each that shared the same patterns of knowledge (lines 14 & 19), where 6 only knew *səlipō* 'wooden spoon' and 6 knew none of the terms in the category. The people that knew none of the terms was participants 2, 10, 11, 30, 32 and 37. All of these participants, except 32, are last born, but they all mentioned that they would use the English terms for these utensils.

Table 13: Implicational scale for Kokni kitchen-utensils known by females

Line no.	No. of Participants	*səlipō* - **Wooden Spoon**	*ɖhākən* - **Lid**	*həməndəsto-* **Object (pound/grind)**	*towa* - **A pan**	*surī* - **Knife**	*bārki ʧimʧi* - **Small spoon**	*masala dəbō* - **Spice box**	*glās* - **A glass**	*sto/ ʧūlō* - **Stove**	*lātnī* - **Rolling pin**	*mōta ʧimʧō* - **Big spoon**	*hāndī* - **metal pot**	*douli* - **A ladle**	*tōp* - **A pot**	*khoən* - **Grater**	*kukər* - **Pressure cooker**	*tʃālən* - **Strainer**	*mōta ʧīni* - **Big plate**	*bərni* - **A jar**	*bārki ʧīni* - **Small plate**	*ʧimʧō*- **Slotted Spoon**	*kət ho* - **Metal bowl**
1	**1**	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	⊖	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	**1**	+	+	⊖	+	+	⊖	⊖	⊖	+	⊖	⊖	+	-	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-
3	**1**	+	+	⊖	⊖	⊖	⊖	+	⊖	⊖	⊖	+	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	**1**	⊖	+	⊖	+	+	+	⊖	⊖	⊖	⊖	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	**1**	⊖	⊖	+	⊖	⊖	+	⊖	+	⊖	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	**1**	+	⊖	⊖	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	**1**	+	⊖	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	**1**	+	⊖	+	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	**1**	⊖	+	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	**1**	+	-	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	**1**	+	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	**1**	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	**1**	-	-	-	-	-	-	⊕	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	**6**	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
15	**1**	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	**1**	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	**1**	-	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
18	**1**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	**6**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
no. of (+)'s		**14**	**6**			**5**	**4**			**3**			**2**	**1**					**0**				
Grp.		**A** *(48.28 %)*	**B** *(17.24-20.69%)*				**C** *(10.35- 13.79%)*						**D** *(6.90-3.45%)*						**E** *(0%)*				

Scalability: 91.38%

Explanation

Based on the male and female participants, tables 12 and 13 show that the word *səlipō* 'wooden spoon' was known by a total of 21 out of 40 participants (52.50%). An explanation for this is that only particular items in the household are referred to by their Kokni name, which is the case for *səlipō* 'wooden spoon'. In the Kokni home, this item holds two distinct meanings. The first is that the item is required to physically stir a pot of food. The second, more significantly is considered a metaphor, as this object was used as an instrument to discipline misbehaving children (which has since been abandoned). By using this instrument as a threatening device to infer that if the children misbehave, they would be punished by a 'slap on the bottom' using a 'stick' *kāti,* which is also known as a 'wooden spoon'.

Another utensil *həməndəsto* 'object for grinding/pounding' was also commonly among the top listed items known (although hardly known) among the participants as collectively 9 of 40 (22.5%) knew the term. 75% of the participants never knew the term but it was known by the rest as *həməndəsto* and nothing else. It is seen that this particular word is only known by the select participants by this specific Kokni word only, they had no knowledge of its English or Afrikaans equivalent. Therefore it was exclusively known as *həməndəsto*. Additionally, tables 12 and 13 show that *sto/* 'stove', *glās* 'a glass', and *kukər* 'pressure cooker' are obvious loan words. Though the respondents are unclear about these obvious loans, from English, used in India.

It is seen that despite the presence of the Kokni in the Cape, much (but not all) of its terminology for kitchen utensils have faded and is now being replaced by either English or Afrikaans equivalents, except for a select few which were exclusively known by its Kokni term only.

c. Typical Dishes

Males

Table 14: Implicational scale for Kokni typical-dishes known by males

Line no.	No. of Participants	*nān* – Thick bread roasted on fire	*rōti* – Bread made in pan	*pōlɛ* - (Spicy) pancake	*khīr/ pɛz* – Milk porridge	*dhān* – Plain cooked rice	*tərkāri/ ʃāk* - Vegetables	*kuʃəmbər* - Salad
1	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
2	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	-	⊕
3	**3**	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
4	**1**	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
5	**1**	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
6	**2**	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
7	**1**	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	**1**	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-
no. of (+)'s		**10**		**7**	**6**	**5**	**1**	
Group		**A** *(90.91%)*		**B** *(63.64%)*	**C** *(54.55%)*	**D** *(45.46%)*	**E** *(9.09%)*	

Scalability: 97.40%

The positives 35 (+)'s outweigh the negatives 42 (-)'s in table 14. The people in lines 1 and 2 (participants 13 and 21) both knew six terms each (85.74%). The former is able to recall terminology for these dishes as he mentioned that the Kokni terms for food are still used in his home by his mother, as opposed to the English equivalents. The latter, being fluent in Kokni, used the Kokni terms, but was not clear on its English equivalents, as in some cases the researcher had to describe the dish that was being asked about

In this sub-category, there were no males that knew none of the terms for typical dishes, it is more likely that the males are able to at least provide one (14.28%) of the Kokni terms among the seven asked.

Females

Table 15: Implicational scale for Kokni typical-dishes known by females

Line no.	No. of Participants	*nān* – Thick bread roasted on fire	*rōti* – Bread made in pan	*khīr/ pɛz* – Milk porridge	*dhān* – Plain cooked rice	*pōlɛ* - (Spicy) pancake	*kuʃəmbɔr* - Salad	*tərkāri/ fāk* - Vegetables
1	**1**	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	+
2	**2**	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+
3	**2**	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
4	**1**	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	-
5	**1**	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	-
6	**2**	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	-
7	**1**	+	⊖	⊖	+	+	+	⊕
8	**1**	⊖	⊖	⊖	+	+	+	⊕
9	**1**	+	+	⊖	+	⊖	+	⊕
10	**2**	+	+	+	⊖	+	-	-
11	**2**	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
12	**3**	+	+	⊖	+	⊕	-	-
13	**1**	+	+	⊖	+	-	-	-
14	**4**	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
15	**1**	+	+	-	-	⊕	-	-
16	**1**	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
17	**2**	+	-	⊕	-	-	-	-
18	**1**	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
no. of (+)'s		**28**	**24**	**19**	**16**		**8**	**6**
Group		**A** *(96.55%)*	**B** *(82.76%)*	**C** *(65.51%)*	**D** *(55.17%)*		**E** *(27.59%)*	**F** *(20.69%)*

Scalability: 83.71%

The positives 117 (+)'s outweigh the negatives 86 (-)'s in table 15. Participants 40 (line 1), 17 & 25 (line 2), and 3 & 24 (line 3), all knew different six terms from the list (85.71%). These people are all the oldest amongst their siblings, except participant 25, who is the oldest female among three siblings. They show no particular reason as to why they know above 80% of the terms. On the other hand, participant 37 (line 18) was the only person that only knew one term. She is the oldest amongst three siblings, a 2nd generation South African Kokni Indian descendant from Arawi in India. She has no Kokni circle, despite knowing that her family are Kokni Indians by descent, and mentions that her family no longer uses any Kokni terminology[6] as it has been replaced with mainly English, and the occasional

[6] Participants 37 and 34 are siblings, and the latter said that their mother is knowledgeable about Kokni dishes and uses the Kokni terms for them. However, he emphasized that none of the siblings knew these terms and

Afrikaans. She also mentions that she does not necessarily know whether the language her maternal grandmother spoke was indeed Kokni.

The scale shows multiple combinations, the most being four participants that knew the same pattern. These combinations are spread across the scale (lines 2, 3, 6, 10, 11, 12, 14 and 16) and do not congregate toward either the top or the bottom. Additionally, there were no females that knew none of the terms and it was more likely that they knew more than two terms. This shows that the females had retained more knowledge of the lexical items of Kokni typical dishes than the males, perhaps as a result of fewer males that cook.

Explanation

Considering that there are typically fewer males than females that retained the Kokni terminology for dishes, it can be attributed to the fact that among the Cape Town Koknis it is more likely that the females would do the *cooking* and the males simply *the eating/testing.*

The only reasoning behind knowing the terminology suggests that those words are commonly used in the way that there would be a request to make the dishes for them, otherwise the dish would simply be described. This scenario is indeed the case for the researcher's family where all the men on the father's side are not able to cook and purely retain some of the terminology of the dishes on the basis of consumption patterns.

Alternatively, this observation is untrue for the researcher's mother's family, where all the males are able to cook. Therefore the possibility of the male participants retaining the knowledge of the Kokni dishes terms could be on account of them being able to cook, as well as possibly possessing a business that is dependent on being able to cook for various large functions.

instead they would refer to these dishes by their description, or when at the dinner table, to pass "this" or "that" dish.

d. Cooking Ingredients

Males

Table 16: Implicational scale for Kokni cooking-ingredients known by males

Line no.	No. of Participants	*sākər* - **Sugar**	*miri/mirja/ mirʧī* - **Chillies**	*mīt* - **Salt**	*ləsūn* - **Garlic**	*ālā* - **Ginger**	*Kāpūs* - **Cotton**	*mətər* - **Peas**	*makā* - **Corn**	*wāʧla miri* - **Pepper**	*gahū* - **Wheat**
1	**1**	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	**2**	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	**1**	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	**7**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
no. of (+)'s		**3**	**2**	**1**		**0**					
Group		**A** *(9.09-27.27%)*				**B** *(0%)*					

Scalability: 99.09%

The 103 (-)'s outweigh the 7 (+)'s. Four of ten (60%) the terms were not known by any (0%) of the males, and the four remaining terms were hardly known by the males as only between one to three (9.09% - 27.27%) participants knew the terms.

