

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN



The emergence of a rural/urban contrast in the vocabulary of Xhosa-speakers: a study in semantic shift in 15 Xhosa words and its relation to age, geographical area and language attitudes

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DECLARATION

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Signed by candidate

Date: October 2022

DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to my late grandmother Nombulelo Gcingca, who encouraged me to make education the foundation of my life, who provided moral support throughout my schooling journey. This work is also dedicated to my son Ayabukwa and the great forefathers of the Bhele clan.

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Contents

DECLARATION	1
DEDICATION	2
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	3
ABSTRACT	6
SUMMARY	7
CHAPTER ONE - BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION	9
1.1 IsiXhosa siyasisokolisa! Xhosa is difficult for us!.....	9
1.2 Xhosa as the language that is spoken mainly in the Eastern Cape.....	10
1.3 Theoretical framework	11
1.4 Semantic shift.....	12
1.5 Focal research questions of this study.....	15
1.6 Aims of the study	15
1.7 Literature review	16
1.8 Methodology	16
1.9 Data analysis	18
1.10 Ethics.....	19
CHAPTER TWO - LITERATURE REVIEW	20
2.1 Introduction	20
2.2 Literature dealing with semantic shift.....	20
2.3 Semantic shift in the South African context	22
2.4 Factors that stimulate semantic shift worldwide	27
2.5 Semantic broadening.....	29
2.6 Urban languages as contributors to semantic shifts or “semantic twists”.....	33
2.7 Semantic shift and the teaching of Xhosa	36
2.8 How does age influence language choices in urban areas?.....	42
2.9 What impact does gender have on language choices in urban areas?	45
2.10 Semantic shift and youth and genderized languages.....	46
2.11 Scholars views on standard and non-standard language	47
2.12 Conclusion.....	48
CHAPTER THREE - METHODOLOGY	50
3.1 An initial informal pilot study.....	50
3.2 Methodologies employed for this study.....	51
3.3 Hypothesis.....	53
3.4 How I chose the words for this study.....	53
3.5 Data collection tools.....	56
3.6 Geographical areas in which research was conducted	56
3.7 Data collection procedure.....	57
3.8 Data analysis procedure	58
3.9 Conclusion.....	60
CHAPTER FOUR - DATA ANALYSIS	62
4.1 Introduction	62
4.2 Findings: what are the participants doing?.....	62
4.3 Findings: a rural/urban divide?	70

4.4	Findings: what are the words doing?.....	71
4.5	Conclusion.....	79
CHAPTER FIVE – CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....		81
5.1	Introduction	81
5.2	The flexibility of meaning.....	81
5.3	The construction of meaning as a dynamic, cognitive process	82
5.4	The context of use	83
5.5	Recommendations from the study.....	83
5.6	Recommendations for further research	85
5.7	Limitations of the study.....	86
5.8	Concluding remarks	86
WORKS CITED.....		90
APPENDICES		100

ABSTRACT

In this study I explored the possible emergence of a rural/urban contrast in the vocabulary of Xhosa. In order to focus the study I used 15 Xhosa words that appeared to be undergoing semantic shift and researched the meanings ascribed to these words with Xhosa-speakers in both rural and urban areas. Using a sociolinguistic theoretical framework I investigated the connection between socio-demographic data (as well as language attitudes held by speakers) and the influence of these factors on semantic choice.

I used a qualitative methodological design, with purposeful sampling in these areas. The reason for selecting these areas was in order to incorporate both urban and rural styles of speech. Data was collected by means of open ended questionnaires and structured interview questions with participants across a wide age-range. This data was carefully analyzed according to how speakers use these terms during their conversations and in writing, and was then recorded, summarized and interpreted by means of descriptive statistics. The results of this study suggest that a possible urban/rural contrast is emerging in the lexicon of Xhosa speakers, with young, urban speakers being responsible for more innovative semantics than their counterparts in rural areas. The study also examined motivations for the semantic shift in the selected terms – sociocultural and emotionally marked motivations would appear to dominate with speakers choosing new meanings to suit their altered cultural environments and a new openness to talking about casual sex. The dominant semantic processes involved metaphorization, metonymy, amelioration, pejoration and bleaching, with most of the selected words becoming more polysemous. From these results recommendations are made for terminology development, dictionary revision, mother-tongue education and the creation of literature in Xhosa using the vocabulary of the youth. I conclude that further research on semantic shift in Xhosa is necessary in order to provide these sectors with reliable and useful data.

SUMMARY

This study has been organized into 5 chapters:

In Chapter 1 an overview of the study is presented by giving a brief background of how the study was conceived, my own personal experiences as young Xhosa speaker arriving in the Western Cape from the Eastern Cape, the research problem, aims of this study and the theory that underpins the study. It also highlights the main research question for this study.

In Chapter 2 to contextualize my research, I discuss literature relevant to this study by addressing not only semantic shift and change as global phenomenon but also as one having local significance for South African indigenous languages. Included in this chapter is a discussion of factors responsible for semantic shift, including psychological factors, new environments and socio-cultural factors. In addition I explore the different kinds of semantic shift in South African languages with reference to how the standard meaning of terms changes over time. Reference is also made to the influence of urban language varieties and Tsotsitaal on the lexicons of Xhosa-speakers.

In Chapter 3 the methodological tools I used to collect data are described and reasons given for the choice of words under scrutiny in this thesis. Dictionary definitions of these lexical items are provided in order to establish contrastive glosses with those provided (indirectly) by participants in this research. Semantic variation in the 15 words is analysed both in terms of popularity of meaning (how many participants chose the standard or the non-standard meaning) as well as how particular demographic profiles (e.g. young urban male, educated) tended to select meanings for the given words. My research tools consisted of questionnaires relating to demographic detail and attitudes to the language and these are discussed in terms of percentages of respondents per question, while the interview responses (in which participants had to present sentences using the 15 selected lexical items) are analysed as per the demographic profiles mentioned above as well as presented as tables. All key aspects and detailed information from research questionnaires and interviews are described explicitly and carefully interpreted and analyzed in order to arrive at the findings of the study.

Chapter 4 includes the findings of the research and data analysis. I discuss the participants' choice of meanings according to their profiles (urban/rural, attitudes to Xhosa, tertiary educated or not) and make some conclusions as to the link between semantic choice and these profiles. Also in this chapter is an analysis of the motivations behind the choice of meanings and a detailed discussion of the processes involved resulting in the changed meaning (including semantic broadening, metaphor, metonymy, bleaching).

Chapter 5 concludes the dissertation with a discussion of the importance of understanding the flexibility of lexical meaning, the understanding of meaning construction as a cognitive process and the relevance of context when it comes to understanding how speakers assign meanings to words. In order to stimulate further discussion on the topic this chapter also makes reference to how speakers of indigenous African languages both broaden and narrow the meaning of English terms while first-language speakers of English also broaden and narrow African language words, often with the purpose of trying to graft the meanings of English words onto non-equivalent African language lexical items. The chapter concludes with recommendations from the study with regard to dictionary glosses and terminology development and also makes suggestions as to how this research field could be expanded by future scholars.

CHAPTER ONE - BACKGROUND AND INTRODUCTION

1.1 *IsiXhosa siyasisokolisa! Xhosa is difficult for us!*¹

This is what I often hear my learners say at the high school where I teach Xhosa. I only arrived in the Western Cape (home is in the Eastern Cape) in 2015 as a 18 year old, and funnily enough, that is also what I would say about the Xhosa that I heard being spoken in the townships of Cape Town “*Eish, esi siXhosa salapha siyandisokolisa*” ‘Eish, this Xhosa here is difficult for me’. I remember a feeling of lostness, as if I were in a land where my mother-tongue was not spoken, even, and particularly, when I was amongst other Xhosa-speakers. So what makes my learners now say that they find the Xhosa that I teach so hard, and what made me feel so linguistically lost when I first came to live in Cape Town’s townships? The more I spoke and listened, the more I realized that quite often I just didn’t understand the meanings of words I thought I knew, the meanings that young people in Khayelitsha and other townships seemed to be fully conversant with. For example, it took me a while to understand that the word *ingqina* which I understood to mean ‘witness’ means ‘friend’ in Cape Town’s townships. Little wonder that my learners, when studying S.E.K. Mqhayi’s great *Ityala lamawele* ‘The lawsuit of the twins’ (originally published in 1914) say that they really struggle to understand a word (including the standard meaning of *ingqina*) of this classic novel. Even English speakers who learnt Xhosa thirty years ago say they are struggling to keep up with the language. My own supervisor told me that she recently got laughed at by Xhosa-speakers for giving the meaning of ‘skin’ as *ulusu*, and was told that *ulusu* is only used as a word for ‘intestines’.² I was able to reassure her that she was quite right, but she told me that she is now going to play it safe and just use *ufele* or *iskin* for ‘skin’. In 2020 I did a study for my Honours dissertation on Xhosa-speaking learners’ attitudes towards English or Xhosa as medium of instruction and was rather shocked by comments from learners like these:

¹ *Xhosa-speaking learner, Khayelitsha*

² *The Greater Dictionary of Xhosa Vol.3, Q-Z* (p.225) shows that *ulusu* means different things according to its tones, a high-low-high tone on *ulusu* indicating ‘skin’ and a high-high-low tone indicating ‘paunch of a ruminant’ The correct word for ‘intestines’ in Xhosa is *amathumbu*. Note the Xhosa-speakers did not say that my supervisor’s tones were incorrect, but just said there was no such meaning for the word. I have also noticed that my Xhosa-speaking learners do not understand *ulusu* to mean ‘skin’.

“Xhosa side yaye siyasokolisa ukusifunda kunye nokusibhala.” (Xhosa is difficult for us to read and write.)
“Amagama aba made esiXhoseni, yaye anzima kuna xa ethelekiswa nalawo wesiNgesi.” (Xhosa words are long and are difficult when compared with those of English.) (both quotes from Gcingca, 2020:40)

It initially seemed to me that Xhosa-speakers in urban areas have limited literacy in their own mother-tongue. Then, after more research and reading it occurred to me that urban varieties of indigenous African languages in South Africa are undergoing significant lexical change (Calteaux, 1996; Cook, 2009; Lafon, 2005). This change needs to be researched and documented, particularly in terms of semantic shift since code-switching and borrowing (see Dowling, 2011; Finlayson and Slabbert, 1997) and translanguaging (Makalela, 2016) and even relanguaging (Krause, 2021) have all received a fair amount of scholarly attention. Researching for this thesis has led me to conclude that the topic of semantic shift in our indigenous language lexicons has been left somewhat behind, although Koopman (1992; 2000) has done excellent work in this regard with reference to Zulu.

Before focussing specifically on the issue of semantic shift, it is important that I give background to the language that I am focussing on in this study: Xhosa. The data contained in this next section is relevant as I will be using a sociolinguistic theoretical framework that explores whether semantic change is socio-demographically structured.

1.2 Xhosa as the language that is spoken mainly in the Eastern Cape

Xhosa is classified as a Bantu language that belongs to Niger-Congo (Guthrie, 1967-71; Greenberg, 1963; Botsis, 2016). According to the 2011 Census (Statistics 2011) Xhosa is spoken by approximately 8 million people across the country, which means it is spoken by 16% of South Africans. Based on the above information Xhosa is the second most spoken language across the country (see statistics South Africa, 2012).

Even though Xhosa is mainly spoken in the Eastern Cape, speakers of this language are spread across the country (see Botsis, 2016: 8; Statistics South Africa, 2012 for further discussion in

this regard). There are approximately 5 million first-language Xhosa speakers in the Eastern Cape, which makes up 78.8% of Xhosa speakers in South Africa. This information supports the above Botsis' (2016) claim that people in the majority of households in the Eastern Cape are native Xhosa speakers (Statistics South Africa, 2012). The remaining 1 million Xhosa speakers, which make 24.7%, of the population are believed to be found in the Western Cape, although the majority of the Western Cape population speaks Afrikaans as their first language (refer to Statistics South Africa, 2012).

Although not recorded in the census, Xhosa speakers themselves often classify their language as either 'deep' (spoken in the rural areas) or 'urban' (see Barkhuizen, 2002; Deumert, 2010). It is also important to note that Xhosa has many dialects although recent research suggests that they are losing their distinct features (see Ström, 2018).

1.3 Theoretical framework

Referring to Labov's seminal studies on phonological variation and change in Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts and New York in the 1960s, Robinson argues that these studies "demonstrated that linguistic variation is not random, but is structured according to speakers' age, gender, or socio-economic status" (Robinson, 2011: 200). Robinson uses this hypothesis to discuss semantic change in just one word ('skinny') and apart from variables such as age, gender, social class includes in her discussion the significance of whether speakers are in the city or not, since being in the city necessitates being involved with certain social practices (such as ordering a coffee at a coffee shop). She argues that:

Certain meanings can be introduced by other socio-demographic groups, for whom a need to express a new concept arises, and these meanings may afterwards spread to other sections in a community (Robinson, 2011:223).

I therefore understood that a sociolinguistic theoretical framework, using socio-demographic data would be useful when analysing the semantics of 15 selected words as it would allow me to show "the value of drawing on different sources of data in explaining meaning change" (Robinson, 2011: 226).

My study thus uses socio-demographic data (via interviews and questionnaires) to investigate whether the meanings with which speakers choose to associate particular Xhosa words are related to any of the variables of age, gender, education and area (being either city or rural). I include language attitude as a possible factor in determining whether speakers of Xhosa prefer one meaning of a word over another.

Also important for my study, but not so much a theory for explaining the collected data but for looking at the processes that might have occurred to change the meaning of words is the notion of semantic shift and the processes involved in such shift.

1.4 Semantic shift

Semantic shift has been described as “the process in which a word loses its former meaning, taking on a new, often related, meaning” (O’Grady et al., 1996:728-729). Before discussing semantic shift in Zulu, Koopman gives the English example of ‘bead’ which originally mean ‘a prayer’ but because prayers were later counted by hard round objects on a rosary the meaning shifted to refer only to those objects, and not to prayer (Koopman, 2000:37). Another English example is ‘fowl’ which originally meant ‘any kind of bird’ but “in English today, however, the word fowl means ‘domestic chicken’” (Ibid). The shift in meaning from bead → prayer to bead → hard round object is called **semantic change**, while the fact that the word ‘fowl’ now only refers to domestic chickens is an example of **semantic narrowing**. Koopman adds that we also have **semantic broadening** in the word ‘butcher’ which only used to refer to a person who “slaughtered goats for food ... today a butcher sells the meat of all sorts of domestic animals” and argues that this kind of semantic shift is an example of **semantic broadening** (Ibid). Koopman adds another kind of semantic shift being **onomastic shift** which happens when a word begins life as a name “and then becomes a ‘non-name’” and gives the example of the name Earl of Cardigan who lent his name to the long-sleeved button up jersey we know as ‘cardigan’ (Ibid). Giulianelli (2019:6) defines semantic broadening as “the extension of the range of concepts” designated by a word – this inclusion of the word “concepts” I find useful

as it is not just that a word can have added meanings but it can also refer to a range of additional concepts.

Semantic shift can include **amelioration** (see Traugott and Dasher, 2001:55) which is when a word with a negative or neutral sense develops a positive one, such as “nice” in English, which used to mean “foolish” but which now has the meanings of ‘precise’ and ‘pleasant’³ Amelioration is less common than **pejoration** which is “the tendency to semanticize the more negative connotations of a word (Traugott and Dasher, 2001: 55). Traugott and Dasher give the example of ‘mistress’ in Old English originally just meaning “head of the household” but which has changed to mean “woman in continuing extra-marital relationship with a man” (Ibid).

While Koopman does not go into detailed discussion of amelioration and pejoration he does however exemplify the four main kinds of shift in Zulu: semantic change, semantic narrowing, semantic broadening and onomastic shift (see Koopman, 2000: 37-43). No similar study has been conducted for Xhosa.

Metaphor, metonymy and bleaching are also regarded as instances of semantic shift. Metaphor for example, is one of the major factors in semantic shift. When looking at the analysis of the semantic shift in the selected words in my study, it seems that there are indeed cases where the shift can be explained in terms of metaphor, e.g. *ukujola* extending its meaning from ‘sharing meat’ to also include ‘being in a relationship’ although I also discuss later the possibility that the word *ukujola* with the meaning ‘being in a relationship/date’ has nothing to do with its original meaning and rather that it has been borrowed from the Afrikaans ‘jol’ (dance/party) (see 4.4.1 Motivation 1).

Certain semantic processes are instrumental in semantic change, and as Robert (2008:61) notes, metonymy and metaphor are “fundamental linguistic mechanisms which regulate the meaning in units”. Metaphor is what happens when some of the properties of a word’s meaning are transferred “to another domain to designate a new entity” (Robert, 2008:62), so the literal

³ <https://www.thoughtco.com/amelioration-word-meanings-1689082>

meaning of a word is used in a different, non-literal way, for example the verb ‘beka’ in Xhosa generally refers to the act of physically putting something on a place, but in the expression ‘*beka iindlebe*’ (put the ears) the verb *beka* is used non-literally with the noun *iindlebe* (ears) to mean ‘focus, listen carefully’.

Metonymy is what happens when “a term that primarily refers to objects of a certain kind is used to refer instead to things that belong to objects of this kind” (Löbner, 2002:49). So for example when we refer to the film-making industry as ‘Hollywood’⁴ that is an example of metonymy since Hollywood is only one place in which films are made.

Semantic bleaching is the reduction of a word’s intensity, such as an English the word ‘literally’ no longer means an exact fact, event or truth, just as ‘awesome’ also no longer means ‘inspiring’ awe. The Merriam-Webster dictionary explains the phenomenon as what happens when words retain their original meanings but reduce the word’s “intensity”, which has happened with English words like “awesome” which seldom means that a thing inspired “awe or terror”. The dictionary explains that “*awesome* (and *fantastic*, *amazing*, *awful*, and many others) have meanings that have become less literal over time.”⁵

Semantic broadening is when a word takes on new meanings over time. For example the Xhosa word *iziko* originally meant ‘hearth’ (the shallow hollow in the centre of of the floor) but now has come to mean ‘headquarters’ and ‘centre’ in the sense of Youth Centre (*IZiko loLutsha*).

While these semantic processes are extensively discussed with relation to English and other languages in academic literature and online dictionaries, there is a dearth of reference to these processes in Bantu languages. For example although there has been some work on semantic bleaching in Bantu languages it is mainly with reference to grammaticalisation theory (Poulos, 1986; Bosch and Prinsloo, 2002; Taljard, 2003) little has been written on semantic bleaching

⁴ <https://telescope.wordpress.com/tag/metonymic-shift/#:~:text=An%20example%20is%20found%20in,making%20industry%20as%20%E2%80%9CHollywood%E2%80%9D.>

⁵ <https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/very-actually-and-other-examples-of-semantic-bleaching>

of individual words. It is hoped that this study, which investigates semantic shift in 15 Xhosa words, using participants in both urban and rural areas, will at least start the discussion and lead to greater interest in the area.

1.5 Focal research questions of this study

- Is there an emergence of a rural/urban contrast in the vocabulary of Xhosa ?
- Do language attitudes, age, education and gender have any bearing on how Xhosa speakers assign meaning to words?

The sub-questions of the study:

- What processes of semantic shift (e.g. metaphor, metonymy, narrowing, broadening) are generally associated with semantic shift in Southern African Bantu languages, according to academic literature on the topic?
- What appear to be the dominant processes of semantic shift in how speakers assign meanings to the selected 15 words?

1.6 Aims of the study

This study aims to discover how urban and rural Xhosa speakers ascribe meaning to the 15 selected Xhosa words and whether semantic choice has anything to do (amongst other factors) with their language attitudes or whether they live or have lived in an urban area, or whether they have lived most of their lives in a rural area. In other words to establish whether there is an urban/rural contrast with regard to the lexicon of Xhosa speakers. I also aim to discuss the motivations that might propel Xhosa speakers to change the meaning of certain words and the processes involved in the semantic shift in the words (including semantic broadening, metonymy, metaphor, bleaching, amelioration). It is hoped that the study will spearhead further studies in Xhosa lexical semantics so that lexicographers, publishers and educators are informed of the way in which meanings of Xhosa words are becoming more flexible and subject to change according to change in differing sociocultural circumstances and due to urbanization.

1.7 Literature review

I review existing research on semantic shift and the factors that influence it. This enables me to address causal mechanisms of change in meaning of Xhosa words. In doing this, I deal with research that focuses on the global context of language change and semantic shift (see Newman, 2015; Rahmati, 2015; Fasold and Schiffrin, 1989; Aitchison, 1991; Denison, 1977; Dorian, 1980) and I then narrow my focus to include the South African context (see Koopman, 2000; Kamwangamalu, 2003; De Klerk, 2000; Nomlomo, 1993; Futuse, 2019). Also included in this study are references made to lexicographical efforts in South Africa with a focus on dictionary creation for South Africa's indigenous African languages (Nkomo, 2010; Finlayson and Madiba, 2002; Mesthrie, 2008).

1.8 Methodology

This study follows both quantitative and qualitative research methodologies. This method is efficient for this study, as it is constructed from data that is collected from participants including the percentage of participants answering closed questions (understanding of meanings of the 15 terms, answering questionnaires) and data collected during open-ended interviews. This study was conducted at Khayelitsha, Western Cape and Tsomo, Eastern Cape as a comparative case study with Xhosa speakers. De Vos (2005: 30) defines a case study method as an efficient method for a research of this nature as it helps to address the research problem. These areas were also selected because Xhosa speakers in different areas show difference in understanding meanings of Xhosa lexical items.

As already indicated these methodologies enabled me to conduct interviews and issue questionnaires to research participants as a way of collecting data. Key to the research were the selected 15 Xhosa concepts which were presented to an equal number of participants in the urban area of Khayelitsha, Cape Town and in the rural area of Tsomo in the Eastern Cape. Participants in these areas had to describe to me what they understood these terms to mean, giving examples of how they would use the words in their daily conversations and in social

media. In addition, open ended interviews were taped and transcribed while questionnaires were numerically analyzed and presented within this study.

Methodological tools

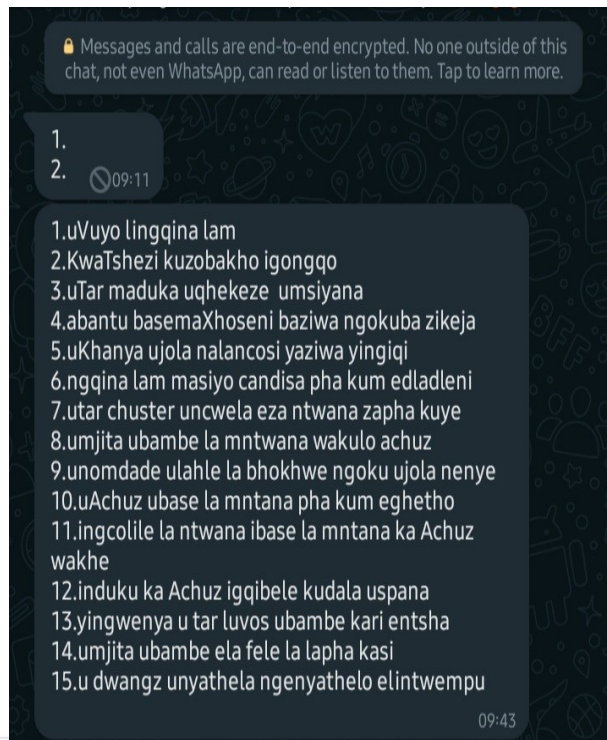
Research participants were selected based on their age and geographic area (urban or rural). For this study participants were selected from 18 - 70 years, the reason behind this selection is to track the age at which semantic shift appears to be more likely to occur but unfortunately I was not able to find equal numbers of speakers in each age group who were willing to participate in the study.

I used the following tools to collect data from research participants:

- Interviews which were conducted and recorded
- Questionnaires which were issued to research participants

Once the research participants agreed to participate in my study, I conducted individual interviews with research participants on WhatsApp and Facebook social media platforms, and participants on these platforms sent me their sentences using the selected lexical items in sentences (see examples below).

1. Umasiye uthe ingqina lakhe ngutar X.
2. Umama wenze igongqo ngomgqibelo.
3. USkhokho udume ngokuqhekeza ekasi lakhe.
4. **AmaXhosa** ka Oledi ase Cofimvaba.
5. **Andikholelwa** ukuba uAmanda ujola noMsiyana.
6. **Uta** Mthura uyakuncanywa ukucanda ukutya kwase Sgela.
7. **Ndiyamazi** ke yena uMasiwakhe ngokuncwela i-intanethi yase Sgela.
8. **Ndithe** xa ndidwadla ndafika a majita eringa ngomnye umtana odume ngobuhle ekasi.
9. **URonaldo** uyibhokhwe thuba lodlala ibhola.
10. **UMthura** ebesithi ufuna ukubasa lamntwana ufikayo ekasi.
11. Oko bebhukhuza ukuba ingcolile lamedu.
12. **Induku** kaSimpri ayivukanga izolo kula medi.
13. **Oko** ebenconywa uTa AT ukuba uyingwenya thuba lamamedu.
14. **Ifele** lam ndiyaliwisa ngo Dici.
15. **Umavusana** ungqayeyinyathelo elitsha lika Noyana.



