

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN



EISH – WHEN TO USE *-ISH-* : A STUDY IN THE VERBALIZATION  
OF ENGLISH LEXICAL ITEMS IN SPOKEN XHOSA

Ndumiso S. Madubela (MDBNDU001)

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Supervised by Dr T. Dowling

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## DECLARATION

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

Student Name:	<b>Ndumiso S. Madubela</b>
Student Number:	<b>MDBNDU001</b>
Supervisor:	Dr. T. Dowling
Institution:	University of Cape Town
Department:	School of Languages and Literatures: African Languages

Signed: \_\_\_\_\_ 

Signed by candidate
---------------------

Date: 27<sup>th</sup> September 2017

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## ABSTRACT

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This study examines how Xhosa speakers incorporate verbs of English origin into their lexicons with a specific focus on the *-ish-* suffix. The study deals with historical treatments of this phenomenon and debates its relevance and applicability to current scholarship on lexical borrowing.

To ensure a wide range of data sources I used a corpus derived from interviews with 30 Xhosa speakers in Cape Town, as well as from three media sources: the first is a 1-hour long talk radio programme transcribed from the national Xhosa broadcaster, UMhlobo weNene, the second an interview with a Xhosa-speaking patient on the television programme, *Siyayinqoba Beat It*. The third is from social media, (Facebook, Twitter and WhatsApp). The demographics of participants in this study are predominantly urban dwellers. The youngest participant (from the surveys) was 16 years old and the oldest participant was 45 years old. I say “predominantly” as it was not possible to obtain specific background data to the two Xhosa speakers on radio and television.

Very little work has been done on the way in which African languages speakers grammaticalize verbs of English origin – why, for example, do some adopted words like suffix *-a* (e.g. *Ndiyamotivate-a* – ‘I am motivating’) while others suffix *-ish-a* (e.g. *Ndiyastudy-ish-a* – ‘I am studying’). The main finding of the study is that speakers incorporated verbs of English origin by suffixing *-a* and *-ish-* in their speech, they were not consciously code mixing: rather, they used these suffixes as just another resource available to them to make their communication more strategic. This could indicate that in certain urban settings the *-ish-* verbalizing suffix might become even more popular as people need to negotiate lifestyles that require new lexicons.

It is hoped that this research will shed more light on this growing phenomenon and provide a framework for discussion of verbalizers within the greater canon of language change scholarship in South Africa as a whole. A primary function of this study was to formulate rules for the adoption of *-ish-* and *-a* and to provide statistical data as to which one is preferred by speakers.

## TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS AND GLOSS KEY

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In this study I refer to the endonym *isiXhosa* with the English exonym: Xhosa, since the data is being presented in English. Yellow highlights indicate Xhosa verbs. Red indicates a verb borrowed from English, while italicised words in blue indicate adoptive verbs with the *-ish-* suffix.

Making the examples simple and easily readable has been given priority, along with consistency in presentation. Data from participants has been presented as it was originally given. Data from the radio and television was transcribed exactly and the grammar has not been corrected.

All Xhosa examples and words are italicised. Borrowed words appear in unitalicised English if the word has not been substantially adapted in speech to Xhosa phonology.

The names of radio and television stations are not italicised. A starred example, represented by \* indicates that the example is not grammatically acceptable in any variety of the language.

### GLOSS KEY

L1	first-language
L2	second-language
<i>n</i>	total number of participants
CMT	Community Media Trust (CMT)
TOT	tip-of-the-tongue
BUVs	Black Urban Vernaculars
UMPH	<i>umphulaphuli</i> (listener)

## CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

---

### 1. Introduction

As a young L1 speaker of Xhosa I am becoming increasingly aware of how vastly dynamic and elastic my linguistic repertoire is becoming. A simple illustration of this is how my friends and I use English words when speaking the language, not to mention the proliferation of English terms on dedicated African language television and radio channels. Here are representative sentences that I transcribed from the Xhosa phone-in programme *Emfuleni woThando* (The stream of love) on UMhlobo weNene, the nation's premier Xhosa language radio broadcaster, which has the tag line *IsiXhosa – asitolikwa* - meaning 'Xhosa - it is not interpreted' – a statement that would seem to suggest a purity of language variety contradicted by the actual speech of the announcers and callers.

*I-performance ayizi kufana yeyokuqala therefore a-m-support-e ke ngoku ... kwenzeka into yokuba na ke nomyeni wakhe anga-feel-ish-i ingathi ngoku akaphelelanga. (Emfuleni woThando, UMhlobo weNene, 2 September 2015).*

'His performance will not be the same as before there she must support him now – so that her husband does not feel as if he has not finished.'

Then *ndabona ifowuni ... uyabona ... then ke ngoku wandi-block-a ku-WhatsApp ... then nda-understand-a ukuba noba undi-block-ela ntoni. (Emfuleni woThando, UMhlobo weNene, 16 September 2015).*

'Then I saw the phone ... you see ... then he blocked me on WhatsApp ... then I understood why he was blocking me.'

Why *e-ku-hurt-ish-a wena?* (*Emfuleni woThando, UMhlobo weNene, 16 September 2015*). 'Why is he hurting you?'

The extent to which the English language has penetrated the lexicon of Xhosa (and indeed all Nguni languages) is remarkable (Dowling 2011, Koopman 1999). Besides, there are other changes in the language, in its grammar, that are currently being researched. This includes the incipient merger of Class 11 to 5 (Gowlett & Dowling 2015) and the shift of concords from Class 3 to 1 (Dowling, Deyi and Whitelaw 2017) and Class 6 to Class 2. However, my main interest is in lexical change in general, and in verbal adoptives specifically.

The fact that even L1 speakers of Xhosa incorporate English verbs into their Xhosa conversations could be reassuring to second-language students who could easily learn some simple rules for their adoption and thus lessen the anxiety that attends second language acquisition (see Meyer, 2008).

Notably, young urban Xhosa speakers use phrasal verbs like “move on” and “end up” with Xhosa tense and mood suffixes: *Mandi-move-e on* (Let me move on) and *Uzo-end-up-a* (You will end up). An examination of current Xhosa textbooks, linguistic descriptions and dictionaries reveals that very few of these “loan verbs” or “adoptives” have been formally described or glossed. Also, there are no scientific definitions of the rules for how these loan verbs are morphologically and phonologically incorporated into the matrix language. Thus, the research questions in 1.1 will suffice.

### **1.1 Research Questions**

1. Why do young speakers use *-ish-* with, for example, verbs like “study” to form *-stad-ish-a* but integrate the verb “motivate” into Xhosa by just suffixing *-a*: *-motivate-a*?
2. What about those phrasal verbs like “drop out”, “move on” and “end up”?
3. How do we incorporate them into Xhosa?
4. What part of the phrasal verb gets inflected?
5. Are there any rules as to which suffix to use with which kind of English verb root?

### **1.2 Objective of Study**

The primary objective of this study is to examine how, when and why L1 speakers of Xhosa incorporate verbs of English origin into their lexicons with a specific focus on the productivity of the *-ish-* suffix. The study aims at identifying some grammatical and phonological constraints on the use of the suffix *-ish-*, as well as at providing a detailed examination of the demographics of the speakers and the context of their utterances. This will help gauge the popularity of *-ish-* not only as a grammatical suffix used for the incorporation of loan verbs, but also as a marker of an urban style.

An extensive literature search reveals that until this point, there have not been any linguistic rules, either in grammars or academic articles, that specify the morphology of English loan

verbs that can take the suffix *-ish-*. It is for this reason that a secondary objective of this study is to potentially lay some groundwork that will hopefully lead to future studies and research that will focus chiefly on investigating the *-ish-* phenomenon as well as motivate a study of other suffixes used in verbal adoptives in Nguni languages.

Because of the lacuna in linguistic descriptions of verbal adoptives in Nguni, this study endeavours to contribute to ongoing research that aims to stipulate the exact rules that can be applied with regard to when a speaker can, or cannot, use *-ish-* and to argue as to the stability of this grammar if such rules are ascertained. Thus, one of the functions of this dissertation will be to posit rules for the adoption of this verbalizer: when and how it occurs, and to provide statistical data as to the frequency of its use in representative natural settings. This study will also contribute significantly to the ongoing debate that deliberates on language shift as well as language creativity more specifically in metrolingual spaces such as Cape Town.

### **1.3 Significance of the study**

This study is both significant and relevant since, up until this point, there had been a paucity, not only on the occurrence of this suffix, but also on works that stipulate its linguistic rules. Grammars as well as academic articles, that specify which loan verbs can take the suffix *-ish-* are a scarcity. Furthermore this study endeavours to lay the ground work in contemporary research that will examine the grammaticalization of new lexicons in Xhosa.

The contribution this study will make will enhance the canon of knowledge which already exists, that deliberates on linguistic phenomena such as language shift as well as language creativity but more specifically in metrolingual spaces such as Cape Town.

## CHAPTER TWO: METHODOLOGY

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### 2. Introduction

While quantitative research can answer questions such as “what percentage of L1 speakers of Xhosa incorporate verbs of English origin into their lexicons (with a specific focus on the productivity of the *-ish-* suffix)”, it is less useful at exploring reasons for any grammatical or phonological constraints on the use of this suffix. It is for this reason that this mixed methods study that makes use of both quantitative and qualitative methods.

#### 2.1 Data Collection

Data was collected from observations, questionnaires, social media, television interview, and radio programmes. The different methods of data collection are presented in the following subsections.

##### 2.1.1 Observations (passive participation)

Drawing on life instances and experiences of the use of *-ish-* in contemporary, urban settings, this study began as a form of exploratory research. To obtain empirical data a passive participation approach was undertaken in the preliminary stages. This involved putting myself in situations in which I was exposed to natural conversations (taxis, queues, shops, campus, with friends at parties and social occasions) in Xhosa. As a passive observer, I participated in the discussions whilst consciously paying attention to nuances, when speakers made use of the suffix *-ish-* and in what context. This was done to gain a close and intimate familiarity with the target group. I made notes after these conversations, highlighting the instances of *-ish-* that I could remember and the context of these settings, the relative age of the interlocutor and the extent of additional code-switching in the narrative or dialogues. The use of this method allows one to obtain and observe the phenomena in context within which it occurs, which is everyday conversations.

From the data that I gleaned from this passive research, it was imperative that I continue with the study not only because it was clear that this was a widespread phenomenon, but also to obtain data sets that I could work with and analyse systematically. This I did by making use of mostly qualitative research methods in order to get an insight into critical incidents of people

making use of loan verbs, and acquire the raw data that would help me formulate a linguistic description of these loan verbs.

### 2.1.2 Media

In order to ensure that the study was not limited to only one data source, I collected data of the *-ish-* suffix as it occurred in four different sources:

- **Radio:** A 1-hour long talk radio programmes transcribed from UMHlobo weNene (the national radio station for the Xhosa language)
- **Television:** A transcription of an interview with a Xhosa-speaker in *Siyayinqoba Beat It* – a health education programme produced for television by the Community Media Trust (CMT)
- **Social media:** Facebook, blogs, WhatsApp chats, Twitter and internet entries

#### 2.1.2.1 Radio programme data

This data includes a count of all of the verbs used in the selected radio programme. From that total the verbs are grouped into the following:

- a) Xhosa verbs
- b) Loan verbs that do not use the *-ish-* suffix
- c) Loan verbs with the suffix *-ish-*

#### 2.1.2.2 Facebook, blogs, WhatsApp chats, Twitter and internet entries

Here I analysed Facebook entries, WhatsApp chats, Twitter and Internet entries from participants who tend to use predominantly Xhosa in their exchanges and information outputs. I applied the same analysis as for the radio programmes.

### 2.1.3 Questionnaires with 30 Xhosa speakers in Cape Town

For this study, a purposive sampling was best suited for this enquiry. This was based on the fact that that the target population lived in a metrolingual space such as Cape Town. Purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling method and it occurs when elements selected for the sample are chosen by the judgment of the researcher. This technique proved to be effective

as this study was exploring an anthropological situation, how people in a certain space use language.

The selection and eligibility of participants was largely influenced by the aims of this study which was to examine how Xhosa speakers incorporate verbs of English origin into their lexicons with a specific focus on the *-ish-* suffix. This study recruited participants from 5 different areas in Cape Town. The participants had to fall under an explicit criterion: those who had lived in Cape Town for more than 5 years and were between the ages of 16 and 45.

Multilingualism and bilingualism were not important eligibility criteria but the speakers' linguistic repertoire had to be representative of an urban space such as Cape Town. To increase the validity of this data, I attempted to approximate a diversity in gender of the selected participants. This I also did also to eliminate as many sources of bias as possible.

## 2.2 Participants

Table 1: Age and area of residence of participants

Number of speakers	Age category	Ethnicity	Area of residence
10	16 - 20	Xhosa	Emfuleni & Capricorn
10	21 - 30	Xhosa	Observatory & Langa
10	31 -45	Xhosa	Capricorn
<b>Total</b> 30			

Xhosa-speaking participants were given a questionnaire to fill in. The questionnaire included a section that gathered the demographics of the participants – specifically age and residential area. The purpose of this section was to discover whether any of this demographic data had a bearing on the likelihood of a speaker to use *-ish-* or not. The youngest participant was 16 years old and the oldest participant was 45. For the purpose of graph representation, the age categories are listed as 16-20, 21-30, and 30-45.

The next and most important section was a list of English verb roots. Speakers were asked which of the two suffixes – either *-a* or *-ish-* they would use (if any) to create a Xhosa verb in the present tense from such a root, if it all. The findings are tabulated, and statistically analysed.

This section of the research allowed me to posit some specific rules for how loan verbs are morphologically and phonologically incorporated into the matrix language as well as to provide a dictionary of commonly used *-ish-* verbs in Xhosa.

The third section was a comments section where the participants could add other examples of loan verbs with *-ish-* from their own linguistic repertoire. The objective of this activity was to further add to the dictionary or lexicons of verbs that had the suffix *-ish-* as well as to create a space where the participants could define on their own when and how they use *-ish-*. This activity was arranged to be a semi-structured research method so as to allow as much dialogue from the participants as possible. Another important objective of this section was to establish what the speakers themselves consider to be acceptable ways of using and routinely incorporating the verbalizing suffix *-ish-* into their own lexicons, and whether they viewed themselves as falling within that group of urban Xhosa speakers who spoke a different variety of Xhosa to that of rural speakers of the language.

A statistical analysis of incidents of these *-ish-* verbs in the three different corpus sets allowed me to gauge the popularity of this suffix in natural Xhosa speech, as well as speakers' inner linguistic systems that predicated what suffixes they used with the kind of English verb.

To conclude this section, I give a visual interpretation and presentation of quantitative data from the questionnaires by means of graphs and tables (Figures 4, 5 and 6). Through this inferential statistical approach, I was able to deduce the rules for the use of the suffix *-ish-*.

This research style was fitting for the investigation of the use of *-ish-* in contemporary Xhosa conversational speech acts. Townships and suburbs of Cape Town specifically were chosen as a linguistic area for this enquiry as they are metrolingual spaces in which language contact is inevitable.

Using both spoken and written corpora in natural as well as controlled settings allowed for a discussion of the morphology of the adoptives with *-ish-*. It also helped identify how verbs

created with this extension were grammatically productive, i.e. whether they took other verbal extensions.

### **2.3 Ethnographic and auto-ethnographic observations**

Although not the chief research method for this study, ethnographic research was useful in understanding as well articulating and observing my own use of the suffix *-ish-*. This research method is an open-ended emergent learning process, which requires the researcher to observe society from a subjective position. This research method proved extremely important as it allowed me the chance to not only observe but also to learn more about how speakers, including myself make use of loan verbs, with a specific focus on those with the suffix *-ish-*. This required me to pay close attention to the kind of narratives that included instances of this suffix and to draw some conclusions as to what its social and semantic function was. The research methodology required me to pay close attention to my own linguistic behaviour – how I was using the suffix, when I was using it, and to what end. The method allowed me to focus on my own linguistic habits as well as to observe and engage with speakers about these “loan verbs” or “adoptives”. It became clear to me, for example, that speakers are not value-neutral about the use of verbal adoptives. For example, some participants suggested to me that the greater the use of verbal adoptives, the less stable was the Xhosa linguistic competency of the speaker. This dissertation will investigate the level of truth in this proclamation, through a series of systematic methodologies that have been mentioned above.

## CHAPTER THREE: LANGUAGE CONTACT AND CHANGE

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### 3.1 Introduction

This study is about language change in Xhosa, with a particular focus on one specific morpheme, the *-ish-* suffix which is used to form adoptives from a source language's (in this case English) verbs (e.g. bully → *-bul-ish-a*). In order to understand this phenomenon, it is imperative that I outline some of the historic references to, and early use of, *-ish-* according to the existing literature as well as to discuss: language contact and change, lexical borrowing and verb borrowing in South Africa and globally.