The terms that were hardly known are *sākər* 'sugar', *miri/mirja/ mirʧī* 'chillies', *mīt* 'salt' and *ləsūn* 'garlic'. The first two terms were known by three and two people respectively (27.27% and 18.18%). These two terms are the only terms known by more than one person. However, one or two people knowing the term is compare poorly with seven of eleven participants (63.63%) knowing none of the terminology for cooking ingredients. The person that knew the most terms was participant 21 (line 1), who as noted previously is fluent in Kokni and is able to provide more Kokni terms than the other male participants.

Line 4 shows the seven participants (6, 7, 19, 23, 33, 34, 36) who knew none of the terms. Participant 6 is the only eldest sibling, all the others are either second and/or last born. These participants are only able to produce the English, and sometimes the Afrikaans equivalents of these terms.

Females

Table 17: Implicational scale for Kokni cooking-ingredients known by females

Line no.	No. of Participants	*sākər* - **Sugar**	*miri /mirja/ mirʧī* - **Chillies**	*ləsūn* - **Garlic**	*ālā* - **Ginger**	*mīt* - **Salt**	*mətər* - **Peas**	*makā* - **Corn**	*wāṭla miri* - **Pepper**	*Kāpūs* - **Cotton**	*gahū* - **Wheat**
1	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
2	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	-	⊕	-	-	-
3	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	⊕	-	-
4	**1**	+	+	+	+	⊖	-	-	-	-	-
5	**1**	+	+	+	⊖	+	-	-	-	-	-
6	**1**	+	+	+	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-
7	**3**	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	**1**	+	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	**1**	⊖	-	⊕	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	**5**	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	**3**	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	**10**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
no. of (+)'s		**15**	**12**	**7**	**6**	**4**	**2**	**1**		**0**	
Group		**A** *(41.38%-51.72%)*		**B** *(13.79%-24.14%)*			**C** *(3.45%-6.90%)*			**D** *(0%)*	

Scalability: 95.86%

As the males, the 242 (-)'s outweigh the 48 (+)'s, but the females' knowledge of cooking ingredients compared to males is higher, as there are abundantly more (+)'s. *gahū* 'wheat' and *Kāpūs '*cotton' are the only terms that was not known by any of the participants (20%). This is unlike the males where 60% of the terminology was not known at all. Similarly, *sākər* 'sugar' and *miri /mirja/ mirʧī* 'chillies' are two consistent terms that are known by both the females and the males, where the latter is most well known, where fifteen participants of twenty-nine (51.72%) knew the term.

Participants 3 (line 1), 4 (line 2) and 17 (line 3) all knew six of the ten terms (60%), where all the other people knew less than that. As was mentioned previously, the latter two people are fluent in Kokni and are able to show extensive knowledge of the language. Participant 3 though is not able to do so. She is 3rd generation South African Kokni Indian, the eldest

among three siblings, and currently lives with her Kokni-speaking grandparents, Cape Town born mother, India born father, and her younger siblings. She mentioned that she would often help her mother in preparing the food in the home, perhaps this could attribute to the knowledge of cooking ingredients.

There are four places where there is a shared pattern of knowledge (lines 7, 10, 11 and 12), all of which are toward the lower end of the scale. Line 12 shows ten people that knew none of the Kokni lexicon for cooking ingredients. These were participants 5, 8, 9, 10, 12, 14, 15, 26, 30 and 37. They all inferred that the English or Afrikaans equivalents are used instead of the Kokni terms.

Explanation

'Sugar' *sākər* and *miri /mirja/ mirtʃĩ* 'chillies' are most well known by both genders as they are staples used in the Kokni Indian household.

Cultural significance in the ingredients is those where spices are concerned. 'Sugar' *sākər* and *miri /mirja/ mirtʃĩ* 'chillies' are used on a daily basis in the Kokni community, known for their spicy food and also in some case, ironically as having a sweet tooth (or diabetes) for any and all occasions. For example, it is customary to offer sweets and particularly 'sugar' (granulated) to guests at weddings, ceremonies related to weddings, Islamic/Muslim prayer gatherings and more.

Likewise *ləsūn* 'garlic', *ālā* 'ginger', and *mīt* 'salt' are also used on a daily basis but hold a different position to 'sugar' and 'chillies'. These three, 'garlic', 'ginger' and 'salt', are used primarily in cooking and are generally only known by those Kokni persons that have been taught to cook either by the grandmother, or by their mother/parent that was taught by a first language Kokni speaker (mother or grandmother).

Additionally, *ləsūn* 'garlic' and *ālā* 'ginger' terms are often referred to as one item, and when asked to separate them, the participants would often produce one term as the other due to English conventions. This is because 'garlic' and 'ginger' is expressed in this order in English, but in Kokni it is expressed as 'ginger' and 'garlic'.

'Corn' *makā*, and *wāţla miri '*pepper' are also ingredients but they are used less often. The latter encountered the confusion of the type of pepper- for example, either 'green pepper' 'white pepper', 'black pepper', 'cayenne pepper' and more.

'Wheat' *gahū* and k*āpūs* 'cotton' are raw agricultural produce not often used in a Kokni home, and are therefore not known by participants, who have now adopted either the English or Afrikaans equivalents of the terms.

4.1.4. Numerical Terms

Males

Table 18: Implicational scale for Kokni numerical- terms known by males

Line no.	**No. of Participants**	*ēk* - **One**	*dō* - **Two**	*tīn* - **Three**	*ʧār* - **Four**	*pāʃ* - **Five**	*dā* - **Ten**	*āt* - **Eight**	*nau* - **Nine**	*sāt* - **Seven**	*pənās* - **Fifty**	*sə* - **Six**	(*ēk*) *hazār* - **One Thousand**	*ʃəmbər* - **One Hundred**	*pən tʃīs* - **Twenty-Five**
1	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	-	-
2	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	-	⊕	-
3	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
4	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	⊕	-	-	-
5	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	⊕	-	-	⊕	-	-
6	**2**	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	**1**	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	**3**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
no. of (+)'s		**8**				**7**	**5**	**4**			**2**			**1**	**0**
Group		**A** *(63.64 - 72.73%)*					**B** *(45.45 %)*	**C** *(36.36%)*			**D** *(18.18%)*			**E** *(9.09%)*	**F** *(0 %)*

Scalability: 96.10%

The scales shows that the 91 (-)'s outweigh the 63 (+)'s for this category. The people who knew the most terms were participants 21 (line 1) and 6 (line 2). They both knew 11 terms (78.57%) each, albeit not all the same (differing over 3 items). Once again, participant 21 is among the most knowledgeable people. However now he is accompanied by participant 6, who was also mentioned earlier in this dissertation as being one of the people who passively retained Kokni knowledge as a result of his exposure to the language at a young age (despite his belief that Kokni is no longer relevant to know and learn).

Additionally, there are two instances where participants had the same pattern of knowledge (lines 6 and 8), both toward the bottom of the scale, where knowledge of Kokni is limited. There are three people, line 8, that knew none of the numerical terms, namely, participants 7,

34 and 36. None of these people are first born children, they are all last born, who perhaps had already developed a vast English lexicon as a result of the influence by the older sibling(s).

Females

Table 19: Implicational scale for Kokni numerical- terms known by females

Line no.	No. of Participants	*ēk* - One	*dō* - Two	*tīn* - Three	*pāʧ* - Five	*ʧār* - Four	*sāt* - Seven	*dā* - Ten	*āt* - Eight	*nau* - Nine	*sə* - Six	*(ēk) həzār* - One Thousand	*pənās* - Fifty	*pən ʧis* - Twenty-Five	*ʃəmbər* - One Hundred
1	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
3	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	⊖	+	-
4	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
5	**2**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	-	-
6	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	-	-	⊕
7	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-
8	**3**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	-	-	-
9	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	⊖	-	-	-
10	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	-	⊕	-
11	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	⊕	-	-
12	**2**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	-	-	-
13	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	⊖	+	-	-	-
14	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
15	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-
17	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-
18	**2**	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	**1**	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	**1**	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	**3**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
no. of (+)'s		**26**	**25**			**24**	**19**	**18**			**12**	**11**	**6**	**4**	**2**
Group		**A** *(82.76-89.66%)*					**B** *(62.07- 65.52%)*				**C** *(37.93-41.38%)*		**D** *(20.69 %)*	**E** *(8.90-13.80%)*	

Scalability: 94.83%

On the scale, there are 233 (+)'s that outweigh the 173 (-)'s. Participant 17 (line 1) knew all the numerical terms, as she often travels to India and is able to converse and barter with the

locals using Kokni, therefore she is also able to count and able to work with currency by using Kokni, Urdu and Hindi. Participant 4 has similar experience and knew all the numerical terms, with the exception of 'one hundred'.

There were 5 lines (5, 8, 12, 18 and 22) on the scale where people shared similar patterns of numerical knowledge. The first two, lines 5 and 8 toward the top of the scale, where all the others are congregated more toward the middle and lower half. These combinations are either between two or three people only. Line 22 has three people with the same pattern, participants 11, 15 and 37, who knew none of the numerical terms. None of these people had a large Kokni circle in which they could use these terms.

Explanation

The reasoning for the placement of *sə* **'**six' and *dā* 'ten'[7] is that these terms are numerical terms with specific forms in Kokni, whereas all the others are the same as in Hindi and Urdu. It could have been that the youth participants knew the basic numerals in a language but are not necessarily able to differ between the Kokni, Hindi and Urdu counterparts.

The least known terms are for 'one thousand', 'one hundred' and 'twenty-five' which are higher denominations. These, however, are often known by those that are fluent in Kokni. It is most likely that the environment in which these terms would be used is in a business environment. For example, it could be used in the participants' family business, to discuss matters of income, expenditure and investments, or alternatively when going shopping to discuss pricing of particular products, specifically in whether another business has the same product for cheaper. The youth pursuing professional work and not being involved in family businesses could account for the lack of Kokni numerical knowledge.