Direct contact (following all Covid-19 social distancing protocols) was made with participants who were not active on social media platforms. I also asked participants questions regarding their understanding of the selected Xhosa terms. Interviews were always conducted on a one-on-one basis to avoid influence by others. Thereafter, I issued questionnaires (face-to-face and via the above mentioned social media platforms), which included questions that were relevant for my study with regard to language attitudes and time spent in the area (whether rural or urban). As has already been mentioned, Covid 19 social distancing protocols were adhered to during face-to-face sessions with research participants throughout the process of data collection.

1.9 Data analysis

From transcribed data collected from participants I created profile groups (grouping participants according to age, area and attitudes to Xhosa) and followed these with detailed lexical analyses of the words that participants used with meanings that were not recorded in any dictionary. I also populate a table with the selected words and the responses to those words in terms of the semantics assigned to them by participants. In the same table I note whether the participants were from rural or urban areas.

I employ Blank's (1999) theory of motivations for semantic shift as well and also include a discussion the specific semantic processes that each word had undergone (e.g. shift due to metonymy, metaphor, bleaching, amelioration, pejoration).

Data analysis focuses on the participant's understanding of the selected lexical item, what they say it means and how they use it. Getting participants to use the words in sentences allowed me to identify the meaning that was assigned to each word and the context in which the lexical item was used.

1.10 Ethics

Participants were approached by various means (phone, WhatsApp, face-to-face meetings) and asked whether they would agree to partake in the study and whether they would give me consent to have their written and spoken chats anonymously reproduced. Those that opted for oral interviews also were informed that they would be recorded but only if the consented to such a recording. Details of the storing and safe-keeping of the recordings was made known to them. Direct contact was made by me, the researcher, with elderly people who might not be on social media platforms. I would arrive at people's homes (normally in the afternoons) and respectfully enquire as to whether they would be willing to participate in the study. I made sure to inform all participants of the nature of the study, giving my background, the academic background to the study and details of my supervisor and university. I made sure to give all participants my contact details so they could phone me at anytime to discuss any matter of concern or even if they just needed more clarity. Also to secure their consent from their interlocutors I used all personal information anonymously. No chats or any contribution containing information of a sensitive, personal nature are used in this study.

CHAPTER TWO - LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 *Introduction*

In my literature review chapter I discuss previous research relating to the field of semantic shift. This chapter is divided into four main areas i) Literature dealing with semantic shift generally (factors that stimulate semantic shift in language worldwide); (ii) Semantic shift in the South African context, where I will discuss semantic broadening and narrowing of loanwords and indigenous African language words relating to previous relevant research. (iii) Urban languages as contributors to semantic shift in South Africa's indigenous African languages and (iv) Semantic shift and the teaching of Xhosa. The literature review will look at the change in the meaning of words in South African languages against the broader backdrop of studies on semantic shift in languages worldwide.

2.2 *Literature dealing with semantic shift*

Semantic shift is what happens when words take on new meanings (this often happens over a period of time). O' Grady et al. (1996:345) describe this gradual change in meaning as "a process in which a word loses some aspect of its former meaning, taking on a partially new, but related meaning". They give us an example the English word 'immoral' which used to mean merely 'not customary' but which now means 'unethical' (Ibid.). Semantic shift can also occur when one borrows an existing unit from another language and the unit thereafter gets a new meaning in the borrowing language. This occurs when there are two related languages which have common words with different meanings, for example, in English, the word 'pioneer' was taken from Middle French to mean 'digger, foot soldier' and then gained the meaning of 'early colonist, innovator' and this new meaning was then re-borrowed into French (see Durkin, 2009: 212-215 in Futuse, 2019: 18-19).

Kirkpatrick (2007:124) believes that semantic shift occurs in certain ordinate and superordinate nouns. 'Christian' is a superordinate term in British English and refers to all followers of Christian religion, no matter to which branch or sect of it they belong to. However Deterding (2007: 4-6) alludes to the fact that in Singaporean English, 'Christian' specifically refers to a

follower of the Protestant faith. Similarly ‘alphabets’ in English refers to writing systems (e.g. Hebrew alphabet, Greek alphabet) while in Singaporean English if someone speaks of an ‘alphabets’ they could be referring to actual **letters** of the alphabet, e.g. A, B, C (Kirkpatrick, 2007:124).

Finegan (2012: 24) explains that contemporary computer users utilize a ‘mouse’ and ‘bookmark’ and internet ‘addresses’. These new meanings did not replace earlier ones but extended the range of application for these words to include items connected to computer usage. Wilkins reminds us that semantic change is variable in terms of its uptake by members of a given speech community:

Like any linguistic change, semantic change is not acquired simultaneously by all members of a speech community. This means not every speaker will acquire the same semantic shift of a certain word. (Wilkins, 1996: 269).

Wilkins further explains that an “innovation enters into a language and spreads through the speech community along socially determined lines” (Ibid). This means the original meaning of a form is not immediately lost just because a new meaning is brought in. An example from Xhosa is the word *inja* ‘dog’ which can be used to mean a ‘hero’ – the new meaning does not apply to all speakers of the language, some of whom may not recognize this new use of the word.

Wilkins (1996: Ibid) believes that semantic change does not only apply to change in meaning of words, but the “addition of a meaning to the semantic system or the loss of a meaning from the semantic system while the form remains constant.”

Locating semantic shift in Africa’s most popular language, Swahili, research on semantic shift in that language has revealed that words that have been borrowed from Arabic often undergo semantic shift and pejoration, for example the Arabic word [faɖu:l] ‘intrusive’, ‘inquisitive’ has changed its meaning in Swahili [fiɖuli] to ‘trouble maker’ and in the same way the Arabic [ʃi:frat] ‘intimacy’, ‘social interaction’ has come to mean, in Swahili ‘immoral’ – the borrowed word being [aʃerati] (Akidah, 2013:11).

Simango, (2000:499) discusses semantic shift in Chichewa loan words from English and concludes that that ‘madam’ when used in Chichewa conversations acts as a synonym for ‘wife’. Pyles and Algeo (1993) argue that change in the meaning of a word is something that happens to all languages, and this is something that we, as sometimes too enthusiastic custodians of our language, need to keep in mind.

2.3 *Semantic shift in the South African context*

Finlayson (1978:56) lists hlonipha words (substitute words that traditionally Xhosa women had to employ to avoid the syllables in the names of their male relatives) that show evidence of semantic shift. Some of the examples she gives are using *inwele* ‘hair’ to refer to *intloko* ‘head’, *isihlalo* ‘status, position’ to refer to *isitulo* ‘chair’ and *ibetha* ‘dew’ instead of using the word *umhlwa* for ‘evening’.

Koopman (2000: 40) discussing semantic narrowing in Zulu notes that it is common for the Zulu word to be used for the more general meaning while the borrowed word is used for the specific meaning, and gives as an example *ithanga* which can be used for ‘pumpkin’ generally and *impampini* to name the ‘light grey pumpkin of imported strain’. In his discussion he also includes reference to borrowed words that used to mean one thing, but whose semantic properties have changed over time, giving the example of *inkantolo* which used to refer to any ‘office’ but now only refers to ‘magistrate’s court’, with *ihhovisi* now being used to refer to an office at work (Ibid.:41).

Mojela (1991:78) discusses the change of meaning in the Sotho word *maemae* which was borrowed from the English naming of a Kenyan militant movement in the 1950s – the ‘Mau Mau’. The word *maemae* was initially used by Northern Sotho speakers to refer to that resistance group but now is used as a synonym for *mmuwane* to mean ‘killer’.

Koopman (2000: 38) further argues that semantic shift in South African languages is not restricted to loanwords, it can occur in indigenous African language words over time. This means indigenous African language words can undergo semantic broadening or narrowing. For example we can observe semantic narrowing with the word *umfundisi* which used to refer to both a minister and a teacher, but in contemporary spoken Xhosa it refers only to a minister or priest. Semantic narrowing has also occurred with the word *usana* ‘infant/baby’ which is now usually only used in formal written communications or as a term of endearment, e.g. *Ndiyakuthanda sana* ‘I love you babe’. Most people now use *umntwana* when referring to a baby. Sometimes a word is used both Xhosa and Zulu speakers, but there is a semantic difference in the way in which it is used: a good example of semantic shift can be seen with the Xhosa word *intaka* ‘bird’ which in isiZulu means ‘finch’ and does not refer to all birds as the word *inyoni* does (Koopman, 2000:38).

An example of semantic broadening in Xhosa can be observed with the word *umbane* which used to refer to lightening but now also refers to electricity and electric lights, so too the word *inkomo* ‘cow’ now can be figuratively used to refer to a soccer player who is not strategic, gifted or talented. An example of this in a sentence form would be: *UKatsande weChiefs icala lakhe linye, yinkomo qha* ‘The Chiefs player Katsande is not strategic and gifted in soccer’. In addition the word *ibhokhwe* ‘a goat’ can be figuratively used to refer to someone’s boyfriend, a term specifically employed by males. An example of this in a sentence form would be: *Iphi na la bhokhwe yakho namhlanje?* ‘Where is your boyfriend today?’ The word *isitshixo* (often pronounced *isitixo*) which used to refer only to a ‘key’ now has the extended meaning of jail. The sentence *Ligityiselwe ngaphaya kwezitshixo isela* ‘has the literal meaning of ‘the thief has been thrown the other side of the keys’ but figuratively it means: ‘The thief has been put behind bars/in jail.’ This last example is an example of metonymic shift as the keys are now standing for jail. Another word that has undergone semantic broadening is *umtshana* ‘nephew/niece’ which can now be used to mean ‘friend’, especially when people address each other, e.g. “*Heyi mtshana, khawundiboleke iR20*” (‘Hey friend, please lend me R20’) but this semantic property is not recorded in any dictionary.

Dowling and Whitelaw (2018:54) in their research with Xhosa-speaking toddlers discovered instances of semantic broadening of body part lexical items. For example toddlers used the word *unyawo* ‘foot’ to refer to both ‘leg’ (*umlenze*) and ‘foot’ (*unyawo*) and *iminwe* for both ‘fingers’ (*iminwe*) and ‘toes’ (*iinzwane*). I am aware of this exact semantic shift with adult speakers of Xhosa so it cannot be brushed off as merely “the way children speak”.

Further work needs to be done on semantic broadening with native Xhosa words as generally in South Africa’s African languages research into semantic broadening has focussed mainly on the influence of foreign languages specifically English (see Koopman, 2000; Calteaux, 1996; Madiba, 1994; Thipa, 1992). For example in Zulu the word “*ukhisimusi* (< Christmas), retains the meaning of ‘Christmas’, but adds the related meanings of ‘any public festival or picnic’ and ‘Christmas box.’” (Koopman in Calteaux, 1996:135-136).

Futuse (2019: 19) gives us an example of semantic broadening of the Xhosa word *intaka* as she alludes to the fact that in Xhosa the same noun can refer to fear that one is experiencing, explaining this further she provides the following example: *lo mfo unentaka* ‘this guy is afraid’ (Futuse, 2019: 19). The English word ‘pullover’ is another example of a loanword which shows semantic shift when it is used by Xhosa speakers. Futuse (2019: 20) explains the English definition of this word as ‘a piece of woolen clothing that covers the upper part of your body and your arms’ but for many Xhosa speakers, ‘pullover’ refers to a sleeveless or very short-sleeved jersey.

There is also the Xhosa verb *fola* ‘queue, look for work’ from the English ‘fall in line’ which now, in English, generally refers to conforming to others, as in “Listen when you work for this organization you need to learn how to **fall in line** with our expectations”. Further investigation of the English phrase ‘fall in line’ (from which the Xhosa verb *fola* is derived) reveals that it was used in army pay parades (Epstein 1968:327). These are all examples of semantic change that needs to be considered with all loanwords – when they enter the language their meanings might shift, and in fact, sometimes the semantic link “between the meaning of the source word and the adoptive is not so easy to see” (Koopman, 2000:39).

Madiba (1994: 103) discussed some examples of semantic shift in Venda, which he believes occurred to accommodate adopted concepts. For Madiba this automatically results in semantic broadening as the indigenous African language words retain their meaning, but extend to accommodate foreign concepts (see Madiba 1994: 103). For example Madiba (1994: 103) states that the adoptive *gese* which means 'gas' in English refers to 'any air-like substance which moves freely to fill any space available irrespective of its quantity' (see The Concise Oxford dictionary 1990:487 in Madiba, 1994: 103). This scholar then elaborates on his point by explaining that in Venda this word, besides this meaning, can also be used to refer to 'electricity' or 'light'. The same applies in Xhosa with the loanword *ipeyi* which means 'pay' in English, can be used by Xhosa speakers to refer to 'pay day' and 'old age pension'. Another Xhosa adoptive would be *ifestile* which is taken from the Afrikaans word *venster*. This word can be used by Xhosa speakers to refer to an ATM and pay as *ndisayokuvela efestileni* a statement in which means 'I am going to withdraw cash' or 'it is my pay day'. *Ifestile* here has a metonymic function since 'window' here stands not only to the larger automated teller machine but also, by extension, figuratively to 'pay day'.

Thwala and Nkuna (2020:87) note the word *likhwapha* 'armpit' in siSwati, is used in its locative form *makhwapheni* to mean 'lover'. This word is also found in Xhosa to refer to a lover but is not recorded as such in any dictionary. Some speakers have suggested that because a lover is often kept secret the armpit (which is not usually visible) is by analogy a good word to use to refer to a person with whom one is conducting a secret affair.

Bosch and Prinsloo argue in terms of the semantics of the prefix *-no-*: "an owner is a mother" (Bosch and Prinsloo, 2002:96) and discuss the semantic processes involved in the abbreviated nouns *-so-/-no-* in Zulu and *ra-/ma-* in Pedi in becoming "grammaticalized forms" that have been desemantized, emerging as "grammatical units which are in fact used productively to coin new words" such as *radimilione* (mutimillionaire) in Pedi (Ibid:101-102).

In more specific studies that focus on African languages it is evident that semantic shift also occurs with borrowed or loanwords in South Africa (see Louwrens, 1993). Louwrens discovered that analogical transfer is a widespread phenomenon with borrowed words:

When some kind of identity or resemblance can be observed between a referent to which a word originally referred and another referent which appeared on the scene at a later stage, the original meaning can be changed to include that of the new referent as well. (Ibid.:10)

Louwrens gives the example of the English word ‘lemonade’ when borrowed into Northern Sotho as *namoneiti* extending its meaning to encompass all cold drinks (Ibid.) In Xhosa we have *irama* to refer to all kinds of margarine and *icolgate* to refer to toothpaste generally. These last two examples are also examples of category extension, when a brand name is used for any type of product that resembles the branded product (see Walaszewska, 2021). Semantic shift is also evident in the Zulu borrowed word *ugesi* which is from the English ‘gas’ but now in Zulu means ‘electricity’ and Drame (2001:238) provides the following stages or process of the shift:

gas [+ element + airlike substance + heat source] > igesi [+ element + airlike substance + heat source + electricity]

From my reading of *A dictionary of South African English on historical principles* I notice that the word ‘shebeen’ in English has its roots in Anglo-Irish Gaelic and generally refers to an unlicensed place that sells alcohol, but has been brought into African languages as *ishibini* originally also referring to unlicensed informal bars. Now the word in South African Bantu languages has undergone further semantic broadening and also includes licensed establishments (Silva et al., 1996:634).

It can be argued that the Noun Class system in Bantu is at least historically, a system based on semantics (Denny & Creider, 1986), but as Demuth points out “much of the semantics of the current Bantu noun classes is no longer productive” (2000:270). Demuth does note however that noun classes are still grammatically and semantically productive “to some degree” (Ibid.) This grammatical and semantic productivity is evident in Xhosa borrowed words, with Class 1a which was hitherto purely personal now being used to accommodate words for social media platforms and companies, e.g. *uFacebook*, *uTwitter*, *uGoogle* and making a distinction with Class 9 borrowed words, e.g. *uMercedes Benz* (the company) vs *iMercedes Benz* (the car) (see Futuse, 2019).

Discussing the word *ubuntu* in a number of different Bantu languages, Wa Mberia (2015:113) notes that “The semantic field of “*ubuntu*” in South Africa has expanded transforming it from an ordinary word to an idea, an ideal, a philosophy and a potential political, social and economic tool”.

All of these studies highlight the fact that the meanings of words are subject to change and that change will be effected by a number of different factors including socio-cultural and political changes. What is important is that scholars examine the way in which these changes take place, what the take up of the new meaning is in any given population, the motivations behind the change and the actual semantic processes involved.

2.4 Factors that stimulate semantic shift worldwide

Across the globe semantic shift has received serious attention from scholars (Reimer, 2016; Newman, 2015; Rahmati, 2015; Umar, 1982; Koopman, 2000; Calteaux, 1996). Semanticists have identified the following as some of the factors that contribute to semantic shift worldwide:

2.4.1 Psychological factors

According to Rahmati (2015) when speakers of a certain language are not comfortable with the use of terms in that language they normally replace such lexical items with words that suit them. So for example the word *unyoko* in Xhosa used to refer, without any bad connotations, simply to ‘your mother’. This word now has negative connotations and speakers prefer to use the simple *umama wakho*. Even a loanword which was previously accepted by speakers, for example *ikoloni*, referring to ‘province’, now has negative connotations for some speakers, who might prefer to use the English term for province even when speaking Xhosa. Relating to the above statement, it is important to note that South African native speakers of African languages often make use of loanwords when communicating with one another because of the way in which the native word has gained a pejorative connotation (Kamwangamalu, 2003; Futuse, 2019; Koopman, 2000). For example most Xhosa speakers disregard the use of the word

inkazana ‘a women who gave birth without marriage’ they prefer using the phrase ‘baby mama’ with the belief that the word *inkazana* has a negative meaning.

Dowling’s (2011) research on Xhosa speakers’ use of loanwords in Cape Town proved that participants used several English words which they did not regard as borrowed but rather considered to be Xhosa vocabulary items. Dowling notes that many participants interviewed “seemed to know that there was a Xhosa word for ‘weather’ but could not remember it ...” (see Dowling, 2011:350). In this case semantic shift is overtaken by vocabulary loss mainly perpetuated by certain native speakers who then may look to other languages to fill the gap left by the native word that they can no longer remember or have seldom heard uttered in an urban context.

2.4.2 New environments – new linguistic requirements

The coining of new terms by linguists or academics is mostly stimulated by the emergence of new objects in our societies, this ultimately results in the new term being adopted and incorporated within vernacular languages of different communities (Newman, 2015; Rahmati, 2015). In that way semantic shift occurs due to the emergence of new objects, which might have slightly different uses or applications from the language from which the new term, comes. So for example the English word ‘office’ comes from the Old French *officium* ‘task/work’ via the Latin *opus* ‘work’ and now in English normally only refers to the place where one does such work⁶.

Newman (2015:266) provides the following words as terms which stimulate semantic shift: “hardware, application, program, browser, desktop, navigate, search, domain, flame, memory, and virus”. Newman (2015) explains that semantic shifts evident in the above words are well established in English. Moreover; lexicographic practice, as seen in contemporary dictionaries, typically accords these semantic shifts the status of fully-fledged meanings. But one can point to other more isolated and not as permanent kinds of semantic shifts that are less often remarked upon and less likely to find their way into the codified language described by dictionaries (see Newman, 2015:266). For example the English word ‘gay’ used to refer just to being

⁶ For etymology of ‘office’ see <https://www.lexico.com/definition/office>

‘lighthearted’ or ‘happy’ and then changed to refer to someone’s sexual orientation and according to Lalor and Rendle-Short (2007) underwent a further change in meaning in Australian English to mean ‘stupid, lame or boring’ (Lalor and Rendle-Short, 2007:147). In the same way the word ‘sick’ in English can be used by young people to mean ‘very nice’ or even ‘fabulous’⁷.

2.4.3 Socio-cultural factors

Umar (1982) as quoted in Rahmati (2015: 82) states that “Intellectual development together with social and cultural changes of a certain community result in gradual impact of semantic shift, as the concrete signification of the term will gradually shift to abstract or non-concrete signification”. For example in English the word ‘target’ can be considered concrete, as you can point to an actual shooting target, but in most contexts that we use the word it refers to the abstract concept of a ‘goal to be achieved’⁸ – the meaning has shifted over time from concrete to abstract where it is used predominantly in corporate business environments. In Xhosa the word *ehlathini* translates ‘to/in/from the forest’ but is often used in a more abstract sense (and metonymously) to refer to ‘initiation school’ – again people shift the meaning of a concrete term to an more abstract one in order to describe their culture. Rahmati (2015) believes that the semantic field of a term may become narrow due to the word shifting from the broader term to a narrow term, as the English word ‘meat’ used to refer to any kind of food and now only refers to the flesh of animals. In Xhosa *umrhumo* was historically used to refer to ‘a gift given to a diviner or herbalist’ but now is generally used to refer to any kind of ‘subscription’ (The Greater Dictionary of Xhosa, Vol.3, 1989:138). With the demands of a changing society the original words are used by speakers to refer to new activities that they need to describe.

2.5 *Semantic broadening*

2.5.1 Semantic broadening in loanwords

⁷ For definition see <https://www.urbandictionary.com/define.php?term=Sick>).

⁸ For definitions of ‘target’ see

<https://www.google.com/search?q=meaning+of+target&oq=meaning+of+target&aqs=chrome..69i57j69i59l3j0i271l2j69i60l2.2748j0j7&sourceid=chrome&ie=UTF-8>

Koopman (2000: 41) explains semantic broadening in loanwords by saying an adopted word retains the meaning of its source noun and accepts additional meaning. Additional meanings are believed to be related to the original meanings of words (Koopman, 2000; Calteaux, 1996: 148). Calteaux (1996: 149) provides the following examples as loanwords that show semantic broadening:

Table 1: Examples of semantic broadening in Zulu loanwords

ZULU	ENGLISH	BROAD MEANING
Ukhisimusi	Christmas	the meaning of the word Christmas is retained for both languages, but additional meaning of public festivals and picnics are related meanings for Zulu
Inombolo	Number	Also refers to the <i>Shalambombo</i> language which is spoken by prisoners.

Semantic broadening in loanwords does not only occur in Zulu. Madiba (1994: 93) provides the following examples for Venda:

Table 2: Examples of semantic broadening in Venda loanwords

VENDA	ENGLISH	BROAD MEANING
Tshidimela	Steamer	Only used to refer to the steam engine train, but has extended the meaning to refer to steam engine train and diesel or electric train
Nyamunaithi	Lemonade	Used to refer to a cooldrink made from lemon juice but now extended to refer to any kind of cooldrink
Gese	Gas	Used to refer to a type of air substance now it also refers to electricity and lights

As in Zulu, meanings of words have become broader for the Venda language as well (see Madiba, 1994: 93 for further explanation).

Thipa (as cited in Calteaux, 1996:136) discussing semantic shift in Xhosa cites the first example in the table and I have added two of my own:

Table 3: Examples of semantic broadening in Xhosa loanwords

XHOSA	ENGLISH	BROAD MEANING
Itayara	Tyre	It now refers to the tyre necklace used for torture, as the tyre was used to burn those who were believed to be informers to the apartheid government.
Ipeyi	Pay	Now it also refers to old-age pension and pay day.
Ibhanki	Bank	It used to refer to the bank branch but now it also refers to the ATM.

2.5.2 Semantic broadening in indigenous African language words

Nothing much has been discussed in a focussed way regarding the semantic broadening of indigenous African language words in South African languages although there are some examples in Thipa (as cited in Calteaux, 1996:138). In the following table I include two examples of semantic broadening in Xhosa from Thipa (as cited in Calteaux, 1996:138) and three of my own:

Table 4: Examples of semantic broadening in Xhosa indigenous words

XHOSA	ENGLISH	BROAD MEANING
Isirhoxo	Narrow gorge	Traditionally referred to narrow gorge, but now also refers to the shebeen
Unozakuzaku	A person who negotiates marriage	Traditionally referred to a person who negotiates lobola for marriage purposes, but now also refers to an ambassador
Umlungu	A white person	It now can refer to any boss regardless of their skin colour
Umntwana	A child	It can now also refer to an infant or baby
Chaza	Explain/satisfy/delight	It can now also be used to mean “flirt”

The information in the above table proves that meanings of indigenous African language words can shift over time. Sometimes this broadening is influenced by someone’s occupation, for example in the past *iphakathi* used to refer to a chief’s counsellor but now can refer to 'a member of a council or board a secretary to a minister of state, vice-rector of a university, etc.' (*The Greater Dictionary of IsiXhosa, Vol.2, 2003:975*).