Considering the amount of attention that African languages have enjoyed in the academic space, it is surprising that there is no single research focussing primarily on the way in which African languages speakers grammaticalize verbs of English origin. Surely, the adoption of English verbs into the Xhosa language could be viewed as one huge area of potential investigation and enquiry. When one notices a lack of literature in the field it is always heartening to think that one's research could contribute to the canon of knowledge. It is therefore hoped that this study will shed more light on just one aspect of loan verb integration: the suffix *-ish-* and the motivations and rules for its usage.

### 3.2 Language contact: code-switching and code-mixing

In sociolinguistics, there is an ideological view that proposes that languages, (however different from one another) when in contact, influence one another. The most evident influence is argued to be interference which in most cases appears in a form of code-switching, or as some scholars refer to as code-mixing. Bock & Metha (2013) citing the work of Muysken (2011) make a clear distinction between code-switching and code-mixing. Which is that, code-switching is a phenomenon where a speaker would alternate from one language to another during a communicative event. Code mixing is when the interchange from one language to another happens within a word or phrase. As opposed to Crystal (1987) who argues that there is little or no evidence to that suggest that there are distinct differences between code-mixing, and code switching.

Xhosa speakers who use verbal adoptives like *-stad-ish-a* (study), *-buk-ish-a* (book) and *-shapen-ish-a* (sharpen) have clearly come into contact with English. Various important studies have been conducted on language contact (Weinreich 1979, Thomason & Kaufman 1992, Thomason & Kaufman 2001, Appel & Muysken 2006) all of which highlight the significance of vocabulary change as an indicator of how much one language has influenced another. Thomason & Kaufman (2001) argue that there is evidence of intense contact when people start using vocabulary items from one language when they already have terms for these items in their own language. A potential argument that could be proposed is that it is *people* who come into contact instead of languages. But, because of the fundamental role of language in such contact situations, the term "language in contact" has been useful for scholars since it is undeniable that languages influence each other when people come in contact. The most noticeable result of language in contact is code-switching or code-mixing when a speaker alternates between two languages – in a number of different ways available to him or her (see Myers-Scotton 1993, Auer 2013, Muysken 2000). It is this phenomenon of code-switching that accords a novice African linguist like me the opportunity to study the interaction between two distinct grammatical systems. The focus of this dissertation goes beyond merely code-switching, although the morpheme under analysis, *-ish-* is often heard in the context of code-switching. Thus, instead of merely code-switching to the English word or phrase, *-ish-* gives the L1 Xhosa speaker the licence to create Xhosa lexemes from verbs of English origin, allowing them thereby to easily adapt to the grammatical system of Xhosa. This linguistic practice can be explained as part of language shift or change as a particularly urban phenomenon since the availability of English source verbs will be greater the more the contact with L1 English speakers becomes.

Code-switching, the process whereby a speaker of one language will switch between two or more languages in the context of a single utterance or conversation, has been well documented and researched globally, particularly with reference to switches to English, between European languages as well as in Nordic languages (Milroy & Li 1995, Blom & Gumperz 2000, Auer 2013). There have also been a number of studies that have concentrated on the code-switching habits of African populations, including those of African immigrants in European countries (Adendorff 1996, Mazrui 1995, Meeuwis & Blommaert 1998).

Li (2000) provides us with a review of Cantonese-English code-switching research in Hong Kong and concludes that code-switching to English may be seen as manifestations of bilingualism and biculturalism as a result of sustained contact between English and Cantonese. Martínez, 's (2010) research into Spanish use by school children in Los Angeles revealed that they were adept at "shifting their voices for different audiences" and argues that teachers could well use Spanglish as a pedagogical resource (Martínez 2010: 127, 131). While Martínez's study focuses on the way in which code-switching is used as a linguistic resource, we should always bear in mind that in order to do this, we need to understand the grammar that is being employed during such switches. As Poplack (2001:1) concludes, researchers are now unanimous in the "conviction that it [code-switching] is grammatically constrained". Importantly for this study is Poplack's claim that:

Despite etymological identity with the donor language, established loanwords assume the morphological, syntactic, and often, phonological, identity of the recipient language. They tend to be recurrent in the speech of the individual and widespread across the community. The stock of established loanwords is available to monolingual speakers of the recipient language, who access them normally along with the remainder of the recipient-language lexicon. (Poplack, 2001:3)

This notion of grammatical constraint is of importance to my study as I hope to propose rules as to the use of the verbalizing suffix *-ish-*. In discussing surface morpho-syntax in lexical borrowing, Pfaff (1979:296) makes the distinction between 'spontaneous borrowings', which are not morphologically adapted to Spanish, and 'incorporated borrowings' which are adapted to Spanish morphology. An important observation made by Pfaff is that English verbs must be morphologically adapted to Spanish in order to mark tense and aspect (Pfaff, 1979:314). This, is true too for Xhosa where the verbalizing suffix *-ish-* is one such morphological adaptation that allows the speaker to mark tense and aspect. Similarly, Kamwangamalu (1994:75) argues that African indigenous languages "impose their structures" on English and French, and that it is the matrix language (the borrowing language) that is dominant, not the language from which the lexical item is taken.

Heugh (2013:348) citing the work of Muysken (2011:303) makes a clear distinction between code-switching and code-mixing, as opposed to Crystal (1987) who argues that there is little or

no evidence to that suggest that there are distinct differences between code-mixing, and code-switching. For this study, these fine distinctions between code-mixing and code switching are not as important as the descriptions of what speakers actually do with the linguistic resources available to them. Thus it is important to highlight literature that deals with lexical borrowing as a subsection of code-switching.

Muysken (1997: 361) discusses code-switching in terms of “alternation, insertion and congruent lexicalization”. According to Muysken, people who speak two or more languages switch between languages in different ways. One way, which he refers to as “alternation” is when the speaker utters one clause in one language and another clause in another language. An example from Xhosa would be:

- 1) *Ndizophuma neetshomi zam* then we will chill somewhere in Long Street.  
'I will go out with my friends and we will chill somewhere in Long Street.'

Another process of code-switching is what Muysken terms “insertion” where a speaker uses one language for a clause but may insert a word or words from another language. An example of this in Xhosa is:

- 2) Then we will chill *ekhaya*.  
'Then we will chill at home.'

Here the whole clause is English apart from the insertion of the Xhosa word *ekhaya*.

How the speaker code-switches depends on the grammatical structures of the languages involved as well as on sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic factors (reference?). Both “insertion” and “alternation” focus on structural constraints on mixing. A Xhosa speaker would be unlikely to code-switch functional words or morphemes such as the future tense, and would not produce a sentence like: \*Ndi-will *phuma neetshomi zam* since the English future auxiliary ‘will’ in Xhosa is translated by *-za +ku-* (shortened to *-zo-*) which is a bound morpheme which cannot be code-switched.

Alternation views constraints in terms of structural equivalence between the languages involved, that is, switching is possible only where it does not violate the structural integrity of either of the participating languages (Sankoff & Poplack 1981:4). 'Congruent lexicalization' on

the other hand, refers to a 'a situation where the participating two languages share a grammatical structure which can be filled lexically with elements from either language' (see Muysken 1997). A Xhosa example would be:

3) *Uyathetha isiXhosa but kunzima for yena.*

'S/he speaks Xhosa but it is difficult for him/her.'

In Example (3) the syntax allows the speaker to insert the lexical equivalent of *kodwa* (but) in English without any disruption to the grammatical structure of the clause. Even the second English insertion 'for' is perfectly allowable grammatically since it simply replaces the Xhosa *ku-*.

Scholars such as Haugen (1972) argue that the borrowing of certain words and adopting them into a second language is language creativity. Haugen (1972) refers to this phenomena of two or more languages coming into contact and colouring each other as 'interlingual contagion'.

Muysken (1997: 373) proposes a series of criteria that he postulates can be used to distinguish the three code switching patterns. His criteria provide us with potential diagnostic features for different types and patterns of language mixing. Parting with Muysken's criteria, this dissertation will venture to demonstrate that in bilingual speech, some English transitive verbs lose their typical subcategorization features such that they have to be 'retransitivised' by Xhosa affixes. From this one is able to deduce that the structure and use of the *-ish-* suffix cannot be categorized in the same light as Muyskens understanding of language mixing. To further refute this argument suggested by Slabbert & Myers-Scotton (1997) this dissertation agrees with Makalela (2013) who proposes that there is an "amorphous continuum in which speakers use available discursive resources as and when the social environment dictates" (Makalela, 2013: 121).

In this case, using Makalela's (2013) definition, one would endorse the view that multilingual speakers, when using words such as 'book-*ish-a*' and 'googl-*ish-a*' are not necessarily alternating from one language to another, which is what the studies on code-switching usually suggest (Slabbert & Myers-Scotton 1997) but are using the resources that are available to them to communicate strategically in a given context. Moreover, for this reason, the idea of separate languages or codes among multilinguals is rejected. This leads me to deduce that Heugh's

(2013) understanding of the term, which she proposes refers to and consists of characteristics of code-switching, cannot be understood in conjunction with the *-ish-* phenomenon. Therefore, I am compelled to reject the idea that the use of *-ish-* is a form of code-switching and opt rather for Makalela's more useful definition of the processes of translanguaging being the employment of linguistic resources available.

In terms of this literature review it is important to look at contemporary academic narratives on metrolingualism and translanguaging, two concepts which have a direct bearing on the topic of this dissertation. Otsuji & Pennycook (2010: 252) define metrolingualism as a "paradoxical practice and space where fixity, discreteness, fluidity, hybridity, locality and globality co-exist and constitute each other". Metrolingualism is, "centrally concerned with language ideologies, practices, resources and repertoires" (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010: 247). Otsuji & Pennycook discuss metrolingualism as ways in which people of different and mixed backgrounds use, play with and negotiate identities through language (Otsuji & Pennycook 2010: 247). Thus, metrolingualism can be used as a linguistic device to help recognize hybrid language practices of urban youth such as translanguaging (Heugh 2013:352).

The term translanguaging, a contemporary term, is very comparable to and includes practices of, code-mixing and code-switching. The term's etymological formation is taken from Swain & Brook's (2006:98) use of the term 'languaging' and was applied to bilingual contexts (Garcia 2009). Heugh (2013:351) suggests that translanguaging's focal point is on the process which people use in order to shift back and forth between languages that they hold competency in and are knowledgeable about, but more importantly, these languages are used in daily instances. As mentioned above I hold an opposing view to this understanding and prefer Makalela's position that there is fluidity and continuity, not switching back and forth, since it explains processes like verbal adoptives being incorporated seamlessly into the matrix language more profoundly.

Makalela (2013 :112) argues that translanguaging is different from traditional conceptions of codeswitching which mostly focus on language interference. He makes a point that when speakers are translanguaging they are not using language as an autonomous skill, but rather the commencement of translanguaging is that which the speaker does and performs with his or her dynamic discourse practices (Garcia 2009). This understanding is very key to this study

as I propose this is what a speaker does when using the linguistically versatile suffix *-ish-* that is fluid and enables a speaker to not only be syllabically economic in contact situations but also to be unambiguous when using a loan verb when there might be another verb, in the target language, that might have a wider semantic range.

Many scholars have proposed possible instances for code switching or code mixing. For example, Crystal (1987) has explained that a speaker may not be able to express himself or herself in one language so switches to the other to compensate for the deficiency. This notion of compensation for a deficiency is relevant to this study, but not, I think, as Crystal intends it. Rather, in Xhosa, the speaker finds a deficiency in his or her L1, and moves to the L2 to compensate for the lexical gap, or to provide specific semantic content that the L1 lacks. In the example below the speaker is an L1 speaker of Xhosa, but then uses resources available to him from English because he cannot find the direct equivalent of what he wants to say in the L1:

5) *Ndiyam-miss-ish-a umama wam.*

'I miss my mother.'

The speaker in (5) could have used the Xhosa verb *-khumbul-* for 'miss' but because of the other meaning of this verb which is 'remember' rather chooses the English verb which is more specific and unambiguous in this context. Thus, although 'miss' also has a wide semantic range and means different things in different situations – e.g. miss the bus, miss out, miss the point, in the context of a person it is generally confined to 'feel sad that a person is not present.'

Crystal's observation that a speaker may switch codes when he or she wishes to convey his or her attitude to the listener is certainly true for many instances of code-switching in the speech of urban Xhosa speakers, however I would argue that this seldom applies for the function of *-ish-*. In example (6) below, the speaker is using the English lexicon to index an urban identity, the phrase "the looks department" just would not translate appropriately into Xhosa, in fact any translation, no matter how elegant, would lose some of the sarcastic euphemism of the English, so the speaker uses another set of linguistic resources available to her:

6) *Akaphiwanga* in the looks department.

'S/he hasn't been gifted in the looks department.'

In (7) below, however, the speaker uses *-ish-* with an English adoptive, not to index any identity, but purely because the borrowed word is appropriate in this context:

7) Soak-*ish-a iimpahla*.

‘Soak the clothes.’

As there is no one-word translation for “soak” the speaker opts for an English loan verb for purposes of linguistic economy rather than stylistics.

According to Crystal (1987), since it is very natural for monolingual speakers to convey their attitudes by means of variation in the level of formality in their speech, bilingual speakers can only achieve this through code-switching. Another reason for the switching behaviour is limited vocabulary in the source language, this phenomenon can be understood as ‘nonce borrowing’.

Nonce borrowings (see Poplack et al. 1988, Poplack 2012) are lexemes created when, in a particular situation, a certain speaker requires a word to be able to communicate something specific, often something idiosyncratic to his or her situation. The term nonce borrowing refers to the use of a word from another language than the main language of the utterance, which has not become an established part of this language (see Myers-Scotton 1993: 181-182) Nonce borrowings are more or less equivalent to instances of single-word code-switching. While it could be argued that *-ish-* is useful for the creation of nonce words in Xhosa, it is not its primary function. For example I could, after mixing with some French-speaking friends, use the word:

8) Wandi-Ça va-ish-a

She Ça Va-ed me [She greeted me in French].

More relevant to this study is literature on lexical gaps - for example, there are some words in English which do not have equivalents in the Xhosa language – words like “hustle” and “google” which must therefore be adopted, a phenomenon described by Myers-Scotton (1992) as borrowing due to a “lexical gap” in the MS (matrix language).

### 3.3 The influence of the media on language change

Research into the influence of the media on language change is important to my study not only because a section of my data has been extrapolated from a phone-in radio programme on *UMhlobo weNene*, but also because the participants in my study are regular consumers of

television and other forms of media. Sayers (2014) notes that many researchers have dismissed the role of the media on language change and quotes Eckert (2003) to illustrate his point:

We have all been told by non-linguist acquaintances that language change comes from the television. The idea that language change could be accomplished in such a trivial fashion is part of the popular ‘bag o’ words’ view of language . . . that we’re all tired of dealing with. However, we shouldn’t ignore the possibility that not all changes are equal. We need to ask ourselves what kinds of changes require the kind of repeated exposure that regular social interaction gives, and what kinds can be taken right off the shelf. (Eckert 2003: 395 in Sayers 2014:186)

Sayers (2014) is reluctant to dismiss the role of the media as a driving force for language change but cautions that linguists need to look at how language is used by the media as well as how people absorb that media.

Language corpora have remained the data sets of choice, and that elides two important factors: firstly, the way global variants are actually used in mass media; and secondly, the way individual people engage with mass media – and precisely how that might figure in their appropriation of variants. (Sayers 2014:187).

Sayers (2014:193) identifies five approaches that researchers have taken for examining global innovations.

- a) Approach 1: This approach involves analysis of what Sayers calls ‘interesting innovative forms’, but its focus remains local and barely refers to the media. As a result one is compelled to deduce that epistemologically, this first approach appears to be like other models in variationist studies.
- b) Approach 2: This approach compares linguistic corpora from distant speech communities but according to Sayers the researchers focus on linguistic detail and not

on how the innovation came about and are largely indifferent to the influence of the media (Sayers 2014: 196).

- c) Approach 3: This approach focuses chiefly on engaging about globalisation and mass media within familiar empirical territory with the problem arising as to what can be verified and what is merely rhetoric. In this approach the methodologies remain unchanged but there are greater claims of media influence (Sayers 2014:197).
- d) Approach 4: focuses on comparing speech data and media data. Here Sayers (2014:198) refers to a study done on intensifiers used by characters in a popular sitcom with those used by ordinary people. The results of this study showed that the use of the intensifiers “very” and “so” by the sitcom characters was very similar to that of ordinary English speakers.
- e) Approach 5: This approach primarily involves a combination of different methodological tools for analysing media engagement alongside other factors. Sayers (2014:201) argues that studies adopting this approach showed that “media engagement functioned as a form of parasocial interaction”. Sayers (2014:202) concludes that analysing actual data about how ordinary people engage with the media has led to a more complex understanding of the influence of the media on people’s speech.