Conclusion to Section 4.1

The most prominent categories for this section are *colour terminology, cooking: typical dishes,* and *Counting.* These were the categories and sub-categories that were most retained by the participants. The remaining categories were retained in some capacity only, showing they are weakly retained and will eventually be replaced with English or Afrikaans equivalents.

[7] 'Ten' *dā* had the same number of positives as both *āt* 'eight' and *nau* 'nine'.

4.2. Analysis: Kinship Terminology & Miscellaneous Terminology

This section presents comments on the implicational scales for Kokni kinship terminology as well as miscellaneous Kokni terms.

It is important to note that the research on the kinship terms were done without referring to the distinction between referential and address terms. Reference terms: "the words used when talking about (referring to) a relative" and address terms: "what one actually says when one talks to (address, calls) a relative" (Sohn, 2006:102). The focus was more to determine whether the youth knew a Kokni term for a particular relation and not to distinguish between these two term types (in Kokni).

4.2.1. Kinship

a. Ascending and Own generation

Males

Unlike in the tables in section 4.1, table 20 is made up of 105 (+)'s and 71 (-)'s, which makes this the first table that has positives outweighing the negatives. More terms were known by more people compared to earlier tables (i.e. the positives and negatives related to individual words and not to people).

The person that had the most lexical knowledge in this sub-category was participant 6 as he knew 14 of 16 terms (87.50%). In section 4.1 this person was cited as saying that the Kokni language is no longer used with him, yet here he shows that the kinship terminology is still upheld. The only two terms he did not know was 'mother' and 'mother's grandmother'. He refers to his mother as *mommy* and he did not know his 'mother's grandmother'. This accounts for his lack of knowledge for these terms. Alternately, it is also likely that no one referred to their great-grandparents in their presence. The other terms are all relations he currently has or has had.

Table 20: Implicational scale for Kokni kinship of ascending and own generation-terms known by males

Line no.	No. of Participants	bhās/ bhāi - **Brother**	*ādʒōs/ dāda/ nāna* - **Mother's father**	*ādʒīs/ əma/ dādi /nāni* - **Mother's mother**	*ādʒōs/ dāda/ nāna* - **Father's father**	*kāka/ tʃitʃā* - **Father's brother**	*māma/ māmī* - **Mother's brother**	*khālā/ khālāmā* - **Mothers sister**	*āta/ fupī* - **Father's sister**	*ādʒīs/ əma/ dādi* - **Father's mother**	*bāpus/ bāba/ əba* - **Father**	*bhəjnīs/ apa/ bhāna* - **Sister**	*pər dāda/ pər nāna* - **Mother's grandfather**	*pər dāda* - **Father's grandfather**	*āis/ mā* - **Mother**	*pər dādi* - **Father's grandmother**	*pər dādi* - **grandmother**
1	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	-
2	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	-	-
3	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	⊖	+	-	-
4	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	⊖	+	-	-	-
5	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	⊖	-	-	-	-
6	**1**	+	+	+	+	⊖	⊖	⊖	⊖	+	+	+	+	-	-	⊕	-
7	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-
8	**1**	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	⊖	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-
9	**1**	+	+	⊖	⊖	⊖	+	+	+	-	⊕	-	⊕	-	-	-	-
10	**1**	+	⊖	⊖	+	+	+	+	+	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
no. of (+)'s		**11**	**10**	**9**					**8**		**6**	**5**		**3**	**2**		**0**
Group		**A** *(90.91-100%)*		**B** *(72.73-81.82%)*							**C** *(45.46 - 54.54%)*			**D** *(18.18-27.27%)*			**E** *(0 %)*

Scalability: 85.23%

The table shows that each participant in this sub-category knew a different combination knowledge. The person at the end of the scale that knew the least is participant 7. This participant only knew six terms (37.5%). He mentioned that in his family these terms are only used on his father's side of the family as his mother's side is mixed between Indian and Malay. Therefore it can be seen that in this sub-category he is able to display more knowledge in kinship terms for his father's side of the family, as his mother's side uses more conventional English equivalents.

Females

Table 21: Implicational scale for Kokni kinship of ascending and own generation-terms known by females

Line no.	No. of Participants	*ādʒīs/ əma/ dādi /āni* - **Mother's mother**	*bhās/ bhāi* - **Brother**	*māma/ māmū* - **Mother's brother**	*khālā/ khālāmā* - **Mothers sister**	*āʤōs/ dāda/ nāna* - **Father's brother**	*kāka/ tʃiʧā* - **Father's sister**	*āta/ fupū* - **Father's sister**	*ādʒīs/ əma/ dādi* - **Father's mother**	*āʤōs/ dāda/ nāna* - **Mother's father**	*bāpus/ bāba/ əba* - **Father**	*bhəjnīs/ apa/ bhāna* - **Sister**	*āis/ mā* - **Mother**	*pər dāda/ pər nāna* - **Mother's grandfather**	*pər dāda* - **Father's grandfather**	*pər dādi* - **Father's grandmother**	*pər dādi* - **Mother's grandmother**
1	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	+	+
3	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	+	-
4	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	+	+	-
5	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-
6	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	⊖	-
7	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	⊖	+	⊖	⊕
8	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	⊖	+	+	+	-
9	**1**	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	+	-
10	**1**	+	⊖	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	⊕
11	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	-	-
12	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	⊖	-	-
13	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	-	-	-
14	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	-	-	-	-
15	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	-	-	-	-
16	**1**	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
17	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	⊖	+	+	⊕	-	-	-
18	**5**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	-	-	-	-	-
19	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	⊖	⊖	+	+	-	-	⊕	-	-
20	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	-	⊕	-	-	-	-
21	**2**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	⊖	+	⊕	-	-	-	-	-
22	**1**	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
23	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	⊖	+	⊖	+	⊕	-	-	-	-	-
24	**1**	+	+	+	⊖	+	-	-	⊕	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-
no. of (+)'s		**29**	**28**			**27**		**26**	**23**	**21**	**20**	**19**	**16**	**12**	**11**	**8**	**4**
Group		**A** *(89.66- 100%)*							**B** *(68.97-79.31%)*			**C** *(55.17-65.52 %)*		**D** *(37.93-41.38%)*		**E** *(27.59%)*	**F** *(13.79 %)*

Scalability: 88.15%

The results on this scale is the same as in table 20, where the 327 positives (+) outweigh the 137 negatives (-). This shows that the females, like the males, have a higher retention of the ascending and own generation kinship terms than the lexicon in section 4.1. The person that retained the most in this sub-category is again participant 17 (line 1). As was noted, she is fluent in Kokni and retains close ties to her large Kokni circle in both Cape Town and India.

In this table, participant 4 (the other fluent speaker) is not found in lines 1 nor 2. Instead participant 18, who is 2nd generation descent, is oldest born with one younger brother, is next on the scale (line 2). She is not fluent in Kokni but her parents are both fluent speakers who often switch between using English, Afrikaans and Kokni in the household. She has never been to India nor is she able to speak (in Kokni) to those that communicate with her in Kokni, but she is able to completely understand what is being said, therefore replies to enquiries in English. For her Kokni is often heard spoken, but she is only able to use certain lexicon for comedic effect, but the exception is with kinship terms, as these terms are most commonly used among all her and her husband's families.

There was two places, lines 18 and 21, where there were shared patterns of knowledge by five and two people respectively. These were both found in the lower half of the scale, toward the bottom. There were no people that knew none of the terms. The one that knew the least was participant 37. This participant mentioned that Kokni is almost no longer used in the family and that they now refer to only specific relations in the language, where all other relations would be referred to by the English equivalent.

Explanation

In the Kokni community, these relations are a part of the immediate family, as the direct descendant (starting from the grandparents) are considered as the closest part of an individual's family. For the males, there seems to be a pattern that all the top known terms were male relations, whereas the least known terms were all female relations. Based on these observations when interacting with participants it was seen that the males would speak more to their male counterparts than they would the females, except for the mother whom they speak to most often as she is a pivotal figure in a Kokni male's life. The females pattern on the other hand is a little different to the males as here the top term 'mother’s sister' is part of the female relations however the other two terms 'mother’s brother' and 'brother' are both male relations. The least known are also all female relations. These aforementioned terms are the same as those not known by the males with the exception of being in a different order. It

could be because they are no longer living and therefore no longer needed to be used. Interestingly the pattern seems to be that the terms for the male relations are more prominently retained than the females. However this is not concretely true.

b. Descending generation

Males

Table 22: Implicational scale for Kokni kinship of the descending generation-terms known by males

Line no.	**No. of Participants**	*nātus* - **Son's son**	*nātis* - **Son's daughter**	*pōr* - **Child**	*pōrgo* - **Son**	*pōrgi* - **Daughter**	*nātus* - **Daughter's son**	*nātis* - **Daughter's daughter**
1	**1**	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
2	**10**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
no. of (+)'s		**1**		**0**				
Group		**A** *(9.09%)*		**B** *(0%)*				

Scalability: 100%

There was only two positives on the scale, which was heavily outweighed by the 75 negatives. With only seven terms in this list the top two that emerged were *nātus* 'son's son', *nātis* 'daughter's son'. However these two (28.57%) terms were only known by one of eleven males, participant 21. The remaining terms were not known by any of the participants. Additionally, line 2 shows that 10 of the 11 males (90.91%) knew none of the Kokni terms for their kinship in the descending generation sub-category.

It is also important to note that many of the participants would refer to these people/relations by their given name, therefore do not necessarily need a Kokni term. This descending generation are relations referred to and addressed *by name*.