Ntshinga (2010:249) discusses semantic shift in a number of words in the lyrics of Xhosa women’s songs. She highlights “*umitilesi, umvangeli, ukuvota, ikona* and *ijoyini*” as words that have undergone some semantic shift. *Umitilesi* (mistress) has, according to Ntshinga, taken on a number of different meanings including ‘lady teacher’ and ‘smartly dressed woman’. *Umvangeli* (evangelist) has broadened its meaning to include “anyone who does not participate in anti-Christian behaviour”, *ukuvota* (to vote) now also can mean ‘support an idea/agree’, *ikona* (corner) can be associated in certain contexts with ‘secrecy’ while ‘*ijoyini*’ which used only to refer to ‘migrant worker’ now can be used to talk about “anyone who is uneducated, uncouth and not modernized” (Ibid.:250).

In conclusion semantic shift in indigenous African language words requires ones understanding of the term’s original meaning and how that meaning has been extended or changed to accommodate new realities and contexts.

2.5.3 Semantic narrowing

There are limited examples on semantic narrowing in South Africa’s Bantu languages when compared to semantic broadening (Koopman, 2000: 40; Calteaux, 1996: 151). One characteristic of semantic narrowing is the retention of the word’s original meaning from the source item of a loanword, into a more restricted sense (Calteaux, 1996). Calteaux (1996: 151) provides the following examples of semantic narrowing from Zulu loanwords:

Table 5: Examples of semantic narrowing in Zulu loanwords

ZULU	ENGLISH	AFRIKAANS	NARROW MEANING
Inkantolo	Office	Kantoor	Now only refers specifically to the magistrate’s court
Isiklabhu	Sheep	Skaap	Now specifically means merino sheep

Additionally, Madiba (1994: 99) provides the following examples of semantic narrowing with Venda loanwords:

Table 6: Examples of semantic narrowing in Venda loanwords

VENDA	ENGLISH	NARROW MEANING
Bia	Brewery beer	It used to refer to all sorts of beer including traditional beer, but now only refers to brewery beer
Raliwei	Railway company	Railway tracks are not included as in the meaning of source noun railway

I have not been able to find any academic literature discussing semantic narrowing in Xhosa, but have noticed from my own interactions with Xhosa speakers that the following words have undergone semantic narrowing:

Table 7: Examples of semantic narrowing in Xhosa indigenous words

XHOSA	ENGLISH	NARROW MEANING
Usiba	Feather/pen	It used to refer to feathers and pens but now only refers to a feather
Umfanekiso	Picture/likeness/copy	It now mostly refers only to a mental picture, most speakers using <i>ipicture</i> for ‘picture’
Usana	Baby	It has now largely been replaced by <i>umntwana</i> in speech, <i>usana</i> is more often used in the vocative as a term of endearment

2.6 Urban languages as contributors to semantic shifts or “semantic twists”

Mesthrie (2008b: 107) refers to ‘semantic twists’ instead of semantic shift when discussing urban language varieties that arise out of language contact. That something does happen to the meaning of words in urban contact situations (that may not be characterized by complete semantic change) is also referred to by Hurst (2008:189-190) who includes Kießling and Mous’ (2004:324) description of “semantic transformations”.

To understand the context in which these “semantic twists” or transformations take place it is important to understand the languages and language varieties involved. Mesthrie and Hurst (2013) note that in urban areas of South Africa a variety of spoken languages are referred to as:

Tsotsitaal, isiCamtho, Flaaitaal, Gamtaal and Regas. Some scholars have referred to these languages as slang (Schuring 1983; Mfusi 1992) while Ntshangase (1995) and Makhudu (1995) define them as “new languages”. On the other hand Slabbert and Myers-Scotton (1997: 325) refer to them as “manifestation of code-switching, which have fossilized” this means these varieties are constructed from speakers making use of a variety of languages spoken within the specific area in their daily conversational repertoires, which may include a manipulation of traditional semantics.

However Makhudu (1980: 398-9) further argues that these varieties have been discussed as possible outgrowths of an original Pigin-like variety and as restricted varieties (see Childs, 1992; Holm, 1989: 350). Ntshangase (1995) and Schuring (1983) mention that some of these languages have been categorized as secret languages. To explain this they refer to *Shalambombo* which they identify as a secrete language spoken only by prisoners. In contemporary Tsotsitaal the word *nombolo* which used to refer to ‘a number’ in Zulu has now gained a broader meaning as it also refers to *Shalambombo* and Tsotsitaal for some native speakers (see Hurst 2008 for a discussion on the origins of Tsotsitaal in *Shalambombo*). A sample of this language in sentence form would be: *Hosh ndod’engumfowethu undinikezani?* ‘Yes my brother how are you doing?’ In this question the Zulu word *nikeza* has shifted its meaning from ‘give’ to loosely ‘be doing’ [as in ‘how are you?’. Similarly someone might speak in the way exemplified in the following sentence, changing the traditional meaning of *shaya* from ‘hit’ to ‘want’: *Ek se may laythi ndiz’shaya ngoringa nawe, krei jy?* ‘Yes small boy I want to talk to you, do you get me?’ The literal translation for the above phrase can be unpacked in the following way:

Ek se = I see [loaned from Afrikaans and adapted its phonology to fit with that of *Shalambombo* to mean ‘yes/ hey’]

May = my [loaned from English]

Laythi = *laaitie* [loaned from Afrikaans *laaitie* and adapted its phonology to fit with that of *Shalambombo*]

Ndizishaya = I want to [from a Zulu/ isiCamtho phrase *ngiyishaya* ‘I want’ with the reflexive Object Concord *-zi-*]

Ngoringa = To ring [loaned from English and adapted its phonology to fit with that of *Shalambombo* to mean *ngoringa* which figuratively means ‘I will talk’, using the Zulu first person subject concord *ngi-* and the contracted future tense morpheme *-o-* = *ngi-o-ringa*]

Nawe = with you [Xhosa/ Zulu]

Krei jy = you take [loaned from Afrikaans *kry jy* and adopted its phonology to suit *Shalambombo* to mean ‘do you get me/ did you get that?’]

Janson (1984) and Msimang (1987) refer to urban varieties as the new Lingua Franca of townships, and as informal varieties of established languages. These informal varieties tend to replace the home language of a speaker (Rudwick, 2005) and any semantic shift traditional native words have undergone in these languages will be adopted by the speakers who might sometimes forget the original meaning of the word. This forgetting of original meanings might also occur with borrowed words – so for example semantic shift is evident with an English word like ‘blind’ which does not mean ‘unable to see’ by tsotsitaal speakers but rather as ‘very much’, e.g. *Ngiyakufrostana blind* ‘I love you very much’ with the verb ‘*frostana*’ from the Afrikaans ‘*verstaan*’ also having undergone semantic shift from meaning ‘understand’ to ‘love.’

As Simango (2021:35) clarifies the position of these languages and argues that “because speakers draw linguistic material from different sources, a perception is created among some scholars that these varieties have no structure to them” but he concludes that in fact youth languages draw on the Matrix Language “that provides the necessary template on which the sentences, irrespective of their degree of informality, are formed.” Thus, even if semantic shift is taking place within the lexicon, the Matrix Language still allows for these new meanings to be realized using the grammar of Xhosa or Zulu or whatever the African language is. This again points to the fact that the lexicon is more innovative (and subject to semantic shift) than the grammar and as Simango (Ibid:23) points out “youth languages are known to contain obscure lexical items: some familiar words take on **unexpected meanings** and novel words regularly pop up” (my emphasis).

According to the above literature urban language varieties have a significant impact on native languages, affecting the rate at which loanwords are adopted and absorbed into the lexicon of both the slang variety and as synonyms for the standard form and indeed, sometimes on the way in which the semantics of words are transformed. Ultimately this process will have an influence on what is considered the norm: in this province (Western Cape) generational differences in establishing variation in understandings of Xhosa words may suggest that significant semantic shift is underway in the language. Mesthrie (2021:111) asks the important question as to “whether an urban variety, with its fluidities, can become a primary language, ousting older standard or classical forms?” Mesthrie (Ibid.) finally concludes that:

urban varieties have long become the vernaculars of young people in the cities of South Africa. How much of this is a more or less identifiable offshoot of an older form of an African language, with switching and mixing within a repertoire that favours translanguaging with English, only time and close local linguistic analyses will tell.

Zungu (1995: 39) points out that when one discusses the influence of urban language varieties they need to consider the speaker’s age, gender and the influence of social media platforms in urban language choices. This would again suggest that uptake of an urban variety with its new lexicon and sometimes new semantics, is age and area dependent and it is for that reason that I am undertaking the present study: to establish the extent to which age and area have a bearing on the comprehension of lexical items that have undergone semantic shift for some speakers. As my age groups were not equal in size I can only infer tendencies when discussing age, whereas with area, because my rural and urban sample were the same size I am able to make some clear pronouncements as to the likely link between semantic shift and demographic area.

2.7 *Semantic shift and the teaching of Xhosa*

Teaching Xhosa as a first-language

At school Xhosa teachers often act as guardians of the language, exhorting learners not to contaminate standard Xhosa with non-standard language varieties when writing texts and even during conversations (see Corson, 1994: 21 in Sigcau, 1998: 37). Corson (1994 in Sigcau, 1998) believes that teachers have power over children’s life choices, which makes them the best

people to encourage learners to use standard languages by showing them how and why the standard will be the most useful for them in their lives. Furthermore if teachers make use of non-standard words, or words with non-standard meanings, during language lessons such words and new meanings are easily passed to learners that they teach. Language teachers are the best people to influence the maintenance of the standard language in school, but can at the same time be those who most instil fear and dislike of the language. To support this Sigcau (1998: 42) states that:

Speech has wider latitude than the written standard language that we use in order to communicate in school. Emphasis on language purity with regard to usage, may be counterproductive.

It often happens that the language which the child is expected to learn in the mother tongue classroom is in fact not the language which is used in the home (see Malimabe,1990:29). According to Calteaux (1996:148) vernacular classes are often mixed, this means not everyone in a vernacular class speaks the same home language and this multilingualism can lead to semantic shift if a speaker of Zulu, for example the word *geza* to mean ‘wash’ and the speaker of Xhosa who knows the same word to mean ‘be naughty’ could then add the meaning of ‘wash’ to their understanding of this word, which would result in semantic broadening. The same with *phuza* which in Xhosa means ‘kiss’ but in Zulu means ‘drink’ – a child hearing the word used with both meanings might assume that this word can be used to refer both to kissing and drinking. This situation creates considerable difficulties for teachers, often forcing them to deviate from the use of standard language for the duration of the lesson, as many of the pupils need clarification of issues in a language which they can understand. Kgomoeswana, (1993:14) points out; however that code switching often occurs more for the benefit of the teacher than for that of the pupils. This means the “Black Urban Vernacular” (BUV) will be used in urban schools to cater for classroom variation, including the teacher’s own available language repertoires.

Calteaux (1996: 161) mentions that the language used most often in casual conversations between friends and acquaintances is the BUV, and not a standard language. The result is that the standard language which the child is expected to learn as a first language at school is often

foreign to them. This in turn results in them using foreign words and phrases or even new semantics when asked to produce written or oral work in the standard language.

Relating to the above information as a language teacher, it is my experience that in urban areas learners inherit new meaning of terms from their parents and teachers. They often rely on newer words and phrases or fresh semantic understandings of words rather than standard meanings when having conversations and even during language lessons. For example children in urban areas use the term *ukuqhotsa* ‘to fry’ to mean ‘punish (instead of the standard *ukohlwaya*). That newly semantically expanded term *ukuqhotsa* together with the borrowed *ukupanisha* might eventually result in people forgetting the original term *ukohlwaya* altogether. This gives a clear demonstration that semantic shift is underway for Xhosa language as the new generation utilizes new meanings and new words.

Language teachers in urban areas do not view utilization of new meanings and non-standard terms during language lessons as problematic, since they believe that learners in urban areas are distinct from those in rural areas. They adjust their teaching style to suit the so called “urban language classroom” forgetting that by so doing certain information is getting lost. Sigcau (1998: 37) states that during a Xhosa workshop that was held in the Western Cape the subject advisor stressed that teachers should refrain from entertaining the use of non-standard terms in class as that would lead to language death. While losing words is never optimal, language death does not result from a robust lexicon that adapts and changes (as English did) with the times. Language death happens when people no longer speak their mother-tongue – and if young learners feel that their mother-tongue is not as easy or as accessible or as useful as English these might be more concrete reasons for language death.

Xhosa speakers in the Western Cape are influenced by a number of different linguistic repertoires – English, Afrikaans, rural Xhosa and other languages of South and Southern Africa. Interestingly, Thipa (1989:26 as cited in Calteaux, 1996:54) argues that urban Xhosa tends to borrow more from English and Afrikaans than rural Xhosa. He goes on to say that rural Xhosa tends to be very conservative and can be taken to be characteristic of speakers who have been least exposed to western influences and experiences. Relatively uneducated Xhosa speakers

can be taken to be representative of rural Xhosa. In other words, the choice of words may reveal one's educational background. However there is a contradiction: the so-called “less educated” rural speakers of Xhosa actually have a greater and richer understanding of the lexicon of the language, since they generally know both the standard meaning of a word, and the new meaning which they learn from friends and relatives when they come home for ritual celebrations and holidays. This means that unlike in urban areas where children rely on new semantics as the only information, in the Eastern Cape semantic shift broadens for Xhosa speakers as they imitate urban speech while still maintaining their understandings of standard meanings.

From the above discussion it is clear that in urban areas the teaching and learning of Xhosa contributes to semantic shift as learners are allowed by both teachers and parents to make use of new meanings even during formal language instruction with the belief that they are distinct to what they refer to as “urban language speakers”. In rural areas the teaching and learning of language subjects seems to be standard as the above discussion shows less evidence of non-standard language being applied in schools and even at home. Xhosa speakers in rural areas make use of new semantics on occasions like sports events and during relationship conversations, but at formal occasions they are able to use the standard language. My study has shown however that even in rural areas, speakers are being exposed to new semantics by people who spend a significant part of the year in urban areas for schooling or work and come back to the rural areas for cultural events, family rituals and duties and long holidays. It is important to note that semantic shift does not only occur in non-standard language use. Indeed semantic shift is viewed as a productive strategy for the creation of subject specific terms, and these new meanings are taken up by the standard language. For example, Ndhlovu (2014:339) discussing semantic shift as a strategy for the development of health specific terminology for Ndebele argues that “Some of the words are so common in the language that all Ndebele translators are in agreement in terms of their use”.

While a non-standard variety might hinder the progress of Xhosa learners in the classroom situation it is important that educationalists see their way around to acknowledge the challenge of a rapidly changing lexicon. Thus although non-standard terminology acquired by children from their young parents may affect the way in which they speak and understand their language,

it also impacts their performance in language subjects at school (see Nomlomo, 1993, Sigcau, 1998: 40).

Teaching and learning Xhosa as a second-language

Language learning does not take place only in the classroom, but also wherever people are (see Baai, 1992: 67). Second language speakers are sometimes taught only the standard form of the language, resulting in learners not being able to understand the non-standard varieties which they might have frequent access to as young people socializing and being active on social media. Canale and Swain (1980) argue that teaching and learning of second language does not refer only to knowledge of morphology, phonology, syntax and semantics but also sociolinguistic competence which involves the ability to produce and understand utterances appropriate to the context.

To support this Baai (1992: 62) states that Xhosa language consist of many ways of responding to someone asking *kunjani* 'how are you'. Below is an example from Baai (1992: 62) demonstrating how *kunjani* can be used during a conversation – Andrew only understands “*sihamba nazo*” in the greeting context after it is explained to him

Andrew: Molo Mxolisi (Hello Mxolisi)

Mxolisi: Ewe molo Andrew (Yes hello Andrew)

Andrew: Kunjani Mxolisi (How are you?)

Mxolisi: Ewe sihamba nazo kunjani kuwe (Yes we carry them along. And how are you?)

Andrew: (Looking surprised) intoni? (What?)

Mxolisi: No I mean we carry problems along so I'm fine

Based on the above example Baai (1992) believes that second language learners (SL) are taught in standard Xhosa, which is not often utilized by Xhosa speakers during conversations. This means learners are only equipped with knowledge of grammar than of language use in social context. Taljard (2012: 389) shares the same belief by arguing that Northern Sotho teaching is mainly based on grammatical description than real language usage and communicative value.

Perhaps the reason behind the change in the daily communication of Xhosa speakers might be perpetuated by semantic shift of Xhosa language; hence it is important for second-language learners to be taught communicative activities which are likely to be used, and occur naturally, outside the classroom.

Language for specific purposes dictionaries for Xhosa language

Contemporary Xhosa speakers, specifically the youth, often make use of new words and new semantics when having conversations. Should these new words and meanings be recorded in dictionaries? A thorough investigation of Xhosa dictionaries has revealed to me that not all new meanings are included, and not all new words are glossed. Glaser (2000:97) argues that there is a place for language for specific purpose dictionaries and “that informal, colloquial, jargon and slang words have a justified place in Language for Specific Purposes dictionaries”.

This means slang terminology in these dictionaries allows the dictionary user to gain a realistic picture of a special domain and the way in which meaning is negotiated in such a domain. My question is “Would such dictionaries for specific purposes benefit from an inclusion of the new semantics of the words in this MA study since they are not from non-standard language varieties or slang, but are from standard Xhosa?” My feeling is yes, every meaning associated with a given word, if that meaning has stood the test of time, should be entered into a dictionary to assist both speakers and learners of the language in understanding a word’s meanings, in all of its contexts and with all of its semantic implications. This is even more important for organizations who plan to work with communities for a wide range of differing purposes – workers in these organizations who wish to become fluent in Xhosa for their work will also have to be aware of several meanings for a word if they are to understand all the Xhosa speakers with whom they work. With regard to the “test of time” that I just mentioned, I understand of course that new meanings cannot just be added to dictionaries without thorough research. For example when adding new meanings to English dictionaries editors read extensively, always on the lookout for new meanings and in addition they have access to a wide range of online

materials including cartoons, social media and scientific articles⁹. With languages like Xhosa that do not have such a huge online presence as English the editor will have to rely on any online source available, but boost this research with oral transcriptions wherever available and focussed studies such as this one.

We cannot deny that Language for Specific Purposes (LSP) is gradually evolving for the Xhosa language and according to Glaser (2000) the development of LSP requires lexicographers to collect, systemize and explain words as they are used, and to constantly monitor the development and use of new words and new meanings and assess whether these innovations should be entered into a dictionary. In doing this however should they identify new meanings for standard words? My feeling is yes. If there is a LSP dictionary specifically created for those working with Sexual Health for example, the current “slang” terms would greatly assist researchers in the field to connect with the people they most want to help. Lexicographers would need to be aware however, that new meanings for words and the introduction of slang terms, are not always stable and as Glaser (2000:97) cautions an LSP lexicographer to “bear in mind that informal and slang words may be short lived and be ousted by other colourful vocabulary”.

Based on the above argument semantic shift in Xhosa language needs to be addressed and the emergence of new meanings for this language must be observed and monitored so as to update dictionaries, texts, teaching methodologies and LSP word-lists if a new meaning has gained traction over time so that the language remains robust, relevant and apposite for a society that is undergoing huge social and cultural changes.

2.8 *How does age influence language choices in urban areas?*

The impact of age on language choices is important as it will help us track the age in which semantic shift occurs and the onset of differing comprehensions of indigenous Xhosa concepts. The idea that age has a direct relation to semantic shift is supported by Zungu (1995: 42) who argues that the age of the speaker often determines the language choices they make. This theory

⁹ See <https://www.merriam-webster.com/words-at-play/how-does-a-word-get-into-the-dictionary#:~:text=A%20word%20gets%20into%20a,be%20added%20to%20the%20dictionary.>

needs to be examined closely as it can happen in some townships in Cape Town that you might find old people speaking in the language that you would identify as that of youngsters.

Zungu (1995: 42) reveals that amongst Tsotsitaal, slang, vernacular and standard forms, old and young males enjoy using abusive language couched in Tsotsitaal especially when they are provoked. Brookes (2021:89) provides an important voice of caution and warns against doing research based on “metalinguistic stereotypes” and argues that speakers’ “choices can only be understood in their contexts of use: the social and linguistic backgrounds of the speakers” (Ibid:90). This has important implications for my study and underscores why it was necessary for me to garner background detail with regard to my informants (including gender, age, time spent in rural/urban area, education, language attitudes) and refer to that background detail when doing my analyses. Unfortunately I was not able to get equal numbers of participants for the separate age cohorts so although the data I have been able to collect does suggest some tendencies with regard to semantic choice and its connection with the age of the speaker, a further study in which equal numbers of participants per age group would have to be conducted in order to verify my initial findings.

Since it has been established that young men particularly are engaged in “twisting” the semantics of the standard lexicon it is important that we try to ascertain at exactly at what age this engagement is most robust. Calteaux (1994: 157) states that young men aged approximately 21 and below speak Tsotsitaal in their gatherings with the belief that it makes them unique and sets them apart from rural men of their age. Calteaux (1994: 157) further mentions that after the age of 22, young township men begin to speak standard languages as they do not spend a lot of time on the streets, moreover these men are believed to engage with their studies, work and new families at this age (see Calteaux, 1994: 157). I would contest the validity of Calteaux’s age restriction: it might apply to a few individuals in Khayelitsha’s townships but I have definitely witnessed men above the age of 22 still engaging in street life in its various forms such as weekend events with friends or enjoying a party life style where they would still utilize Tsotsitaal using words innovatively and playing with the meanings of words. In addition, even older men make use of this urban variety as they hang out with youngsters with the belief that being in the township means engaging yourself with the energy and youthfulness

of township vibes. So in this case as much as certain individuals would refrain from using Tsotsitaal due to the above mentioned reasons the majority of men still use Tsotsitaal whenever they need to.

As stated by Zungu (1995: 43) in townships a new word (and that implies an old word with a new meaning) will be used by both old and young people, and a number of these new words are shared via social platforms or transportation modes. This means that whenever the new lexical item emerges it would trend virally on social media platforms or modes of public transport and would be utilized by both old and young people. An example of this would be the abbreviation SBWL that emerged from the Xhosa term *andisabaweli*, which simply means 'I am craving' (Literally: I am no longer craving). This abbreviation went viral on social media platforms and transportation modes as it was used by both old and young people for various purposes. A sentence example for this is: SBWL *imali chomy* 'I need money my friend' which in standard Xhosa would be *Andisayibaweli imali mhlobo wam*. Another example would be the use of the word *dololo* 'nothing' which has no direct equivalent in standard Xhosa and which would be: *andinayo/ ayikho* 'I don't have it/it is not there'. From my personal view as a young, Xhosa-speaking urban male, the emergence of abbreviations (and words not found in any dictionary) contribute to semantic shift as speakers tend to use them more often than standard words with the same meanings, particularly when writing on social media platforms.

Discussing the use of slang, Holmes (1992: 183) mentions that a slang type used by a person reflects their age: this scholar believes that contemporary urban slang is understood only by young people. She mentions that "current slang is the prerogative of young people and generally sounds odd in the mouth of an older person" (see Holmes 1992:183). In the case of Khayelitsha townships Tsotsitaal is spoken by a variety of individuals, and in my opinion as someone who is frequently in the area, listening to the speech of the people who live there, this includes older people as they believe that adopting a new word, or the newer meaning of a word, makes them stylish and cool. Despite the above opinion Zungu (1995: 43) advocates that a person's age can be estimated through the type of slang words which they use, and argues that some items of this isiCamtho lexicon actually sound old-fashioned to young people while some terms are only used by adolescents (see Zungu, 1995: 43). For example, I heard the following phrase uttered

by a man in a group of four (all of whom being over the age of 50) “*Uyayazi mtakwethu* I got your back” while the same sentiment when expressed by younger men would be couched in what might seem as even derogatory language “I got you nigger *lam*” ‘I will always support you, my friend.’ It is acceptable in the townships for young men to call each other ‘nigger’ however the consequences of using the term outside of that very confined space and context can be serious¹⁰.

However, we cannot categorically say that an older person would not use such contemporary styles of slang speech. From my own observations as a resident of Khayelitsha and as a young African man, I would contest the assumption that in townships slang words differ with age: as long as a person is comfortable with the word they would use it even if it is generally considered to be part of a variety of language spoken by adolescents.

Considering the above views regarding the inconclusive evidence on the extent to which age predicts language choices in urban areas, it is clear that a number of people who live in townships prefer speaking urban language varieties (regardless of their age and sex), specifically Tsotsitaal and isiCamtho, or their Xhosa which is heavily influenced by the Tsotsitaal lexicon. This makes it difficult to track the age at which semantic shift occurs in urban areas and makes it imperative for more focused research to be conducted on this demographic detail.