These five approaches make up Sayers (2014) epistemological model, the central purpose of which, according to him, is to arrange the methodologies used to research mediated innovations. This model is able to distinguish mediation and broadcast from conventional transmission and diffusion. Figure 1 below is a depiction of what Sayers terms ‘the mediated innovation model’: an epistemological model for visualising methodologies used to research media influence in language change. It is important to emphasise Sayers’ insistence that ultimately it is contact between speakers that brings about linguistic change, and that any innovation that is independent of personal contact should be termed as “innovation broadcast”:

The conventional processes of transmission and diffusion rely on contact among interlocutors. Diffusion occurs between speech communities via weakly tied mobile individuals. If there is a role for media engagement, which does not rely on personal contact and occurs regardless of tie strength, then I would refer to it as innovation broadcast (Sayers 2014:202).

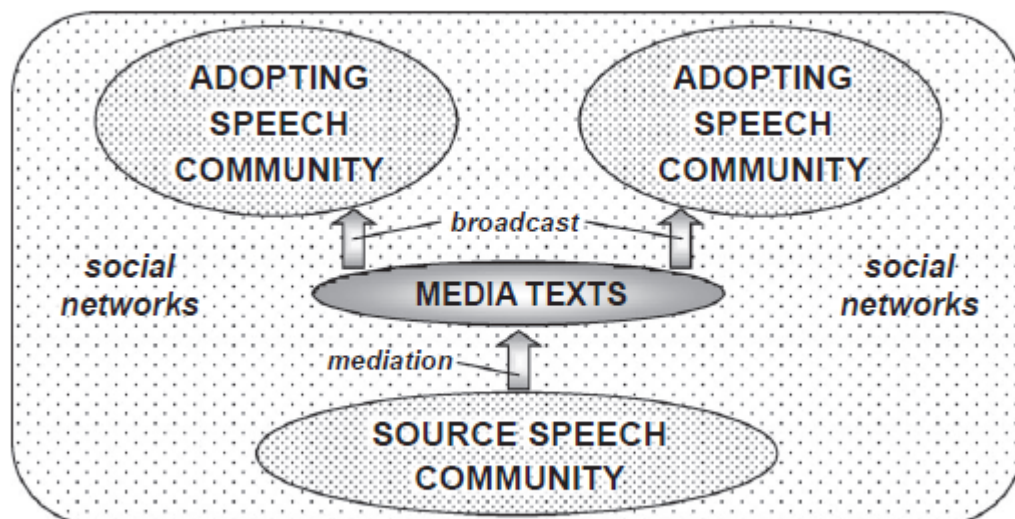


Figure 1: Sayers' hypothetical mediated innovation model (in Sayers 2014:203)

Kristiansen (2014) suggests that there are fundamental discrepancies in Sayers' model and postulates that the question about media influence on language change has two dimensions. The first is suggested by his title; 'Can we know why language changes?' while the second one is dependent on whether or not media is able to influence that change. In Kristiansen's critique of Sayer, he points out the lack of an explicit statement of belief about what the driving force in language change is (Kristiansen 2014:234). He argues that Sayers' arguments are limited by his focus on English-speaking countries:

The received view would have been less dismissive of media influence on language change had it been developed in a less Anglo-world focused discipline (Kristiansen 2014:240).

Kristiansen's statement is of particular relevance to my study, which also focusses on a language other than English and the complexities of variation in languages which exist in an Anglo-dominated world.

Coupland (2014: 277-286) summarizes the main thrust of contemporary sociolinguistic studies on media influence on language in his introduction to a collection of papers on the subject for the *Journal of Sociolinguistics* and argues that this paradigm is only representative of a portion of sociolinguistic change, and does not capture adequately the core driving forces for language variation. Coupland (2014:279) contends that the central question is "where and how to locate 'language' that might be deemed to be changing" and supports the idea that change in

language can be compared to change in fashion with its close association to youth, gregariousness and education (Coupland 2014:280). Coupland finally argues for a less “claustrophobic” analysis of the role of the media in language change and suggests that challenge is to understand how mediatisation is changing the terms of our social engagement with language (Coupland 2014:284).

### **3.4 Language Contact and Change in South Africa**

The fact that African languages have undergone profound changes, particularly in urban areas, has been reported and described by Calteaux (1996) in her seminal report on variation in urban varieties of African languages. In her conclusion the researcher argues that:

Cognisance should be taken of the fact that non-standard language varieties serve the function of promoting harmonious relationships between different language groups. As such, these varieties deserve the attention of language planners. Given the history of inequality in this country, the fundamental principle of language equality should lead to recognition of the non-standard varieties alongside the standard languages. (Calteaux 1996:170)

In his ground-breaking article on Sepitori, a non-standard variety of the Tshwane municipal region in South Africa, Ditsele (2014: 215) argues that this linguistic resource could be used to enrich the vocabularies of its two ancestral languages – Setswana and Sepedi. Ditsele also makes the very important point that Black Urban Vernaculars (BUVs – a term coined by Calteaux) are increasing in strength, while standard African languages are decreasing (according to Census 2011) and that they should therefore be seen as of “value to the development” of Black South African Languages (Ditsele 2014:218). Ditsele’s argument is extremely important since never before has a researcher specifically suggested that these urban varieties should not only be afforded rigorous scholarship, but also, that they can, in fact, be used to develop (and thus prevent from dying out) the standard languages.

While Hurst & Mesthrie’s 2013 article on Tsotsitaal focusses mainly on urban youth slang vocabulary, it is nevertheless important for this study since it highlights the notion of “styling” and identity construction via the use of certain lexical items. It will be necessary for me to apply some of their observations to my own analysis of the way in which adopted verbs are

employed in Xhosa – to discover whether there are instances when such verbs are used purely to indicate a particular urban style and identity, for example.

While not purporting in any way to be an academic treatise, Koopman's 1999 book *Zulu Language Change* is a thoroughly readable and useful text on the way in which the Zulu language has changed. Important topics for this study include his discussion on semantic shifts and morphological changes (including a discussion on *-ish-* which will be referred to later). A refreshing aspect of this book is the inclusion of many real-life examples of language change in use – from advertisements, to signage to recipes.

As much as de Klerk (2000) sensitizes one to some interesting accounts for language shift in South Africa, her explanation for the shift does not take into consideration variations and types of shifts. Thus, as much as participants in her study (parents sending their children to English-medium schools) indicated a shift from Xhosa to English, the shift is not a complete and absolute shift, nor is it representative of the wider Xhosa speaking community. It would be incorrect to think that those Xhosa speakers whose linguistic repertoire is indicative of a shift, (even in Grahamstown) have abandoned Xhosa and only engage in the dominant language (being English, the MOI - Medium of Instruction). De Klerk's (2000) paper is very important to this study as it serves a double purpose. The first is that it allows me to contextualise some of the reasons for language shift in South Africa. The second is that it enables me to focus on areas that her research study (because of the restricted nature of her sample) failed to address. Although her sample of participants was limited to aspirational middle-class parents, de Klerk (2000) nevertheless provides an intriguing overview of the main factors she identifies as playing a pivotal role in influencing language shift. Some of the socio-political and socio-economic factors she mentions are: economics, institutional support, the educational environment, education and literacy levels, linguistic networks, language attitudes, language status, language functions, mass media and gender. De Klerk herself calls for "Repeated longitudinal studies on a larger scale than this survey ... to establish the rate and future pattern of language shift in the province" (de Klerk 2000:28). In terms of the "future pattern", I would argue that extensive lexical borrowing could both indicate a shift, or rather, suggest a way in which the Xhosa language is being maintained by adapting to social and economic pressures via a new, revitalized lexicon.

For example, if one examines the language in example (8) below the speaker employs Xhosa syntax, morphology and phonology while deftly incorporating a whole lexical item (otherwise) and incorporating both phonologically (via the English sound “ch” becoming “tsh”) and morphologically (via -ish-) the English verb “check”.

8) Otherwise *nam bendikutshek-ish-a*. ‘Otherwise I was checking on you’.

Since one of the research tools used for this study was; analyzing a 1-hour long talk radio programme transcribed from UMHlobo weNene it was appropriate that I refer to Bylund’s (2013) article “*Unomathotholo or i-radio?*” in which the author reports on factors predicting the use of English loanwords among L1 Xhosa–L2 English bilinguals living in Cape Town.

This study enabled me to explain some of the fundamental factors which increase or decrease the presence of English loanwords in a L1 Xhosa speaker’s linguistic repertoire (Bylund 2013). Citing works from Deumert (2013) and de Klerk (2000) amongst others, Bylund (2013) concludes that the amount of time a person had been in an urban setting such as Cape Town as well as time spent interacting in both Xhosa and English was a predictor for higher English borrowing frequency. In this research Bylund (2013) makes mention of how research on L1 development in bilinguals does not address adequately social dynamics such as socio-economic and demographics that influence a person’s lexical preference. Bylund argues that certain Xhosa words appear to be replaced more often by English words and that the less often a Xhosa word is used, the greater the likelihood that word will not be passed on to the next generation (Bylund 2013:117). This observation is important for my study as I will show that certain verbal adoptives are indeed growing in popularity and are possibly replacing the original lexeme. This does not mean, however, that there is a shift to English, but rather that the Xhosa lexicon is undergoing substantive change with a concomitant loss of lexical items as is normal for languages in contact situations (O’Grady et al. 1997:344).

### **3.5 Lexical borrowing globally**

Sankoff (2001: 638-668) contends that when discussing lexical aspects of languages in contact, what is overwhelmingly clear is that the foremost process involved is borrowing, which can be argued to be one of the most carefully researched areas in the field of languages in contact. Borrowing primarily concerns the status of foreign lexical elements that appear in the everyday discourse of bilinguals.

In the majority of contact situations, borrowing occurs most extensively in minority or less dominant languages (in this case Xhosa). On the other hand, one can readily identify words that have become accepted within majority language communities that derive from language shift by various immigrant groups and would thus clearly fall under the definition of “substratum influence” (Sankoff 2001). For example, the Nguni word *mahala* ‘free’ has entered the South African English lexicon, as has *impimpi* ‘informer’.

It is not possible in this literature review and analysis to do justice to the massive topic of code switching. However, it is necessary to use codeswitching behaviour, specifically in verb borrowings, as a point of departure, since the well-documented ability of bilinguals to draw on lexical items from both of their languages can be reasonably considered as the beginning point of lexical borrowing for this study.

Poplack et al. (1988) study on English adoptives in Canadian French revealed that the percentage of adopted words used by the speakers in their study was still relatively low and concluded that bilingual proficiency, contrary to what one would expect, did not influence the number of adoptives used by a speaker. This issue of “bilingualism” will be an important consideration for my research as I need to understand how proficient in English users of *-ish-* are. In other words, is it a phenomenon employed only by highly bilingual speakers, or is it used by near monolingual speakers of Xhosa as well? In a later study Poplack (2001:3) observes that loanwords often adapt to the recipient language – again this is an important consideration when analysing adoptives in Xhosa.

Haspelmath (2009) contends that when trying to find out which words are more likely to be borrowed than others it is important to consider both social factors and grammatical factors, concluding that verbs are less likely to be borrowed because they “need more grammatical adaptation” (Haspelmath 2009:35). He elaborates with:

The best-known generalization about lexical borrowing is the constraint that “core vocabulary” is very rarely borrowed. (Haspelmath, 2009:36)

Haspelmath (2009:36) then poses the very important question as to what exactly do we mean when we refer to “core vocabulary”? For this research, it is imperative that I arrive at a workable and useful definition of “core vocabulary” and then isolate those verbs that are

almost exclusively used in their adoptive form, with the intent of establishing whether they can be considered “core vocabulary” or not.

Heredia & Altarriba (2001) argue that English adoptives are often used because people cannot remember the original first-language word which is reminiscent of the classic “tip-of-the-tongue” (TOT) phenomenon which happens when speakers do not use a word frequently. Switching to English makes it easier and faster to retrieve the word. Thus code-switching may be a problem of retrieval affected by a combination of closely related factors such as language use and word frequency (Heredia & Altarriba 2001:165).

Heredia & Altarriba (2001) also argue that the lexicon of bilinguals is influenced by which language has hegemonic status in their society – the dominance of one language over another in certain domains can make lexical choices in those domains favour the dominant code. The authors argue that:

Bilingual lexical representation is not a static but a dynamic representational system in which the first language can fall in strength while the second language becomes the dominant language. (Heredia & Altarriba, 2001: 167)

This observation ties in with that of Hatch & Brown (1995:171) who note that adopted words “are used by speakers of that language as though they were native lexical items” (Hatch & Brown 1995:172).

The creation of new words can be done in various ways. Some of these include: affixation, compounding, zero derivation, stress shift, clipping, acronym, blending, and back formation, adoption of brand names as common words, onomatopoeia and borrowing. This dissertation will look very intimately at how adopted verbs in Xhosa are considered by some of its speakers not as loan words, but as native Xhosa verbs.

### **3.6 Lexical Borrowing in South Africa**

As Calteaux, referring to Koopman, observes:

An important point made by Koopman (1994:26-27) concerns the fact that the adoption of words into a language and their subsequent permanence or loss is only one part of a chain of adoptions. (Calteaux 1996:24)

If one considers the origin of the Xhosa word *isikolo* (school) one needs to go back in history to the Old English *scōl*, *scolu*, via Latin from Greek *skholē* 'leisure, philosophy, place where lectures are given,' reinforced in Middle English by Old French *escole*.

Bock & Mheta (2013) citing the work of Heugh (1995) suggest that new varieties of language come into life in metrolingual/ urban spaces. This however, is not the case for rural and remote settings. Bock & Mheta (2013) contend that rural settings are less likely to experience rapidly changing language ecologies. In South Africa, for example people who speak 'deep' Xhosa in the rural areas of the Eastern Cape are sometimes viewed and referred to as old fashioned or not connected to contemporary culture. Often rural communities are characterised by retaining or maintaining older language varieties which are no longer in use in the urban contexts. For example, a person living in the rural areas may say "*Uyandihlukumeza*" 'You are bullying me' whereas a person living in metropolitan settings like Cape Town townships may say "*Uyandi-bul-ish-a-*". Often young speakers who live in urban settings may stigmatise speakers who use 'deep Xhosa'. Hurst & Mesthrie (2013) argue that speaking the urban variety indexes someone as modern and sharp-witted: *Cleva*. Slabbert & Finlayson (2000) bring forth the idea that the concept of a '*Cleva*' can be understood as being a symbolic performative act, that is used to signal the multiple facets that make up a hybrid ethnic identity in the urban milieu such as townships in South Africa. Translanguaging is an intrinsic part of the expression of an identity of a *cleva*, as urban speakers may use this variety as manifestations of their in-group (urban) identity (see Slabbert & Finlayson 2000).

Lexical borrowing specifically in urban spaces is a well-documented phenomenon by various scholars, mostly commenting on urban varieties of African languages developing in order to reflect new realities, (Finlayson & Slabbert 1997, Slabbert & Finlayson 1999; 2002, Rudwick et al. 2006, Cook 2009, Deumert 2013, Ditsele 2016). Deumert provides some key descriptors to explain how the use of *-ish-* can be a performative act of ones 'urban' identity. In her article '*Xhosa in Town*' she presents the migration of villagers 'pendulum-like movement' from Eastern Cape to Cape Town and how the ramifications of that is them developing 'urban styles of speaking'. Deumert discusses the emblematic use of English in Xhosa framework:

This diversity is embedded in the urban geography of Cape Town and there are certain localities that are prioritized as symbolizing urbanity, both culturally and linguistically (Deumert 2013:58).

Ana Deumert further explicates this by drawing on what Agha (2007) terms 'enregisterment', which can be understood as "the sedimentation of linguistic signs into socio-culturally specific images of local identity and personhood" (place-making and people-making). This Agha (2007) argues is situated in certain cultural situations, and becomes possible because of a dialogic articulation between recurrences and "locally salient normativities" to which they are connected (Dick 2010: 91 cited in Agha, 2007).

Dowling's (2011) work on new township lexicons, posits some of the reasons for lexical borrowing in Xhosa in her paper 'Stressed and Sexy'. In this article Dowling argues that lexical borrowing in Xhosa is driven by a need to simplify expression by using syllabically shorter English words and to fill lexical gaps. This work provides insights that could help in the analysis of whether *-ish-* is allowing speakers to opt for shorter words and to extend their vocabularies to include states and concepts that the matrix language does not provide. Dowling (2011:360) suggests that sometimes it is the combination of semantic directness and syllabic economy that drives the speaker to opt for the borrowed word:

One could translate the concept of 'sexy' as *unomtsalane kubantu besinye isini*, which means 'to have attraction to people of the other sex', but in practice this is so unwieldy that one resorts to English, where the word is short, sweet and frequently used (Dowling 2011:360).

Dowling's argument is very important as she postulates that this phenomenon of lexical borrowing specifically amongst Xhosa speakers gives the interlocutor the licence to expressing emotions, states and attributes that have a particularly urban context and for which English lexical items seem most appropriate and economical (Dowling 2011). In this study I wish to investigate whether or not the morpheme *-ish-* allows speakers an opportunity to verbalize new experiences, abandoning words or lexical items that may have existed in the base language but have lost the specificity. For example, while *-fund-a* 'learn, study, read' is syllabically shorter than *-stud-ish-a-* it could be argued that the economy lies in the fact that the morpheme *-ish-* allows both the speaker and the listener immediate, unambiguous

comprehension of the context to which the verb refers. However, at the same time the *-ish-* morpheme has the ability to literally shorten any given utterance. For example, if a teacher, speaking standard Xhosa wanted to ask her class what certain words meant, she would have to say:

9) *La magama athetha ukuthini?*

‘What do these words mean?’