Females

Table 23: Implicational scale for Kokni kinship of the descending generation-terms known by females

Line no.	No. of Participants	*pōr* - **Child**	*pōrgo* - **Son**	*pōrgi* - **Daughter**	*nātus* - **Son's son**	*nātis* - **Son's daughter**	*nātus* - **Daughter's son**	*nātis* - **Daughter's daughter**
1	**1**	⊖	⊖	⊖	+	+	+	+
2	**1**	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
3	**1**	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
4	**3**	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	**23**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
no. of (+)'s		**5**	**2**	**1**				
Group		**A** *(17.24%)*	**B** *(6.90%)*	**C** *(3.45%)*				

Scalability: 98.52%

The 12 (+)'s are outweighed by the 191 (-)'s. There were no terms that were not known by at least one person. Of the seven terms, each term was known at least once. Participant 31 (line 1) knew the most terms in this category. She is a 2nd generation South African Kokni Indian. She has a small Kokni circle and she is the eldest of three siblings. She is her husband's second wife and he has a son from his previous marriage, whom she is raising (see table 27 discussion). She is the only person in the study that has kinship relations by adoption.

There were two combinations, in lines 4 and 5, both of which are congregated at the bottom of the table. Line four has three participants with the same pattern of retention, however this is only one term. The main grouping is found in line 5, where 23 of 29 (79.31%) people knew none of the terms in the sub-category. This suggests that the terms are declining in use, and likely to be rapidly declining.

Explanation

Almost none of the participants had the knowledge as the terms asked were what the participants would have referred to/addressed the person as and as tables 21 and 22 show, these relations would be by their given name or by explanation of that particular relation. However, the participant would address and refer to them by their given name in conversation with those that actually know the person in question. On the other hand, if they

are referring to a relation whilst in conversation with someone that might know the individual (they are within the Kokni community) then the relation is explained via that particular person's relationship to them. Alternately, if an individual is in conversation with someone outside the Kokni community then they will explain the relation by using the English equivalent so as to not confuse the person they are in the conversation with.

The use of the given name rather than the kinship term is mentioned by all participants. As a result of not being a fluent speaker of Kokni they believe that that is the reasoning behind not knowing the Kokni reference terms. The exception however is with the words for *pōr* 'child', *pōrgo* 'son', and *pōrgi* 'daughter', which they have heard used by older speakers. However, few younger ones use these terms. Instead, the youth would refer to these relations by either explanation, or by name.

c. Other relatives

Males

Table 24 shows that there are 52 positives and 80 negatives, suggesting that knowledge of this sub-category is not very well known. But this is the first time where there is a reasonable proportion of participants that knew most of the terms (8 of 12 or 66.67%). These are participants 6, 22, 23, and 29. These people are an eldest sibling, a last-born child, a middle child and an only child respectively. These relations are still part of the immediate family, as was mentioned in the discussion of table 20. Therefore it is likely they will ascribe these terms for these relations as they would most likely have them. The terms that they did not know was that of a respective siblings' children, who are younger than them, and relations that they would refer to as by those children's *name* and not the relational term.

The other shared pattern (line 6) shows three people (participants 7,13, and 19) who knew none of the terms. These participants would refer to these people *by name* despite all these relations being older than them. Alternately, in the case of participant 7, he refers and addresses all these relations *by name* as a result of his family situation where on his mother's side of the family, these Kokni relational terms are not emphasised.

Table 24: Implicational scale for Kokni kinship of other relatives-terms known by males

Line no.	No. of Participants	*bhās/ bhāi* - **Father's sister's son**	*bhās/ bhāi* - **Mother's sister's son**	*bhajnīs/ apa/ bhāna* - **Mother's brother's daughter**	*bhajnīs/ apa/ bhāna* - **Father's sister's daughter**	*bhās/ bhāi* - **Mother's brother's son**	*bhajnīs/ apa/ bhāna* - **Father's brother's daughter**	*bhajnīs/ apa/ bhāna* - **Mother's sister's daughter**	*bhās/ bhāi* - **Father's brother's son**	*bhətīdʒa* - **Brother's son**	*bhətīdʒi* - **Brother's daughter**	*bhətīdʒa* - **Sister's son**	*bhətīdʒi* - **Sister's daughter**
1	**4**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
2	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-
3	**1**	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	-	⊕	-	-	-	-
4	**1**	+	+	⊖	+	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-
5	**1**	+	⊖	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	**3**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
no. of (+)'s		**8**	**7**			**6**			**5**	**0**			
Group		**A** *(72.73%)*				**B** *(54.55-63.67%)*				**C** *(0%)*			

Scalability: 96.21%

Females

Similarly to the males in table 24, table 25 also has fewer positives (140) than negatives (208). Participant 20 (line 1) knew the most terms, as she is one of the three fluent speakers in the study, mentioned in section 4.1. Line 2 shows one of the two shared patterns and holds the most participants (9, 14,15, 16, 18, 24, 25, 27, 30, 31 and 32). These participants all have these relations and would refer to these people by their names but also add on the Kokni kinship term after the name. The other combination is at the bottom of the scale (line 15) where 5 people knew none of the terms. These people would simply refer to or address these relations *by name* only.

Table 25: Implicational scale for Kokni kinship of other relatives-terms known by females

Line no.	No. of Participants	*bhās/ bhāi* - **Mother's brother's son**	*bhəjnīs/ apa/ bhāna* - **Mother's brother's daughter**	*bhəjnīs/ apa/ bhāna* - **Father's brother's daughter**	*bhəjnīs/ apa/ bhāna* - **Father's sister's daughter**	*bhəjnīs/ apa/ bhāna* - **Mother's sister's daughter**	*bhās/ bhāi* - **Mother's sister's son**	*bhās/ bhāi* - **Father's brother's son**	*bhās/ bhāi* - **Father's sister's son**	*bhətīdʒa* - **Brother's son**	*bhətīdʒi* - **Brother's daughter**	*bhətīdʒi* - **Sister's daughter**	*bhətīdʒa* - **Sister's son**
1	**1**	⊖	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-
2	**11**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
3	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	-	-	-	-
4	**1**	+	+	+	⊖	⊖	+	+	+	-	-	-	-
5	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	**1**	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	**1**	+	+	+	+	⊖	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	**1**	+	+	⊖	⊖	+	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	**1**	+	⊖	⊖	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
10	**1**	+	⊖	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	**1**	⊖	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
12	**1**	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	**1**	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	**1**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	⊕	-
15	**5**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
no. of (+)'s		**20**	**19**		**18**	**17**	**16**	**14**		**1**			**0**
Group		**A** *(62.07-68.97%)*				**B** *(55.17-58.62%)*		**C** *(28.28%)*		**D** *(0-3.45%)*			

Scalability: 95.69%

Explanation

If the particular relation does not exist then there seems to be no necessity for the use of these particular terms. However it seems that if the individual's age gap is not larger than 2 years then they would address or refer to the other *by name* without any repercussions. For both the males and the females, the stress is on whether the age gap is great enough to warrant a

respective relational term. If the gap is not large enough, there would be no problems encountered by the participants if they were to refer to these relations by their given name.

Alternately, if they were to assign one of these kinship terms to these relations then it can be found that the participants would often use the person's name and add on the kinship term. For example the person's name was Aasif, and the relation was *bhās/ bhāi* 'mother's brother's son' then the person would use *Aasif bhāi* to refer to that particular person. This seems to be the continuing case among the Kokni community. This is also dependant on the actual relationship. This means that most of the time the eldest male or female cousin would be strictly known as *bhāi* or *apa/ bhāna* respectively and any of the younger male or female relations *by name* plus the respective kinship term. Additionally, the eldest female would usually be known as *bhāna* and all other female relations in this list as *by name* plus *apa*.

4.2.2. Kinship by Partial Blood/ Adoption

Males

Table 26: Implicational scale for Kokni kinship by partial blood or adoption-terms known by males

Line no.	**No. of Participants**	***sotər bhās/ bhāi* - Half/step brother**	***sotər bhəjnīs/ apa/ bhāna* - Half/step sister**	***sotər bāpus/ bāba/ əba* - Stepfather**	***sotər āis/ mā* - Stepmother**	***sotər pōrgi* - Stepdaughter**	***sotər pōrgo* - Stepson**
1	**1**	+	+	+	+	-	-
2	**1**	+	+	⊖	+	-	-
3	**1**	+	+	+	-	-	-
4	**2**	+	+	-	-	-	-
5	**1**	+	-	-	-	-	-
6	**1**	-	-	⊕	-	-	-
7	**4**	-	-	-	-	-	-
no. of (+)'s		**6**	**5**	**3**	**2**	**0**	
Group		**A** *(45.45-54.55%)*		**B** *(18.18-27.27%)*		**C** *(0%)*	

Scalability: 96.97%

The 16 positives are heavily outweighed by the 50 negatives, which shows that there are not many young people that knew the Kokni term for these relations. The terms for step-daughter *sotər pōrgi* and step-son *sotər pōrgo* are not known, as these relations would be

referred to *by name*. The person that knew the most terms is participant 6, who retains Kokni terms only in kinship usage.

There are two groupings of similar patterns of retention among the participants by two and four people respectively. The latter shows that participants 7, 13, 19, and 22 all did not know any of these terms. These people do not have the relations referred to by the terms tested, which probably contributes to this lack of knowledge.

Females

Table 27: Implicational scale for Kokni kinship by partial blood or adoption-terms known by females

Line no.	**No. of Participants**	*sotər bhās/ bhāi* - **Half/step brother**	*sotər bhəjnīs/ apa/ bhāna* - **Half/step sister**	*sotər āis/ mā* - **Stepmother**	*sotər pōrgo* - **Stepson**	*sotər pōrgi* - **Stepdaughter**	*sotər bāpus/ bāba/ əba* - **Stepfather**
1	**3**	+	+	+	+	-	-
2	**1**	+	⊖	+	+	-	-
3	**4**	+	+	+	⊖	-	-
4	**1**	+	+	⊖	+	-	-
5	**10**	+	+	-	-	-	-
6	**1**	+	-	-	⊕	-	-
7	**2**	-	⊕	-	-	-	-
8	**7**	-	-	-	-	-	-
no. of (+)'s		**20**		**8**	**6**	**0**	
Group		**A** *(68.97%)*		**B** *(20.69-27.59%)*		**C** *(0%)*	

Scalability: 94.83%

There are 120 negatives that outweigh the 54 positives. The females therefore also display a large degree of unfamiliarity with these terms. The extent of most of the females knowledge in this category is seen in line 5 where 10 participants had the same retention pattern of only knowing the terms for half/step siblings. The people that knew the most terms (line 1) only knew four terms (66.67%) of the terms. These are participants 3, 14, and 18 and they are all the eldest sibling in their homes. The second highest combination is in line 8 where seven people knew no terms in this category.