2.9 *What impact does gender have on language choices in urban areas?*

This section concerns the effects of urban male and female speech choices. In this regard Zungu (1995: 39) believes that topics discussed by men in most cases differ from those discussed by women. This is perpetuated by their different gender (see Zungu 1995: 39) corroborated by Holmes (1992: 349) who believes that female topics are influenced by context and patterns of socialization.

¹⁰See: <https://www.politicsweb.co.za/documents/soas-the-many-complaints-against-adam-habib>

However Zungu (1995: 40) concludes that men are more assertive than women in their conversations, and in addition she argues that a large amount of time is spent by women discussing the capabilities and incapacities of their partners and when so doing, they enjoy using slang terms which is exemplified by Calteaux's observation that:

Some women use nicknames such as lunch boy, yinkukhu yami (he is my chicken), etc. to refer to their boyfriends. A boyfriend is called a lunch boy because he pays for his girlfriend's lunch or yinkukhu yami because she plucks all the feathers - meaning money - from the boyfriend. (Calteaux, 1994:161 cited in Zungu, 1995:27)

In terms of language and gender Zungu (1995: 41) states that women speak standard language in official settings while men adhere to vernacular forms. Holmes (1992: 175) has a similar view arguing that men like to carry their traditional non-standard values even where the standard value is regarded as a rule. This means males tend to rely on non-standard varieties while females stick to the standard form of their first languages.

In the light of the above information it is clear that the gender that relies on non-standard varieties is predominantly male although men believe that standard language should be used when contextually necessary.

2.10 Semantic shift and youth and genderized languages

In discussing Nouchi (based on Francais Populaire, the variety of French that is spoken in urban areas of the Ivory Coast), Kießling and Mous (2004:4¹¹), discuss how young people in Abidjan often change the meaning of French words. They give the example of *bateau* shifting from meaning 'boat' to 'train' as "typical of playful (conscious) manipulation of language" (Ibid). Kießling and Mous (2004:9) also give an example of semantic shift in borrowed words in South Africa and focus on isiCamtho, with the English word 'chemical' being abbreviated to *ikhemi* in the isiCamtho phrase "*Ikhemi liyahila nje*" (The medicine only heals) with the meaning of

¹¹¹¹ I used the article as it was offered free for download via this weblink:
https://d1wqtxts1xzle7.cloudfront.net/40953465/UyLAnthropLing-with-cover-page-v2.pdf?Expires=1647699255&Signature=BnxKcU0QwVpAEQX-psAg0kfu000~AfGa2TXK0sdkBhOV9-2gvho86pVxmu0sSpE8SokreBMSGmBNLdggQ1CwSJ4yFgziCzfmB1CJ-rmO6P9KJf0shITsS5nSDzUU09HSb16Y4K4V5vtNXLo-0HREi5ndh5fl-jEgImyLpUN39Bs6TNwixWGtRLMmkRh7lGb7MT0LLxMbcY6K1WGGQv8awbnF4MLkhBHFY612KnZTYT-X2LYShVy1ZJnt2wNS9mTMiuSQtqB0X1GQZSvh0bq80fRV9O6dRS7akv3~ll-V2ia-JqfXVNIJQcifYM9hr-0lrYVTF7uEyf-PRyi-fXQ__&Key-Pair-Id=APKAJLOHF5GGSLRBV4ZA

the word ‘chemical’ shifting to that of ‘medicine’. The authors argues that youth languages in Africa often contain “unusual semantic shifts that reflect a jocular and ridiculing attitude and run counter to the conceptual habits and perspectives of the majority” (Ibid:28).

Makalela (2013) analysed 20 dialogue samples collected from second-year university students from five townships and discovered that participants in his study had expanded linguistic codes which had been:

enhanced by common substrate systems in the Nguni and Sotho languages, lexical borrowings, semantic shifts and morphological derivations from Afrikaans and English as source languages. (Ibid:111)

As discussed previously, one of the earliest scenes of semantic shift was in the hlonipha vocabulary of married Xhosa women. In a later study, Finlayson (1995:148-149) continues her discussion of semantic shift in Xhosa *hlonipha* (respect) vocabulary and gives as examples words like *uhlaza* being used for ‘milk’ and postulates that it is possibly from the relative stem *-luhlaza* meaning ‘green’ or ‘fresh’ and *iphoba* being the hlonipha word for ‘head’ (standard Xhosa: *intloko*) since *iphoba* means ‘that part of the head with hair’.

2.11 Scholars views on standard and non-standard language

Hudson (1980: 33) alludes to the fact that a standard language is a language that has shown features or characteristics that have undergone substantial codification in terms of grammar and usage. This means that standard language has to undergo socio-linguistic processes of language acceptance. On the other hand Edwards (1979: 76) believes that standard language is the speech variety of a language community which is officially legitimized for all sorts of communication within that speech community. The selected language for standardization tends to be dominant within any given society (refer to Edwards, 1979:76 for further discussion).

With regards to non-standard language varieties Sigcau (1998: 18) believes that non-standard languages differ from standard ones in their specialized functional roles and manner of acquisition. Mansour (1993: 85) argues along a similar vein by mentioning that non-standard

languages are utilized as first-languages at home and during informal conversations, with the belief that the standard language is only required in its formal state at schools or during adult literacy lessons.

Teubert and Čermáková (2004:125-126) point out that what is considered slang or non-standard today, might later end up as the standard term:

Shifts in the meaning often start off in slang: today's slang use of *wicked* means 'good', while the 'proper' meaning is quite the opposite. The meaning of the word *tart* as 'woman of loose morals' has become so dominant that bakeries and cafes sometimes see themselves pressed to use new (and no doubt more elegant) names like *gateau* and *torte*. Another example is the *cold caller* (most neologisms appear to be collocations of some sort or other), who is not a caller in the cold, but someone who is paid for calling people they do not know to try to sell things to them. This new usage is now beginning to be registered in the dictionaries.

The above literature reveals that what we understand to be a “standard language” is the language that gains dominance in influential contexts within the community (i.e. education, government, business). This language therefore acquires linguistic acceptance and is understood to be the preferred language of communication within the community, while non-standard language refers to language used during informal conversations at home or with peers. This literature is significant as it provides a better understanding of language at large and how altered semantics in lexical items can become part of non-standard as well as standard-language varieties.

2.12 Conclusion

It is clear from the above discussion that a word that has undergone semantic shift is not necessarily a non-standard form, particularly when one considers terminology development. In other words semantic shift does not always create a tension between standard and non-standard forms, it often takes place within one variety, e.g. the standard variety, and it accepted that within this standard variety of the language a word can have two or even more meanings. This

is evident in the word *uvimba* which is glossed in *The Greater Dictionary of Xhosa (Vol.3)* (1989:503) as:

- 1 store-hut in which the food of the home is kept, eg maize, millet, beans etc; only the head of the household and his wife have access to it;
- 2 treasury, exchequer
- 3 a person with wide and deep knowledge

Meaning (2) above is clearly a later innovation and one that terminology developers would have grafted on to its original meaning since the notion of storing valuable goods is pertinent to the meaning of both the treasury and to a place where important food stuffs are kept safe.

Although there is a dearth of literature with regard to non-standard varieties of Xhosa, from my observations and through my reading on the topic, I would argue that non-standard language refers to informal language used in informal conversations by different groups of people who nevertheless are all expected to be familiar with the standard language. An element that contributes to non-standard forms is the semantic shift of standard lexical items: this literature has unpacked the causal mechanisms of semantic shift and the way in which this shift is manifested in the language. I have also exposed the challenges related to semantic shift in terms of comprehension, i.e. when speakers who are supposed to share a common language are confronted by words used in different ways and with different meanings to the standard forms.

CHAPTER THREE - METHODOLOGY

3.1 An initial informal pilot study

As mentioned in the introduction, my interest in this research grew over a number of years after arriving in the Western Cape from the Eastern Cape (where I was born and raised). The bewildering use of lexical items to mean something completely different to what I was accustomed to continued to nag me, and an idea for research slowly took root in my mind and eventually came to fruition when I had the opportunity to study for my MA degree in African Languages and Literatures at the University of Cape Town. By this stage I knew that there was nothing published in the area of Xhosa semantics (either in popular or academic manuscripts) that could explain to me the difference in meanings of particular lexical items uttered daily by Xhosa-speakers. So while I did discover that certainly in terms of terminology development semantic shift is a natural device for creating terms for words that did not originally exist in Xhosa (Moropa, 2004) I could not find a published dictionary that explained the non-standard semantics of certain words that I was hearing every day. I also could not find any academic articles or theses published specifically on this aspect of Xhosa semantics. In other words, when I sought to establish whether perhaps there were contemporary meanings to Xhosa words and whether these meanings had been entered into dictionaries, I could find nothing. The words I looked up in authoritative texts only appeared with their standard definitions that I knew already.

It was for this reason that I decided to focus my MA research on how urban Xhosa speakers (Western Cape, Khayelitsha) make use of selected Xhosa words in their daily conversations and to take the very same words and find out what meanings people gave these lexical items in the rural areas (Eastern Cape, Tsomo).

My research methodology therefore in reality started as far back as 2015 when I started observing this language difference when I first arrived in Cape Town. I would often hear Xhosa speakers in Khayelitsha on public transport, at the sports field, at taverns and even in schools making use of non-standard meanings for words that I believed had a fixed meaning. I would make a note of the words with their new “urban meanings” and test them out with Xhosa-

speakers in the rural areas when I went back there. This initial “pilot” study revealed that often the meaning assigned to a word by a rural speaker of Xhosa was completely different to that used by an urban Xhosa speaker, and that sometimes the rural speaker did not know the new urban meaning of the lexical item.

My attention was then drawn to the possibility that there were some causal mechanisms that could explain the differences in the semantics of these words, and I wondered whether I could account for what had happened in a more scientific way, other than just saying “it has a different meaning” when used in the rural area as opposed to in an urban area. This hunch took me to texts on semantics generally and semantic change specifically, a field that I had hitherto not been aware of. These texts enlightened me to the existence of typologies of semantic change (Ullman, 1962 and Blank 1999) and reasons that trigger such change (Blank, 1999). I shared this idea with my supervisor who encouraged me to construct this study with the belief that it would contribute in some small way to our larger understanding of semantic shift in Xhosa.

3.2 *Methodologies employed for this study*

In doing this research I employed both qualitative and quantitative methodologies as this study included questionnaires consisting of closed-answer questions (in order to gain detailed demographic data including age, gender, education and area of residence) and questions that were more open ended and included topics that focussed on language attitudes. I wanted to research what factors I could find in common with regard to semantic shift using the demographic data and language attitude feedback that I was able to get from the participants. After the questionnaire, participants were presented with a list of 15 words that I had identified as undergoing semantic shift during my pilot study. Participants were asked to use each of the 15 words in sentences that would seem natural to them. The Questionnaire with the List of 15 Words for Use in Sentences were typed out and issued to research participants during the June holidays of 2021.

The fact that I had already made some initial observations as to who used the word in which way in my six year observation period strengthens the qualitative side of my research methodology. Qualitative research generally occurs over a period of time (in my case six years)

as the researcher will spend time in the research field (in my case Khayelitsha and Tsomo over six years). This method is characterized by observation (which I did at every available opportunity, writing down notes and observations) and other data collection strategies (see De Vos et al, 2005:271), such as documentary analysis and developing a structured list of 15 words for use in sentences which I did later once I had embarked on the formal MA research. This method provides various field experiences to the researcher, and also helps to describe the behavior of research participants (De Vos et al, 2005:271).

Considering the above explanation, this chapter focuses on a detailed description of the methodologies employed in my data collection with research participants. As a point of departure, in this chapter I will discuss research design and rationale of the research methods used. Lastly various instruments and methods used in data collection and data analysis will be discussed to pave the way for data presentation and a discussion of the findings.

3.3 Research design rationale

I adopted a descriptive/correlational research design to describe trends in how urban and rural Xhosa speakers assign meanings to words (using a sample of 15 words) to see if there are any links and relationships between variables (Lappe, 2000). In my case I needed to design instruments that would encourage participants in both rural and urban areas to use specific words in ways that were most natural to them. I also needed to design a questionnaire that would be able to provide demographic detail of participants that could then be linked to their choice of word meaning, understanding that I could not establish direct causal relationships between variables. The demographic detail was nevertheless important in order to establish whether there were any variables that predisposed a speaker to use a word in a specific way or not.

In my research design I also had to design an additional section to the interview questions that would encourage participants to actually use the words I had chosen in sentences that would seem natural to them. Because their semantic choices in these sentences could now be linked to demographic detail I could make an association particularly linking geographic area with the choice of word since I was able to find an equal number of rural and urban Xhosa speakers.

Since there were not equal numbers of participants in the age, attitude and gender variables I could only refer to these as possible links.

Thus although this study employed mainly qualitative design in terms of data collection and analysis, some quantitative measures were adopted in data analysis to obtain numerical values as well as to compare and analyze different variables that are reported as the results of the study. For this research I have made the use of a table to compare the use of new and standard Xhosa meanings by Xhosa speakers from Khayelitsha and Tsomo. Even though these tables have been described qualitatively, the numerical values of scores fall within quantitative data analysis.

3.3 Hypothesis

It has been hypothesized in this study that there has been a substantial shift in the meanings of a number of Xhosa words in the language's total lexicon which could in future impact the status of currently accepted lexical authorities on the language, as the new meanings could gain more popularity than the standard meanings that are published in written Xhosa dictionaries and are used by authors and text-book writers. It is for this reason that I selected the 15 words that I had noticed in my own linguistic environment as being radically different with regard to their semantics from the standard that I was taught at school and at home. A further hypothesis is that what prompts people to assign new meanings to words can be explained to a large extent by innovation, generally linked to younger members of the population, and generally situated within urban contexts. Innovation is often regarded as a key aspect to semantic change and is linked to the desire for successful communication - "the pragmatic view of language implies that speakers want to communicate successfully and that they produce innovations any time they judge it to be the most successful strategy" (Blank and Koch, 1999:63).

3.4 How I chose the words for this study

Although my feeling was that there has been significant semantic shift in the day-to-day lexicon of urban speakers of Xhosa, I understood that I could not go through the entire Xhosa dictionary, testing speakers' understandings of each word. I also knew I had to select words that were not spoken just by people who would identify as Tsotsitaal speakers, but also by

ordinary people in usual situations. So I made a point of noting down lexical items that to me were used with the non-dictionary meanings, that would be repeated by speakers (including middle-aged and elderly speakers) in various Cape Town townships and in a number of ordinary contexts (at friends' houses, at the sport's field, in pubs, in the street, at shops and taxi ranks). I only included a word in my list if I had heard it more than five times, in different environments. I excluded any borrowed words that had changed meanings as I wanted to focus on semantic shift in Xhosa words. For ease of analysis I also limited my collection to nouns and verbs. I then decided to test these selected words on a cohort of 100 participants (50 urban, 50 rural).

Dictionary definitions of 15 Xhosa terms selected for this study

Although the scholars discussed in my literature review presented relevant information with regards to semantic shift in South African languages, they have not discussed in any detail the semantic shift of my 15 selected Xhosa terms. Below are the 15 Xhosa words which are under scrutiny in this study, with their Standard English definitions and alternative glosses, as they occur in *The Greater Dictionary of Xhosa* [GDX] (which will be cited according to the volumes)¹². Note the abbreviation Mpse refers to the Mpondomise dialect.

Table 8: Definition of words researched in study

Word	First English definition in GDX	Other definitions in GDX
<i>ingqina</i>	witness, one who testifies	a hunt extending over a day or two in which a party of hunters participates
<i>igongqo</i>	NO DEFINITION IN GDX ¹³	
<i>qhekeza</i>	Split, divide, cleave; fracture, break into pieces, e.g. a cup, bread, stone, etc.	Break (a piece) off a whole Cause cracks; Cause a split, division Attack a person severley so as to cause head wounds or to fracture bones Of a person or animal: cut or break through Break into (a building) as a burglar does Take (people's possessions) by fraudulent means Expose, unmask (a person); Change money into smaller denominations

¹² For full dictionary glosses see Appendix Aa.

¹³ There is no gloss for *igongqo* in *The Greater Dictionary of Xhosa, A-J*, 2006:603, but there is a cross-reference to *isigogo* page 597) A definition of *igongqo* as 'container' can be found at <https://glosbe.com/xh/en/igongqo>

amaXhosa	Xhosa people, descendants of the original tribe as it existed under Chief Tshiwo	Members of the wider family of Xhosa-speaking peoples – amaXhosa the nation Xhosa-speaking peoples collectively
jola	Orig: taste food to prove that it is free of poison and then serve it to others;	today: taste food and then divide it among the people; share out the meat, other food or beer to the various groups of people at a festival or ceremony; this is done by the official steward, <i>injoli</i> ; distribute work and duties among others; Mpse: steal
canda	Divide asunder; cleave, split, chop	Survey; Pass through, to traverse a country
ncwela	Cut thin strips from meat, skin, paper, etc.	trim, whittle, shave timber, riems, whip, etc, to remove irregularities or to smoothe or round them; expunge, expurgate undesirable material from something written, eg from a book; bowdlerize; bribe, offer a bribe: offer a bribe my friend, otherwise your affairs will not succeed.
umntwana	Child, physically immature person;	Child, offspring of a parent; Bibl pl: abantwana: a nation, people: the children of Israel; Someone who is young in comparison with others or not yet old enough for a certain purpose; a mentally immature person; an inexperienced person
ibhokhwe	Goat	a person who is afraid of rain; Coward; Expert mountain climber; Expert football player < Springbok
basa	Kindle, make a fire	of the sun: be very hot; land one into trouble or cause one to be scolded, chided, reprimanded; to cause strife, dissension or, misunderstanding. land a blow, knock, hit, strike, attack, shoot or fire; to hit, strike, attack with a stick/stone/fist, etc., set at once, there and then; cheat, deceive, befool, hoodwink: Expedite matters, do something quickly and complete it in a short time; cut short
ngcola	Become dirty, filthy, unclean: stat: be dirty	usu stat: of a person, deeds or words: be obscene, wicked, callous, filthy, indecent, pronographic, smutty; usu stat: <i>-ngcolile</i> : of a person or his deeds: be wicked, treacherous, fiendish, malevolent, malicious, deliberately harmful to others, which may be by practising witchcraft; of the weather: become overcast, cloudy: stat: be cloudy, overcast of the weather; become dusk; of dusk: to fall
intonga	stick	NONE
ingwenya	crocodile	person noted for his power, courage and giftedness; legendary aquatic reptile believed to have the power to attract one favoured by the ancestors into the river, in order for that person to be initiated as a diviner;stone crusher
ufele/ifele	skin	A person's facial appearance; A dangerous deceiver, see also under <i>ingcuka</i>
inyathelo	step	Pace; Way in which a person approaches life's situations; A mode of behaviour.

3.5 Data collection tools

Questionnaires and an activity asking participants to use each of the 15 words in a sentence were used for this study as the methods for data collection. I chose these methods because of the following advantages: Tshangana (1997: 58, as quoted in Sigcau, 1998: 69) mentions that information can be more easily gathered by questionnaires than using other methods of data collection. The activity part of the questionnaire in which participants were required to use each of the 15 words in a sentence allowed me to link their responses to the questionnaire and their choice of meaning for each word. Prior to this formal data collection process I had conducted informal observations that included voice recordings. The data from these observations allowed me to make informed choices when selecting words whose semantic content I wanted to research.

3.6 Geographical areas in which research was conducted

The data was collected in two provinces of South Africa, namely:

1. Western Cape (Khayelitsha township).
2. Eastern Cape (Tsono village).

I chose the above mentioned areas for the following reasons: the Western Cape Province is still, in effect, under a migrant labor system of Xhosa speakers from the Eastern Cape (see Francis, 2021) therefore multilingualism seems to exist on a large scale in this province, which could result in the shift in the meaning of some Xhosa words as people face different world-views and different circumstances. I link multilingualism with semantic shift because with multilingualism comes the openness of the multilingual speaker to different ways of expressing the same things. As Caskey-Sirmons and Hickerson's 1977 study with monolingual and English-bilingual speakers of Korean, Japanese, Hindi, Cantonese, and Mandarin Chinese and their use of colour categories, bilinguals' categories were consistently more variable. I take Fetzer's (2011: 25) description of meaning as "not a product and given, but rather dynamic, multifaceted and negotiated in context" – and if that context is multilingual then surely the speaker is more open to meanings that are fluid and novel? The Eastern Cape is mainly

occupied by native Xhosa speakers (who it could be assumed would be less influenced by speakers of other languages) who are less bilingual than their urban counterparts and who it could be assumed, would be less likely to be influenced by urban realities and the presence of other languages such as English and Afrikaans. Moving to a new geographical area in South Africa, can lead to sociocultural changes, which will then have an impact on a language's vocabulary. As Blank (1999:72) argues in his seminal discussion on motivations for lexical semantic change:

Changes in our conception of the world can also lead to the transformation of an already existing complex conceptual system by ... **shifting concepts** or introducing new ones. (my emphasis)

3.7 Data collection procedure

Distribution of questionnaires

Each province was allocated 50 questionnaires (that included the activity that required participants to make sentences with each of the 15 words) for research participants to respond to. This research was conducted during the mid-year holidays of the year 2021. Some questionnaires were issued via Facebook and WhatsApp social media platforms, while others were issued direct to research participants. This was done as a way of giving participants enough time to answer the questionnaires. These questionnaires were written in both English and Xhosa to accommodate participants' language preference for reading texts. A covering letter to participants where the aims of the study and ethical consideration were stipulated was issued together with the questionnaires which were also written in both Xhosa and English.

Field workers

I made use of two Xhosa-speaking field workers in Cape Town, three in the Eastern Cape. All field-workers were in their 20s. The CapeTown field-workers were both male, in the Eastern Cape there was one male and two females. I briefed the field-workers before the study, making it clear to them that participants' answers should not be tampered with, and that they should impress upon participants the fact that there were no right or wrong answers.

Before research assistants started the research I first introduced them to my research and gave them sufficient academic and administrative background on the study to make them feel comfortable answering potential questions from participants. Their job was to issue the questionnaires door-to-door and via Facebook and WhatsApp. Participants were given five days to complete the questionnaires. In Cape Town I personally interviewed seven elderly participants individually, face-to-face, and nine in the same manner in the Eastern Cape. As they answered I filled in the forms for them, entering only the information that they gave me.

Demographic and other Information elicited by Questionnaires

The questionnaires elicited the following information from participants:

1. Biographical information.
2. Ethnic sub-group.
3. The use of Xhosa within your community.
4. Attitudes towards Xhosa as a first language.
5. Xhosa dialect.

List of 15 words for use in sentences

Participants were given five days to complete the questionnaires, including making a sentence with each of the 15 words. Those elderly participants who needed assistance were interviewed personally by me. Apart from writing down their answers I also recorded their answers and later transcribed them.

3.8 Data analysis procedure

3.8.1 Data analysis - link between participants' demographic profiles and semantic choice

Analysis of semantic choice by participants

In this section of the data analysis I analysed and tabulated the different meanings participants assigned to each word, as was made evident by the sentences they offered to illustrate the

meaning of the words. This provided me with an efficient way to establish the popularity or not of a non-standard meaning.

Profiling of participants linking profile type to semantic choice

Here I grouped participants into 13 distinct profiles according to common demographic and attitude factors. From this data I was able to draw some conclusions as to which demographic profiles were the most prone to use semantic innovation with the selected 15 words. The profiles are listed below:

1. The young urban male, tertiary education, negative/lukewarm attitude to Xhosa
2. The young urban male, no tertiary education, positive attitude to Xhosa
3. The older urban male, tertiary education, negative/ lukewarm attitude to Xhosa
4. The older urban male, no tertiary education, positive attitude to Xhosa
5. The young urban female, tertiary education, negative/lukewarm attitude to Xhosa
6. The young urban female, no tertiary education, positive attitude to Xhosa
7. The older urban female, no tertiary education, positive attitude to Xhosa
8. The young rural male, tertiary education, negative/lukewarm attitude to Xhosa
9. The young rural male, no tertiary education, positive attitude to Xhosa
10. The older rural male, tertiary education, negative/ lukewarm attitude to Xhosa
11. The older rural male, no tertiary education, positive attitude to Xhosa
12. The young rural female, tertiary education, negative/lukewarm attitude to Xhosa
13. The rural female, positive attitude to Xhosa

3.8.2 Data analysis focussing exclusively on the semantic processes of change in the 15 words

Analysis of the motivations for lexical semantic change with the 15 selected words

In this section I use Blank's (1999: 70-90) typology of the motivations for lexical semantic change as it focusses specifically on semantic innovation. The categories I use are:

1. **Motivation 1: new concept** (need for a new name)
2. **Motivation 2: distant referents** (conceptual domains whose referents are abstract or hard to see)
3. **Motivation 3: sociocultural change.** Blank (1999:72) argues that "changes in our conception of the world can also lead to the transformation of an already existing complex conceptual system by the loss of one or more concepts, by shifting concepts or by introducing new ones."