The same sentence could have been phrased as (and this example has been observed by a colleague):

10) *La magama a-mean-ish-a ntoni?*

‘What do these words mean?’

The Xhosa translation of ‘mean’ is *-thetha ukuthini* which is syllabically six times longer.

Hurst & Mesthrie (2013) wrote an article that primarily focussed on urban youth slang vocabulary. In this study, they analyse what has come to be known as 'Tsotsitaal', a particular urban 'stylect' or 'informal urban variety' found in South African townships (Hurst & Mesthrie 2013:103). Their work gives valuable insights into global flows of culture and language that shape language use and linguistic identities in these particular urban spaces. They highlight the notion of Tsotsitaal being a type of “styling” and identity construction, which is achieved by means of the use of certain lexical items from that urban youth variety. Hurst (2009) describes this phenomenon as an expression of one’s identity, through a linguistic resource that involves a base/matrix language with neologisms and extensive borrowing from other languages (Slabbert & Myers-Scotton 1997). She further elaborates that it is often accompanied by semantic transformation (Kießling & Mous 2004) taking place on a large scale. However, what is paramount to note is that in Tsotsitaal the theme of identity through difference is central.

Hurst (2009) cites Coupland (2007) on style and in her article emphasizes the notions of identity and linguistic performance in social contexts and argues that every speaker speaks the way she or he does because of history and the way society has been structured.

Hurst & Mesthrie’s (2013) study is also of interest to this investigation as it encourages me to look at the possibility of *-ish-* as a verbalizing suffix that could potentially be a token of a

grammatical stylect. As much as the phenomenon of Tsotsitaal is not central to this study, I am interested in how *-ish-* may be, to some extent, a way of speaking that is used by urban Xhosa speakers to indicate their urbanity and bilingualism. Hurst's (2016) most recent definition of stylect describes the term 'stylect' as embracing the character of Tsotsitaal and refers to the particular and unique Tsotsitaal lexicon ('lect') which cannot be separated from its informal character ('style'). The term captures the use of the register not just as a linguistic 'type' but as a 'culture'.

### 3.7 Verb borrowing globally

Wichmann & Wohlgemuth's (2008) attempt at providing a typological perspective for loan verbs is useful but the authors still highlight the need for more in-depth studies on loan verbs. They mention Pugh's (1999) and Mifsud's (1995) seminal work focussing on structural patterns involving loan verbs but caution that this is limited to only a particular group of languages, namely Finnic and Maltese, respectively.

Wichmann's & Wohlgemuth's (2008) typology distinguishes "true loans" from "nonce borrowings (i.e. words that are introduced into the target language in an ad hoc fashion" and refers to work on the topic by Poplack et al. (1988). This distinction is important for this study since it could be argued that the borrowings I refer to have not replaced "an earlier, synonymous word or that it denotes some kind of object or action which was once new to the culture but which has now become an integral part of it" as this is suggested for nonce borrowings. Accordingly,

Since the semantics of verbs is usually more general than that of nouns, it is difficult to establish whether some native verb in the target language is or is not synonymous with the putative loan verb. (Wichmann & Wohlgemuth, 2008:3).

Of critical importance in their study (which makes no reference to African indigenous languages) is the statement that "in many languages an affix is required to accommodate loan verbs. Once the affix is added the normal inflectional patterns may be applied" (Wichmann & Wohlgemuth 2008:6).

In most of the literature concerning loan verbs, it is only these two authors (Wichmann & Wohlgemuth) who seem to have given a detailed description or analysis on the processes

involved in adopting verbs from one language to another. For example, Wichmann & Wohlgemuth (2005: 89) makes reference to how there has been a paucity in research that concerns loan verbs, and looks at the pioneering work of Moravcsik (1975,1978) which he terms as a 'useful point of departure'. However, having read this work I acknowledge its contribution, but nevertheless hold an opposing view based on the following statement:

[a] lexical item whose meaning is verbal can never be included in the set of borrowed properties (Moravcsik 1978:111).

My basic understanding and interpretation of this claim is that when verbs are borrowed, their function changes from that of the matrix language thus 'verbs can never be borrowed as verbs' whereas, as I have stated, I believe the contrary.

Campbell (1993) goes even further to say that verbs cannot be borrowed at all, a statement this research will repeatedly disprove. As controversial as these claims are, elements of it are of interest to me. Moravcsik (2003) makes the intriguing observation that a loan verb in the borrowing language will require some kind of verbalizing for it to function as a verb in the target language. This invites thought that although no African indigenous language is being referred to (as mentioned above) - could Moravcsik be referring to one of the roles *-ish-* plays in loan verbs?

### **3.8 Verb borrowing in South Africa**

Hudson (2002) proposes a societal phenomenon of 'diglossia' which is often generally defined as the way two language varieties are employed for different functions within a particular speech community. This phenomenon is one that exists in multifaceted ways in South Africa's multilingual landscape where varieties of African languages that contain a significant amount of English adoptives are testimony to the new challenges that the speaker faces in a modern lifestyle. This is what Saxena (2014) refers to as 'lifestyle diglossia' which is a linguistic practice employed by people whereby they include lexical elements of another language variety to express, and face the challenges of, new modern realities. Testament to this is the phenomenon of the lexical item *-ish-* which is often used to include verbs that express a specific preoccupation of a particular lifestyle. For example, the word *-schedule-ish-a* refers to a lifestyle in which meetings and arrangements are organized strictly to date and time and

would be hard to translate directly in the African language where a word such as *-cwangcisa* ‘arrange in order’ lacks the modern context of ‘schedule’.

It is unclear as to the genesis of the morpheme *-ish-*, but I am very grateful to Professor Raj Mesthrie for pointing me to what must be one of the earliest references by J.L. Dohne in 1857 to a verb with the *-ish-a* suffix in a Nguni language:

He gives the examples *helpesha* or *halpalsha* (Dutch *helepn* ‘to help’); *lesesha* from the Dutch *lezen* ‘to read’ (pxxxiv). [email from Prof Raj Mesthrie 16/11/2015]

Less than 100 years later Van Warmelo (1927:415 in Koopman, 1999:50) gives two Sotho examples: *berek-ish-a* (work → from Afrikaans *werk*) and *patel-ish-a* (pay → from Afrikaans *betaal*) and according to Koopman, states that these are causatives of *bereka* and *patela*, without explaining “why the causative morpheme, normally *-is-*, has now become *-ish-*” (in Koopman, 1999:50).

Although Swahili is not a South African language, it is important to note that in his 1952 study of Swahili borrowings from English gives the example of *kukonesha* ‘to take a corner kick’, Gower (1952: 156).

These early references are fascinating but unfortunately not enough examples or academic studies have yet been conducted to provide a comprehensive treatment and analysis of how this suffix *-ish-* was used to integrate verbs from other languages into Nguni languages, and Xhosa in particular.

Koopman refers to Mzamane’s inclusion of the following Xhosa verbs:

***Bhol-ish-a*** (‘to bowl’), ***feyi-lish-a*** (‘to fail’) and ***peled-ish-a*** (‘to spell’) (in Koopman 1999:50).

While Mzamane’s examples might seem to be covering lexical gaps, Thipa observes that loan words are often used even when there exist perfectly useable standard ones (Thipa 1989:106). It is interesting to note that of the nine verbs he gives that have been adopted from English, three have the *-ish-* suffix:

Khawuthraye ukumbona kuba emva kwe-meeting uza kuofa. (Please try and see him because after the meeting he will knock off.)

Mphresharayize umxelele ukuba **uzakumsuw-ish-a**. Uza kuadmitha. (Pressurize him and tell him that you will sue him. He will admit.)

Khonfesa, mhlawumbi uza **kusikhonsidar-ish-a** isicelo sakho. (Confess, maybe he will consider your request.)

Lala **uphripherishile** kuba ibhasi iyafururha. (Go to bed having prepared because the bus leaves very early.) (Thipa 1989:105-106 – my emphasis).

Hlongwane (1995) writes the following about *-ish-* in Zulu:

Quite a number of adoptive verbs have a suffix *-ish-*. At present, it is not clear why some verbs use this suffix while others do not. Only a tendency may be pointed out. Here are a few examples that have developed the use of *-ish-*:

<i>Ukutad-ish-a</i>	'to study'
<i>Ukufith-ish-a</i>	'to fit'
<i>Ukubor-ish-a</i>	'to be boring'
<i>Ukustragl-ish-a</i>	'to struggle'

The tendency is for the verb indicating a process to use the suffix *-ish-*. (Hlongwane, 1995: no page number)

Koopman (1994:244) indicates that the *-ish-a* suffix seems to be solidly established in adoptive verbs, e.g. Zulu: uku- *phak-ish-a* 'pack' uku-*kop-ish-a* 'copy' uku-*lay-ish-a* 'load' Afr. laai) Xhosa *suw-ish-a* 'sue' *khonsider-ish-a* 'consider' *phripher-ish-a* 'prepare', Sotho *beker-ish-a* < bereka 'work' *patel-ish-a* < patela 'pay'.

Koopman (1994:244) concludes that this *-ish-* is general "verb-forming suffix", in which case the shape should be *-ish-*, and not *-isha*, in line with the other derivational suffixes.

It is important to bear in mind Koopman's observation that while *-ish-* is similar in form to the causative extension *-is-* there are no instances where "it indicates any kind of causative meaning, nor is there any indication of where the allomorph *-ish-* (if it is a causative) occurs with 'indigenous' verbs' (Koopman 1999:50).

In direct contrast to Koopman's view that there is no indication of any causation in the *-ish-* suffix is Simango's assertion (2011:131) that the *-ish-* affix "seems to be a variant of the suffix *-is-*". He provides the following examples:

**like now that** ubonile i-**experience** yase **digs** neyase **res** ngeyiphi oyip**prefer-ish-ayo?**

'Now that you have seen the experience of digs and that of res(idence), which one do you prefer?'

o- yi – **prefer -ish -a -yo**

REL-IT-prefer-CAUS-FV-REL

'which you prefer'

**So** kengoku sizokwazi uku-**compar-ish-a** ezi-**varsities** ziyi-**two** i-Rhodes ne-P.E

Tech ngokuya wawufunda khona kwakunjani?

'Now we can compare these two universities Rhodes and PE Tech: when you were there how was it?'

Ngubani oyena mntu okanye eyona **celebrity** u-yi-**admire-r-ish-a-yo?**

'Which other person or another celebrity do you admire?'

u- yi- **admire-r-ish- a -yo**

YOU-HIM- admire-CAUS-FV-REL

'whom you admire'

Simango appears, however to be contradicting his own argument when he notes that the verbs in the examples are already transitive but contends that "in contemporary isiXhosa the

causative suffix invariably surfaces as ‘-is’ on native stems” (Simango 2011:132) and gives the following examples to prove his point:

English verbs with the suffix *-ish-*

love *lov-ish-a* ‘love someone’

slip *slip-ish-a* ‘slip something (under the door)’

mark *mark-ish-a* ‘mark something’ (e.g. an assignment)

fail *fail-ish-a* ‘fail someone’

link *link-ish-a* ‘link something to something else’

handle *handl-ish-a* ‘handle someone’

down *down-ish-a* ‘down a drink’

Simango’s work is crucial to our understanding of how the *-ish-* suffix operates, but his assertions do need to be tested. His respondent’s view (in Simango 2011:132) on why she uses *love-ish-a* and *love-a* are quaint and not scientific enough to warrant his conclusion that:

It would seem that the occurrence of this affix has to do with the speakers’ perception of the transitivity of the English verb stems: the verbs in question are perceived as intransitive and thus need to be ‘transitivised’ by isiXhosa morphology. (Simango 2011:132)

Referring to the examples above, it is true that in for example *-fail-ish-a* ‘fail someone’, *fail-ish-a* in this case refers to someone else doing the failing. However, one cannot say ‘ukuzi-fail-ish-a’ ‘to fail myself. It is for this reason that this dissertation could argue against Simango’s thesis (2011) since as much as he makes a valid point as to the one of the way the *-ish-* suffix operates, nonetheless this dissertation holds a diametrically opposing view to this notion: and that is that *-ish-* is not a causative suffix morpheme. This claim will be supported by the claim that it is the structure of the English morpheme, and not the desire to render the meaning causative, that predicts the occurrence of *-ish-*.

## CHAPTER FOUR: THE *-ISH-* IN PRACTICE

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### 4. Introduction

In preparation for this dissertation I took it upon myself to listen purposefully for examples of the *-ish-* suffix being used in conversations with friends and family. This collective does not fall under the ambit of participants (30 Xhosa speakers in Cape Town) for this study and thus should not be counted as such. This is merely an additional example of how I extended my listening to include examples of the suffix *-ish-* in as wide a variety of contexts as possible.

In addition, I decided to instigate discussions about the morpheme as an integral part of the Xhosa language with colleagues in the African languages section of the School of Languages and Literatures at the University of Cape Town and with friends on Facebook. Important to note that, this study was informed by, but did not rely on data from, these discussions. In other words, academic conversations with people vigilant about language use enabled me to gain insights as to the use and prevalence of this suffix.

The first part of this passive participation alerted me to the fact that the *-ish-* suffix is a morpheme with a wide application in everyday spoken Xhosa. Even L1 Xhosa speaking colleagues with post-graduate degrees in African languages, when speaking informally, would constantly include this morpheme in their linguistic repertoire. Examples:

11) *Ndiza kuyi-cover-ish-a ngomso.*

'I will cover it tomorrow.'

12) *Ukuba le mali ibingekho ncinci bendiza-retire-ish-a ngomso.*

'If this weren't such a little money I would retire tomorrow.'

On taxis I would hear examples such as:

13) *Uzo-book-ish-a ibhasi ngomso.*

'She is going to book the bus tomorrow.'

14) *Owam umntana akaka-register-ish-i.*

‘My child hasn’t registered yet.’

15) *Andiyazi ukuba yintoni azo-try-ish-a izinto ezintsha ngoku.*

‘I don’t know why he is going to try new things now.’

Watching a TV programme “My Perfect Wedding” on SABC – Mzantsi Magic – I heard a participant saying:

16) *Ndizoyi-fit-ish-a ilokhwe yomtshato.*

‘I am going to fit on the wedding dress.’

17) *Le rayisi i-lack-ish-a incasa.*

‘This rice lacks taste.’

Listening to the Breakfast Show (BEE) on UMhlobo weNene – SABC’s national radio station for Xhosa-speakers I heard the presenter say:

18) *Baya-butter-ish-ana.*

‘They are buttering each other up.’

Overheard in taxis, supermarket queues and university eating areas:

19) *Hayi man, ndizo-deal-ishana naye.*

‘No man, I will deal with him.’

20) *Masibanike ixesha so that banga-master-isha lo msebenzi.*

‘Let’s give them time so that they can master this work.’

21) *Ndi-feel-isha very lonely bethuna.*

‘I feel very lonely my dear.’

22) *Kwii-conference siya-cater-isha.*

‘We cater at conferences.’

23) *Sizohayarisha intente.*

‘We will hire a tent.’

24) Shame, *uyastraglisha ukumitha.*

‘Shame, she is struggling to get pregnant.’

When I started discussions about the use of *-ish-* the majority of people, including young people, indicated that this was an aspect of Xhosa used mostly by young, urban people. Most people were not aware that they had even been opting to use English verbs in the place of Xhosa ones since the *-ish-* suffix had almost duped them into thinking that when using *-ish-* they were still speaking good Xhosa. They did not see it as code-switching or code-mixing, but just as using another variety of Xhosa. Some speakers who were linguistically aware suggested that they found the use of this suffix as specific to an urban setting. Further research would be necessary to investigate whether this claim is valid. The fact that *UMhlobo weNene* has listeners in remote rural areas who would be exposed to this variety and who have relatives who come back annually from urban areas, makes me doubt whether this view holds any truth.

#### 4.1 Radio examples of *-ish-*

Examples (25) to (29) below have been taken from a transcription of an hour-long talk radio programme transcribed from the latenight phone-in show *Emfuleni woThando* on the national broadcaster’s Xhosa radio station, *UMhlobo weNene* (see Appendix A for full transcription). The programme is:

a music show that caters for love songs and ballads. The show has a popular feature of listeners bringing challenges they encounter around love matters. Listeners call in to share their experiences and there is also an expert who gives a professional advice.<sup>1</sup>

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1

<http://webcache.googleusercontent.com/search?q=cache:NtmDAEb8bvkJ:www.umhlobowenenefm.co.za/sabc/home/umhlobowenenefm/shows/details%3Fid%3Dde69b304-7f83-4346-bdd7-cd19e686fbaa%26title%3DEmfuleni%2520wothando+&cd=1&hl=en&ct=clnk&client=firefox-b-ab>

Note that before the speaker told his story the host (Tsidi Monteiro) asked the participant to speak in Xhosa as he had begun his narrative in English. Nevertheless, after having made this injunction, the host herself often switched to English or made use of borrowed words. All the examples, apart from (25) are, however, from the narrative of the caller.