Explanation

Only one participant had kin by (partial blood or) adoption, whereas no other participants did. As a result of this they do not have a term for these relations. All the people mentioned

that despite the differentiation in the terms due to partial blood or adoption, they believe that it does not affect the relationship between these people. Because of this belief they would not use the term *sotər* to show this 'half/step' differentiation. Instead the participants said that they would use the regular Kokni terms (in 1.a. kinship: ascending and own generation) to refer or address them as their own kin. There was however some discrepancy as they had stated that the mother/father type relation would have some differences. The reasoning for these two terms having the least retention could be on account of the participants' attitudes toward these specific relations.

This means that if the youth was raised by a step-parent the Kokni term for parent would be used to refer to him/her. However if the youth was not raised by the step-parent then reference/address term used would depend on the type of relationship they had, also taking into account whether or not the biological parent is still living. If this parent(s) are still living then it was more likely that they would refer to the step-parent by either *uncle* or *aunty*. This could suggest that the youth are less open to the idea of having for example: a 'stepfather' or a figure, that replaces the patriarch in the family. The participants therefore refuse to address anyone that is not biologically their parents, by the Kokni endearing term for specific parents. According to the interviews, they believe that there is no person that can replace their biological parents.

4.2.3. Kin by marriage

a. Own generation

Males

There are 143 negatives on the scale (table 28), which outweighs the 11 positives. Knowledge of this sub-category is quite sparse on the table showing that these terms are hardly known. Participants 34 (line 1) and 21 (line 2) both only knew two different terms each, which is the most terms known among the 14 (14.29% only) on the list. The 1st person said that he refers to any male older than him by the more general term *bhāi*, which is the only reason he received a positive for two male terms in the list. He therefore did not necessarily know what the term was, but instead used one he knew. Participant 21 does have some of these relations and is fluent in Kokni, but still did not know more than two terms.

Table 28: Implicational scale for Kokni kinship by marriage for own generation-terms known by males

Line no.	**No. of Participants**	*bhābi/ bjāni* - **Elder brother's wife**	*mjeūnos/ bhāi* - **Wife's brother**	*dirūs/ bhāi* - **Husband's brother**	*bhābi* - **Wife's brother's wife**	*zāwəndʒī* - **Sister's husband**	*zāwəndʒī* - **Wife's sisters husband**	*bhābi* - **Younger brother's wife**	*dāidʒīn/ bhābi* - **Husband's brother's wife**	*bāiko* - **Wife**	*nəndus* - **Husband's sister**	*zawə/ zāwəndʒī* - **Husband's sister's husband**	*sotīs* - **Co-wife**	*gōs* - **Husband**	*mjeūnīs* - **Wife's sister**
1	**1**	⊖	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	**1**	+	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	**4**	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	**1**	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	**1**	-	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	**1**	-	-	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	**2**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
no. of (+)'s		**5**	**2**	**1**				**0**							
Group		**A** *(45.45%)*	**B** *(9.09-18.18%)*					**C** *(0%)*							

Scalability: 96.75%

However, it was likely that each person would know at least one of the 14 terms. This scale shows two people who knew 0% of the terms, namely, participants 33 and 36. Of the males, only participants 6 (line 5) and 19 (line 3) were married. All the other males were single. Despite this, the married males did not know the terminology for these relations. This shows that having this relation, in this sub-category, does not necessarily mean that the person would know the Kokni term. They could essentially be referring to them *by name* or by the term their spouses would refer to these relations.

Females

Table 29: Implicational scale for Kokni kinship by marriage for own generation-terms known by females

Line no.	No. of Participants	*bhābi/ bjāni* - **Elder brother's wife**	*zāwəndʒī* - **Sister's husband**	*bhābi* - **Wife's brother's wife**	*dāidʒīn/ bhābi* - **Husband's brother's wife**	*dirīs/ bhāi* - **Husband's brother**	*bhābi* - **Younger brother's wife**	*zawə* - **Husband's sister's husband**	*zāwəndʒī* - **Wife's sisters husband**	*mjɛ̄unos/ bhāi* - **Wife's brother**	*nəndus* - **Husband's sister**	*sotīs* - **Co-wife**	*bāiko* - **Wife**	*gōs* - **Husband**	*mjɛ̄unīs* - **Wife's sister**
1	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	⊖	⊖	+	+	-	-	-	-
2	**1**	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
3	**1**	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	⊖	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
4	**1**	+	+	+	⊖	⊖	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
5	**1**	+	⊖	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
6	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
8	**1**	+	+	⊖	+	+	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	**1**	+	⊖	+	⊖	+	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-
10	**1**	+	⊖	+	+	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11	**1**	+	+	⊖	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-
12	**1**	+	+	-	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13	**1**	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-
14	**1**	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-
15	**1**	+	-	⊕	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
16	**1**	+	-	-	⊕	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
17	**1**	⊖	⊕	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-
18	**1**	+	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
19	**1**	+	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	**1**	+	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
21	**1**	-	⊕	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
22	**1**	-	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-
23	**5**	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
24	**1**	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
25	**1**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
no. of (+)'s		**24**	**13**	**12**		**10**	**6**	**5**			**1**		**0**		
Group		**A** *(82.76*	**B** *(34.48-44.83%)*				**C** *(17.24-20.69%)*				**D** *(3.45%)*		**E** *(0%)*		

	%)				

Scalability: 89.66%

In this table, there are 94 positives and 312 negatives. This obvious imbalance shows that like the males, the females also scarcely know these terms for kinship by marriage for their own generation. 'Elder brother's wife' was the most known term as over 80% of the females knew it. This is retained highly as compared to all other terms. The participants 27 (line 1) and 1 (line 2) both knew seven term (50%) each. This is much more compared to the males' 14%. The former participant is married to a non-Kokni and the latter is single, which does not reveal why these terms are still being retained.

There was only one shared pattern (line 23) with five people knowing only one lexical item. Most of the time, people knew between three and six terms on the list, which is much more than the average of one term by the males. The last line (25) shows only one participant (24) who knew no terms. She is not married nor has any household family that are, and she is the oldest sibling as well, which accounts for why she would refer to or address these relations *by name* instead of by use of these terms.

Explanation

The succession to the family name is prevalent as the eldest brother is seen as the person that upholds the family name (legacy) and his wife is the person that would essentially be pivotal in producing the heir to this family name. Similarly, the wife's brother is the head of that particular family and is seen as the person in that family that carries on the family name. However, the younger brother's wife would not receive this naming honour and would purely be referred to by her given name, instead of the Kokni kinship term reserved for the spouse of the eldest brother. These are the reasons why these particular terms are known more than the others in the table, however this sub-category was scarcely known by both the males and females.

b. Ascending generation

Males

Table 30: Implicational scale for Kokni kinship by marriage for ascending generation-terms known by males

Line no.	No. of Participants	*khləj* - Mother's sister's husband	*mamānī* - Mother's brother's wife	*kākī/ ʧiʧī* - Father's brother's wife	*fupā* - Father's sister's husband	*sāsris/ bāba/ əba* - Husband's father	*sāsus/ mā* - Husband's mother
1	**4**	+	+	+	+	-	-
2	**1**	+	⊖	+	+	-	-
3	**1**	+	+	+	-	-	-
4	**1**	⊖	+	-	-	⊕	⊕
5	**1**	+	-	-	-	⊕	⊕
6	**1**	+	⊕	-	-	-	-
7	**1**	-	-	⊕	-	-	-
8	**1**	-	-	-	-	-	-
no. of (+)'s		**8**	**7**		**5**	**2**	
Group		**A** *(72.73%)*	**B** *(63.64%)*		**C** *(45.45%)*	**D** *(18.18%)*	

Scalability: 87.88%

There are 35 negatives and 31 positives on the scale, showing that there is less than 50% chance that an individual would know a term in this sub-category. There are no terms that were not known by any of the participants. 'Husband's mother' *sāsus/ mā* and *sāsris/ bāba/ əba* 'husband's father' were the terms that were hardly known as only two males knew the term (group D). 'Father's brother's wife' *kākī/ ʧiʧī* and *mamānī* 'mother's brother's wife' are relatively well known by seven people and only *khləj* 'mother's sister's husband' is most well known (by eight people). There was only one person that did not know any of the terms asked. This is participant 7, whom has previously stated that he would refer to all relation, albeit some on his father's side of the family, by their given name and not by the Kokni kinship terms. All other participants knew at least one of the terms for ascending generation by marriage.

Line 1 is the only place in the table where four (36.36%) participants knew the same combination of four terms (66.67%) in the sub-category. These people were participants 6, 13, 22 and 36. Of these people, only participant 6 is married. They would use the first four terms often to converse with these relations. However, for the last two terms, the English

equivalents of *mommy* and *daddy* are now picking up in use. Participant 7 (line 8) is once again the only participant that knew no terms, attributable to his use of referring to these relations by the English equivalents.

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Females

In table 31, there are more positives (115) than negatives (59), showing that the females are still retaining these Kokni kinship terms. There was two terms that were hardly known, namely, *sāsris/ bāba/ əba* 'Husband's father' and *sāsus/ mā* 'Husband's mother' as only five and six people knew the terms. The other terms were the most well known as between 26 and 28 people knew them. In this case there were no terms that were not known by one person, however there was one individual in line 10 that knew none of the terms in the sub-category.