4. **Motivation 4: close conceptual or factual relation.** Blank (Ibid:74) says “When we speak, it can happen that we use a word in a sense that is different from its usual one. Normally our interlocutor understands what we mean because the context may help and because the word we have chosen usually refers to a concept that is somehow closely linked to the concept we have made it refer to”.
5. **Motivation 5: emotionally marked concepts** – these include concepts like sex and death.

Analysis of the semantic processes affecting lexical semantic change with the 15 selected words

In this section I will refer to a number of different processes that are widely used to explain lexical semantic change. These are distinct from the motivations detailed above as they describe the actual processes involved in semantic shift. The semantic processes I will focus on when examining the 15 words under scrutiny in this study are:

1. broadening
2. amelioration
3. pejoration
4. narrowing
5. metonymy
6. metaphor
7. bleaching

Some of the processes overlap each other, for example a word can have had its meaning broadened because of metonymy or metaphor.

3.9 Conclusion

The methodologies employed in this study can be summarized by listing them according to six distinct phases:

- a pilot observation period during which I collected a number of Xhosa words which were repeatedly used by first-language speakers of Xhosa in ways that did not conform to the standard meanings of these words;
- the development of methodological tools (Questionnaires and a List of Words for participants to use as they saw fit in sentences) to investigate the prevalence of the non-standard meanings with Xhosa-speakers in both rural and urban areas;

- the creation of a table of words and the meanings chosen by speakers in order to gauge the popularity of a particular meaning for a word;
- the creation of speaker profiles in order to link semantic choice with demographic data;
- the selection of categories of motivation for semantic lexical change to use when reviewing the words selected;
- the selection of semantic processes to use when analysing the actual mechanisms at play in explaining the shifting semantics of the selected word.

CHAPTER FOUR - DATA ANALYSIS

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I discuss and analyse my research findings. I do this in terms of a focus on the participants – grouping them according to profiles – to try to ascertain whether any link can be made between a particular participant profile type (e.g. young, male and urban) and semantic choice.

After the focus on participants, I go on to discuss the meanings assigned to the words and how these meanings can be explained in terms of motivations for the semantic shift and also the actual semantic processes that have produced the new meanings (e.g. semantic broadening and narrowing including metonymy, metaphor, amelioration, pejoration).

4.2 Findings: what are the participants doing?

Participant Demographic Profile and relation to word meaning choice

In this section I analyse participants' responses according to the 13 demographic profile categories described in Chapter 3. Unfortunately I was not able to get equal numbers of participants for each profile, so these profiles should be viewed as merely giving us some general ideas as to the link between certain demographic attributes and semantic choice for a word. I decided on 36 upwards as representing the older age group since at this age most people have taken on the responsibilities of marriage, children and employment and therefore have to use language in more formal settings than when they were young, unattached and often unemployed. Participants had indicated whether they had tertiary educational qualifications or not and also what their attitudes towards Xhosa were so these are included in the profiles.

Urban males

4.1.1 The young urban male, tertiary education, negative/lukewarm attitude to Xhosa

The majority of participants who fell into this demographic profile consistently used the non-standard meaning of the given word. For example 100% of participants in this demographic profile (a total of 7 participants fell into this profile group) gave the meaning of INGQINA as “friend”, and all participants in this profile also gave the meaning of IGONGQO as “cultural beer”. With regard to the word AMAXHOSA all participants in this profile gave the meaning of this word as “rural areas/ birth place or place of origin”. 100 % of participants in this profile gave the meaning of UKUJOLA as “to be in a relationship” while 86 % of them used the word UKUCANDA to mean “to eat/ to have sex”. 70% of participants in this profile consistently used the non-standard meaning of the word UKUNCWELA which was “to abuse” while 58% referred to UMNTWANA as “a girlfriend”. 42% referred to IBHOKHWE as “a boyfriend/ annoying boyfriend” while 43% used the word UKUBASA to mean “to have sex”. With the word UKUNGCOLA 14% used the meaning “to be heroic” while 40% used the word INDUKU to mean “a penis”. 70% used the word INGWENYA to mean “a well-known thug” while none of them made use of the non-standard meaning of the word IFELE which is ‘slut’. Lastly 14% relied on the non-standard meaning for the word INYATHELO which is ‘shoe’. 100 % of participants who belong to this profile were born, raised and attended school in Cape Town Khayelitsha, they only visit Eastern Cape during school holidays.

4.1.2 The young urban male, no tertiary education, positive attitude to Xhosa

The majority of participants (13 participants) fitting this profile also generally used the words with their non-standard meanings. Looking at the words, 54% used INGQINA to mean “friend” while 62% referred to IGONGQO as “cultural beer”. With regard to the word AMAXHOSA 77% used the non-standard meaning “rural areas/ birth place or place of origin” and 85% referred to UKUJOLA as “to be in a relationship with someone”. 92% used UKUCANDA to mean “to eat or to have sex” and 84% used UKUNCWELA as “to abuse”. 38% referred to UMNTWANA as “a girlfriend” and 23% used IBHOKHWE to mean “a boyfriend/ annoying boyfriend”. With regards to the word UKUBASA 15% used the non-standard meaning “to have sex” and 31% referred to UKUNGCOLA as “to be heroic”. 23% used INDUKU to mean “penis” while 92% referred to INGWENYA as “a well-known thug”.

61% used IFELE to mean “a slut” and 23% used INYATHELO to mean “a shoe”. In conclusion it is important to note that 54% of participants who fell in this profile group were born, raised and attended school in Eastern Cape but came to live in Khayelitsha in order to access better employment opportunities. They now only go to Eastern Cape when they are on leave from their working environments.

4.1.3 The older urban male, tertiary educated, negative/ lukewarm attitude to Xhosa.

The five participants fitting this older profile also were not exempt from using words with their non-standard meanings. For example, 80% referred to AMAXHOSA as “rural areas/ birth place or place of origin”. The words INGQINA to mean “a friend” and IGONGQO to mean “cultural beer” and UKUJOLA to mean “to be in a relationship with someone” were all used by 40% of participants in this profile. Only 20% used UKUCANDA with one of its non-standard meanings “to eat” but none of them made use of non-standard meanings for UKUNCWELA, UMNTWANA, IBHOKHWE, UKUBASA, UKUNGCOLA, INDUKU, INGWENYA, IFELE and INYATHELO. They all used the standard Xhosa meanings for the above mentioned words. All participants who belong to this profile were born, raised and attended school in Eastern Cape and visited Cape Town to further their studies. They spend most of their time in urban areas as workers and only visit Eastern Cape during school holidays or when on leave from work.

4.1.4 The older urban male, no tertiary education, positive attitude to Xhosa

In this profile most participants (there were a total of 6 participants fitting this profile) made use of standard Xhosa meanings except for 17% who made use of non-standard meanings for the words INGQINA which was used to mean “a friend” and IGONGQO which they understood to mean “cultural beer”. In this profile 17% were born, raised and attended school in Cape Town, Gugulethu while the rest were from the Eastern Cape and had only visited Cape Town to search for greener pastures.

Total number of urban male participants = 31

Urban males: discussion of the responses given by participants in the profiles above

This demographic, particularly the younger males, tended to use the non-standard meanings of words. Education did not seem to be linked to semantic choice – there was no clear correlation between the two. Positive attitudes to the language did not stop younger participants using non-standard forms and older participants with negative attitudes using standard forms. So it would seem that if you are young and male then you are more likely to use words with their non-standard meanings. At the same time it cannot be said that age is an entirely reliable predictor of speakers giving words new meanings, or using words with non-standard meanings, as in this study there were also elderly people who tended to use non-standard meanings. An overall conclusion would be that urban males seem to rely more on non-standard meanings of words regardless of their attitudes to Xhosa language or their level of education. One might view education as non-influential in semantic choice as there was no direct link between the educational level of participants and their using words with standard or non-standard meanings. Xhosa-speaking men who live in urban areas tend to see themselves as distinct from people who live in rural areas, and there appears to be a link between viewing oneself as “urban” and using Xhosa words with their non-standard meanings.

Urban females

4.1.5 The young urban female, tertiary education, negative/lukewarm attitude to Xhosa

The majority of participants in this profile group (with a total of 7 participants) used the standard meanings for the 15 words, except for INGQINA where 83% used it to mean “a friend” and IGONGQO that was used to mean “cultural beer” by 67%. 100% referred to AMAXHOSA as “rural areas/ birth place or place of origin” and 100% used UKUJOLA to mean “to be in a relationship with someone”. The words that are not discussed in this profile were used in their standard forms by the participants who belong to this profile. 50% of participants were born, raised and attended school in Western Cape and the rest were from the Eastern Cape but they spend most of their time in Western Cape for different purposes.

4.1.6 The young urban female, no tertiary education, positive attitude to Xhosa

The three participants who fitted this profile mostly made use of standard meanings for words except for the following words which were used by all participants with their non-standard meanings: INGQINA which was used to mean “a friend” by 83% of participants in this, IGONGQO that was referred to as “cultural beer” by 67%, AMAXHOSA which was used to mean “rural areas/ birth place or a place of origin” and UKUJOLA that was referred to as “to be in a relationship with someone” by 100% of participants in this profile. 33% were born in the Eastern Cape and attended school there, but now spend most of their time in Cape Town.

4.1.7 The older urban female, no tertiary education, positive attitude to Xhosa

9 participants fitted this profile. 100% used IGONGQO as “cultural beer” and AMAXHOSA to mean “rural areas/ birth place or a place of origin”. 70% referred to UKUJOLA as “to be in a relationship with someone”. INGQINA was used to mean “a friend” by 40%. All of the participants in this profile group had been raised and attended school in Eastern Cape but now spend most of their time in Cape Town.

Total number of urban female participants = 19

Urban females: discussion of the responses given by participants in the profiles above

Urban females would appear to more likely to use the standard meanings of words than their male counterparts. Age was a predictor of a less-standard choice of meaning for a word, although even older females used some non-standard meanings. Attitudes to Xhosa language and education did not seem to influence semantic choice for this profile as both female (positive and negative attitude to the language) made use of standard meanings regardless of whether they were educated or not. Looking at both profiles (urban male and female) it is clear that in urban areas males seem to make use of semantic innovation more often than females.

Rural males

4.1.8 The young rural male, tertiary education, negative/lukewarm attitude to Xhosa

This profile consists of 10 participants who used standard meanings for most the words investigated by this study even though they seemed to be negative in terms of their language attitude, except for 50% who referred to INGQINA as ‘a friend’ and 70% who used UKUJOLA to mean ‘to be in a relationship with someone’. All of the participants fitting this profile were born raised and attended school in Eastern Cape and they spend most of their time there and only visit urban areas during school holidays and occasions such as a graduation ceremony or funerals of relatives.

4.1.9 The young rural male, no tertiary education, positive attitude to Xhosa

Six participants fit this profile and mainly used standard meanings of words. 33% used non-standard meaning for INGQINA as they referred to it as ‘a friend’ and 50% used UKUJOLA as ‘to be in a relationship with someone’. All participants fitting to this profile were born, raised and attended school in Eastern Cape and half of them had once visited urban areas but spend most of their time in the Eastern Cape.

4.1.10 The older rural male, tertiary education, negative/ lukewarm attitude to Xhosa

For this profile there were four participants. 50% of them used the word UKUJOLA to mean ‘to be in a relationship with someone’ and the rest of the words investigated by this study were used in their standard forms. Although all of the participants in this profile were born, raised and attended school in Eastern Cape, three of them had attended university in the Western Cape.

4.1.11 The older rural male, no tertiary education, positive attitude to Xhosa

Five participants who were born raised and attended school in the Eastern Cape fitted this profile. 60% of them had never been to an urban area, while the 40% of them who had been exposed to an urban lifestyle used non-standard meanings for INGQINA, UKUJOLA and AMAXHOSA.

Total number of rural male participants= 25

Rural males: discussion of the responses given by participants in the profiles above

Most male participants who spent most of their time in the rural areas made use of standard meanings except for certain individuals who had been exposed to an urban lifestyle. Education and attitudes to Xhosa did not seem to influence the way in which speakers assigned meaning to a word. On the other hand age was a predictor of speakers abandoning, or not knowing, standard meanings, since participants who used non-standard meanings were below 35 years of age. This could suggest that using words with their non-standard meanings has traction with younger people in rural areas and amongst them those who have been exposed to an urban lifestyle. Older rural males made use of standard meanings except for those who were exposed to an urban lifestyle, so for this profile it is clear that even if a rural male experienced an urban lifestyle only for a limited period of time this exposure would most likely be influenced to use words with their non-standard meanings if such meanings existed.

Rural females

4.1.12 The young rural female, tertiary education, negative/lukewarm attitude to Xhosa

This profile consists of 8 participants who made use of the standard meaning for most of the words. The exception was that 75% used the word UKUJOLA to mean ‘to be in a relationship with someone’ as well as the word AMAXHOSA to mean ‘rural areas/ birth or area of origin’. Other than that they used the standard dictionary meanings for other words researched in this study. All participants in this profile group had attended school in the Eastern Cape, and 7 had also completed their tertiary education there - only one of the women in this profile group had attended a university in the Western Cape.

4.1.13 The older rural female, positive attitude to Xhosa

For this profile there were 17 participants who all showed a positive attitude towards Xhosa hence they were not separated according to their age groups or educational qualifications. Only 29% used a non-standard meaning, and that was only for UKUJOLA which they used in the sense of ‘to be in a relationship with someone’. For other all the other words investigated by this study they consistently used standard meanings. All participants in this profile group grew up in the Eastern Cape and attended school there. 70% usually visit urban area during school

holidays and for vacation purposes or family related issues but mostly they spend their time in Eastern Cape.

Total number of rural female participants = 25

Rural females: discussion of the responses given by participants in the profiles above

For this profile exposure to urban lifestyle plays a major role in the use of non-standard meaning. Despite the fact that they had positive attitudes to Xhosa there were certain individuals who made use of non-standard meanings. In actual fact, as presented above, rural female more consistently used standard meanings than rural male. Education did not emerge as a predictor for how people in this group would assign meaning to a word. Time spent in urban areas did, however, appear to influence even women who spend most of their time in rural areas to use non-standard meanings, and these women themselves are now introducing new meanings of words to rural speakers.

Conclusion

The above profiles provide summaries on how Xhosa-speakers assigned meaning to 15 Xhosa words, using data that was collected from both urban and rural first-language Xhosa speakers. This data was only collected from Xhosa home language speakers as this study researched Xhosa words only. Based on the information given by the participants above, attitudes, age and education did not influence semantic choice for urban male participants a number of urban male participants used non-standard meanings regardless of their attitude to Xhosa, age or level of education. We can predict that an urban lifestyle may have influenced speakers to make use of non-standard meanings as it has been mentioned earlier by this study that once a Xhosa-speaker identifies him or herself as being urban, or even even if the don't identify as such but have spent time in areas where people have adopted an urban lifestyle, there is a tendency for them to want to be distinct from rural speakers. Female speakers of Xhosa seem less likely to want to identify as urban and thus their use of non-standard meanings is far less than with males.

In rural areas participants generally used the standard meanings for words, the only variable that seemed to influence semantic choice for male participants was age, as mostly male speakers

(whether urban or rural) below 35 years made use of non-standard meanings. I have not been able to identify the exact age group at which semantic shift occurs with **urban** Xhosa-speakers (since there were middle-aged and elderly speakers who also used non-standard meanings) but with rural speakers this variable was significant as many speakers who relied on non-standard meanings were in the 18-35 age group.

Time spent in urban areas also influenced the use of non-standard meanings for both rural females and male participants, as those who had spent time in urban areas seemed to use non-standard meanings in rural areas, regardless of their age, education and attitudes to Xhosa. According to this information we can conclude that there is a link between urban areas and non-standard meanings, but the question that then needs to be answered is: are non-standard meanings in Xhosa being innovated by urban males, and if so, is it only young males, or does merely the fact of being urban determine this tendency to change the meaning of words?

4.3 Findings: a rural/urban divide?

From the table below the following statistics were extrapolated: speakers of Xhosa who live in rural areas gave the dictionary meaning of a word only 6% more frequently than urban speakers, but used the word with its non-dictionary meaning only 8% of the time, significantly less than speakers in urban areas who used the non-dictionary meaning of words 37% of the time. So speakers in urban areas used the non-dictionary meaning of the selected 15 words 29% more than those who live in rural areas.

Table 9: Responses to the selected words¹⁴ by rural and urban participants **N=100**

Word	Number of participants who used dictionary meaning of word	AREA FOR PARTICIPANTS WHO USED DICTIONARY MEANING	Participants who used alternative, non-dictionary meanings	AREA FOR PARTICIPANTS WHO USED THE NON-STANDARD MEANING
ingqina	15 – all used with meaning “witness”	6 were from an urban area, 9 from a rural area.	85- all used with meaning “friend”	70 were from an urban area, 15 from a rural area.
igongqo	20 – all used with meaning “a drum”	7 were from an urban area, 13 from a rural area.	80 – all used with meaning “umqombothi cultural beer”	75 were from an urban area, 5 from a rural area.
amaXhosa	30- all used with meaning “Xhosa speaking people collectively”	27 were from an urban area while 3 were from a rural area.	70 – all used with meaning “rural areas/birth-place	60 were from an urban area, 10 were from a rural area.
ukujola	40 – all used with meaning “to share the meat”	10 were from an urban area, 30 were from a rural area.	60 – all used with meaning “to be in a	45 were from an urban area, 15 were from a rural area.

¹⁴ Note the word *qhekeza* is not entered as all respondents used it with the standard dictionary meaning.

			relationship with someone”	
ukucanda	55 – all used with meaning “to chop”	22 were from an urban area while 33 were from a rural area.	45 – all used with meanings “to eat” or “to have sex”	37 were from an urban area, 8 were from a rural area.
ukuncwela	78 – all used with meaning “to cut thin strips”	28 were from an urban area, 50 were from a rural area.	22 – all used with meaning “to abuse”	17 were from an urban area, 5 from a rural area.
umntwana	80 – all used with meaning “a child”	40 were from an urban area and 40 from a rural area.	20 – all used with meaning “a girlfriend”	15 were from an urban area and 5 from a rural area.
ibhokhwe	30 – all used with meanings “a coward” or “a person who is afraid of rain”	18 were from an urban area and 12 from a rural area.	70 – all used with meanings “a [annoying] boyfriend”	60 were from an urban area, 10 from a rural area.
ukubasa	85 – all used with meaning “make a fire with dry maize stalks”	41 were from an urban area and 44 from a rural area.	15 – all used with meanings “to have sex”	10 were from an urban area, 5 from a rural area.
ukungcola	90 – all used in stative with meaning “wicked”	50 were from an urban area and 40 from a rural area.	10 – all used with meaning “to be heroic”	7 were from an urban area, 3 from a rural area.
induku	88 - all used with meaning “a stick”	38 were from an urban area while 50 were from rural areas	12 - all used with meaning “a penis”	9 were from an urban area, 3 from a rural area.
ingwenya	30 - all used with meaning “legendary aquatic reptile”	7 were from an urban area and 23 from a rural area.	70 - all used with meaning “a well-known thug”	60 were from an urban area and 10 from a rural area.
ifele	80 - all used with meaning “skin”	40 were from an urban area and 40 from a rural area.	20 - all used with meaning “a slut”	12 were from an urban area, 8 from a rural area.
inyathelo	45 - all used with meaning “step”	10 were from an urban area and 35 from a rural area.	55 - all used with meaning “a shoe”	40 were from an urban area and 15 from a rural area.

4.4 Findings: what are the words doing?

4.4.1 Blank’s motivations relating to lexical semantic change in the 15 selected words

In this section I first discuss the new meanings of the selected lexical items using Blank’s (1999) motivations for lexical semantic change and then follow that discussion with an analysis of the actual semantic processes affecting their lexical semantic change. I focus on semantic broadening (including amelioration and pejoration) and narrowing, metonymy and metaphor and bleaching.

Analysis of the motivations for lexical semantic change with the selected words

Using Blank’s (1999: 70-90) typology of the motivations for lexical semantic change I analysed the way in which participants in this study assigned meanings to the selected terms.

Motivation 1: the new concept

The word *ukujola* - originally meaning ‘share meat’ now gaining the meaning of ‘date someone’. This new meaning for *ukujola* would appear to have been motivated by the fact that people did not really go out “on dates” in Xhosa culture and this particular kind of romantic behaviour is a fairly new concept to Xhosa speakers. What creates further confusion is that

jola could be a borrowed word from the Afrikaans word “jol”¹⁵ and have nothing to do with sharing meat. The fact that participants generally did not know the meaning of ‘share meat’ for *jola* would suggest that that word has fallen out of the vocabulary of speakers, not that the word has actually changed meaning. See also Motivation 3 – sociocultural change. The use of the word *ibhokhwe* to mean ‘annoying boyfriend’ could also have been motivated by the need for a very specific word that was not originally in the traditional Xhosa lexicon as men and women’s relationships were defined in terms of age, marital status and the various liminal stages of age rites such as *intonjane* (female coming of age) and *ulwaluko* (male circumcision).

Motivation 2: distant referents

Blank (1999:71) argues that this kind of motivation “concerns conceptual domains whose referents are either abstract or usually distant or hard to see and thus rather difficult for us to seize intellectually.” It can be argued that the notion of “rural areas” is not something that can be literally pointed to, nor is, for people in the Western Cape, an area that is closeby. At the same time rural areas are closely linked with being Xhosa, this is where many family rituals take place so to use *amaXhosa* (generally in the locative *emaXhoseni* “to/in/at the Xhosa people) for rural areas brings the concept of rural areas much closer to home, literally. Cocks et al. (2018:10) unpack the term *emaXhoseni* as having:

multiple levels of associations, meanings and attachments ... directed at different components of the village and surrounding natural landscape. The three main culturally significant landscape components are homesteads as locations of ancestral seats and as sites for ceremonial rites, grazing lands for maintaining culturally venerated cattle, and the forests as essential places for maintaining cultural identity.

According to my knowledge as a Xhosa speaker, rural areas of other ethnic groups are referred to just as *ezilalini* ‘in the villages’ of that place, so for example we would say *ezilalini zaseLimpopo* to refer to the rural areas of Limpopo and would not refer to the actual people who live there.

¹⁵ See *A Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles* (1996:334-335) for a full discussion of ‘jol’ including reference to the meaning of ‘to court; to make love’ (page 335).

Motivation 3: sociocultural change

Blank, (1999:72) argues “changes in our conception of the world can also lead to the transformation of an already existing complex conceptual system by the loss of one or more concepts, by shifting concepts or by introducing new ones.” I would suggest that changes in the urban (particularly male) Xhosa speaker’s world has motivated a change in terms of meanings assigned to words like *ukucanda* ‘to chop’ and *ukuncwela* ‘to cut thin strips’ and *ukujola* ‘to share out meat’ and even *ifele* ‘skin’. These traditional meanings, associated with communal activities like chopping wood for fires and sharing out meat at a ritual, and using the skin of animals for clothes or adornment may lose relevance for an urban Xhosa whose sociocultural world will have changed, and therefore the semantics of his or her lexicon are subject to change as well. These terms can then be re-employed to refer to activities, objects and persons who dominate the sociocultural life of the urban Xhosa speaker – words relating to casual sex, abuse and dating have to be found, and if the Xhosa lexicon has words that in some way have some of the attributes of these activities (one can see the connection between *canda* ‘chop’ and ‘eat’ for example, and *ncwela* ‘cut strips’ and ‘abuse’ and *ifele* ‘skin’ and ‘slut’).

To maintain its meaning of ‘crocodile/legendary aquatic animal’ the word *ingwenya* again would need a certain sociocultural context to survive. In urban society rivers do not feature as strongly in the lives of the average urban resident as they do for a person living in the rural areas, and reference to the *ingwenya* in folktales will also seldom be heard in areas where TVs, phones and computers are more dominant in people’s afterwork recreational activities. By way of contrast, critical in the new urban area is the need to assert one’s identity in the community, and to form new peer groups who admire and praise when needed and also show opprobrium to people who cross boundaries: thus *ingwenya* becomes a ‘well-known thug’ (as terrifying and feared as crocodiles used to be). It is interesting to note that most urban young people I have spoken to confuse *ingwenya* with *ukrebe* shark, asserting that indeed *ingwenya* means ‘shark’, again another semantic shift motivated by close conceptual relation (see Motivation 4 below).