25) *Why e-ku-hurt-ish-a wena?*

‘Why is she hurting you?’

26) I am trying by all *means u’ba unga-feel -ish-i* lonely *unga-feel-ish-i uwedwa* every time

‘I am trying by all means [to make] you not feel lonely and not feel you are alone every time’

27) *Ndamyeka nyhani wa-drop-out-a esikolweni* because *akanokwazi uku-continue-ish-a* without *mna*.

‘I really gave up on her and she dropped out of school because she cannot continue without me.’

28) *Ndabona nje ne-body yakhe u’ba uyayi-pick-ish-a* i-weight

‘I just saw that even her body was picking up weight’

29) *Wa-feel-ish-a* sorry for *elaa xesha endixelesa ngalo* afterwards *zange abonise i-remorse*

‘He felt sorry for that time telling me about it afterwards [but] never showed remorse.’

Looking at the whole extract from *Emfuleni woThando* on UMhlobo weNene I counted 2441 words in total. 1944 words of this total were Xhosa words while 450 were borrowed non-verb words and 47 were borrowed verbs. Of the 47 borrowed verbs, 7 used the *-ish-* suffix. See Figure 2 below for a graphic representation of this data.

Figure 2: Frequency of word categories

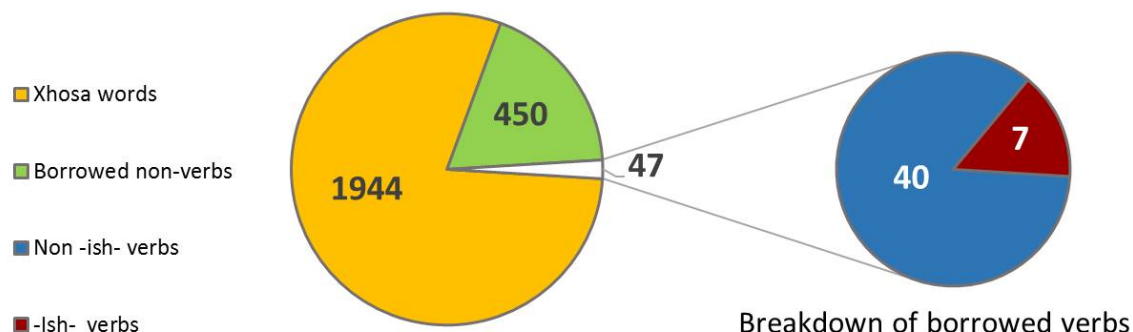


Figure 2: Frequency of word categories in a radio speech corpus (see appendix A)

It is important to note that, even though it is low, the frequency of instances of the suffix *-ish-* is substantial in this context considering the fact that on this platform the listener, who was sharing his story, was specifically asked to speak in Xhosa, thus limiting his use of loan lexemes. Nevertheless, both the caller and the host, were unable to police themselves to speaking one language (Xhosa) but rather engage in a form of translanguaging, moving from one code to the other, not presenting the languages as binaries (i.e. English only as translation for Xhosa) but as fluid entities in flux. For example, here is an exchange between the host and the caller in which both translanguaged seamlessly "Caller: *Ndafumanise ukuba kukho this other person.* (I found out that there was this other person.)

Host: *Uyi-found-out-a kanjani?*" (How did you find out about it?")

UMhlobo weNene refers to its "brand epicentre being 35 years old" and makes the claim that "the majority of UMhlobo Wenene FM's listeners (80%) reside in the Eastern and Western

Cape, with the rest spread across the entire country.”<sup>2</sup> (see also Appendix C). This is important information since it points to the fact that caller language profiles will vary as their contact with English varies. In addition, the fact that callers and listeners may not be located geographically close to Cape Town, which is the focus of this meta-linguistic study, would suggest greater deviation from urban language practices than has been discovered in this research.

#### 4.2 Television examples of *-ish-*

Examples (30) to (31) are from *Siyayinqoba Beat It* a health education programme produced for television by the Community Health Media Trust (CMT). The participant is a Xhosa speaking woman suffering from cervical cancer and the narrative takes place in Lady Frere in the Eastern Cape, a predominantly Xhosa-speaking area (see Appendix B for full transcript).

30) *Ndineproblem endimana ndiyiva i-leak-ish-a apha kum.*

‘I am having this problem I feel it leaking here in me’

31) *Kukho into eblidishayo.*

‘There is something bleeding’

32) *So banditshekisha ke.*

‘So they did a check on me.’

The participant in this television interview is a Xhosa speaking woman who is in her 30’s. The participant is quoted saying she has been involved in what she refers to as “peer education”. Although her level of involvement is not clearly stated one can assume that since the speaker is involved in such an activity (peer education), which is an approach to health promotion in which community members are supported to promote health-enhancing change among their peers. Peer education is the teaching or sharing of health information, values and behavior in educating others who may share similar social backgrounds or life experiences in this case the

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<sup>2</sup> <http://www.sabc.co.za/wps/wcm/connect/e25ac900443a1393a9e9ebc4173d8502/station+profile+-+vuma+mthembu.pdf?MOD=AJPERES&CACHEID=e25ac900443a1393a9e9ebc4173d8502>

focus is around HIV and promoting healthy living. Considering the amount of material she would have had to revise which would most likely have been in English (possibly with some Xhosa translations that would not have been relevant to the urban variety she speaks) one may deduce that the participant has a high probability of being in contact with speakers of different languages. The fact that the participant refers to this program as “i-peer education” itself suggests a level of bilingualism. Below is a chart that gives a depiction of the frequency of *-ish-* as it occurred in the transcript.

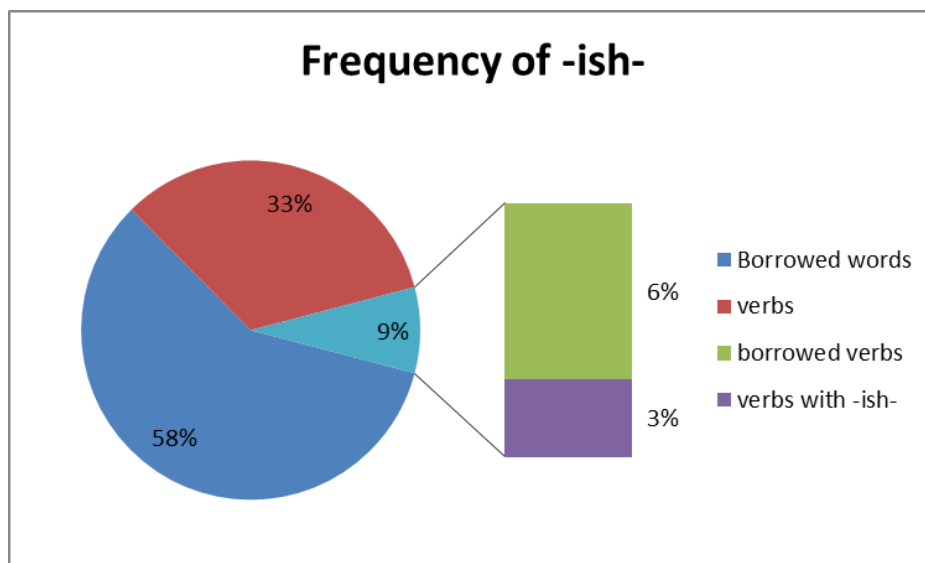


Figure 3: Frequency of *-ish-* in television transcript.

Above the chart shows a categorical count in percentage of all the verbs, borrowed verbs, borrowed words and words with *-ish-a-* from the television transcript of approximately 360 words.

An important detail to note is that unlike the examples in *UMhlobo weNene*, in *Siyayinqoba* the TV programme, the participant was not limited to one language in her responses. This means that the participant could chose from an array of linguistic devices to express herself. Even the presenter when addressing her listeners uses more than one language: from this one can infer that the TV program itself is open to multilingualism and translanguing and is not overly concerned with linguistic purity.

#### 4.3 Social media examples of *-ish-*

The following social media occurrences of *-ish-* were observed:

### 4.3.1 WhatsApp

The following examples of *-ish-* were sent to me via WhatsApp. I represent them exactly as they were spelt in the message:

33) *Uyandiwarisha wena.*

‘You worry me.’

34) *Bendoyoku-shower-ish-a.*

‘I went to shower.’

35) *Nam bendikutshekisha.*

‘I was also checking on you.’

36) *Uyandi-bother-ish-a* man because *ndi-busy, uyayi-spoil-ish-a imini yam.*

‘You are bothering me man because I am busy, you are spoiling my day.’

In examples (33) and (35) the writer changes the orthography to represent Xhosa pronunciation, whereas in examples (34) and (36) with the English verbs ending *-er* and *-oil* there is no attempt to change the orthographic representation of the English sounds. The verb remains as it would appear in English, altered only by the prefixes and the *-ish-* suffix.

I have noticed that because of the intimate, personal nature of WhatsApp messages my examples are mostly in Xhosa, whereas in more public domains, such as Twitter and Facebook there is a far greater incidence of whole sentences in English.

### 4.3.2 Twitter

A google search of random verbs with the *-ish-* suffix produced the following tokens which replicate as they occurred in tweets. Note the orthography and spelling have not been corrected – they occur verbatim as in the original:

37) I worry *yam siya* continu-*ish-a*<sup>3</sup>

‘My worry is that we are continuing’

38) *Siya* continu-*ish-a* *istruggle nyani!*<sup>4</sup>

‘The struggle really is continuing!’

39) #*Googl-ish-a* #*Continue-ish-a* #*Firer-ish-a* #*Hurt-ish-a* #*Lover-ish-a* *hehhehehehe hayi masiyekwe*"<sup>5</sup>

‘Google # Continue # Fire # Hurt # Love hahaha no we must be left alone.’

Although not included here, the Xhosa tweets I found contained a high incidence of code-switching to Xhosa, as well as a meta-linguistic awareness as in (39) where the tweeter appears to be musing on the *-ish-* phenomenon.

#### 4.3.3 Facebook

The following examples of *-ish-* are from Facebook posts which I accessed via my own Facebook account. Apart from (40) which was from a friend of mine, the others in this section are all public Facebook posts.

40) *Ndiya*FLOUR-*ISH-A* man!!<sup>6</sup>

‘I am flourishing man!!’<sup>7</sup>

NdiyaFLOURISHA man!! JealousDown



41) *Oku bu* hustl-*ish-a* since 2012 it’s now 2016 you’re still hustling/*Hay uyay* has’l-*ish-a* into saan. *Awudinwanga?*

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<sup>3</sup> <https://twitter.com/Vkykhoza>

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.justcurious.co.za/anything-goes-53/>

<sup>5</sup> <https://twitter.com/hashtag/googlisha>

<sup>6</sup>

<https://www.facebook.com/photo>

'You have been hustling since 2012 it's now 2016 you're still hustling/No you hustle babe. Aren't you tired?

 January 15 · 🌐

- Oko bu hustlisha since 2012 its now 2016 you're still hustling. |



Hay uyay has'lisha into saan. 🤔🤔🤔🤔 Awudinwanga ?

42) Black people lazy to say "go to google" instead they say "googl-*ish-a*" lol

'Black people are lazy to say "go to google" instead they say ""googl-*ish-a*" lol'

 January 18, 2013 · BlackBerry Smartphones App · 🌐

Black people lazy to say "go to google" instead they say "googlisha" lol

43) That *-ish-a* suffix Xhosa's always use at the end of English words because *bazo strugglisha uku interpretisha*

' That "isha" suffix Xhosa's always use at the end of English words because they will struggle to interpret'

 May 6 · 🌐

That "isha" suffix xhosa's always use at the end of english words because bazo strugglisha uku interpretisha. 🤔

44) *Akhonto erong ngoku admir-ish-a umntu nje*

'There is nothing wrong in admiring a person'

she's one of da kind

akhonto erong ngoku admirisha umntu nje

Examples (40), (41) and (44) are illustrative of *-ish-* being used unselfconsciously as part of the person posting's natural narrative whereas (42) and (43) indicate a level of meta-linguistic awareness on the part of the participants, particularly in example (43) where reference is made

to a “suffix”. Nonetheless the way in which the suffix is assimilated remains consistent, regardless of whether or not the person makes a conscious linguistic decision or if it occurs unconsciously. What is important to note is that this suffix is within speakers’ linguistic repertoire and its frequency appears to be significant.

Apart from the second mention of “hustle” in example (41) the orthography remains English, with no attempt to change the textual representation of the word to fit Xhosa phonology.

The frequency at which the *-ish-* suffixes occur seems to be greater in instances of social media than in the radio and TV programs. A potential rationale to this could be the role social media plays in portraying one’s identity which is different from the role played by radio and TV. Furthermore, a speaker may be more likely to make use of the *-ish-* suffix in a medium such as WhatsApp, as this is much more intimate than speaking on radio and TV, thus it could be argued that this platform allows the speaker to behave more naturally (especially with their language use) than radio or TV.

Seeing that on these social media platforms, the use of the suffix mainly occurs in people’s posts, one is compelled to deduce that there could be a strong relationship in the use of the suffix *-ish-* and identity. The notion of “styling” and identity construction via the use of certain lexical items such as *-ish-* could be explained as means of creating one’s sense of urbanity (see Hurst 2013).

#### **4.4 Questionnaires and interviews with 30 participants**

The above data from radio, television and social media indicates that this suffix has remained consistent to the rules that I will now explicate. These rules were developed after the research with the 30 participants, (who were asked to fill in the questionnaire), was conducted. 15 English verbs were selected for participants to mark whether they would adopt them with either the *-a* or the *-ish-* suffix. Of those 15 English verbs two ended *-er* (number, register); two ended *-our* (colour, favour); three ended *-ire* (inspire, admire, hire), three ended *-y* (bully, tidy, study) while five ended *-le* (google, gamble, struggle, tackle, hustle).

From the data provided I was able to tabulate and give a statistical analysis comparing the *-a* suffix with the *-ish-* suffix as verbalizers with certain English verb roots, as well as to formulate a set of rules for the use of *-ish-*.

The demographics of the 30 Xhosa-speaking participants were recorded from the questionnaire that they filled in, and from those results the outcome is as follows:

**Living areas:** the participants were evenly distributed geographically from the three areas that are listed below. The significance of these areas is their distance from central Cape Town as well as other factors that characterise a linguistically diverse area. Important to note, four people did not reside in any of the three main areas of the study, but they advised that were frequently in one of the areas for different reasons, such as attending school or going to work.

- Capricorn (25km from central Cape Town)
- Mfuleni (40km from central Cape Town)
- Observatory (four participants in this group do not live in Observatory but school there)

**Ages of participants:** The ages of participants were evenly represented in the questionnaire with the youngest person being 15 years of age and the oldest person being 45. The age categories that are represented is as follows; 10- 20 years, 20-30 years and 30 years upwards for graph presentation purposes. The reason why the age categories were as they were, was first to observe the use of *-ish-* across all ages as well as to also test a potential hypothesis that would explore the possibility of the *-ish-* suffix being used as a verbalizing morpheme to denote “styling” and identity construction (see Hurst and Mesthrie: 2013) .

**Length of time in Cape Town:** The time each participant had spent in Cape Town was crucial in this investigation, as it would give an indication as to their levels of bilingualism. All the participants reported that they had been living in Cape Town for more than 5 years.

#### 4.5 Rules for the use of *-ish-* when adopting English verbs

**Note:** the verbalizing suffix *-ish-* is represented without its final vowel in these analyses to distinguish it from the suffix *-a* (which will also change according to tense and mood, positive and negative, etc.).

Analysis of participants’ responses have led to the extrapolation of the following rules which I hope will go some way towards reducing the lacuna in the linguistic descriptions of verbal

adoptives in Nguni languages. The rules are built on the observation that the shape of certain English verbs predicts the use of an *-ish-* verbalizing suffix rather than *-a*. An important fact to note is that there is a total of ( $n= 30$ ) speakers and no more. In some cases some speakers chose to employ both the *-a-* suffix as well as the *-ish-* suffix. From this what can be deduced is that participants clearly thought that both *-ish-* and *-a* were acceptable with certain English verbs.. This should not be misunderstood as additional participants.

*Rule 1: English verbs ending -er/-ire/-our use the suffix -ish-*

WORD	10-20		21-30		30upwards	
	'a	-ish-	'a'	-ish-a	'a'	ísha
number	0	10	3	10	2	10
register	0	10	0	10	2	9
admire	3	10	1	10	2	9
inspire	1	9	2	10	1	9
colour	0	10	0	10	2	9
favour	1	10	2	8	1	9

Rule 1 indicates that with English verbs ending *-er*, *-ire*, and *\_our*, the *-ish-* suffix is more likely to be accommodative than the *-a* morpheme. The results from the participants concur with this rule as in the first age category, which is between the ages 10-20, only 5 people indicated that they would employ the *-a* suffix. In the same age category, all the people (with the exception of one) agreed that the suffix *-ish-* is the lexeme they would mostly likely use to adopt these English verbs. The 5 participants that indicated that they would employ the *-a-* suffix also agreed to the use of *-ish-*. This is to say, they thought both suffixes can be used. This

should not be misunderstood as additional participants. One participant even went on to give an example of another word ending with *-er* that would take this adoptive suffix:

45) I need more time *uku master-ish-a* le module.