Table 31: Implicational scale for Kokni kinship by marriage for ascending generation-terms known by females

Line no.	No. of Participants	*kākī/ tʃiʧī* - Father's brother's wife	*fupā* - Father's sister's husband	*mamānī* - Mother's brother's wife	*khləj* - Mother's sister's husband	*sāsus/ mā* - Husband's mother	*sāsris/ bāba/ əba* - Husband's father
1	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+
2	**4**	+	+	+	+	+	-
3	**4**	+	+	+	+	-	⊕
4	**12**	+	+	+	+	-	-
5	**1**	+	+	+	⊖	⊕	-
6	**1**	+	+	+	⊖	-	-
7	**1**	+	⊖	+	+	-	-
8	**3**	+	+	⊖	+	-	-
9	**1**	+	⊖	+	-	-	-
10	**1**	-	-	-	-	-	-
no. of (+)'s		**28**	**26**	**25**		**6**	**5**
Group		**A** *(89.66- 96.55%)*		**B** *(86.21%)*		**C** *(17.24-20.69%)*	

Scalability: 93.10%

There were four line combinations, namely lines 2, 3, 4 and 8. These combinations can be seen as 3 or 4 people in general, however line 4 shows a large number of 12 participants 41.38%) with the same combination.

Explanation

The terms for the husbands/wife's parents was hardly known by both males and females as this term could only be used by married participants- of which there were a few in the study that were. The other terms were all well known or relatively well known depending on if they had that particular relation to their family or not. In this case it seems specific genders are more likely to know their gender more than the other, also dependent on the relation they had with that specific individual.

The two most retained words are shared with that of the males and the second least retained word is also shared by the males. The reasoning for the address terms for the husbands' parents or wife's parents not being known could be on account of propriety. Since, these individuals are not necessarily the participants' parents, the Kokni terms for *mother* and *father* do not necessarily apply. The onus is usually on the *husband's parents* to suggest what they should be addressed as. The norm now would be to refer to them or address them as the

husband/wife would. Alternately, the use of *mommy* or *daddy* has become popular in an effort by the parents-in-law to not segregate the children-in-law or treat them differently as they would their own child.

c. Descending generation

Males

Table 32: Implicational scale for Kokni kinship by marriage for descending generation-terms known by males

Line no.	**No. of Participants**	*zāwəndʒī* - **Daughter's husband**	*zāwəndʒī* - **Niece's husband**	*sunis* - **Son's wife**	*nāt-zāwə* - **Granddaughter's husband**	*nāt-sunis* - **Grandson's wife**	*sunis* - **Nephew's wife**
1	**11**	-	-	-	-	-	-
no. of (+)'s		**0**					
Group		**A** *(0%)*					

Scalability: 100%

There are no positives (+)'s found in table 32, which shows that none of the males knew the terms for the descending generation by marriage. Therefore all 11 males have the same combination of 0% for this sub-category as none of them knew any of the terms presented before them.

For all of these terms the participants indicate that these particular relations would be younger than them. Therefore they would refer to or address these people *by name* (their given name). Accordingly, this is the determining factor in the way that the data is presented on the scale.

Females

Table 33: Implicational scale for Kokni kinship by marriage for descending generation-terms known by females

Line no.	No. of Participants	*zāwəndʒī* - **Niece's husband**	*zāwəndʒī* - **Daughter's husband**	*nāt-sunis* - **Grandson's wife**	*sunis* - **Son's wife**	*nāt-zāwə* - **Granddaughter's husband**	*sunis* - **Nephew's wife**
1	**2**	+	+	+	-	-	-
2	**1**	+	+	-	-	-	-
3	**1**	⊖	+	⊕	-	-	-
4	**1**	-	-	-	⊕	-	-
5	**2**	⊕	-	-	-	-	-
6	**22**	-	-	-	-	-	-
no. of (+)'s		**5**	**4**	**3**	**1**	**0**	
Group		**A** *(10.35-17.24%)*			**B** *(3.44%)*	**C** *(0%)*	

Scalability: 97.13%

There is a large imbalance in the scale as there are only 13 positives compared to 161 negatives. There are a lot more people that did not know the terms than those who did. The two terms *sunis* 'nephew's wife' and *nāt-zāwə* 'granddaughter's husband' were not known by any of the participants, and it was noticeable that 22 of the participants (75.86%) knew none of the terminology. All the other terms were hardly known, as between 1 and 5 people knew them. Group A shows that the most known terms *zāwəndʒī* 'niece's husband' *zāwəndʒī* 'daughter's husband' *nāt-sunis* 'grandson's wife' can be considered as one unit that could essentially be retained or declined at the same rate. The retention rate of less than 18% shows that knowledge of this sub-category is declining rapidly.

Lines 1 and 5 shows combinations of two people each with the same knowledge. However only line 1 will be taken into consideration, as the line 5 combination only possesses knowledge of one term. Line 1 shows participants 2 and 17 as knowing the same terms. Participant 2 mentioned that older Kokni ladies would utilise those terms to speak about their grandchildren, which was the only reason she knew those terms. Line 6 shows that 75.86% of

the females did not know the terms at all, meaning that they have already rapidly declined in use.

Explanation

These terms are used to refer to the next generation, and to these participants they are referred to or addressed by their given names and not by the Kokni terms. These terms are however still used today by the elders, who are fluent speaks to refer to these particular relations in Kokni conversations. As the youth in this study are not particularly fluent speakers, there is no reason for them to use or know these particular terms, particularly as they refer to the relatives of children they do not have.

4.2.4. Miscellaneous Terms

This section is divided into two, namely, (a) *miscellaneous (participant suggested) terminology* and (b) *alternate list of Kokni terminology*. Unlike lexicon list section (b) which was compiled alongside the main categories and the kinship terminology, section (a) was not originally included in the study. At the end of the interview participants all asked the researcher why specific words, which they proclaimed they knew, was not asked in the study. The list in section (a) was therefore a combination of all these words, which was compiled later on and then researched with all the participants.

a. Miscellaneous (Participant Suggested) terminology

Males

There are 83 positives and 60 negatives on table 34. More people knew the terms on this list than those that did not. Line 10 shows that two respondents knew none of these miscellaneous terms. These are participants 7 and 34, both of whom emphasised that they do not use Kokni and that they would rather use the English or Afrikaans equivalents as they do not 'know' Kokni.

Table 34: Implicational scale for Kokni miscellaneous-terms known by males

Line no.	**No. of Participants**	*paīsa-* **Money**	*gāri-* **Car**	*dukān-* **Shop**	*noūri-* **Bride**	*noūjõ-* **Bride-groom**	*dəwa/ dəwaī-* **Medicine**	*māŋma-* **Proposal**	*ʧəpəl/ʧəpla-* **Slippers**	*ʧəsmo-* **Eye-glasses**	*dūd-* **Milk**	*dāwət-* **Function/ invite**	*kitāb* **- Book**	*ʧõr-* **Thief**
1	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖
2	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	⊖
3	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	⊖	+	+
4	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+
5	**1**	+	+	+	⊖	⊖	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
6	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	-	-
7	**1**	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	⊕
8	**1**	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
9	**1**	+	⊖	+	-	-	-	-	-	⊕	⊕	-	-	-
10	**2**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
no. of (+)'s		**9**	**8**	**7**					**6**			**5**	**4**	
Group		**A** *(72.73- 81.82%)*		**B** *(63.64%)*					**C** *(45.46- 54.55%)*				**D** *(36.36%)*	

Scalability: 88.81%

Females

There are more positives (274) than negatives (103) on table 35. This shows that there are more terms on the table that was known by the females. There were eight people in line 1 that knew all the terms, which is the first time that all lexicon are known in a category (although this is a miscellaneous category). These are participants 1, 2, 3, 4, 17, 18, 31 and 40. These are all people that still have a Kokni circle and whose immediately family utilises the language. Unlike the other categories, these lexical items seem to be referred to more frequently by the participants' family whilst at home. Therefore, it would be retained more by the female youth. If the other categories could be used then there would be more retention. Other than these participants, participant 10 knew none of these terms. She says that within her family, English is the only language used. Hence, her statement that she has no Kokni circle.

Table 35: Implicational scale for Kokni miscellaneous-terms known by females

Line no.	No. of Participants	*māŋna*- **Proposal**	*paīsa*- **Money**	*dukān*- **Shop**	*gāri*- **Car**	*kitāb*- **Book**	*dəwa/ dəwāī*- **Medicine**	*dūd*- **Milk**	*dāwət*- **Function/ invite**	*tʃəsmo*- **Eye-glasses**	*noūri*- **Bride**	*tʃəpal/tʃəpla*- **Slippers**	*noūʃō*- **Bride-groom**	*tʃōr*- **Thief**
1	**8**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
2	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	+	+	+
3	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	+	+	⊖
4	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+
5	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	⊖	+
6	**1**	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	-
7	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	⊖	+	-
8	**1**	⊖	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	⊕	-	⊕
9	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	-	⊕	-	-
10	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	-	-	-	⊕
11	**2**	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	⊖	+	-	⊕	-	⊕
12	**1**	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	-	⊕	-	⊕	-
13	**1**	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	+	+	-	-	⊕	-	-
14	**1**	+	+	+	+	+	⊖	+	-	-	⊕	-	⊕	-
15	**1**	⊖	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	⊕	-	⊕	-	-
16	**1**	+	⊖	+	⊖	+	-	-	⊕	-	⊕	-	⊕	⊕
17	**1**	+	+	⊖	+	+	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	⊕
18	**1**	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	⊕	-	⊕	-
19	**1**	+	+	-	-	⊕	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
20	**1**	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	⊕	-	-	-
21	**1**	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
no. of (+)'s		**26**		**24**		**22**	**21**	**20**		**19**		**18**		**17**
Group		**A** *(89.66%)*		**B** *(75.86- 82.76%)*			**C** *(68.97- 72.41%)*			**D** *(62.07- 65.52%)*				**E** *(58.62 %)*