Motivation 4: close conceptual or factual relation

Blank (1999:74) explains this relation as “When we speak, it can happen that we use a word in a sense that is different from its usual one. Normally our interlocutor understands what we mean because the context may help and because the word we have chosen usually refers to a concept that is somehow closely linked to the concept we have made it refer to”. A number of the words selected for this study would appear to have been motivated by a close conceptual or factual relation. For example although *ingqina* is ‘a witness’, someone who is your witness is normally someone who has been close to you physically, and that closeness can then be seen as being the closeness of friendship, thus its new meaning of ‘friend’ predominantly used by urban speakers of Xhosa. In the same way *igongqo* has the traditional meaning of a drum, but it is easy to see how it can refer to *umgqombothi* (‘Xhosa cultural beer’) as this kind of beer is normally served in a drum-like container. In the same way *inyathelo* normally refers to a ‘step’ but again one can easily see how this has a close factual relationship with *isihlangu* ‘shoe’ as both have to do with the foot.

Motivation 5: emotionally marked concepts

Some of the words I refer to under this motivation have also appeared under Motivation 3: sociocultural change but I believe both motivations are relevant for them. Emotionally marked concepts include taboo concepts like sex and death, and in the 15 words selected for this study would appear to apply to all the new meanings assigned to words not traditionally associated with sex:

ukubasa – to light a fire → to have sex

ukucanda – to chop wood → to have sex

ifele – skin → slut

induku – stick → penis

These words would all appear to be metaphors and as Fernández (2008:96) puts it “Given that metaphorization stands out as the most prolific linguistic device of lexical creativity, it is hardly surprising that speakers turn to figurative language as a means of coping with the realm of sex”.

Even the word *umntwana* normally used for ‘child’ becomes emotionally marked when it is used to refer to a ‘girlfriend’ as it contains possible unequal gender relationships in the sexual arena.

I would also argue that *ukungcola* which generally means ‘to become dirty’ is used as an emotionally marked concept when it is used to refer to someone who has acted ‘heroically’ as the word is marked by an intensity of feeling. It could also be motivated by a close conceptual relation as ‘making something dirty’ can be seen just as ‘making a mark’ which then can map onto generally ‘making a [heroic] mark’.

I would also suggest that *ibhokhwe* to refer to an ‘annoying boyfriend’ could be seen to have been motivated by the need by a woman to refer to a male’s more irritating habits via dysphemism, i.e. “by an offensive, explicitly face-threatening strategy” (Blank, 1999:81).

4.4.2 Analysis of the semantic processes affection lexical semantic change with the selected words

In this section I will refer to a number of different processes that are widely used to explain lexical semantic change. These are distinct from the motivations detailed above as they describe the actual processes involved in semantic shift. The processes I will focus on when examining the lexical items under scrutiny in this study are:

- *broadening (including amelioration and pejoration_*
- *narrowing*
- *metonymy and metaphor*
- *bleaching*

Semantic broadening in the selected lexical items

Using Fromkin et al.’s definition (2013:361) of semantic broadening “‘when the meaning of a word becomes broader, it means everything it used to mean and more” I argue that only five words in the study have undergone true semantic broadening, since their original meanings are still well known and used. The five words are: *ingqina* ‘witness’, *igongqo* ‘drum’ and *amaXhosa* ‘Xhosa people’, *umntwana* ‘child’ and *ibhokwe* ‘goat’. These words now have

added additional meanings: *ingqina* now is also used to mean ‘friend’, *igongqo* is now also used to mean ‘Xhosa cultural beer’ and *amaXhosa* in its locative form is now used to mean ‘rural areas of the Eastern Cape’. Some of these words will also be discussed under broadening via metaphor and metonymy.

Discussion

Broadening as a result of metonymy

It is clear that at least five of the terms researched show semantic broadening in the linguistic repertoires of the Xhosa speakers who took part in this research. Both *igqongqo* ‘drum’ and *amaXhosa* ‘Xhosa people’ can be said to have broadened due to metonymy. It could also be argued that using *inyathelo* ‘step’ to refer also to a ‘shoe’ is an example of semantic broadening via metonymy. Metonymy is defined by “using one entity to refer to another that is related to it” (Lakoff & Johnson, 2008: 35). The same authors elaborate that metonymy “has primarily a referential function, that is, it allows us to use one entity to stand for another” (Ibid:36). So using *amaXhosa* to refer to the place where Xhosa people originally come from, as is done when Xhosa speakers say *emaXhoseni* (to the Xhosa people) to refer to the Eastern Cape, is an example of metonymy since the lexical item used to describe an ethnic group is now being used to refer to the area that is traditionally considered the home of that group. I would argue that in the same way *igongqo* ‘drum’ is used to refer to traditional beer by way of metonymy – it stands for the beer because it is related to it being the container in which the beer is often stored.

Other types of semantic broadening in this study

For the other words, while speakers knew the original meanings, the way they used the words often deviated from this meaning to incorporate another (often creative) connotation – this demonstrating semantic broadening.

Metaphorization

Metaphorization is “conceptualizing one thing in terms of another” (Traugott, 2017:online, no page). *Induku* for ‘penis’ (used by 12% of participants in this study) is a good example of metaphorization. It could be argued that *ukucanda* ‘to chop’ which was used by 45% of participants in this study to mean ‘to have sex’ is also an example of metaphorization as is *ukubasa* which also refers to the sexual act and was used to mean that by 15% of participants. Although the word *canda* is not intrinsically violent (it is not immediately associated with war or fighting) it does contain some element of force and this would support Fernández’s (2008:104) argument that slang words for sex often include dysphemic undertones relating to “control and dominance”.

Amelioration

Semantic amelioration is when the meaning of a word gets more positive. In this study 10% of participants used *-ngcola* to mean ‘become heroic’ as in this sentence where *ngcola* in the stative *ngcolile* is used to indicate that the person had to get down and dirty in order to become a hero: in *Ungcolile uThabo uzileqe wazibamba yedwa izikoli ebeziyorobha ooMy friend*¹⁶ ‘Thabo is a hero, he single-handedly chased and caught the gangsters who were going to rob the Somalians’. This is an example of semantic amelioration where a word with a negative meaning (i.e. *ngcola* - become dirty) then takes on a positive connotation. Another lexical item in this study that would appear to have added another positive meaning to its semantics is *ingqina* ‘witness’ which was used by 85% of participants to mean ‘friend’. While ‘witness’ does not have a negative meaning, it is not as positive as ‘friend’ and thus the word could be argued to have undergone amelioration.

¹⁶ Somalian shop owners are known by Xhosa speakers as *ooMy Friend* because that is how they greet their customers.

Pejoration

Semantic pejoration is the opposite of amelioration – for example in English “silly” used to mean ‘happy, prosperous’ but now means ‘foolish’ (see O’Grady et al., 1996:345). In my study I found the neutral Xhosa word *ukuncwela* ‘to cut into strips’ was used by 22% of participants with the negative meaning of ‘to abuse’. So while the word still largely maintains its original meaning for some speakers it is already beginning to have negative connotations. In the same way *ingwenya* ‘crocodile’ was used by 70% of participants to mean ‘a well-known thug’ and *ifele* ‘skin’ was interpreted as ‘slut’ by 20% of participants. The word *ibhokhwe* ‘goat’ when used to refer to an ‘annoying boyfriend’ (which was the semantics afforded this word by 70% of participants in this study) is another example of pejoration.

Types of narrowing and semantic reduction in this study

Narrowing

None of the terms have significantly narrowed in meaning, apart from *jola* although because it has completely changed meaning for 60% of participants I would suggest that for these Xhosa speakers the word exhibits a total semantic shift – there is nothing of its original meanings that remain in its current useage for these participants.

Bleaching

The word *ingqina* ‘witness’ used by 85% of participants in this study to refer to a ‘friend’ is, I would argue, an example of semantic bleaching as there is a loss or reduction of meaning. In the same way that in English the word ‘thing’ used to refer to ‘an assembly or council’ but now refers to “anything”¹⁷ so too *ingqina* might continue to shift its semantics in this way, with the English borrowing *iwitness* being used for ‘witness’ and *ingqina* being used exclusively to refer to a ‘friend’. I would also argue that the word *amaXhosa* traditionally used as the name for the

¹⁷ <https://www.thoughtco.com/semantic-bleaching-word-meanings-1689028>

Xhosa people now used to refer in the locative exclusively *emaXhoseni* to the rural areas has meant there is some bleaching and reduction of meaning. It would suggest that most Xhosa speakers in this study, seeing the word *emaXhoseni* would think that it referred to the area, even if it actually referred to some movement towards or away from the Xhosa people.

4.5 Conclusion

The lexical items researched in this study provide a clear demonstration of how semantic shift generally occurs within indigenous languages, showing evidence of semantic broadening and even sometimes a complete change of meaning when used by native Xhosa speakers during their conversations. It could be argued that this study revealed little semantic narrowing, since apart from *jola* and *ncwela* most speakers were aware of the original meanings of the words. Semantic shift is mainly confined to Xhosa speakers in the 18 to 45 age range, who argued that they utilize these new meanings with the purpose of being distinct from other Xhosa speakers, with the intention of being “stylish” and “colloquial” to their interlocutors in the community. As much as semantic shift cannot be prevented, the standard meaning of terms should be preserved and maintained for the upcoming generation as culture is embedded in language, although even this notion needs to be contested. Kramersch warns us to remember that culture is performed and that we must keep in mind the:

Man-made nature of culture, its historicity, its disciplining power and its power to impose on social group definitions of what is taken-for-normal, the shared understanding of people and events. But at the same time, the performative shows that the very political forces that have constructed culture can also be used to deconstruct and reconstruct culture in different ways. Performativity can indeed be seen as transformativity (Kramersch, 2014: 44).

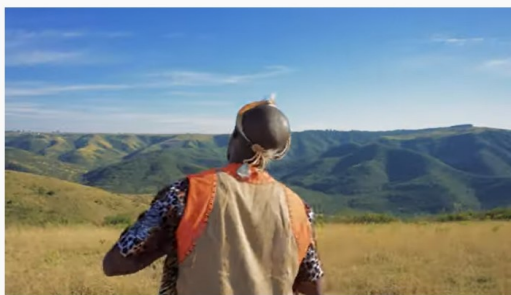
This “transformativity” can be seen in the new meanings that emerge in a language like Xhosa’s lexicon, which since democracy has changed as a result of political forces that have democratised our society while still being subservient to Western capital, language and culture. Hurst (2008) makes the connection between performance, style and language and used the term

“stylect” to the way in which young urban men who dress in a certain way, also use a specific urban lexicon.

No matter what political or cultural forces have stimulated semantic shift in Xhosa, these new meanings must still be captured and analysed, and if needs be, entered as alternative glosses in dictionaries and other word lists. What is crucial is that we do not ignore the new semantics of Xhosa, since as new contexts develop, as people continue to use language creatively so too will new meanings develop, as Traugott and Dasher (2001:45) argue “If a later stage of a language consistently uses a lexical item or construction with a meaning that was not associated with it at earlier times, then we can plausibly hypothesize that it was not available at the earlier time”.

While semantic broadening can also be witnessed in Xhosa borrowed words, an example being *ipeyi* (< pay) which now not only means ‘pay, wages, salary’ but also ‘old-age pension’ and even ‘pay day’, as I have shown in this study, this kind of broadening is not only confined to non-native lexical items. This was previously pointed out by Thipa (1989), as quoted in Calteaux (1996:138), who refers to the word *unozakuzaku* which previously referred only to a person who negotiated marriage between two families but then also was used with the meaning of ‘ambassador’.

I am convinced that this study and even the previous studies on semantic shift in Xhosa have barely skimmed the surface of this potentially rich field of research. It is my hope that further studies will draw on the insights from this research and that scholars of Xhosa lexical semantics will continue to work on increasing our body of knowledge of this field.



#Emaxhoseni #DJStax #RussellZuma
DJ Stax feat. Russell Zuma - Emaxhoseni (Official Music Video)

A screenshot of DJStax’s video for his song “EmaXhoseni” which repeats the line “Ndiya emaxhoseni” (I am going to the rural areas) a number of times.

CHAPTER FIVE – CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

As Newman (2015:266) has observed:

Semantic shift is most immediately associated with the change in meaning that can be observed at different historical stages of a language in the way one might trace semantic shifts of words from Middle English to Modern English. This is semantic shift on the grand stage of history. But semantic shift can also be understood in ways which make it manifest in very ordinary kinds of language activity as happens in our lived experience, without reference to the historical stages of a language spanning centuries.

In this chapter I hope to situate my findings within the broader framework of semantic change in both English and Xhosa as a result of urbanization and language contact: in other words focussing on “very ordinary kinds of language activity ... without reference to the historical stages of a language spanning centuries”. I will make reference to Newman’s “critical issues” that he sees as critical to understanding semantic shift being:

- (i) the flexibility of meaning, (ii) the construction of meaning as a dynamic, cognitive process, and (iii) the context of use. (Newman, 2015:267)

5.2 The flexibility of meaning

Newman (Ibid:267) argues that, contrary to what I initially thought when embarking on this thesis, it is important to view language “more as an ongoing, never-to-be completed work in progress, rather than as a static state of affairs”. My study finds sympathy in this description since words like *ingqina* ‘witness’ which was used by many of my participants to mean ‘friend’ and *umntwana* to mean ‘girlfriend’ shows that even with what I would previously considered extremely stable lexical items the meaning can still be flexible. He does, however, argue that sometimes we might need to see a change in meaning as “unimportant”:

just as mathematicians may sometimes need to round off fractions to whole numbers, so linguists need to ignore unimportant fluctuations in language over the period of time they choose for the synchronic state. (Ibid.)

Of course what is important is to do sufficient research to discover what kind of change is important in terms of the scale and ubiquity of its use, and thus what meanings should be studied by linguists and possibly entered into dictionaries. I argue that words like *igongqo* for ‘cultural beer’ and *amaXhosa* used in the locative *emaXhoseni* to mean ‘the Eastern Cape’ which received a high percentage of useage in this study across the urban/rural divide should possibly be considered as candidates for further study and eventual inclusion in dictionaries.

5.3 The construction of meaning as a dynamic, cognitive process

Newman (Ibid.) highlights the fact that “cognitive processes” are key to understanding semantic shift. He further argues that:

For many researchers working within these approaches, the semantic side of the traditional linguistic unit of the word has been re-conceptualized so that the word is no more than a “prompt” or “trigger” for what the intended meaning might be, leaving it to the listener/reader to construct the fully elaborated meaning. (Ibid: 268)

Lemmens (2015:92) refers to lexical items like “weekend”, “accidents” or “school night” and contends that even the concept of a “weekend” assumes the cultural knowledge that people normally party on the weekend and that other nights of the week might be considered “school nights” and that accidents refer to car accidents.

If I look at the words in my own research I see that definitely the word *igongqo* which used to refer to the meaning of a ‘drum’ or ‘drum-like container’ triggers the meaning of ‘cultural beer’ – a trigger that would not happen with most second-language learners of Xhosa, even those at an advanced level, as they would not have immediate access to the re-conceptualized meaning of *igongqo*.

5.4 *The context of use*

Newman (2015:268) argues for the continued study of words in relation to their contexts of use and quotes Firth (1954) who came up with the adage “you shall know a word by the company it keeps” (Ibid.) Carston (2015:202) gives the example of a 40-something year old married man called Boris who has three statements written about him: “Boris is a man/Boris is a child/Boris is a bachelor.” Carston shows how “man” in this context can just mean “typical man” and “child” as just someone who behaves like a child and “bachelor” in this context “includes married men who behave in certain ways” (Ibid.) Carston argues that in this context the word “bachelor” has a number of what she calls “implicatures”, being that Boris dislikes emotional commitment, domestic chores and likes going out to meet new women (Ibid.) In my study the words *umntwana* for ‘girlfriend’ and *ibhokwe* for ‘annoying boyfriend’ would likely need context for this process of unpacking of meaning and “implicature’ for their semantics to be fully understood. Newman stresses the fact that if we understand language not as being in a fixed but rather as continually flexible then “human cognitive processes will occupy centre stage in discussions of semantic shift, rather than the notion of an abstract stable system” and consequently

each use of a word is understood in its larger context, quite possibly a new context in which the word has not been used before, and the listener/reader will associate that word with a fuller meaning, depending on their prior language experience, the immediate linguistic context in which the word appears etc (Newman, 2015:268).

5.5 *Recommendations from the study*

Because language is so fluid and vocabulary is constantly being borrowed or reinterpreted by speakers, instead of creating terminology that is not rooted in the way people communicate or understand concepts, it might be a more productive task for scholars of Xhosa:

- To update dictionaries to include the new meanings that Xhosa native and borrowed words gain over time – for example dictionaries and word-lists could build in definitions

that refer to a slang use of a term without abandoning a detailed definition of the original word. Once research has shown that the original meaning of the term has been lost, and only the slang meaning or term remains, dictionaries can be updated to record that change. Thus since Xhosa speakers often do not use words with their standard meanings during their conversations, Xhosa dictionaries should be revisited and redressed as currently they fail to address new semantics. *The Greater Dictionary of Xhosa*, although considered the definitive reference text for Xhosa vocabulary, must be acknowledged as being somewhat dated (the first volume came out in 1989) and a product of its own time. Lexicographers should update this excellent resource as the Xhosa language has changed over time and it is important to capture new meanings so as to monitor the linguistic status of the language. As Bloomfield so insightfully observes “Since every practical situation is in reality unprecedented, the apt response of a good speaker may always border on semantic innovation” (1984 [1933]: 443).

- To develop helpful descriptive terms for mathematical, scientific and other technical processes and concepts that will actually aid cognitive development. If these terms need to be developed in a manner that takes into account the way the youth speak about these technical processes, that is important. My study has shown that new meanings are developed for everyday Xhosa words, and this assigning of new meanings cannot be ignored by terminology developers. For example, in a documented study, researchers developed a resource book aimed at explaining mathematical concepts in Xhosa for Xhosa-speaking maths teachers. While the teachers did sometimes use the book, they reported that sometimes the Xhosa in the book was too “deep”:

A number of the teachers felt that the Xhosa that was used in the resource book was at times difficult to understand. They felt that the translations were dominated by ‘deep’ Xhosa – sometimes also referred to as rural, old, traditional, or formal Xhosa as opposed to ‘township’ Xhosa – also referred to as everyday or modern Xhosa. According to the teachers, many of the learners expressed similar sentiments. (Schafer, 2010:513)

According to Wildsmith-Cromarty (2008) the development of scientific and mathematical concepts for indigenous languages can be problematic. For example, some Zulu translators coined:

the term *ibombo* to mean *angle* in mathematics. The noun class prefix *-i-* distinguishes this word from the same root word with a different noun class prefix, such as *umbombo* — *bridge of nose*, or *amabombo* — *face, direction*, or *ubombo* — *range of mountains*. Some translators argued that this was proof of the confusion caused by dictionaries in terms of semantic fields, and that translators could easily be led astray. (Wildsmith-Cromarty, 2008:158).

- To inform authors and publishers of creative texts for young readers of the need to be aware of semantic shift in key lexical items
- To monitor terminology development by emphasizing consistent update for indigenous languages to avoid language extinction or complete change.
- To advocate for the importance of indigenous languages to be upheld through written literature that is relevant and accessible to the youth which means that authors should bear in mind the extent to which the semantics of these languages have undergone rapid change.

5.6 Recommendations for further research

Based on this research I would recommend that detailed studies on contemporary Xhosa language semantics using a wide range of different corpora (including technical data, social media, government publications and radio transcripts) are conducted by skilled linguists. In this respect it is important to acknowledge that corpora that are made available to dictionary compilers “need to reflect over a time frame of at least a few decades” (Prinsloo, 2009: 187). In addition focused linguistic terminology development for South Africa’s indigenous African languages (see Finlayson and Madiba, 2002) that includes reference to the new semantics

entering the Xhosa lexicon is critical if young people are going to feel less alienated from their language.

5.7 *Limitations of the study*

Even though the findings answered the research questions, the study had limitations. These limitations include the sample size, lack of contemporary research articles on semantic shift in the Xhosa language and the lack of detailed analyses of Xhosa terminology and published Xhosa dictionaries.

The study was done in only two areas (Khayelitsha, Western Cape and Tsomo, Eastern Cape) which mean only a limited number of Xhosa language speakers were reached. These limitations were due to the pandemic of COVID-19, as well as the budget constraints which meant I was not able to reach other areas of Eastern Cape where the Xhosa language originates. Also problematic was that my final sample could not be equally divided according to age, education and language attitudes and so this study cannot scientifically link semantic choice with these variables but can only be used as possible predictors.

5.8 *Concluding remarks*

This study explored semantic shift in 15 Xhosa terms used by Xhosa speakers at Khayelitsha (Western Cape) and Tsomo (Eastern Cape). It sought to answer the questions How do both urban and rural Xhosa speakers ascribe meaning to the 15 selected Xhosa words? In what way do the semantic shifts in the 15 Xhosa words suggest that the phenomenon of semantic shift is not confined to urban varieties but might be gaining traction in rural areas?

The study established that generally Xhosa speakers living in the rural areas tended to use the standard meanings of words more frequently than Xhosa speakers living in urban areas. Older Xhosa speakers (45 to 70 age range) still use the standard meanings for the 15 terms, but younger speakers (18 to 45 age range) especially those in urban areas, deviate considerably from the standard semantics of some key lexical items, suggesting that semantic shift is under way, or that certain words are becoming more polysemous. This means that young Xhosa speakers might know the standard meaning, but that their use of the non-standard semantic

connotation is widespread. This might have implications for future generations who will grow up hearing, for example, the word *jola* only being used in the sense of ‘date’ and will not know that its original meaning was ‘share out pieces of meat’ which seems to be mostly utilized by rural people in the 46 to 70 age group. The factors that were indicated as causal mechanisms of semantic shift were youth (younger speakers used more innovative meanings) and living in an urban area.

So to answer my research question, is a rural/urban contrast developing in terms of the Xhosa lexicon: results from this study would suggest that it certainly is with certain lexical items becoming more polysemous to incorporate reference to new cultural and environmental factors that are more dominant in urban areas than in rural areas. However it is critical that we bear in mind that Xhosa speakers from the rural areas have extended family networks and this fact often necessitate travel to and around the country, particularly the Western Cape. Sometimes people from rural areas in the Eastern Cape visit family in the urban areas (and vice versa) for a number of months, and this means that they would hear words used with new meanings assigned to them and start to get used to these meanings – so if they originally knew *unomyayi* as ‘a crow’ but started to hear it being used to refer to a cellphone then that new meaning will be added to their own internal understanding of the word. If they are young speakers, this might be the first time they have heard the word *unomyayi* being used (to refer to a cellphone) and therefore they think that this is its only meaning. When they get home to the rural areas after spending time in the urban area, these speakers might start to use words with the new meanings they have heard and people that they then encounter at home will be exposed to these new meanings and choose to adopt them. In addition, social media, which both urban and rural youth engage with on their cellphones, will keep young and old people up-to-date with linguistic innovations and semantic shifts as they engage in online conversations with multilingual conversations with speakers exposed to lexical meanings of other languages which might influence their own semantics.

We must bear in mind that we cannot be sure that semantic shift has taken place unless we have tracked the frequency with which a word is used with its new meaning or meanings. Sometimes the new meaning of a word might occur because of new ways of celebrating major life events,

such as birthdays which is now communicated via the loanword *ukubhafa* which has exactly the same tones as the same word which is used for ‘take a bath’. So some speakers might use *ukuvasa* for ‘to take a bath’ to disambiguate, and thus the word *ukubhafa* undergoes semantic narrowing (to mean only ‘to wish someone happy birthday’) but we cannot be sure unless we know the frequency with which *ukuvasa* is used instead of *ukubhafa*. In order to obtain the kind of data that would allow us to know whether the change in meaning is substantial, lexicographers would need to consult a wide range of sources, map the length of time that the new meaning has been associated with the word, and assess whether, taking everything into consideration it would seem like the new meaning has indeed gained enough traction to be entered into the dictionary.¹⁸ An example of a word whose new meaning has been entered into the dictionary after the word underwent semantic broadening is *ukutyikitya*. *Ukutyikitya* in older dictionaries is only glossed ‘pull about, tear, tear with mouth or teeth, worry, slaughter, soil, mess, dirty, insult annoy’ (see McLaren, 1994 [1936]:173 and Kropf, 1915:443) but *The Greater Dictionary of Xhosa, Vol.3 Q-Z* (1989:464) adds to Kropf and McLaren’s meanings ‘write, sign one’s name’. It would be interesting to find out to what extent this meaning of the word is still current in the minds of young Xhosa speakers, or whether they know only its older meanings, or whether they do not use the word at all.