'I need more time to master this module'

In the second age category (21-30) the same trend follows with a significantly larger number of people opting to use the *-ish-* suffix rather than *-a-*. Some participants said that in their speech some words would not even "sound correct" with the *-a* suffix and that using *-ish-* made more phonological sense. What was most interesting with Rule 1 was that in the third age category (30 upwards) there was the most number of participants (10) who said they would opt for *-a*. Yet again the same people advised that the *-ish-* would also be acceptable.

The results tabulated in Rule 1 are now given below in a visual graph representation of the preference for *-ish-* over *-a*.

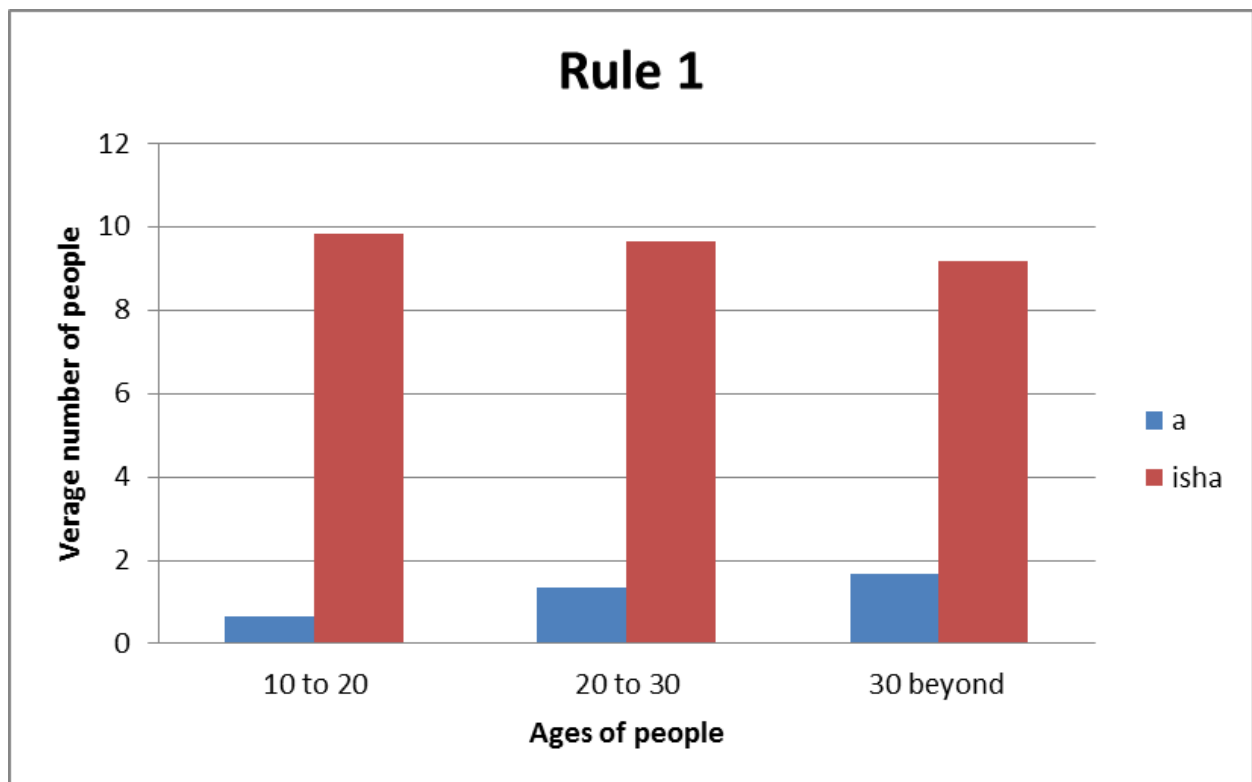


Figure 4: Graphic representation of the preference of *-ish-* to *-a* as an adoptive suffix with English verbs ending *-er/-ire/-our*.

Rule 2: English verbs -y use the suffix -ish-

WORD	10-20		21-30		30upwards	
	'a'	'isha'	'a'	'isha'	'a'	'isha'
Study	0	10	0	10	0	10
bully	0	10	0	10	0	10
tidy	0	10	0	10	0	10

Rule 2 reveals that English verbs ending with -y, when adopted to Xhosa, are more likely to take the suffix -ish- than -a. Interestingly all 30 participants unanimously agreed and said that phonologically, one would never opt for -a in this word category and that -ish- is the suffix they would opt for. Rule 2 is the most significant as in all the age categories this rule is overwhelmingly consistent. The results tabulated in Rule 2 are now given below in a graphic representation of the preference between -a and -ish-. The graph indicates an absence of blue columns, which indicates an absence of the -a suffix.



Figure 5: Graphic representation of the preference for -ish- over -a when adopting English verbs ending in -y.

*Rule 3: English verbs ending -le use the suffix -ish-*

WORD	10-20		21-30		30upwads	
	'a'	'isha'	'a'	'isha'	'a'	'isha'
google	1	10	1	10	1	9
dazzle	0	10	1	10	0	10
struggle	0	10	0	10	0	10
gamble	2	10	1	10	3	10
hustle	0	10	2	9	3	9
tackle	0	10	0	10	1	10

Rule 3 states that English verbs ending with *-le* when adopted to Xhosa make use of the *-ish-* suffix rather than the *-a* verbalizing morpheme. Interestingly the participants in the first age category (10-20) all concurred that the *-ish-* suffix is the one they would opt for when verbalizing such words in Xhosa. The word 'gamble' had to be the most controversial one in this age category as speakers said they would sometimes say *gambula* for 'gamble'. What is important to note here is that for the *-a* suffix to be incorporated successfully, the structure of the word changes significantly *gamble* becomes *-gambula*. The speakers change the orthography to represent Xhosa pronunciation, whereas when using the *-ish-* suffix this is not necessary and the adoption process is more seamless: *gambl-ish-a*. I also came across this pattern during the passive participation research, where I heard a speaker easily incorporating the *-ish-* suffix without breaking up the original phonology of the English *-le* word:

46) *Yi schedule-ish-e ndizaya*

'Schedule it, I will go'

Only 3 people said they might also opt for the morpheme *-a-* (this was in the 10-20 age category) but all the participants agreed that the suffix *-ish-* would be the suffix more likely to be opted for. The results tabulated in Rule 3 are now given below in graph representation of the preference for *-ish-* over *-a-* with English verbs ending *-le*.

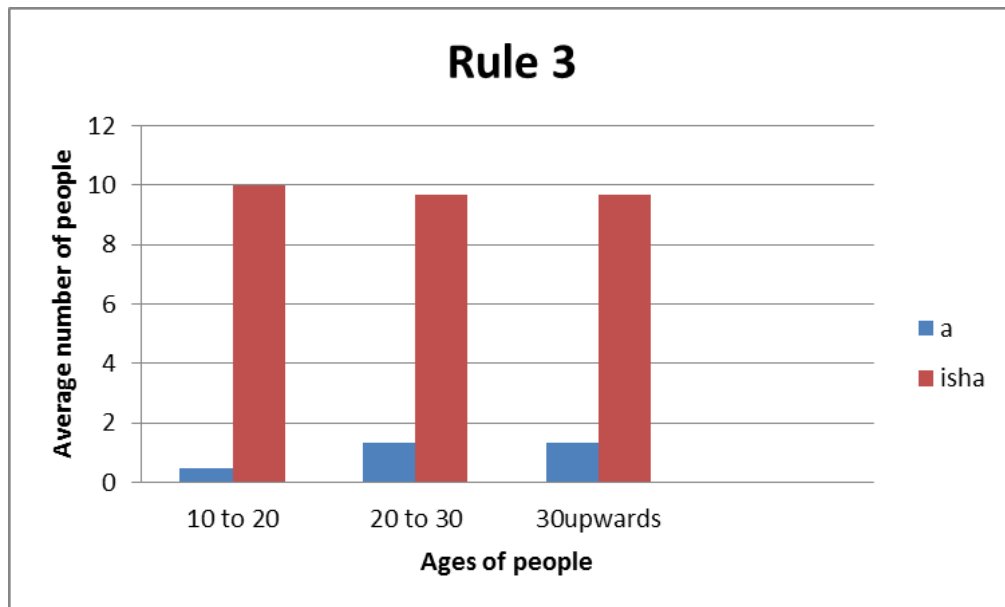


Figure 6: Graphic representation of the preference for *-ish-* over *-a-* when adopting English verbs ending *-le*.

*Rule 4: English verbs ending -ure/ur use the suffix -ish-*

WORD	10-20		21-30		30upwards	
	'a'	'isha'	'a'	'isha'	'a'	'isha'
measure	0	10	0	10	2	10
lecture	0	10	0	10	6	8
feature	0	10	1	10	2	10
torture	1	10	0	10	2	10
tour	1	9	2	10	2	10

Rule 4, the last rule, made a list of English verbs ending with *-ure* or *-ur*. Again just like the other rules I state that when verbalizing such verbs in Xhosa, the speaker is more likely to opt for the suffix *-ish-* rather than *-a*. The results in this rule remained consistent with the first 3 rules, but it is important to note that in the third age category (30 upwards) there was the most number of people that opted for *-a* as a verbalizing suffix rather than *-ish-*. Although this does not affect the total frequency of *-ish-* it is interesting to note that the participants that are 30 years or older are more likely to opt for *-a* than *-ish-*. Future investigations will need to interrogate whether there a potential relationship between age and preference for the *-a* verbalizing suffix over *-ish-*. The results tabulated in Rule 4 are now given below in a graphic representation showing the preference for *-ish-* over *-a*.

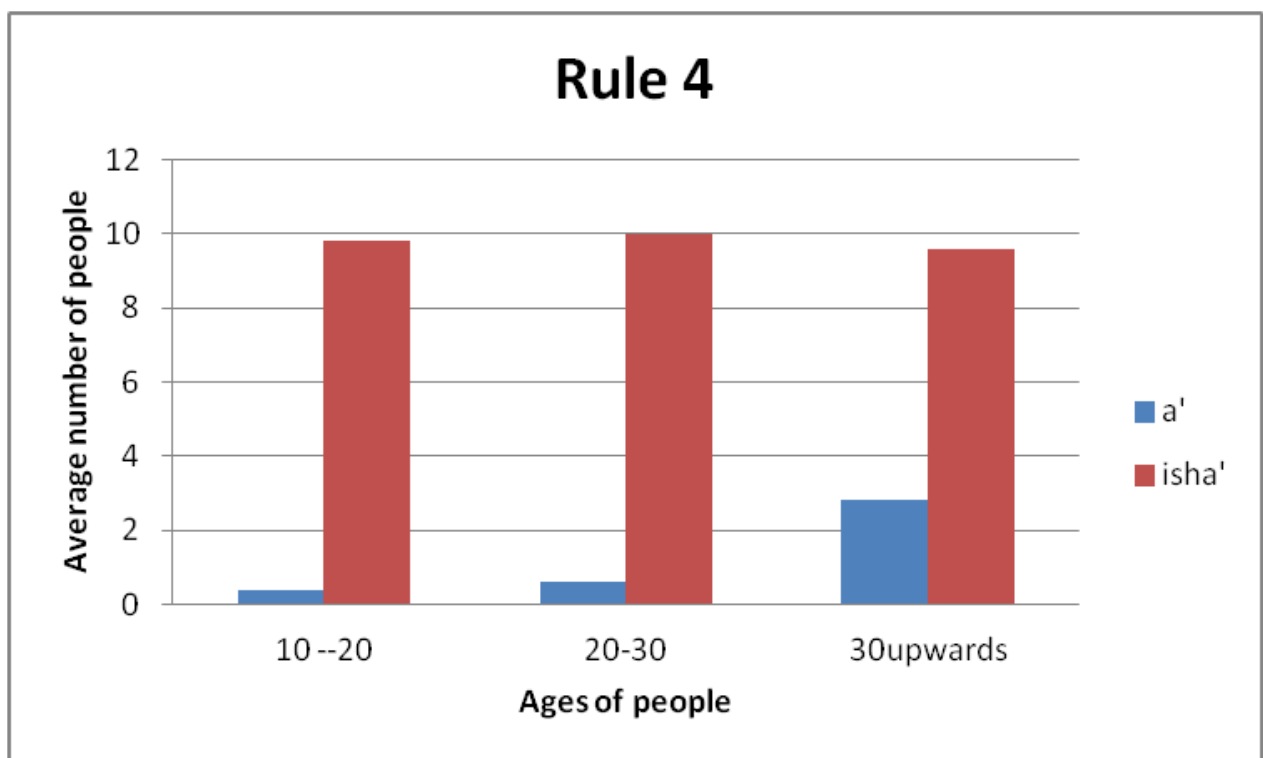


Figure 7: Above is a graph representation of the preference for *-ish-* over *-a* when adopting English verbs ending *-ure/-ur*

#### 4.6 Productivity of *-ish-* with verbal extensions

In conversations with participants it was clear that the only constraints to the grammatical use of verbal adoptives with the *-ish-* suffix was the use of the passive and causative extensions. My observations also revealed that the *-ish-* suffix allows for strings of verbal extensions. See example (18) referred to above in which the reciprocal extension is used: *Baya-butter-ish-ana*

'They are buttering each other up'. I have also heard the metastative potential extension in *Kufuneka anga-hurt-ish-ek-e*. 'She must not get hurt.'

Further research needs to be conducted as to how productive *-ish-* is with verbal extensions and in all grammatical environments.

#### 4.7 Styling and *-ish-*

Having analyzed the data from the corpus of 30 Xhosa speakers living in the above-mentioned areas in Cape Town. I have deduced that while there may be a relationship between the notion of "styling" and identity construction via the use of certain lexical items such as *-ish-* there is also an internal grammatical system that Xhosa speakers use which determines whether or not they can use *-ish-* as a suffix when adopting verbs from English.

In terms of "styling", during the performative act of translanguaging, a hybrid language practice of urban youth can index an expression of a modernity and urban identity (Heugh 2001: 352, Hurst 2009:245). It could be argued, from my data, that to a certain extent this is true even when it comes to the choice of suffixes used to adopt verbs since the highest instances of the suffix *-ish-* were recorded in the first two age categories (10-20 and 20-30 years).

Additionally, one of the older participants in the third age category even went so far as to say:

This *-ish-a-ring* is how most of these township youth, who do not know proper Xhosa, speak. When you think about it, it dilutes our language isiXhosa.

One can speculate many reasons as to why younger generations are more likely to use *-ish-*, the primary being language contact, and its multilingual speakers, who live in a world of social media, the internet and speakers of other languages, but predominantly English speakers.

## CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

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This dissertation focused on some fundamental aspects of the verbalization of English lexical items in spoken Xhosa and in social media. The principal focus being a clear description of the productivity of the *-ish-* suffix and its frequency in various Xhosa speech corpora. While some data (specifically radio) indicates that it is not as common as one would have first expected, a closer examination of the facts reveals that it is beginning to be significant within the context of borrowed verbs generally.

Having identified grammatical and phonological constraints on the use of this suffix, I have collected examples of verbs using the *-ish-* suffix from a range of different contexts enabling me to gauge its popularity not only as a grammatical suffix used for the incorporation of loan verbs, but also as a marker of an urban style. Through different methods of inquiry, this dissertation uncovered several possible reasons for the productivity of this suffix and has referred to a number of factors that might influence its use, apart from an internal grammatical system that appears to favour *-ish-* over *-a* in certain phonological environments. Consequently, this dissertation is in consensus with Koopman (1994) who proposed that this suffix is not a causative as there is no clear evidence of it containing such semantic properties. Furthermore, throughout the data analysis what became consistently apparent was that when speakers incorporated this suffix in their speech, they were not consciously code mixing: rather they appeared to use the adoptive suffix *-ish-* as just another resource available to them to make their communication more strategic. This could indicate that in certain urban settings the *-ish-* verbalizing suffix might become even more popular as people need to negotiate lifestyles that require new lexicons.

In establishing some of the rules for the use of this verbalizing suffix I hope I have spearheaded future research that will examine the grammaticalization of new lexicons in Xhosa. This contribution made in this dissertation, both in terms of new corpora but also in terms of the development of grammatical rules, will enhance the canon of knowledge that deliberates on language shift as well as language creativity more specifically in metrolingual spaces such as Cape Town.

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UMhlobo weNene (Xhosa radio: 92.10fm) (Emfuleni wothondo.16 September, 2015)

Siyayinqoba Beat It! 2008 series. Epsidoe16.

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Figure 2: Frequency of word categories in a radio speech corpus

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Figure 5: Graphic representation of the preference for *-ish-* over *-a* when adopting English verbs ending in *-y*.