Scalability: 87.27%

Explanation

For the males, the most known terms were *paīsa* ‘money’, *gāri* ‘car’, *dukān* ‘shop’ and *noūri* ‘bride’ respectively. The least known were *dāwət* ‘function/invite’, *kitāb* ‘book’ (also related to the Holy Qur'aan and/or the act of studying) and *tʃōr* ‘thief’. For the females, the most retained words were *māŋna* ‘proposal’, *paīsa* ‘money’, *dukān* ‘shop’, *gāri* ‘car’. The reasoning behind this could be that generally in the Kokni communities, the parents or families own businesses so it is common to use words such as ‘money’ and ‘shop’. This

could also lead to the assumption that any Kokni terms related to family or togetherness are used more often. The least retained words were *ʧəpəl/ʧəpla* 'slippers', *noūʃō* 'bridegroom' and *ʧõr* 'thief'. The fact that these last two words are not retained could contradict the above mentioned assumption, as the former is related to joining of families in the form of weddings and the latter refer to someone that steals, which is associated with businesses in the sense that business owners are often likely to be victims of theft. Most of the terms in this category were quite well known, showing that they are still being used among the youth.

b. Alternate List of Kokni Terminology

The table below lists various percentage ranges in the first column. The second column lists the Kokni terminology by percentage ranges based on whether they were known by the participants or not. This list did not include any terms suggested by participants. It was rather a selection of terms gathered from the work of Pandharipande (1997). The table has a total of 121 terms listed and it can be seen that there are only four terms known by approximately more than eighty percent of the participants. This amount is far less than the twelve terms that none of the participants had known (0%). Observing the table as a whole, it can be seen that the majority of the terms occur at below fifty percent level. This suggests that apart from those between 60-80%, it is more likely that participants or youth would not know the Kokni terms, but would replace them with either their English or Afrikaans equivalents.

Table 36: Representation of alternate list of Kokni terms known by all participants by order of percentage (%)

Percentage Range	**Kokni Terminology**
> 80%	*gərəm* 'warm', *pāni* 'water', *kāi* 'what', *nāu* 'name'
70 - 79%	*ghar* 'house'
60 - 69%	*kōn* 'who', *təndī* 'cold', *kutrā* 'dog', *ɦō* 'yes'
50 - 59%	*həs/ həsnɛ* 'laugh', *mās* 'meat/flesh', *ʧānd* 'moon', *khā* 'eat', *bɛs* 'good', *dzūt* 'lie', *bōl* 'speak'
40 - 49%	*pās* 'rain', *gānə/ gāna* 'sing', *tsāl* 'walk', *dīs/ din* 'day', *pī/pīne* 'drink', *maura* 'fish', *rāt* 'night', *noa* 'new', *mī* 'I', *mār/ mārna* 'hit', *dɛ* 'give'
30 -39%	*sās* 'breathe', *mər* 'die', *ʧūl* 'fire', *fūl* 'flower', *mārnɛ* 'kill', *lām* 'long', *khɛl* 'play', *bəs/ bəsa* 'sit', *āsmān* 'sky', *niz* 'sleep', *tārɛ* 'star', *wərəs* 'year', *dɛk* 'see'
20 - 29%	*jɛ* 'come', *nāi* 'no', *rəstō* 'road', *ghət* 'think', *zəl* 'burn', *ɦikrɛ* 'here', *bərəf* 'ice', *pān* 'leaf', *rɛnɛ* 'live', *gōl* 'round', *bānd* 'tie', *sūrəj* 'sun'
15 - 19%	*ʤānwər* 'animal', *mōta* 'big', *məjlka* 'dirty', *bhərlɛla* 'full', *tō* 'he', *wələkta* 'know', *wās* 'smell', *bərəf* 'snow', *kāti* 'stick', *tikrɛ* 'there', *fɛk* 'throw'
10 - 14%	*ʧau* 'bite', *udtau* 'blow', *koət* 'egg', *pərʃil* 'fall', *əjk* 'hear', *dhər/ ghɛ* 'hold/take', *məsti* 'naughty', *mānus* 'person', *dhək* 'push', *bārka/ bārki* 'small', *tūk* 'spit', *ubi* 'stand', *dhōndo* 'stone', *ʃəptō* 'tail', *wəla* 'wet', *səməndər* 'sea'
5 - 9%	*məŋti* 'behind', *lām* 'far', *frīz /tənd* 'freeze', *fəl* 'fruit', *zəwəl* 'near', *nəj* 'river', *pās* 'rain', *dukət* 'smoke', *tɛ* 'they', *pātəl* 'thin', *koa* 'when', *khəj* 'where', *wāra* 'wind', *wərəs* 'year', *pākrū* 'bird', *mɛznā* 'count', *dzōmi* 'fight', *goət* 'grass', *ḍhōŋgər* 'mountain', *zuna* 'old', *kusla* 'rotten', *khāndo* 'scratch', *dzār* 'tree', *ḍho* 'wash'
1 - 4%	*khōd* 'dig', *ʧurbī* 'fat/grease', *bīti* 'fear', *paŋk* 'feather', *wəṛ* 'pull', *tiŋni* 'short (adj.)', *sərəl* 'straight', *ṗhiū* 'swim', *g̣hət* 'thick'
0%	*dhəg* 'cloud', *ʧūl* 'a fire', / 'float', *wātɛ* 'flow', *ʃəbnəm* 'fog', *wəzni* 'heavy', *āwal* 'narrow', *ʧõl* 'rub', *rɛti* 'sand', *ʧikna* 'smooth', *ələg* 'split', *pilnɛ* 'squeeze'

Conclusion to section 4.2

Across this section it can be seen that the best retained words are kinship terms for older family members and certain miscellaneous terms that young people commonly hear by elders. For other categories, while some individuals do better than others, knowledge of the terms is receding.

5. Conclusion

5.1 Main Findings

Considering everything mentioned in this dissertation about the Kokni language, circular mobility (Village - Mumbai - Durban shipping port - Cape Town - Durban Shipping port - Mumbai - Village), language retention, social factors and the like, it was interesting to find that categories such as colour terminology, typical dishes, numerical terms, terms for older family members and certain miscellaneous terms (such as proposal, money, shop, car, book, warm, water, what, and house) were retained more than others.

By comparing the data for males and females, it was seen that the females outperform the males in all the categories. Overall, the females retained more of the Kokni lexicon than the males. Viewing the data (implicational scales) separately, by its respective genders, the male participants had retained a high percentage of the lexicon. However, in comparison to the females, the males had not retained as much.

It was found that retention was linked to birth order, as the eldest siblings (or only child) would retain more Kokni lexicon than their younger siblings. The exception to this is whether the youngest sibling is female. In this case, this sibling would most likely retain Kokni lexicon as much as (or more than) the eldest sibling. However, there is no concrete explanation for this particular observation.

The language education in South Africa had highly contributed to the language repertoire of the participants and that of their families, and often determined whether or not Kokni is used. English and Afrikaans (and at times Xhosa) have now become the youth's primary and secondary languages, with Arabic and Kokni constantly vying for third or fourth language place. This language placement also contributed to their varying attitudes toward the language, some of which were seen as positive, and others as negative. The placement of the Kokni language and the attitude towards it has contributed to the decline of retention of Kokni (in many categories) among the youth; rather opting to use English or Afrikaans. This shows that there is a loss of Kokni amongst the younger speakers.

This dissertation indicated the retention of Kokni in terms of various categories and observed how some categories were more prominently known by the youth than others, giving an indication of the level of retention and the level of Kokni use within their families. This study

however was not easily done and there were some problems that arose during the research period.

5.2 What was learnt and the problems that arose

Some aspects of conducting the research were challenging. For example, the lexicon list was fairly long and participants became frustrated with the long list of words. The researcher therefore had to come up with creative ways of engaging the participant. This was done by telling jokes, telling a story, or acting out the words needed to be asked. This lengthened the procedure but was effective in enlivening proceedings.

As the participants were unknown to the researcher prior to the interview, she learnt to adapt quickly to new people, entering new locations, and becoming comfortable with the participants so that both she and the participants could conduct an interview in a more relaxed manner. Though, the researcher being part of the Kokni in-group allowed for a smoother interaction with participants during interviews.

The research experience taught the researcher to conduct herself in a professional manner when engaging with new people and interacting with them in their chosen environments. The experience also built confidence as each interview imparted more knowledge of the topic to her.

5.3 Limitations and Restrictions

Locating and conducting interviews with a large number of participants within a short period of time was considerably challenging. Many people were already busy with their own schedules and did not have time for an interview. Other participants that fit the criteria also did not want to sit down for an interview as they felt that they did not know Kokni. There were many people who refused an interview. This was due to their belief that the interview would be conducted in Kokni; a language they felt they did not know. The interview, however, was conducted in English. These were all communication issues that the researcher had not thought of before the interview, but realised during the 2nd interview call. Additionally, for unknown reasons, there were considerably fewer male participants than there were female participants. More woman than men were keen on the idea of being interviewed. This could perhaps be because the interviewer was female. The results are therefore not skewed because male and female participants were kept separate for analytic purposes.

5.4 Suggestions for Future Studies

In recent years, studies have been done on Kokni in Cape Town, South Africa by R. Mesthrie, S. Kulkarni-Joshi, and R. Paradkar. In the published works of these authors they provide the history and existence of Kokni for over 125 years in Cape Town, the survival of different dialects and variations of Kokni, and it's maintenance. Currently in progress, Miss Ruta Paradkar is completing her PhD which focuses on the Kokni language among the elder speakers in Cape Town.

There is therefore many more areas in Linguistics that can be studied in regard to Kokni. For example topics or questions such as: "What is the contribution of Kokni to Cape Town Afrikaans?", or "Are there other areas in South Africa where Kokni is spoken? And by who?", "Is there a possibility of avoiding Kokni language loss or a possibility of identifying as Kokni if there are no longer any speakers of the language?". These questions, among others, can be used to gather data and acquire new knowledge about Kokni in South Africa.