If a word has undergone semantic narrowing in the Xhosa lexicon of a substantial number of speakers it might be because it is a word that is associated with different but related meanings (see 4.4.1 above in which semantic shift is attributed to a number of motivations, one being “close conceptual relation”) – like *ukuqumba* which can mean ‘to become angry, to become upset, to get in a bad mood’ whereas its synonym, *ukuba nomsindo* only has the one meaning of ‘to be angry’ it would be unlikely that lexicographers would need to remove the less popular meaning unless they were able to prove its obsolescence and even then that meaning would probably just be marked “archaic”.

What is important to remember is that words change meaning because speakers themselves do not always have the same idea, or intention in mind when using them. The Xhosa speaker is, in today’s world, subjected to a bombardment of new technologies, cultures, languages and

¹⁸ See <https://www.antidote.info/en/blog/reports/how-do-new-words-enter-the-dictionary>

innovations. When I use the word *umphandi* I mean ‘researcher’, but another Xhosa speaker who closely follows criminal investigations in the news, might see the same word and think ‘criminal investigator’ – both meanings are valid, but if one meaning is used more frequently than the other the word might undergo semantic narrowing in the lexicon of a certain demographic of the Xhosa speaking population. Speakers have at their disposal the Xhosa lexicon which they can exploit to name new technologies and can assign words additional meanings, and these meanings might then gain popularity over the older meaning. In all of this semantic activity we view language as flexible, changing and adaptable – it is our task as researchers to record the new meanings and changed meanings as scientifically as we can.

The recommendations provided by this study should be used by all components of the language researchers in order to improve and promote the linguistic status of Xhosa language as well as other South African indigenous languages.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX Aa: Full dictionary definitions as they occur in The Greater Dictionary of Xhosa .

Lexical item number ONE: *Ingqina* (*The Greater Dictionary of Xhosa*, Vol. 2. K-P, 2003:562)

Xhosa gloss 1: b/n 5/6 *umntu onika inkcaza ngento ayibonileyo xa kuphonongwa isikhalazo esinxulumene naloo nto/loo mcimbi phononongwayo.*

Xhosa gloss 2: b/n 9/10 *uzingelo olwenziwa liqela labantu bephumela usuku olunye okanye iintsuku ezimbini (tlk iphulo);ukuphuma ingqina: ukuya engqina: ukuphuma ingqina, ukuya kuzingela iinyamakazi okanye izilo*

English gloss 1: witness, one who testifies

English gloss 2: a hunt extending over a day or two in which a party of hunters participates; (cf iphulo) ukuya engqina: go on a hunt, ukuphuma ingqina: lit: go out ahunting: to go out on a hunting expedition after antelopes or vicious wild animals.

Lexical item number TWO: *Igongqo* (no gloss in The Greater Dictionary of Xhosa, A-J, 2006:603, but a cross-reference to *isigogo* page 597)

Xhosa and English gloss: = *isigogo*

Isigogo

Xhosa gloss: *isigogo* b/n 7/8

1. *Umntu oqine iingalo nemilenze njengaxa aqotholiswe yingqele okanye eligodololo kukuhlala ndwonye ebotshwe iingalo nemilenze*
2. *Umntu onobulwelwe bubudala okanye kukugula; ncp/dim: isigowana*
3. *Umntu okhathazekileyo, osengxakini*

English gloss:

- 3 person with stiff limbs, as when parayed from cold or through sitting down for a long time or having his limbs bound with a thong
- 4 An invalid thorough age or illness
- 5 One in a state of embarrassment or in a fix.

Lexical item number THREE: *Ukuqhekeza* (Greater Dictionary of Xhosa, Vol.3. Q-Z, 1989:39)

Xhosa gloss

1 ukucanda, ukwahlula phakathi, njengesibhukubhuku somthi; ukuhlephula, ukuhlekeza, ukuqumza into ibe ziingceba okanye amaceba, amaqhekeza njengesonka, ikomityi, njl:

Siqhekeze esi sibhuku-bhuku

Siqhekeze phakathi/kubini esi sibhuku-bhuku

Sizqhekeze esi sibhuku-bhuku sibe ngamaceba

2. ukuhlephula (indawana okanye isuntsu) kwinto eyimbumba; waqhekeza isuntswana esonkeni

3. ukubangela iintanda; ukubangela ukucandeka: Umoya uyaziqhekeza izinto ezenziwe ngomdongwe

- 1. Ukudala umsantsa, ukuthi qheke, ukwenza iyantlukwano: intetho yakhe yawuqhekeza phakathi umzi;*
- 2. Ukumbetha iinduma (umntu); ukumenzakalisa umbethe kwaphuke amathambo;*
- 3. Ukuphuma uphuncule ngokutyhudisa okanye ukuphepha kwabanye: isenta yaqhekeza phakathi kwabadlali beyiphuthaphutha.*
- 4. Ukungena endlwini ngokuthi waphule ucango okanye ifestile, njengokuba kwenjiwa njalo ngamasela: amasela aqhekezile evenkileni;*
- 5. Ukuthabatha (izinto zabanye) ngamaqhina: inkosi yakhe uyiqhekeze ngewaka leeranti*
- 6. Ukumtyhila, kumchaza umntu ngendlela emtsho ahambe ze ehle emehlweni abantu; ukumhambisa ze, ukumchunuba, ukumbhenca, ukumdiza adizeke;*
- 7. Ukucikoza kungamili ngca kutsho kuthi tha-a nakuthathatha;*
- 8. Ukutshintsha (imali eliphepha okanye elukhozo) uyenze amaphepha angeneno okanye iinkozo ezinganeno ngexabiso kodwa isimbuku silingane; ukuthi umntu athathe eyakhe emalini ethile eliphepha okanye ukhozo akubuyisele eseleyo: khawuqhekeze esi sikhova ibe ziiranti ezintlanu:*

Andina-20c; sewuqhekeza le R5

Ukuqhekeza intloko: (i) ukubangela ubunzima engqondweni, ukucingisa nzima: izifundo zenzululwazi ziqhekeza intloko;

(ii) *okwevumba: ukurhaxa*

Ivumba leamoniya liqhekeza intloko

English gloss:

1. Split, divide, cleave; fracture, break into pieces, e.g. a cup, bread, stone, etc:
Split/cleave this log
Chop this log into firewood;
2. Break (a piece) off a whole: he broke a piece of bread off the loaf;
3. Cause cracks; cause (something) to crack;
The wind causes moist things made of clay to develop cracks;
4. Cause a split, division, schism (between people or in a group, church, etc);
5. Attack (a person) severely so as to cause head wounds or to fracture bones;
6. Of a person or animal: cut or break through, force a way through a line of people or animals: The centre (player) broke through the defence;
7. Break into (a building) as a burglar does: the thieves broke into the shop
8. Take (people's possessions) by fraudulent means: He defrauded his employer of a thousand rands;
9. Expose, unmask (a person); report on (his character or illicit activities);
10. Deliver an eloquent, convincing address;
11. Change (money, a note or coin, into smaller denominations); take one's money from a note or coin proffered, eg for purchase, and give change:
Please change this five rand note into five rand pieces;
I haven't a twenty cent coin; please take it out of this five rand note;
Lit: crack the head: (i) require great mental exertion or strain: studies in the sciences require great mental effort;
(ii) of an odour: be pungent, have a suffocating effect: ammonia fumes are pungent

Lexical item number FOUR: *umXhosa/amaXhosa* (Greater Dictionary of Xhosa, Vol.3. Q-Z, 1989:591)

Xhosa gloss: b/n 1/6:

1. Isizukulwana sohlanga lwamaXhosa njengoko lwalunjalo ngexesha likaTshiwo: ndingumCirha, isizukulwana somnombo wamaXhosa oqobo;

2. *ilunu lomzi obanzi wabantu abanthetho yabo isXhosa; umntu olwimi lwakhe isXhosa;*
3. *amaXhosa: isizwe samaXhosa esiphuma kumaXhosa kaTshiwo; amaTshiwo*
4. *amaXhosa: bonke abantetho isXhosa*

English gloss:

1. a Xhosa, descendant of the original tribe as it existed under Chief Tshiwo: I am a Cirha, a descendant of the original Xhosa tribe;
2. a member of the wider family of Xhosa-speaking peoples; a person whose home language is Xhosa;
3. pl: amaXhosa: the nation, descended from Tshiwo's Xhosas, the amaTshiwo;
4. pl: Xhosa-speaking peoples collectively

Lexical item number FIVE: *ukujola* (Greater Dictionary of Xhosa, Vol.1. A-J, 2006:822)

Xhosa gloss 1. Mand: ukuncamla ukutya ukubonisa ukuba akunandliso, wandule kukuchakela abantu;

2. *ngoku: ukungcamla ukutya wandule ukwabela abantu;*

3. *okwenjoli: ukwabela abantu into etyiwayo okanye eselwayo, njengenyama, ukutya, utywala;*

4. *ukwaba imisebenzi emayenziwe njengetitsahla enkulu isaela abasebenzi bayo;*

5. *Mpse: ukuba, ukututa, ukwenza izinto zobusela.*

English gloss 1. Orig: taste food to prove that it is free of poison and then serve it to others;

2. today: taste food and then divide it among the people;

3. share out the meat, other food or beer to the various groups of people at a festival or ceremony; this is done by the official steward, *injoli*;

4. distribute work and duties among others, as a headmaster allocates duties to his assistants;

5. Mpse: steal

Lexical item number SIX: *ukucanda* (Greater Dictionary of Xhosa, Vol.1. A-J, 2006:264)

Xhosa gloss 1. Ukwahlula phakathi, ukuxabela, ukuthi qhiphu, ukuqhekeza: uThemba ucanda iinkuni.

2. *ukumejela, ulunganisa, ukuxabis umhlaba okanye izindlu;*
3. *ukudlula ukunqumla, ukuwela ilizwe: uNyengane wacanda eli lizwe efundisa amaRharhabe ngoThixo.*

Ukucanda ubala

- (i) *ukuhamba edyagasini, ukudlula egcakasini, ukuhamba ekuhleni ubonwa ngabantu; ukunqumla ethafeni elinganatyholo;*
- (ii) *ukwenza into ngaphandle kokuyifihla;*
- (iii) *ukudela iinzima neembandezelo, ukusifaka engozini, ukuzibeka esichengeni.*

English gloss 1. Divide asunder; cleave, split, chop” Themba chops the wood.

2. Survey

3. Pass through, to traverse a country: Dr Van der Kemp traversed this country teaching the Rarabe tribes about God.

Lit. To cross the open space

- (i) walk in an open space;
- (ii) act publicly
- (iii) risk, put in peril, to expose oneself to harm

Lexical item number SEVEN: *ukuncwela* (Greater Dictionary of Xhosa, Vol. 2. K-P, 2003:463)

Xhosa gloss. 1 ukusika imicwana enyameni, esikhumbeni, emthini okanye eplangeni, usenzela ukuvimba inyama leyo, usika umtya okanye imitya yokuthunga, uqulungqisha ilokhwe, uyibaza loo nto, njl: wasincwela isikhumba esenza iintambo;

2. *ukusika amaqhombonqa ezintanjeni, esiwephini, esikeyni, emthini, njl ukuze ezo nto zilingane, zindindane; ukuchwela’*

3. *ukukhupha izinto ezikhubekisayo entweni ebhaliweyo enjengencwadi;*

4. *ukunyoba: kwauncwele mfondini, imicimbi yakho ayihameli ndawo*

English gloss 1. Cut thin strips from meat, skin, paper, etc: cut a dress smaller; plane or shave thin layers off, e.g. timber to smoothe, shape or tamper it: he cut thongs from the hide;

2. trim, whittle, shave timber, riems, whip, etc, to remove irregularities or to smoothe or round them;

3. expunge, expurgate undesirable material from something written, eg from a book; bowdlerize;

4. bribe, offer a bribe: offer a bribe my friend, otherwise your affairs will not succeed.

Lexical item number EIGHT: *Umntwana* (Greater Dictionary of Xhosa, Vol. 2. K-P, 2003:822)

Xhosa gloss. b/n 1/ 2

1. *Ihlumelo lomntu ukususela ebumvekwini ukuya kwixabiso lokufikelela ebudaleni; umntana;*
2. *Umntu ozalwa ngulowo ungumzali okanye umzalikazi kuye;*
3. *Bhayibh: abantwana: isizwe abantwana bakaSirayeli: usapho lukaSirayeli, isizwe samaSirayeli;*
4. *Umntu ongemva kulowoo uyimvela-tanci kuye: Usomani ngumntwana kuSizani; akakabi nakho ukuyifumana ipenshini; usengumntwana:*
5. *Umntu ongekavuthwa kakuhle engqondweni*
6. *Umntu ongenamava: ukucela/ukukha/ukucuntsula kule nto yabantwana: ukulila: Aze akhule lo mntwana abe mdala, aphike izinto azaziyo; kwakusitshiwo mandulo xa kwakuhushuza usana oluyinkwenkwe kgl ukuhushuza Ukudlal' abantwana: ukuxhaphaka, ukuba ninzi: hayi nonyaka nje, iitapile zidlala abantwana emariken;*

English gloss 1. Child, physically immature person;

2. Child, offspring of a parent;
3. Bibl pl: abantwana: a nation, people: the children of Israel;
4. Someone who is young in comparison with others or not yet old enough for a certain purpose: Somani is young compared to Sizani; He cannot yet receive a pension as he is still too young;
5. a mentally immature person;
6. an inexperienced person

Lit: ask/scoop/pinch off from the thing of the child: cry

The refrain over an infant boy during the process of *ukuhushuza* which used to be practised by amaXhosa; see *ukuhushuza*

Lit: children play with it

To be abundant, plentiful: potatoes are plentiful this year in the market place

Lexical item number NINE: *ibhokhwe* (Greater Dictionary of Xhosa, Vol.1. A-J, 2006:173)

Xhosa gloss: b/n 9/10 < Afrbok: 1. Imbuzi, isilwanyana sasekhaya esiyimpathl'emfutshane;

2. umntu owoyika imvula;

3. umntu oligwala, okhaliswa nayintwana encinci;

4. ichule ekuhambeni kwiindawo ezinqabileyo, eziyimiqhokro, eziyimiwewe;

5. iphamba kubadlali bebhola; ichule lokuphamba nokubaleka emdlalweni webhola:

ibhokhwe igudl'igumbi

Ukuthetha into ngendlela ejikelezayo kanti uza kube athi gqi entweni; uyiza bugungu,

ngecala; ukugwegweleza (njengebhokhwe le ifuna ukungena endlwini): ibhokhwe ingazal'

umntu: yinto engenakwenzeka, uNongqawuse, onotshe, inqaba: ibhokhwe ingazal' umntu =

inkomo ingazal' umntu

English gloss 1. Goat;

2. a person who is afraid of rain;

3. Coward;

4. Expert mountain climber

5. Expert football player < Springbok

Lit: the goat is rubbing its body along against the wall of the room: beat about the bush; ask for something in a roundabout way, hint at what one wants (like a goat that rubs itself against the wall when wanting to enter a room).

Lit: a goat can give birth to a person: it is an impossibility

Lexical item number TEN: *ukubasa* (Greater Dictionary of Xhosa, Vol.1. A-J, 2006:264)

Xhosa gloss. 1. Ukwenza, uphamba, ulumeka umlilo;

1. ukongeza iinkuni emlilweni uvuthe, ungapheli;

2. okwelanga: ukugqatsa, ukutshisa, ukuba shushu gqitha: ilanga libasile namhlanje;

3. ukuthelekisa, ukuxabanisa, ukwenza omnye angxoliswe, athethiswe kalukhuni, angabonani nomnye, axabane;

4. ukugalela, ukubetha, ukuphosa into oyiphetheyo, ukudubula: ukubasa ngenduku; ngelitye; ngenqindi; ngmpu, njl: uthe nje ukuba ambone wabasa;

5. ukusuka ngoko nangoko, ukutshay' isaqhumba, ukungalibazisi, ukwenza into ngaphandle kokulibazisa: uthe nje ukuba ayibone loo ntombi wayedumbe intloko yiyo, wabaa;

6. *ukuqhatha, ukubhida, ukuphamba, ukulalisa, ukunyabisa, ukubeka omnye ethembeni elingephi: uthe kanti endithembisa ngolu hlobo nje uyandibasa:*
basa soje:
khawulezisa, yenza amanqam, wenze mafutshane, basa ngeendiza, nqupha, qupha, wenze abe ziiponi: basa soje ilanga limkile
ukubasela ngeendaba: *ukuveveza, ukugcina umntu ngeendaba, ukuncokola into engapheliyo, ungayeki*
ukubasa ngeendiza: *le ntetho ithethwa kumntuonqumla athethe okanye enze ngendlela emfutshane ngoku umcimbi ubusaphicothwa ukubetha ngezimfutshane, ukuhl' entloko, ukubetha soje, ukwenza poini: wamumosha umcimbi ngokuthi sisawuthetha kakuhle asuke yena abase ngeendiza;*
ukuthi shu ungabaselwanga: *uya kuzisola, ukuzizona ngento ebuhlungu oya kuthi uyifumane; kgl naphantsi kuka-ukuthi shu*
kungaphuma kubasiwe: *akunakufane kuthethwe into ngomntu okanye ngento kungakhange kwenzeka nto imchaphazelayo; kgl naphantsi kuka-ukuqhumba*
basela Will: *mqhube uloliwe ngokukhawuleza, mbalekise kunokua usena, uloliwe makangathi uyanyathela.*

English gloss 1. Kindle, make a fire;

2. stoke, feed, tend a fire: add fuel to a fire;

3. of the sun: be very hot: the sun is very hot today;

4. to land one into trouble or cause one to be scolded, chided, reprimanded; to cause strife, dissension or, misunderstanding.

5. land a blow, knock, hit, strike, attack, shoot or fire; to hit, strike, attack with a stick/stone/fist, etc., shot: as soon as he saw him he hit him;

6. set at once, there and then: when he saw the girl he was so keen on, he proposed to her there and then;

7. to cheat, deceive, befool, hoodwink: he made many promises in order to hoodwink me.

Lit: make fire that we may roast;

Cut it short, be quick about it, hurry up, be brief: be quick about it the day is gone.

Lit: feed a fire with news

Talk for hours on end

Lit: make a fire with dry maize stalks:

Expedite matters, do something quickly and complete it in a short time; cut short: he spoilt matters by terminating the discussion quickly.

You will suffer the consequences, see also under ukuthi shu

Where there is smoke there's fire: see also under ukuqhuma

Lit: feed the fire Willie: drie faster; make the train go faster

Lexical item number ELEVEN: *ukungcola* (Greater Dictionary of Xhosa, Vol. 2. K-P, 2003:523-524)

Xhosa gloss. 1. Ukuba mdaka, nyhuku-nyhuku; ukuba nentsila: ungele lungcolile: uswelekile, ufile, itshoba lilele umbethe: lungcolile ungele kwindoda enkulu;

Ukungcola kwengele: kgl phantsi kuka-ungele: impahla yam ingcolile kuba sekuntsuku ingasahlanjwa:

2. mi: okomntu izenzo okanye amazwi: ukuba nemikhwa emibi; ukuba nentliziyo embi; ukuba manyumnyezi, lihlazo; ukuhambisa umzimba: ungcilile laa mfana; zingcolile izinto azenzayo nazithethayo

3. ikakhulu mi: -ngcolile: okomntu okanye uzenzo zakhe, okanye intliziyo yakhe: ukuba mdaka, ukuba nemikhwa emibi, ukuba nentiziyo embi, ukuba nemikhwa wokwenzakalisa abantu ngeendlela ngeendlela, enye yazo iyeyokuthakatha: ungcilile laa mfo: kudala ebezakalisa abantu;

4. okwezulu: ukusibekela;

5. okwezulu: ukuza likhohlakele, ligqekreza, liphethe amakhwenkwe;

6. ukuqalisa ukba mnyama, ukuhlwa, ukurhatyela: kuyangcola

English gloss. 1. Become dirty, filthy, unclean: stat: be dirty etc:

Lit: the cock's comb is dirty: he is dead, has passed away: the old man has passed away

See under *ungele*.

My clothes are dirty because they have not been washed for some time;

2. usu stat: of a person, deeds or words: be obscene, wicked, callous, filthy, indecent, pronographic, smutty: he is an indecent ;young man; his behaviour is obscene and his words are filthy;

3. usu stat: *-ngcolile*: of a person or his deeds: be wicked, treacherous, fiendish, malevolent, malicious, deliberately harmful to others, which may be by practising witchcraft: that man is malicious: he is always harming people;

4. of the weather: become overcast, cloudy: stat: be cloudy, overcast

5. of the weather: become stormy and threatening; stat: be stormy and threatening;

6. become dusk; of dusk: to fall

Dusk is falling

Lexical item number TWELVE: *induku* (Greater Dictionary of Xhosa, Vol. 2. K-P, 2003:486)

Xhosa gloss. b/n 9/10 = intonga.

English gloss: = intonga [stick]

Lexical item number THIRTEEN: *ingwenya* (Greater Dictionary of Xhosa, Vol. 2. K-P, 2003:583)

Xhosa gloss. b/n 9/10.

1. *Isilo somlambo esinesikhumba esirhabaxa nesilukhuni, esimilise okukaxam kuloko ona sikhulu kanobom kunaye, sihlala kwiindawo ezishushu*
2. *Umntu onamandla, okhaliphileyo noneziphiwo ezibalaseleyo;*
3. *Isilwanyana somlambo esibuntsomirha, ekukholelwa ukuba siso esinamandla ukuthwebula lowo uthe wathatyelwa ukuba abe ligqirha lomlambo;*
4. *Umatshini otyumza amatye xa kuungiswa indlela: mkhulu, unenjini ahamba ngayo*
Iliso lengwenya: *umtsalane osebenza kumntu obizelwe okanye othwebutyulwe ngumlambo; ngokwenkolo yamaXhosa umntu othwetyulwayo ngulowo sukuba eza kwenziwa igqirha; kgl naphantsi kuka- iliso*

English gloss. 1. Crocodile, *Crocodylus*;

2. person noted for his power, courage and giftedness

3. legendary aquatic reptile believed to have the power to attract one favoured by the ancestors into the river, in order for that person to be initiated as a diviner;

4. stone crusher

Lit: crocodile's eye [mistake in Xhosa dictionary says 'leopard's eye']

The mysterious attraction that draws a person into the river; according to amaXhosa belief, a person who is called upon by the river people to be initiated as a diviner is attracted into the river where he undergoes a period of initiation, see also under *iliso*

Lexical item number FOURTEEN: *ifele/ufele* (Greater Dictionary of Xhosa, Vol.1. A-J, 2006:502)

Xhosa gloss. b/n 11/10 ninz iimfele < Afr vel:

1. *Isikhumba sesilwanyana*
2. *Inkangeleko yomntu ebusweni, ulusu:*

Ubuhle buphela ngofele: *Umntu angamhle ebuseni, into efunekayo sisimilo esihle*
Ingcuka eyambethe ufele lwegusha: *: umntu oza emhle kanti uthwele inkohlakalo;*
kgl naphantsi kuka-ingcuka

English gloss.

1. Skin; 2.
3. A person's facial appearance

Lit: beauty is but skin deep

A dangerous deceiver, see also under *ingcuka*

Lexical item number FIFTEEN: *inyathelo* (Greater Dictionary of Xhosa, Vol. 2. K-P, 2003:866)

Xhosa gloss. b/n 5/6.

1. *Isithuba esiphakathi kweenyawo kumntu ohambayo; ihawu*
2. *Ninz amanyathelo: amanqanam kwinkqubo yokusetyenzwa komcimbi, okwentlanganiso, intlalo;*
3. *Indlela umntu enza ngayo izinto apha ebomini: kubhethela ndithabathe eli nyathelo litsha lokuhlohla ukuze abafundi baqonde;*
4. *Indlela umntu aziphetha ngayo: andifuni ukuba abantwana bam bakope laa nyathelo lalaa mntwana kaFani lokuzula esithubeni*
Ukuthabatha ukuthatha amanyathelo:

Ukuba nento oyenzayo ukulungisa into efuna ukulungiswa, okanye ukuphumelelisa, ukufeza into: bathathe bakungandihlawuli imali yam ndathabatha amanyetholo ngaloo nto, ndabamangalela enkundleni.

English gloss.

1. Pace; step
- 3 Pl. *amanyathelo*: steps taken to execute some undertaking or to remedy a situation;
- 4 Way in which a person approaches life's situations; method: it is better for me to adopt this new method in lecturing so that the students may understand;
- 5 A mode of behaviour: I don't want my children to copy Fani's daughter's behaviour by roaming about.

Lit: take steps

Do something, eg to remedy a situation etc.

When they failed to pay back my money I did something about it: I went to court and sued them.