Figure 6: Graphic representation of the preference for *-ish-* over *-a* when adopting English verbs ending *-le*.

Figure 7: Above is a graph representation of the preference for *-ish-* over *-a* when adopting English verbs ending *-ure/-ur*

## APPENDIXES

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### *Appendix A – full radio transcript*

UMHLOBO WENENE (EMFULENI WOTHANDO 16 SEPTEMBER 2015)

Tsidi is the radio presenter/ host

TSIDI: **Alright** mnye umzuzu **obethile** intsimbi yeshumi elinanye kuMhlobo weNene FM – one minute after eleven ...**masive** ke ukuba ubhuti wanamhlanje onengxaki ... **ithini** na kanye kanye ingxaki yakhe **sokwazi** ke into yokuba na **umncede** pha kuzero eight nine double one zero four, seven, five, seven

[verbs here: -beth-, -v-, -thi, -azi, -nced-]

Molo bhut'wam

Umph: Molo sis' wam.

TSIDI: **Right.**

Umph: **Ndiyaphila**, unjani?

TSIDI: Ndikhona nam enkosi.

Umph: Eh-eh.

TSIDI: Mmmmh. **Masikuncede.**

Umph: Ngale ngxaki yam ne? **Ndiyibalise?**

TSIDI: **Yes.**

UMPH: OK sisi ne. I've been **dating** ne ...

TSIDI: **Siyathetha siyathetha** ne

UMPH: OK, OK. Yes. Heh. **Bendithanda** nalo mntana ne?

TSIDI: Nini? **Niqale** ...

UMPH: No ... **Siqale** two ten ... 2010.

TSIDI: Ngo**2010** yes.

UMPH: Eheh. Ja. Bekumna ndi **for about three years**. **Uyabo**? Sisobabini.

TSIDI: MhMh.

UMPH: Ja. **Then**. Anoba unyaka odlulileyo ne ? **Ndafumanise** ukuba kukho **this other person**.  
Kukho omnye umntu ne?

TSIDI: Mhm (yes).

UMPH: Kodwa lona **bendiva** ... ndi-... bendi- ...ibimana **uva** ngabantu ... ndingekho **sure**. Uyeva?  
**Then** ke ngoku nda... **ndayiphanda** ngokwam...ndimane ndiyi-**research**-e ... **ndikhangele**  
ebantwini ne? **Then** nda-**find-out-a** u'ba iyinyani le nto ... **iyenzeka** ne?

TSIDI: Uyi-**found-out-a** kanjani ngoba **uyive** ebantwini?

UMPH: No, ndade **ndazibonela** ...

TSIDI: Oh, **how** ngefowuni, okanye wababamba?

UMPH: **Ndababona** ne?

TSIDI: Mmmm

UMPH: **But, then** naleyo **ndaqond'** ukuba **OK** ndidinga **iproof** ... ayo... asisosiqinisekiso ... ja

TSIDI: Mmm

UMPH: **Then** **ndabona** ifowuni ... **uyabona** ... **then** ke ngoku wandi-**block**-a kuwhatsapp ...**then**  
nda-**understand**-a ukuba noba undi-**block**-elwa ntoni

TSIDI: U-**block**-wa ngubani?

UMPH: Nguye.

TSIDI: I**girlfriend** yakho?

UMPH: Like ... yes ... ngoba ndimana ndimbuza ngezinto but ndiyam-bore-a ukuba ndimbuza into kuwhatsapp ... uyabo?

TSIDI: Hmmm

UMPH: Then ndamana ndaxelelwa ngabanye abantu "Oh u-upload-e iipics ... zakhe ebemane ebhala i-status ngaye nalo mntu ... uyabo?"

TSIDI: Hmmm

UMPH: Xa ezobhala i-status ngam aphinde andi-block-e ... loo nto injalo.

TSIDI: Hmmm

UMPH: Uyabo?

TSIDI: Alright.

UMPH: Yes.

TSIDI: So?

UMPH: So ke senditsho u'ba yile ... andiyazi noba yintoni endinoyenza because I've been doing everything for her and ne ... since the beginning ... like kokwabo mos andizufika ndithathe into enye but somethings engakwazi ukuba nazo ...ndim-provide-e ndizenze like the previous year bendimse esikolweni

TSIDI: Mmmm

UMPH: Ngokwam ndimenzela i-transport ntoni ... then wagxothwa nakokwabo ... waza kum

TSIDI: Ugxothelwa ...?

UMPH: Mmmm ... Umama ... waxabana nomamakhe because of me ..

TSIDI: Oooh, OK.

UMPH: U'ba uyenza njani le nto kumntu onje ... omphethe kanje ... so ... banaloo conflict

TSIDI: ... njani ukuba umntu onje ophethe kanje owumpho umntu ophethe kanje?

UMPH: Umama wakhe **uyandazi** ne? Ukuba **what kind of a** ... umntu endinguye ..

TSIDI: Ewe

UMPH: **Like uyandazi** u'ba ndineento **endizenzayo** **for** umntwana wakhe senditso u'ba sikhe sakulaa nto u'ba siya-**communicate**-a ...

TSIDI: Oh, nomam'akhe

UMPH: Nomam' akhe ja ...

TSIDI: **Wayemngxolisela** into yokuba na why e-ku-**hurt-ish**-a wena?

UMPH: Eeh.

TSIDI: Ohoh, **ndicinga** ukuba umama wakhe **wayengxolisa** eh yena ngawe ukuba mhlawumbi why why **elibele** nguwe ungumntu onje ...

UMPH: **No**, ...

TSIDI: **Alright** ..

UMPH: ... **wayemngxolisele** ukuba **why esenza** kanje ...?

TSIDI: Mmhhh

UMPH: Eeh. **Then** umana **esithi akayithandi** le nto yokuba i-**relationship** yethu **ingene** umam'akhe .. nee-sisters zakhe ... **uyabo**?

TSIDI: Mmmm

UMPH: **Then** ke ngoku wa-**move**-a **out but still** nangoku **ndizakuqhubeka** le nto ? yalo mntu mna nda-**accept**-a ukuba **OK**

TSIDI: Ha!

UMPH: **You can come** ... senditsho u'ba nam **andiyazi** u'ba **why** ... **but** ndam-**accept**-a ...

TSIDI: U'ba **OK** ... **qhuba** s'thandwa sam nalaa mntu wakho nam kodwa **ndibe** kho

UMPH: **No! Not that**. Ah-ah. **Like** ... **makaze** ... **for the time being esaxabene** nomam'akhe

TSIDI: Oh, OK.

UMPH: ahlale nje just ukuba nerooft overhead ... uyabo?

TSIDI: Mmmm

UMPH: Then ke still nangoku esenza loo nto uyakwazi athi “Hayi, ndizolala etshomini” ne? Lo tshomi mandincokola nayo like ebusuku, ‘hayibo nihleli nizo... nolala nini?’ athi “No akekho apha” uyabo?

TSIDI: Mmmmm

UMPH: litshomi zakhe bezindifihlela for some time but nazo zade zagqiba ukundixelela ... zathi “Aha-ah ... upha” xa engekhe kuwe upha.

TSIDI: Mmm.

UMPH: Uyabo? Injalo.

TSIDI: Ukhe wahlala phantsi naye wambuza into yokuba na yintoni ingxaki yakhe?

UMPH: Every time ndahlala naye phantsi uyadikwa athi mna ndihlala ndimbuza le nto i-yi-ONE because wandixelela wathi andimniki i-attention so ndambuza ukuba yeyiphi i-attention ndingakuniki yona?

TSIDI: Mmm.

UMPH: Because everytime sisobabini xa ndibuya emsebenzini ndandiqala kokwabo

TSIDI: Mmm.

UMPH: First ndiya kuye then ndibeka ekhaya

TSIDI: Mmm.

UMPH: Then later on ndiphinde ndihamba ndiyohlala kuye around 11 ndigoduke ...

TSIDI: Mmm. But still

UMPH: Yeyiphi i-attention?

TSIDI: Mmm. ayikho enough ... mmm

UMPH: Yeyiphi i-attention ndingakuniki yona? Because I am trying by all means u'ba unga-feel-ish-i lonely unga-feel-ish-i uwedwa every time ...

TSIDI: Uthini ke yena?

UMPH: Ukhe avume athi "Ewe ndiyayazi loo nto" but "after ... ikhona le nto ... ungandi- ... akaphumi nayo u'ba yintoni le nto andiniki yona ...

TSIDI: Mmmmm

UMPH: Because mna xa ndijongile ndibon' u'ba ndimnika yonke into

TSIDI: Mhlawumbi wena ucing' ufan' u'ba umnika yonke into kuba umenzela yonke into

UMPH: No, ndandimxelela leyo ... it's not about u'menzela ... like uthando bendimnika ...

TSIDI: Mmmm

UMPH: And ndimnika yena yedwa everybody, wonke umntu uyayazi loo nto u'ba ndinaye yedwa ...

TSIDI: Mmmm

UMPH: Ewe ne, bhut'wam. Yonke i-attention yam ibi-focus-a pha kuye.

TSIDI: Soo, ndifuna ukuva le ndawo ubenaloo mntu wakhe ongomnye ... wenza ntoni u-girlfriend wakho ... uyasebenza .... uyafunda.... wenzani?

UMPH: Ebefunda ...

TSIDI: Mmmm

UMPH: You see ... But emva kokuba ndifumanise ke yonke le nto ndarhoxa ... because umam'akhe wathi "Khawuyeke le nto uyenzayo "

TSIDI: Ebefundiswa nguwe ...

UMPH: Eh ... ebefundiswa ndim ...

TSIDI: Mmmm

UMPH: Wathi xa kumi izinto ozenzayo kum... Mhlawumbi...yile nto yokuba uyayazi u'ba noba wenzani ... uza ku.... umyeka nje ubona ukuba uza kwenza kanjani. Ndamyeka nyhani wa-drop-out-a esikolweni because akanokwazi uku-continue-ish-a without mna.

TSIDI: Oh wow.

UMPH: Uyabo? Nalapho samsizela still u'ba "Eish" kodwa udlala nge-future yakhe but yena akayiboni loo nto

TSIDI: Mmmm

UMPH: Kodwa still sendi-ne-soft spot for yena andiyazi ukuba why.

TSIDI: Ukhe wathi ke apha ude uba pregnant naloo mntu ombambe omve ojola naye?

UMPH: Jaaa wavela wa-pregnant but wandifihlela but senditsho AH ndabona ...it's like sendisitsho uyalazi ixesha lomntu wakho ukuba uya nini exesheni ... wena noba abendifihlela wathi "Hayi bendiyile" ndithe "Ha-ah khange ndikubone"

TSIDI: Mmmm

UMPH: Ndabona nje ne-body yakhe u'ba uyayi-pick-ish-a i-weight ...

TSIDI: Mmmm

UMPH: Then kwazondixela ngaske ndithenge i-pregnancy test ndithe khawuzi-test-e

TSIDI: Jaaa

UMPH: Wa...ndixelela hayi ...

TSIDI: Wena ubucinga ukuba angafana abe ngumntana wakho?

UMPH: Hayi, because bendiyazi ukuba ibingengowam because lately besisilwa besingekho besingabikho intimate like and besisebenzisa i-protection

TSIDI: Ooohhh OK So wathini xa sowu- ... seyifumane xa seyixelele ngoku ufumanise ukuba uyayazi u'ba upregnant, wazisola wathini nje? Okanye wakuchazela nje hayi utata womntwana ngulowa wawundibone naye okanye zezaa sms's ozibone efowunini?

UMPH: Uye wandixelela u'ba ngulowo and noba wa-feeli-sh-a sorry for elaa xesha endixelela ngalo afterwards zange abonise i-remorse like nyhani ...

TSIDI: Uyazisola ...

UMPH: ....ndisori ngale nto ... ndiyenzileyo

TSIDI: Yho. Wena, wa-feel-a njani ... xa ufumanis' ukuba loo mntu obumsa esikolweni loo mntu umenzela oku noku nakowabo uyamnceda but still uyaku-cheat-el-a?

UMPH: Yho ibindikhathaza kakhulu

TSIDI: Kodwa wabe usamthanda still...?

UMPH: Still

TSIDI: OK bhuti wam, mhlawumbi umbuzo ofana ndikubuze yintoni oyithandayo apha kuye?

UMPH: Eish ... it was ... yayi-i-personality yakhe nale ndlela sa.... indlela ebendiphatha ngayo xa sisobabini

TSIDI: Uyayibona u'ba uthetha uthi xa undiphendulayo uphendula kahle uthi "Yayi-yi- ... sithetha ngento yangoku" ... yintoni oyithanda ngoku?

UMPH: Uyabona ngoku ndi-confused ...

TSIDI: Mmm

UMPH: Uyabona? Ndi-confused u'ba liseluthando olu? okanye yintoni ...

TSIDI: Okanye u-obsessed ngosisi ...?

UMPH: Ja nam loo nto andisayazi u'ba yintoni ...

TSIDI: Unangaphi bhut'wam?

UMPH: 28.

TSIDI: Yena?

UMPH: Una-24.

TSIDI: 24.

UMPH: Ja.

TSIDI: OK, u... ukhule .... ukhuliswe ngumama notata ? Ukhuliswe ngubani? Unazo-iparents?

UMPH: Yebo. Ndikhuliswe ngumama notata but notshe not that ...

TSIDI: Not that ...? Ukhule kanjani nje ubuhlala nabo ukhula ufumana uthando because I am trying to get u'ba why le nto uzo ... uphetha kanje ube unyamezele into enje?

UMPH: Hayi, ndikhule ndiphethwe kahle, kamnandi ... uthanda ndalufumana from umama .... utata is another story there ... completely

TSIDI: Esitheni ... naso kanye isitori mhlawumbi usisi usibamba usibambele noba akasathandi ...

UMPH: Hayi, esikatata isitori we are not even close ...

TSIDI: Kodwa utata ebetshate nomama okanye umama ebekhulisa ...

UMPH: Babeshate behlala together until she passed away until wasweleka sahlala sibo2 jalaa mntu kukho i-distance kuloo nto leyo kutata

TSIDI: Kutata? Abo tata aboyikekayo?

UMPH: Yebo.

TSIDI: Alright. So awuna- awuna-relationship nje e-right notat'akho?

UMPH: Ahah.

TSIDI: Nangoku? Umama engekho?

UMPH: Hayi nangoku. Nangoku. Ndiyakwazi ukuhlala nje.

TSIDI: Kwenzeka ntoni ngoku now pha kwi-girlfriend yakho at the moment?

UMPH: At the moment, singo-on-and-off ... because everytime **ndadibana** **asiyazi** ...

TSIDI: Yho. Isisu esi 'be -**pregnant** sona siphilile? Bekunini **this year, last year**?

UMPH: Mmm it was kule nyanga iphelileyo ... **I think** ... ewe ... kule nyanga

TSIDI: Sisekhona ke ngoku ...

UMPH: Ha ... asikho ...

TSIDI: **Siye** phi?

UMPH: Uye **wafumana** ilaantuka ... i-**miscarriage** ...

TSIDI: **So** wena bhut' wam wawu-**prepared** ukuthi usisi ngoku eku-**cheat**-el-e uphantsi kwezinto **omenzele** zona waku-**cheat**-ela wa-**pregnant** so ubu-OK nokuthi "**Right**, makabe **pregnant** akhulise umntwana **uzomncedisa** nalapho ne? Kangokuba **umthanda**?

UMPH: **Uyayazi** ... ndandithe **andizukwazi** if ... **ndanditshilo** **ndathi** "Eyi **if** lo mntwana uye **wakhula** **wathini** ... eyi ... **I doubt** u'ba ndizaba khona empilweni yabo **because** ... lo mntu uye **wangena** phakathi kwethu xa kukh' umntwana **kuzohlala** ekhona.

TSIDI: Ewe, kaloku. Utata womntwana.

UMPH: Utat'womntwana.

TSIDI: Hmmm. Kaloku umbuzo wam ulapha ... bhuti' wam **mamela** bhut'wam, ukhe **wavuma** **wavuma** ukuba u-**pregnant** khange uthi "**No** ...**iphelile** ke eyam indaba nawe. Ingathi **uyawuqhubeka** ne-**relationship** wena ... ?

UMPH: **No**, bendikhe ndathi masime Into yokuba kule two weeks .. ja but emane eza kum **endicenga** hayi ndenze Mistake **ndizomlahla** **but** **andikwazi** **ukumlahla** ngoku **sehlelwe** yile nto .. **ndathi** kuye **every time** i-**excuse** kuwe nangoku **usebenza** nje as i-ex...

TSIDI: Yintoni u'ba **ndizomlahla** **andikwazi** **ukumlahla**, yintoni loo nto?

UMPH: **Uthi** le nto u'ba **elahlekelwe** ngumntwana wakhe ...

TSIDI: **Utsho** kuwe bhut'wam ..

UMPH: Ewe **utsho** kum ??? uncedo azondifowuna **azondixela** **face to face**

TSIDI: Yho **utheni** na s'thandwa sam ? Unje na wena na?