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Appendix 1: Information Sheet

Faculty of Humanities

Department of Linguistics

University of Cape Town

Information Sheet:

February - April 2017

I, Naasirah Mohamed, am a Masters student in the Department of Linguistics, at the University of Cape Town, South Africa.

For this degree, I am investigating the Konkani vocabulary among its youth in Cape Town.

Focus will be on determining whether Gender, Birth Order, or the presence of grandparents in the home influences the participants' retention of the Konkani language vocabulary. As an additional aim, the study will determine the youth's attitude toward the Konkani language and whether they believe it is or is not relevant to know and learn.

My supervisor is Rajend Mesthrie in the Linguistics section, University of Cape Town, South Africa.

My contact details are as follows:

Naasirah Mohamed

Linguistics section, UCT

Email: MHMNAA002@myuct.ac.za

This information sheet is for you to keep so that you can be aware of the purpose of the interview. With your signature on the consent form, you indicate that you understand the purpose of the study.

Yours truly,

Naasirah Mohamed (MHMNAA002@myuct.ac.za)

Appendix 2: Informed Consent Form

INFORMED CONSENT FORM

Date: February - April 2017

Study Topic: Konkani Vocabulary amongst its youth in Cape Town

Researcher: Naasirah Mohamed, MA candidate, Linguistics department, University of Cape Town (UCT).

Data Collection Method: Semi-structured interview and Lexicon List

Purpose of the research:

I, Naasirah Mohamed, am a Masters student in the Department of Linguistics, at the University of Cape Town, South Africa.

For this degree, I am investigating the Konkani vocabulary among its youth in Cape Town. Focus will be on determining whether Gender, Birth Order, or the presence of grandparents in the home influences the participants' retention of the Konkani language vocabulary. As an additional aim, the study will determine the youth's attitude toward the Konkani language and whether they believe it is or is not relevant to know and learn.

My supervisor is Rajend Mesthrie in the Linguistics section, University of Cape Town, South Africa.

My contact details are as follows:

Naasirah Mohamed

Linguistics section, UCT

Email: MHMNAA002@myuct.ac.za

I would therefore would like to request that you form part of my research study. If this permission is granted, as a participant, you will be required to be interviewed.

Voluntary Participation: Your participation in the study is completely voluntary and you may refuse to answer any question or choose to stop participating at any time.

Withdrawal from the study: You can stop participating in the study at any time, for any reason, if you so decide. Should you decide to withdraw from the study; all data generated as a consequence of your participation will be destroyed.

Confidentiality: All information you supply during the research will be held in confidence. Your anonymity is guaranteed. Your name will not appear in any report or publication of the research. Your data will be safely stored and only the researcher will have access to this information.

Signatures:

I _____ consent to participate in the study on Konkani in Cape Town, conducted by Naasirah Mohamed. I have understood the nature of the study and wish to participate. I am not waiving any of my legal rights by signing this form.

My signature below indicates my consent.

_____

Participant Information:

Full name……..

Contact Details…….....

Email Address……..

Appendix 3: Questionnaire for semi-structured interview

1. What is your full name and surname? (include your Indian family name)
2. What is your age?
3. Where were you born?
4. What is your place of residence now?
5. Who are the people that live in the house with you?
6. Are there any grandparents still living in the house?
7. Do you have any siblings? If yes, provide the birth order and their genders.
8. Which generation of South African Indian are you?
9. Where were your parents, grandparents and great-grandparents born?
10. From which district/s in India is your family (parents/grandparents/great-grandparents) originally from? E.g. Latvan, Morba, Kalusta, etc.
11. What is your language repertoire? Mention whether you can read/write/speak each language.
12. What is the repertoire of your parents (mother and father) and their ability to read/write/speak each?
13. To which side of your family (mother/father's family) do you think the Konkani language is used more readily? In which way and why do you think so?
14. How do you feel about the Konkani language? Is it still relevant today?
15. Are there still people in your circle that speak the language?
16. Do you think there is a need to speak it or is it fading away?
17. Do you think the importance of knowing the language has changed across the generations? Why do you think so?

18. Do you know any idioms? If yes, provide them.
19. What do you think is the future of the language in Cape Town, South Africa? Should it be uplifted by having it taught to its youth?

Appendix 4: Lexicon List

- **Colour Terminology (10 words)**

Black	White
Red	Blue
Green	Yellow
Orange	Brown
Purple	

- **Body Parts (32 words)**

Body	Head	Face	Hair
Eye	Ear	Nose	Mouth
Tooth	Tongue	Moustache	Beard
Neck	Throat	Chest	Heart
Arm	Elbow	Hand	Finger
Stomach	Thigh	Knee	Leg
Foot	Toe	Back	Bone
Skin	Brain	Blood	Nail

- **Kinship Terminology (Total: 71 words)**

i. Kin related by blood

a. Own generation (2 words)

Brother	Sister

b. First ascending generation (6 words)

Father	Mother	Father's brother
Father's sister	Mother's brother	Mother's sister

c. Second ascending generation (8 words)

Father's father	Father's mother	Mother's father	Mother's mother
Father's grandfather	Father's grandmother	Mother's grandfather	Mother's grandmother

d. First descending generation (3 words)

Child	Son	Daughter

e. Second descending generation (4 words)

Son's son	Son's daughter	Daughter's son	Daughter's daughter

f. Other relatives (12 words)

Father's brother's son	Father's brother's daughter	Father's sister's son	Father's sister's daughter
Mother's brother's son	Mother's brother's daughter	Mother's sister's son	Mother's sister's daughter
Brother's son	Brother's daughter	Sister's son	Sister's daughter

ii. Kin by partial blood/adoption (6 words)

Half-brother/step-brother	Half-sister/step-sister
Stepmother	Stepfather
Stepson	Stepdaughter

iii. Kin by marriage (30 words)

Wife	Co-wife	Husband
Father's brother's wife	Father's sister's husband	Mother's brother's wife
Mother's sister's husband	Elder brother's wife	Younger brother's wife
Sister's husband	Wife's brother	Wife's sister
Husband's father	Husband's mother	Husband's brother
Husband's sister	Wife's brother's wife	Wife's sister's husband
Husband's brother's wife	Husband's sister's husband	Son's wife
Son's wife's father	Son's wife's mother	Daughter's husband
Daughter's husband's father	Daughter's husband's mother	Niece's husband
Nephew's wife	Granddaughter's husband	Grandson's wife

- **Cooking Terminology (Total: 58 words)**

i. Methods of Cooking (18 words)

'to cook'	'to heat'	'to mix/stir'
'to grind'/'to pound'	'to steam'	'to boil'
'to fry'	'to cut/chop'	'to put on fire'
'to dry'	'to grate'	'to add spices'
'to pour'	'to roll (bread)'	'to spread' (with palm)
'to knead'	'to strain'	'to squeeze'

ii. Cooking utensils (23 words)

Big plate	Small plate	A glass	Metal bowl
Stove	Big spoon	Small spoon	Huge metal pot
A pot	A pan	Rolling pin	Spice box
A jar	Strainer	Metal ladle with holes	Spatula
Grater	Knife	Lid	Small lid
Ladle for serving liquid	Pressure cooker	Object for pounding/grinding	

iii. Typical dishes (7 words)

Bread made in pan	Spicy pancake	Thick bread roasted on fire	Vegetables
Plain cooked rice	Salad	Milk pudding (various kinds)	

vi. Cooking Ingredients (10 words)

Cotton	Wheat	Sugar	Peas	Salt
Corn	Garlic	Ginger	Pepper	Chillies

- **Numerical terms (14 words)**

One	Four	Seven	Ten	One Hundred
Two	Five	Eight	Twenty-five	One Thousand
Three	Six	Nine	Fifty	

Additional Lexicon List ***(Total: 122 words)***

Animal	Fly	New	Squeeze
Behind	Fog	Night	Stand
Big	Freeze	No	Star
Bird	Fruit	Old	Stick
Bite	Full	Person	Stone
Blow	Give	Play	Straight
Breathe	Good	Pull	Sun
Burn	Grass	Push	Swim
Cloud	He	Rain	Tail
Cold	Hear	River	There
Come	Heavy	Road	They
Count	Here	Rotten	Thick
Day	Hit	Round	Thin
Die	Hold/take	Rub	Think
Dig	House	Sand	Throw
Dirty	I	Say	Tie
Dog	Ice	Scratch	Tree
Drink	Kill	Sea	Walk

Eat	Know	See	Warm
Egg	Laugh	Short (in height)	Wash
Fall	Leaf	Sing	Water
Far	Lie	Sit	Wet
Fat/grease	Live	Sky	What
Fear	Long	Sleep	When
Feather	Meat/flesh	Small	Where
Fight	Moon	Smell	Who
Fire	Mountain	Smooth	Wind
Fish	Name	Smoke	Yes
Float	Narrow	Snow	Year
Flow	Naughty	Spit	
Flower	Near	Split	

Appendix 5: Ethical Clearance Letter

LINGUISTICS SECTION

SCHOOL OF AFRICAN & GENDER STUDIES, ANTHROPOLOGY & LINGUISTICS (AXL)

Mr Sean Bowerman

Room 13 AC Jordan Building, University of Cape Town, Private Bag X3, Rondebosch, 7701, South Africa

Tel: 021 650 3137/2847 Email: Sean.Bowerman@uct.ac.za

Fax: 086 512 8036 Website: www.uct.ac.za

Dear Sir / Madam

Ethical Clearance for Naasirah Mohamed (MHMNAA002)

This is to confirm that Ms Mohamed's MA project on Konkani vocabulary among youth speakers in Cape Town meets the requirements for research ethics as laid down by the Faculty of Humanities and the Linguistics Section.

Please feel free to contact me if you require any further information.

Yours faithfully

Sean Bowerman

Chair: Ethics Subcommittee, Linguistics