UMPH: Hayi, **andiyazi** mna.

TSIDI: Heheyi **awuyazi** nyhani.

UMPH: **Because** into **ayenzayo** ngoku uyityhola ngee-X zam **waya** na ubulele ne neX **like** yena, u-**communicate-a with all** ii-X zakhe. Mna **akafuni** ndi-**communicate-e** nezam. **Yaqala** apho **waba** yingxaki u'ba mna **ndincokola** ne-X but naye **she's doing** ... **wenza** le nto eyi-1. **But** **waysithi** u-**feel-ish-a threatened** zezam.

TSIDI: **OK. Why** **ubuncokola** ngubani **oqale** **ngokuncokola** nee-X?

UMPH: Nguye.

TSIDI: **So** nawe **waqond'** u'ba ... ii-**two wrongs** ziza **kwenza** into eyi-**right**?

UMPH: **No**, mna **ndancokola** naye noba **after a couple of...** nyaka ...

TSIDI: Mmmm

UMPH: Ja. Ngoba hayi le nto **sasivumelene** ngayo ukuba **masingathethi** nee-X zethu ingathi ndim lo **uyilandelayo** ...

TSIDI: **So** nawe ... **makungamvisi** ????? le nto **akuvisa** yona?

UMPH: ewe.

TSIDI: Oh **wow**.

UMPH: Aphinde **abe** **jealous** ngaloo nto aphinde ... **ndithi** njani? **Senza** le nto ...wena?

TSIDI: **Ubuthe** kanene **uyithanda** ntoni apha kusisi? Ngoku ngoku not ngokuya ...**udibene** naye

UMPH: Ngoku? **Andiyazi**. Ndi-**confused** ... **andiyazi**.

TSIDI: **Because** **uyayibona** into yokuba **uyathandwa** apha bhut'wam kukho umntu ngathi **umenzele** yonke into ke **masiyeke** **ukwenzela** into yokuba **because** **umenzele** **because** **umthanda** **wamsa** esikolweni kuba **uyamthanda** nezinto **omenzela** zona nezi zikamama wakhe

aze a-**appreciate**-e wena **ozenzayo** ... **ukubone**? For umntan'akhe nakowabo mhlawumbi **uncedise**. Lo mntu wakho wa-**pregnant** ngoku use-**pregnant still usamthanda** ngoku u-**lose**-e isisu eso uyaphinda futhi **uzoxelela** into yokuba na **andizukwazi ukumyeka** loo mntu **because** ngoku **sahlelwe** yile nto yokuba sa-**lose**-a umntwana wethu – utsho kuwe bhut'wam.

UMPH: Ewe utsho ...

TSIDI: **But still usamthanda** ...

UMPH: Eish. Le ...

TSIDI: Akho **respect** apha ... kulo sisi **and** aka ... **ukubone**? **And akakukhathalelanga** – **akazikhathalelanga** ii-**feelings** zakho usisi ... unee-**questions** ze-**feelings** zakho ukuba wena u-**feel**-a kanjani na?

UMPH: Ewe **because ukhathalele** ezakhe ...

TSIDI: Mmmm ... **so ufuna** ntoni apha ebomini bakho?

UMPH: **Uthathe** yonke into **endiyenzayo like wafika** e-room-ini yam, ne, kukho **isister** yam **because** akakho close ne-sister yam **akayazi but... ndithi** kuye “**uyile** kanjani ?” **senditsho even if** bekukho umntu apha **ukhalela** ntoni because wena ubungekho ...

TSIDI: Mmmmm

UMPH: Ubunomnye umntu ...**so why uzokhalazela** le?

TSIDI: **Nditsho** loo nto

UMPH: **Why ufuna ndibe** ndedwa kuwe ...

TSIDI: **Wagqiba ukuhlala** naye bhut'wam, **wagqiba ukuhlala** naye **aphume** apha endlini **ahambe akushiye** apha... ezitshomini zakhe kanti u-**yo-out**-ela omnye umntu ...

UMPH: **Uyayibona?**

TSIDI: **Uyayibona** na loo nto lona? **Ufuna** umntu onjalo na wena s'thandwa sam, **awufuni** umntu **ozakukuthanda akuhloniphe?**

UMPH: **Ndiyamfuna** ...

TSIDI: ... akunike uthando lwakho back olu umnika lona

UMPH: Hayi, ndiyamfuna ...

TSIDI: Uyayibona ... alukho thando apha? Uthanda wedwa ...

UMPH: Alisekho nyhani

TSIDI: Ngoku uzothini ke bhut'wam?

UMPH: Mandithi ndiyongena uku..ndiyavula ... intliziyo yam ... ingaske ndide ndimkhuphe out i-system ...

TSIDI: And ke loo nto u-flush umntu kwi-system ayenzeki nge-1 day okanye nge-1 month

UMPH: Ayenzeki nge-1 ...

TSIDI: But ke at least ngcono ngcono ube kuloo pain yokuzama ukum-flush-a out of your system kunoba uhlale nale pain yoba ekwenzela ezo zinto akwenzela zona. Uya-understand? Because lena ipain izophela – uyayi-understand-a loo nto?

UMPH: Mmmm

TSIDI: Le yi-pain yokuba uzama ukumkhupha kwi-system yakho iza kuphela idlule futi xa sowunyenye i-relationship ubona u'ba "Tyhini! Yintoni na le nto ebendinyamezela phaya?" But ngoku uyifuna le relationship wenza usisi izinto omenzela zona that means ke wena ufuna ukuhlala nale pain for the rest of your life. And nosisi naxa sowumtshatile noba ubungamtshati usisi uza kukushiya apha ahamb'ayo-cheat-a because ebehlala nawe usisi waphuma two years ezitshomini zakhe kanti uyahamba uyalwelana nalaa mntu wade wammithela ... ukubone? Usisi akanaxesha lempilo yakhe nempilo yakho because ngoku kusekho into eza neHIV/Aids – akanaxesha laloo nto – nezinye izifo – STD'S – akananaxesha laloo nto. Uyahamba uyalwela pha without a condom uyayibo?

UMPH: Ndiyayibona sisi. Ndiyayibona. In fact ndiyazibona but heyi laa nto ilapha isentliziweni ibuhlungu in fact nyhani ndiyazibona zonke u'ba le is going ayiyi ndawo.

TSIDI: Ayinguye laa mntu wawumthandile yena ngo2010

UMPH: Ayinguye laa mntu ...

TSIDI: So umkhuphe entlizyweni ...

UMPH: Iye ngomnye umntu ...

TSIDI: OK, s'thandwa sam ... So ufuna ukucetyiswa u'ba ungamkhupha njani entlizyweni?

UMPH: Yebo.

TSIDI: WAyifakwa nguwe nje! Hehehe. I-decision ilapha kuwe kufuneka ibe kuwe bhuti uza kumkhupha kanjani na ... ne?

UMPH: Eyi.

TSIDI: Kodwa mna mandikuxelele inyani esemsulwa bhut'wam... funeka uhlale phantsi ... sometimes ungumntu noba ngumntu omthanda kangakanani funeka uhlale phantsi ubhale phantsi into yokuba na ii-advantages zokuthanda lo mntu zithini ne. And then uzibhale phantsi ii-disadvantages ... zokuba ungamthandi zithini. And if uyabona u'ba yeyi ingathi zininzi apha ii-disadvantages ungathi ... ndiyakunika impendulo yokuba phuma kule relationship xa una-28 usemncinci kakhulu ... uzomfumana umntu ozokuthanda aku-respect-e ... ukubone?

UMPH: Ehehe.

TSIDI: Andithi yile nto uyifunayo? Ufuna ukuthandwa ?

UMPH: Injalo.

### *Appendix B - full TV transcript*

Siyayinqoba Beat It! 2008 series - Ep. 16 - Cervical cancer – Khungiswa

**PRESENTER 2:** Sikwisibhedlela i-Frere **sivizithele** uKhungiswa **ophila** nentsholongwane kaGawulayo ne**Cervical Cancer**.

(We are in Frere Hospital visiting Khungiswa who is living with HIV/Aids and cervical cancer.)

**KHUNGISWA:** Oh mna ke ndinguKhungiswa Mfiyani ifani .

(Oh me, I am Khungiswa, surname Mfiyani.)

Mna **ndiphila** nentsholongwane kaGawulayo - **ndadayignozwa** ngo2002 ,**ndahlala** ke oko **ndiphila** nale ntsholongwane kaGawulayo kungekho nto ingamandla **ndisebenzisa** ke ezi ARVS.

(I am living with HIV/Aids - I was diagnosed in 2002 and since then have been living with HIV without problems [anything that is powerful ] using these ARV'S.)

Ndiye ndathi mos e**kufumaneni** kwam **ukuzazi** ukuba ndinentsholongwane kaGawulayo **ndajoyina** **isupport group** kulapho ke ngoku ndaya **ndathathwa** khona as for **iPeer Education**.

(When I found out that I am HIV positive I joined a support group where I was taken for Peer Education.)

**iPeer Education** **ithathe** **i-two years** kum. Ndimane **ndithetha** ke mna ngento yokuba na abantu **must go and do ipap smear**, but ndingazange mna ke **ndiyoyenza** ipap smear ubomi bam bonke okokoko ndaba ngumntu.

(The Peer Education took two years for me. I was always speaking about the thing that people must go and do a pap smear, but I never went for a pap smear my whole life ever since I became a person.)

So **ndaya kuyenza** phofu ke **ndineproblem** endimana **ndiyiva ilikisha** (leaks) apha kum **kwivagina**, imana isenza **ibleeding**. So xa ndifika phaya **ndamchazela** u**Doctor** ukuba “Eyi **Doctor**, **ndizokwenza ipap smear**.”

(So I went to do it because I am having this problem I feel it leaking here in me in the vagina, and it is always bleeding. So when I arrived there I explained to the doctor that “Hey Doctor, I will do a pap smear.”)

Xa ndizokumxelela ukuba mandenze ipap smear, wathi udoctor “Ah-ah, suku- ... andizukwazi ukwenza ipap smear xa uthi kukho into eblidishayo (bleeding). So bathatha ke ngoku ibiopsy endaweni ye pap smear. Zibuyile iresults on the 27 September, zathi iresult I am positive, CA cervix.

(When I told him that let me do a pap smear, the doctor said “No, don’t ... I won’t be able to do a pap smear when you say there is something bleeding. So they took a biopsy now instead of a pap smear. The results returned on the 27th September, and the results said I am positive, CA cervix.)

Ewe ke kube kubi emphefumleni wam, xa kuthiwa ndine cancer. So banditshekisha ke. Ithe ke xa ifunyanwa kwathiwa ngu3A. Wandicacisela ke wandenzela idrawing (drawing) drawing eleli hlobo. Wathi if cancer yam ibikule ndawo ibisaqala ... it is iyaqalisa phaya na – it is pre – premature – so xa ingu Premature – iyakhutshwa isibeleko . Then ke ngoku le yam iva- ... inantsika ... cancer ... ihambile ... yahamba yazodibanisa ne vagina . So no matter ikhutshiwe, inantsika ... i-uterus le ... iza kushiyeke yona igrowa iphumela (spread) kwezinye iindawo imosha ezinye izinto. So kwafunyaniswa ukuba iye yaphusheka yayotsho kwibladder. Then ibladder yam yashiyeka ivulekile ke umchamo ungakwazi ukubambeka. So ke ngoku kulungiswa loo nto ke njengokuba ndilapha nje.

(Yes it was bad for me [bad in my spirit] when it was said that I have cancer. So they checked me. When they discovered it it was said that it is 3A. S/he did a drawing like this. S/he said if my cancer was in this place it was still starting ... it is starting over there ... it is pre – premature – so when it is premature – the uterus is removed. Then now with mine ... the whatyoumacall it ... the cancer ... it had travelled ... it had travelled to meet with the vagina. So no matter if it were removed, the whatyoumacall it ... this uterus ... it would leave behind it growing and spreading to other places and messing up other things. So it was discovered that it was pushing onto the bladder. Then my bladder was left open and the urine was not able to be held. So in order to fix that thing that is why I am here.)

**PRESENTER 2:** So yintoni ongayithetha kumanye amakhosikazi angazi nto ngecancer?

(What would you say to other women who know nothing about cancer?)

**KHUNGISWA:** Every year kufuneka umntu ayazi kuba uyayitshekitsha ipap smear, noPositive nongekho Positive.

(Every year a person must have a pap smear whether you are Positive or not Positive.)

*Appendix C – Questionnaire for 30 participants*

AGE: \_\_\_\_\_ YEARS IN CAPE TOWN: \_\_\_\_\_

LIVING AREA: \_\_\_\_\_

LANGUAGES SPOKEN: \_\_\_\_\_

1. RULE 1

end –er/-ar/-our/-ire: CAN YOU USE THE FOLLOWING VERBS WITH –A and/or ISHA. IF YOU CAN WITH -A, PLEASE GIVE AN EXAMPLE.

WORD	-a	-isha	Example with -a
-number			
-pamper			
-register			
-buglar			
-clear			
-colour			
-favour			
-admire			
-inspire			
-hire			

2. RULE 2: verbs ending –y. CAN YOU USE THE FOLLOWING VERBS WITH –A and/or ISHA, IF YOU CAN WITH -A, PLEASE GIVE AN EXAMPLE.

WORD	-a	-isha	Example with -a
-study			

-bully			
-tidy			

3. RULE 3: verbs that end -le. CAN YOU USE THE FOLLOWING VERBS WITH -A and/or ISHA, IF YOU CAN WITH -A, PLEASE GIVE AN EXAMPLE.

WORD	-a	-isha	Example with -a
-google			
-dazzle			
-gamble			
-struggle			
-tackle			
-hustle			
-level			

4. RULE 4: verbs that end -ure/ur. CAN YOU USE THE FOLLOWING VERBS WITH -A and/or ISHA, IF YOU CAN WITH -A, PLEASE GIVE AN EXAMPLE.

WORD	-a	-isha	Example with -a
-measure			
-lecture			
-feature			
-torture			
-tour			

5. ISHA WITH VERBAL EXTENSIONS (tick which ones can be used)

-heal	-heal-a	-heal-isha	-heal-ek-a	-heal-ish-ek-a	-heal-wa	-heal-ish-wa
--bleed	-blead-a	-bleed-isha	-bleed-ek-a	-blead-ish-ek-a	-blead-wa	-blead-ish-wa
-frame	-frame-a	-frame-isha	-frame-ek-a	-frame-ish-ek-a	-frany-wa	-frany-ish-wa
-book	-book-a	-book-isha	-book-ek-a	-book-ish-eka	-book-wa	-book-ish-wa

COMMENTS, ADDITIONS, OBSERVATIONS

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*Appendix D - Maps*



Map of Cape Town



Map of Mfuleni township



Map of Capricorn



Map of Observatory

*Appendix F – Dictionary of -ish- verbs*

-argue-isha (argue)

-bhandisha (put on bandage)

-bhenisha (ban)

-bhombisha (bomb)

-bully-isha (bully)

-burglar-isha (put burglar bars)

-check-isha (check)

-colour-isha (colour)

-conquer-isha (conquer)

-continue-isha (continue)

-darnisha (darn)

-dastisha (dust)

-dim-isha (dim)

-dot-isha (dot)

-doubt-isha (doubt)

-draft-isha (draft)

-driblisha (dribble)

-drizzle-isha (drizzle)

-drow-isha (draw)

-favour-isha (favour)

-feature-isha (feature)

-fiddle-isha (fiddle)

-flow-isha (flow)

-fram-isha (frame)

-gamble-isha (gamble)

-google-isha (google)

-group-isha (group)

-half-isha (halve)

-hamisha (hum)

-hayarisha (hire)

-korekisha (correct)

-lecture-isha (lecture)

-level-isha (level)

-mark-isha (mark)

-meet-isha (meet)

-map-isha (map)

-mejarisha (measure)

-mop-isha (mop)

-owner-isha (own)

-pakisha (pack)

-paper-isha (paper)

-peddle-isha (peddle)

-polisha (polish) \* Note English verbs ending -sh automatically suffix -sha

-punisha (punish)

-queue-isha (queue)

-register-isha (register)

-renkisha (ferry passengers to and from taxi rank)

-roll-isha (roll up something, e.g. jersey sleeves)

-rough-isha (make a rough draft]

-round-isha (round)

-rubb-isha [make someone's name rubbish] rabhisha [compare with: rabha – rub someone on back]

-rule-isha (rule)

-school-isha (go to school)

-sew-isha (sew)

-skalisha (put on the scales)

-slim-isha (slim down/diet)

-sowuk-isha (soak)

-stadisha (study)

-straglisha (struggle)

-sue-isha (sue)

-tayil-isha (tile)

-teklisha (tackle)

-tidy-isha (tidy)

-top-isha (put on a top)

-torture-isha (torture)

-total-isha (total – get good marks/do very well)

-tour-isha (tour)

-tow-isha (tow)

-trayisha (try)

-weyv-isha (wave a hand)

-weyisha (weigh)