APPENDIX A: letter requesting assent from participants to participate in a questionnaire for a research project

Mr L. Gcingca

TR 496 Site B Bongani DR

Khayelitsha

7784

Tel No: 063 1450834

15 April 2021

Dear: Sir / Madam

I am a Masters in African Languages and Literatures student doing a study on: Semantic shift in Xhosa: An analysis of 15- selected Xhosa terms: A comparative case study with Xhosa speakers in Tsomo Eastern Cape and Khayelitsha Western Cape at the University of Cape Town. Ethics permission has been granted by the Ethics Committee of the School of African Languages and Literatures at the University of Cape Town for this study to be conducted. . I would like to invite you to be a very special part of my study. This study will help you and many other speakers of the Xhosa Language. I am doing this study to understand how Xhosa words sometimes change their meanings. The results will be important for dictionary makers and language planners. The information you give me will help these professionals ensure that Xhosa moves into the modern world without losing its beauty and strength.

This letter serves to explain your participation in this study. There is an English and a Xhosa version of this letter. If there is anything you do not understand, or anything that is not clear to you, please do not hesitate to contact me.. You may take a copy of this letter home to think

about my invitation and talk to your peers about this before you decide if you want to be in this study.

I will give you a questionnaire which has 24 questions. The purpose of the questionnaire is to investigate the use of Xhosa in selected areas. You are asked to express your opinion on these statements. You will be required to read the questions carefully and provide answers. If you have trouble reading we will organize for someone to read the letter to you. Please answer the questions honestly and accurately. It will take you approximately 30 minutes to complete the questionnaire.

I will write a report on the study, but I will not use your name in the report or say anything that will let other people know who you are. You do not have to be part of this study if you don't want to take part. If you choose to be in the study, you may stop taking part at any time. You may tell me if you do not wish to answer any of my questions. No one will blame or criticize you. When I am finished with my study, I shall return to your area to give a short talk about some of the helpful and interesting things I found out in my study. I shall invite you to come and listen to my talk.

If you decide to be part of my study, you will be asked to sign the form on the next page after having read the letter and agreed to take part in the study, or after someone has read the letter to you and you have agreed to take part in the study. If you have any other questions about this study, you can talk to me at: 0631450834. Do not sign the form until you have all your questions answered.

Researcher: Gcingca, L. Phone number: 0631450834.

Do not sign the written assent form if you have any questions. Ask your questions first and ensure that someone answers those questions to your full satisfaction.

ASSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY

I, _____ (participant name), confirm that the person asking my assent to take part in this research has told me about the nature, procedure, potential benefits and anticipated inconvenience of participation. I have read (or had explained to me) and understood the study as explained in the information sheet. I have had sufficient opportunity to ask questions and am prepared to participate in the study. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without penalty. I also understand that there will be no payment for my participation but that I will be given the report at the end of the study.

I am aware that the findings of this study will be processed into a research report, journal publications and/or conference proceedings, but that my participation will be kept confidential unless otherwise specified. I understand that at no time will my name be used in this study. My name will only be used for the researcher's records.

I agree to the recording of the questionnaire.

I have received a signed copy of the informed assent agreement.

Participant Name & Surname..... (Please print)

Participant Signature.....Date.....

Researcher's Name & Surname..... (Please print)

Researcher's signature.....Date.....

ISIHLOMELO A: Imbalelwano ecela abantu ukuba bathabathe inxaxheba kuphando ngokuthi baphendule amaphepha-mibuzo

Mnu L. Gcingca
TR 496 Site B Bongani DR
Khayelitsha
7784

Inombolo: 063 1450834

15 April 2021

Mnumzana/ Nkosazana obekekileyo

Ndingumfundi weeMaster's kwiilimi zase-Afrika nokubhaliweyo kwiDyunivesithi yaseKapa.

Ndenza uphando phantsi kwesihloko esithi: Ukutshintsha kweentsingiselo zamagama esiXhoseni: Uthelekiso lwamagama ali-15 wesiXhosa: Asetyenziswa kwilali yaseTsomo kwiphondo leMpuma Koloni nakwilokishi yaseKhayelitsha kwiphondo leNtshona Koloni. Imvume yokuqhutywa kophando kwiingingqi ezikhankanyiweyo ngasentla iphunyezwe ngokusesikweni sisgqeba secandelo leelwimi zaseAfrika nokubhaliweyo esijongene nokuqhutywa kophando kwiDyunivesithi yaseKapa.

Ndingathanda ukuba ube ngomnye wabathabathi- nxaxheba kolu phando nanjengoko olu phando luza kuba lulutho kuwe nabanye abantu abathetha Xhosa njengolwimi lwabo lweenkobe. Ndenza olu phando ngeenjongo zokuqonda utshitsho kwiintsingiselo zamagama esiXhosa ndawonye nezinto eziphembelela olu tshintsho. Iziphumo zolu phando ziza kuba lulutho kuhlaziyo lwamaxwebhu anika iintsingiselo zamagama esiXhosa kunye nakubacwangcisi bolwimi. Ulwazi olunikayo luza kuqinisekisa ukuba iingcali zokulondolozwa kweelwimi zenza konke okusemandleni ukuqinisekisa uzinzo kulwimi lwesiXhosa ngokuthi kulondolozwe isigama kunye neentsingiselo zaso.

Le mbalelwano ijolise ukukucacisela malunga nentatho- nxaxheba yakho kolu phando.

Ibhalwe ngesiXhosa ukanti ikho inguqulelo yayo ngesiNgesi. Ukuba kukhona ongakuqondiyi okanye okungacacanga ngokuphathelene nophando unganxibelelana nam ndikucacisele. uvumelekile ukuba uthabathe ixesha elaneleyo ukucingisisa ngentatho- nxaxheba kolu phando. Emva kokuba uvumile ukuthatha inxaxheba, ndiza kunika iphepha- mibuzo eliquathe imibuzo engama-24. Injongo yeli phepha-mibuzo kukuphanda ukusetyenziswa kolwimi lwesiXhosa kwiingingqi ezichongwe lolu phando. Uyacelwa ukuba uphendule ngokunyanisekileyo kwaye unike izimvo zakho kumaphepha mibuzo oza kuwanikwa. Kulindeleke ukuba ufundisise imibuzo phambi kokunika impendulo. Ukuba unemingeni ngokuphathelene nokufunda ndawonye nokubhala ndiza kuqinisekisa ukuba ukhona umntu oza kukuncedisa koko. Kuza kukuthatha imizuzu engama-30 ukuphendula yonke imibuzo.

Ulwazi olunikileyo ndiza kulusebenzisa ukubhala ingxelo yophando lwam, kodwa kule ngxelo alizi kubandakanywa igama lakho. Awunyanzeliswa ukuba uthathe inxaxheba kolu phando ukuba awunamdla, ukanti ungarhoxa nanini ufuna. Unelungelo lokungawuphenduli umbuzo xa ufuna. Ukugqiba kwam olu phando ndiza kubuyela kwiingingqi yakho ndinike ingxelo, ndiza kukumema ukuba uze kuphulaphula ingxelo yam.

Ukuba ugqibe ekuthini uthabathe inxaxheba kolu phando uyacelwa ukuba utyikitye ifomu engezantsi usakube uzikisile ukucinga ngoku kubhaliweyo ngasentla. Ukuba unemibuzo ngokuphathelene nolu phando unganditsalela umnxeba kule nombolo: 0631450834. Usakube uacelwe ungatyikitya ifomu engezantsi.

Umphandi: Gcingca Luvo.

Inombolo yomnxeba: 0631450834.

IFOMU YOKUTHABATHA INXAXHEBA KUPHANDO

Mna.....(igama lomthathi-nxaxheba), ndiyavuma ukuthabatha inxaxheba kolu phando. Ndiyangqina ukuba umphandi undicacisele ngophando kunye nentatho-nxaxheba yam. Ndilifumene ithuba lokuhlwayela imibuzo ngeenjongo zokuqonda okuthile kwaye ndikulungele ukuthatha inxaxheba kolu phando. Ndiyazi ukuba intatho-nxaxheba yam kolu phando ayinyanzelisi kwaye ndivumelekile ukurhoxa nanini ndifuna. Ndiyayiqonda ukuba andizi kurhunywa ngokuthatha inxaxheba kolu phando kodwa ndiza kunikwa ingxelo emva kokuba uphando lugqityiwe.

Ndiyazi ukuba iziphumo zolu phando ziza kusetyenziselwa ingxelo yophando kunye nolwazi oluza kufakwa kwijenali nakwiinkomfa zoqulunqo lolwimi. Ndiyaqonda ukuba igama lam alizi kukhankanywa kolu phando. Ndiyakuvumela ukushicilelwa kolwazi endiza kulunika kolu phando.

Igama nefani yomthathi-nxaxheba.....

Utyikityo lomthathi-nxaxheba.....Umhla.....

Igama nefani yomphandi.....

Utyikityo lomphandi.....Umhla.....

APPENDIX B: QUESTIONNAIRES FOR RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

Before considering the questions that follow please read this explanation of what is meant by 'standard' and 'non-standard' in this research. When discussing semantic shift in Xhosa; it is important for us to know that Xhosa has a standard and a non-standard variety. Standard Xhosa is based on **isiRharabe** and **isiGcaleka** whilst non-standard Xhosa can be the Xhosa spoken by other groups of Xhosa people or it can be the way people speak when they mix languages or when they use slang words and phrases.

AmaMpondo

AmaBomvana

AmaMpondomise

AmaXesibe

AmaHlubi

AmaCele

AmaBhaca

AmaNtlangwini

AmaMfengu

Tsotsi-taal etc.

Slang

SECTION A: Biographical information of Xhosa speaking participants

1. Provide your full names and surname in the space below.

.....
Please tick on the appropriate box below to confirm your age range.

2. 18-20 21-30 31-40 41-50 51-60 61-70

Eastern Cape

Western Cape

3. For how long have you lived in the above mentioned province?
.....

4. What is your mother tongue language?
.....

5. What language do you speak the most often? Please tick on the appropriate box below.

Xhosa

English

Tsotsitaal

Other

If other please specify
.....

6. How many are you at home?
.....

7. Provide your highest education qualification level on the space below.
.....

8. Please tick on the appropriate box provided below to confirm your marital status.

Single

Married

Divorced

Living with my partner

What language does your spouse/husband/wife/partner speak?
.....

9. Please tick on the appropriate box below to confirm your employment status.

Student

Unemployed

Employed

Self-employed

Own a business

Part-time/ Contract work

If you are employed please state your occupation and monthly income on the space below.

Occupation..... Monthly
income.....

10. If you are employed what language do you speak most often at work?

.....

SECTION B: ETHNIC GROUP

Below is a list of ethnic groups. Based on the variety of ethnic groups provided below please indicate by making a tick next to the ethnic group in which you belong.

AmaMpondo	AmaBomvane
AmaMpondomise	AmaCele
AmaHlubi	AmaXesibe
AmaBhaca	AmaNtlangwini
Other specify	

Your responses are critical to ensure that the diverse range of views is represented.

SECTION C: THE USE OF XHOSA WITHIN YOUR COMMUNITY.

Below are questions on the use of Xhosa within your community. Indicate your response by ticking on the appropriate box.

	NEVE	SOMETIME	ALWAY
	R	S	S
1. Do you speak pure Xhosa?			
2. How often do you mix languages?			
3. Does your community promote the use of Xhosa?			

-
4. Are you ever criticized by the community when speaking what they think is good Xhosa?
 5. Are people who speak pure Xhosa praised in your community?
-

SECTION D: ATTITUDE TOWARDS XHOSA AS YOUR NATIVE LANGUAGE.

Please tick the appropriate response.

**Mix YES NO DON'T
KNOW**

1. Do you love Xhosa?
2. Do you prefer having conversations in pure Xhosa or do you prefer to mix your Xhosa with other languages?
3. Are there a plenty of job opportunities for Xhosa-speakers?
4. Is Xhosa an easy language for you?

Please answer the following questions

5. Would you like your children to learn in the medium of Xhosa or English?
.....
6. What language do you most enjoy speaking?
.....

SECTION E: XHOSA DIALECT.

Below are some statements about Xhosa dialects and non-standard varieties. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with them. Indicate by ticking the appropriate response.

**AGREE DISAGREE DON'T
KNOW**

4. Non-standard Xhosa is not allowed during formal family occasions
-

-
5. People who speak non-standard Xhosa are disadvantageded in many societies
 6. It is unfair to speak standard Xhosa to your peers
 7. People in the community prefer to speak in non-standard varieties than standard Xhosa
-

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION AND SUPPORT

ISIHLOMELO B: Amaphepha-mibuzo abathabathi-nxaxheba bophando.

Phambi kokuba uthabathele ingqalelo imibuzo elandelayo ndicela ufunde le ngcaciso ilandelayo ngesiXhosa esisesikweni kunye nesingekho sesikweni. kuphononongo lokutshintsha kweentsingiselo zamagama esiXhoseni kubalulekile ukuqwalasela ukuba Xhosa njengolwimi sicandeke bubini, umzekelo kukho Xhosa esisesikweni kunye nesingekho sesikweni. Xhosa esisesikweni sisekelezelwe kwisiRharhabe kunye nesiGcaleka, ukanti esingekho sesikweni sikelezelwe kwezi lwimi zezizwana:

- | | |
|----------------------|-------------------------|
| AmaMpondo | AmaBomvana |
| AmaMpondomise | AmaXesibe |
| AmaHlubi | AmaCele |
| AmaBhaca | AmaNtlangwini |
| AmaMfengu | Tsotsi-taal etc. |
| Slang | |

ICANDELO A: ULWAZI NGOMTHATHI-NXAXHEBA WOPHANDO

1. Bhala ifani kunye namagama akho apheleleyo ngezantsi.
.....
2. Nceda uphawule ngokukorekisha kwibhokisi efanelekileyo ngezantsi ukuqinisekisa iminyaka yakho.

18- 20	29- 30	40- 50	51-60	61-70
-------------------	-------------------	-------------------	--------------	--------------
3. Uhlala kweliphi iphondo? Nceda uphawule ngokukorekisha kwibhokisi efanelekileyo ngezantsi.

eMpuma Koloni	eNtshona Koloni
----------------------	------------------------
4. Uneminyaka emingaphi uhlala kwiphondo olikhankanyileyo ngasentla?
.....
5. Loluphi ulwimi oluthetha njengolwimi lwakho lweenkobe?

.....
6. Loluphi ulwimi oxhaphakileyo ukuluthetha? Nceda uphawule ngokukorekisha kwibhokisi efanelekileyo ngezantsi.

isiXhosa

isiNgesi

iTsotsitaal

Lwimi lumbi

.....
Ukuba ukhethe ibhokisi ethi lwimi lumbi ndicela ucacise

.....
7. Nibangaphi kowenu?

.....
8. Nika elona zinga liphezulu lemfundo onalo ngezantsi.

.....
9. Nceda uphawule ngokukorekisha kwibhokisi efanelekileyo ngezantsi ukuqinisekisa inqanaba okulo.

Anditshatanga

Nditshatile

Ndikuqhawulo-mtshato

Ndiyahlalisana

.....
Loluphi ulwimi oluthethwa liqabane/ umyeni okanye unkosikazi wakho?

.....
10. Nceda uphawule ngokukorekisha kwibhokisi efanelekileyo ngezantsi ukunika ubungqina ngempangelo yakho.

Ndingumfundi

Andiphangeli

Ndiyaphangela

Ndiyazisebenzela

Ndineshishini lam

Ndiphangela kumsebenzi

.....
Ukuba uyaphangela nceda uxele umsebenzi owenzayo kunye nomvuzo owufumanayo ngenyanga ngezantsi.

Umsebenzi wam.....Umvuzo wam

ngenyanga.....

.....
11. Ukuba uyaphangela loluphi ulwimi oluthetha rhoqo emsebenzini?

ICANDELO B: IQELA LOBUHLANGA.

Ngezantsi yitafle equlathe amaqela weentlanga zamaXhosa. Nceda uphawule ngokukorekisha ecaleni kohlanga osuka kulo kule tafle:

AmaMpondo	AmaBomvane
AmaMpondomise	AmaCele
AmaHlubi	AmaXesibe
AmaBhaca	AmaNtlangwini
Hlanga lumbi	

ICANDELO C: UKUSETYENZISWA KWESIXHOSA EKUHLALENI.

Ngezantsi yimibuzo engokusetyenziswa kwesiXhosa ekuhlaleni. Nceda uphawule ngokukorekisha impendulo yakho kwibhokisi efanelekileyo ecaleni kombuzo ngamnye.

	HAY	ANDIQINISEKANG	WE
	I	A	
1. Ingaba uthetha Xhosa esisulungekileyo?			
2. Uyazixuba iilwimi xa uthethayo?			
3. Ingaba kuyakhuthazwa ukusetyenziswa kwesiXhosa ekuhlaleni?			
4. Wawukhe wagxekwa ekuhlaleni ngokuthetha Xhosa esisulungekileyo?			
5. Ingaba abantu abathetha Xhosa esisulungekileyo bayahlonitshwa ekuhlaleni?			

ICANDELO D: ISIMO SENGQONDO NGOKUPHATHELENE NESIXHOSA NJENGOLWIMI LWEENKOBÉ.

Nceda uphawule ngokukorekisha kwibhokisi efanelekileyo ecaleni kombuzo ngamnye kule tafle ilandelayo:

1. Uyasithanda Xhosa?
2. Uyakuthanda ukuncokola ngesiXhosa okanye uthanda ukuzixuba iilwimi xa uncokola?
3. Ngokolwazi lwakho ingaba maninzi amathuba emisebenzi yesiXhosa?
4. Ingaba Xhosa lulwimi olulula kuwe?

Nceda uphendule le mibuzo ilandelayo.

5. Ingaba abantwana bakho uthanda ukuba bafunde ngoluphi ulwimi esikolweni kukho Xhosa kunye nesiNgesi?
.....

6. Loluphi ulwimi othanda ukuluthetha kakhulu?
.....

ICANDELO E: ULWAZI NGOLWIMI LWESIXHOSA

Ngezantsi ziinkcazelo kunye nemibuzo ngesiXhosa esisesikweni kunye nesingekho sesikweni. Nceda uphawule ngokukorekisha kwibhokisi efanelekileyo ecaleni kombuzo okanye kwenkcazelo nganye ukuqinisekisa impendulo yakho.

NDIYAVUMA ANDIVUMI ANDAZI

1. Xhosa esingekho sesikweni asivumelekanga kwiintlanganiso zosapho
2. Abantu abathetha Xhosa esingekho sesikweni abaxatyiswanga kwiingingqi ezininzi
3. Akufanelekanga ukuthetha Xhosa esisulungekileyo nabahlobo bakho
4. Abantu ekuhlaleni bathanda ukuthetha Xhosa esingasulungekanga kuneso sisesikweni

NDIYABULELA NGENTATHO-NXAXHEBA KUNYE NENKXASO YAKHO

APPENDIX C: A letter requesting a participant to participate in an interview

Mr L. Gcingca
TR 496 Site B Bongani DR
Khayelitsha
7784
Tel No: 063 1450834
15 April 2021
Dear Sir/ Madam

This letter is an invitation to consider participating in a Masters study I, Gcingca Luvo, am conducting at the University of Cape Town. My research title is: Semantic shift in Xhosa: An analysis of 15- selected Xhosa terms: A comparative case study with Xhosa speakers in Tsomo Eastern Cape and Khayelitsha Western Cape. Permission for the study has been given by the Ethics Committee of the School of Languages and Literatures at the University of Cape Town. I have purposefully identified you as a possible participant because of your valuable experience and expertise related to my research topic.

I would like to provide you with more information about this project and what your involvement would entail if you should agree to take part. The importance of research in linguistics is substantial and well documented. In this interview I would like to have your views and opinions on the topic mentioned above in paragraph one. This information can be used to contribute knowledge about language change in South Africa, which will be useful for the efficient documenting of language development and change in Xhosa and will contribute to future research with the aim of maintaining vernacular languages in our country. In all countries in the world teams of researchers are constantly researching how people speak their home languages so that dictionaries can be updated. This is just one very important reason why I am doing this research

Your participation in this study is voluntary. It will involve an interview of approximately 30 minutes in length to take place in a mutually agreed upon location at a time convenient to you. You may decline to answer any of the interview questions if you so wish. Furthermore, you may decide to withdraw from this study at any time without any negative consequences. There are no RIGHT or WRONG answers. We just want you to answer as truthfully as possible.

With your kind permission, the interview will be audio-recorded to facilitate collection of accurate information and later transcribed for analysis. Shortly after the transcription has been completed, I will send you a copy of the transcript to give you an opportunity to confirm the accuracy of our conversation and to add or to clarify any points. All information you provide is considered completely confidential. Your name will not appear in any publication resulting from this study and any identifying information will be omitted from the report. However, with your permission, anonymous quotations may be used. Data collected during this study will be retained securely on a password protected computer. There are no known or anticipated risks to you as a participant in this study.

If you have any questions regarding this study, or would like additional information to assist you in reaching a decision about participation, please contact me at 0631450834 or by e-mail at gcingcaluvo@gmail.com. I look forward to speaking with you very much and thank you in advance for your assistance in this project. If you accept my invitation to participate, I will request you to sign the consent form which follows.

Yours sincerely

.....

Gcingca Luvo

CONSENT FORM

I have read the information presented in the information letter about Semantic shift in Xhosa: An analysis of 15- selected Xhosa terms: A comparative case study with Xhosa speakers in Tsomo Eastern Cape and Khayelitsha Western Cape.

I have had the opportunity to ask any questions related to this study and have received satisfactory answers to my questions. I have also been able to add any additional details I wanted. I am aware that I have the option of allowing my interview to be audio recorded to ensure an accurate recording of my responses. I am also aware that excerpts from the interview may be included in publications to come from this research, with the understanding that the quotations will be anonymous. I was informed that I may withdraw my consent at any time without penalty by advising the researcher. With full knowledge of all foregoing, I fully understand that there is no RIGHT or WRONG answer, I must just reply according to my own knowledge. I agree, of my own free will, to participate in this study.

Participant's Name (Please print):

Participant Signature:

Researcher Name: (Please print)

Researcher Signature:

ISIHLOMELO C: Imbalelwano ecela abantu ukuba bathathe inxaxheba kudliwano-ndlebe lophando

Mnu L. Gcingca

TR 496 Site B Bongani DR

Khayelitsha

7784

Tel No: 063 1450834

15 April 2021

Mnumzana/ Nkosazana obekekileyo

Uyacelwa ukuba uthabathe inxaxheba kudliwano-ndlebe lophando lweeMaster's endilwenzayo ndinguGcingca Luvo, kwicandelo leewilimi zaseAfrika nokubhaliweyo kwiDyunivesithi yaseKapa. Isihloko sam sophando sithi: Ukutshintsha kweentsingiselo zamagama esiXhoseni: Uthelekiso lwamagama ali-15 wesiXhosa: Asetyenziswa kwilali yaseTsomo kwiphondo leMpuma Koloni nakwilokishi yaseKhayelitsha kwiphondo leNtshona Koloni. Imvume yokuqhutywa kophando kwiingingqi ezikhankanyiweyo ngasentla iphunyezwe ngokusesikweni sisigqeba secandelo lelwimi zaseAfrika nokubhaliweyo esijongene nokuqhutywa kophando kwiDyunivesithi yaseKapa.

Le mbalelwano ijolise ukukucacisela ngolu phando kananjalo nentatho-nxaxheba yakho kudliwano-ndlebe lophando. Kolu dliwano-ndlebe ndingathanda ukuva izimvo zakho mayelana namagama esiXhosa achongwe lolu phando. Ulwazi olunika kudliwano-ndlebe luza kusetyenziswa ukongeza ulwazi ngokutshintsha kweelwimi eMzantsi Afrika. Oku kuza kuba yinzuzo kulwazi olubhaliweyo ngophuhliso nakulondolozwa kweelwimi zemveli kwilizwe lethu. Kuza kukhokhelela ekuqhutyweni kophando olungokutshintsha kweelwimi zemveli, ngeenjongo zokugcina iilwimi zethu zemveli kumgangatho onguwo kwilizwe lethu. Kwihlabathi jikelele uphando ngendlela abantu abathetha ngayo iilwimi zabo zeenkobe ngumba otshisa ibunzi, kwaye ukwenziwa kophando olukumila kunje kunceda ukuhlaziya

amaxwebhu aqulathe iintsingiselo zamagama eelwimi zemveli kanaanjalo nokuvuselela ukubaluleka kweelwimi zemveli.

Intatho-nxaxheba yakho kolu dliwano-ndlebe ayinyanzelisi, kwaye ungarhoxa nanini ufuna. Udliwano-ndlebe luza kuthatha imizuzwana engama-30, indawo kunye nexesha eliza kuqhutywa ngalo udliwano-ndlebe ixhomekeke kuwe. Uvumelekile ukungawuphenduli umbuzo wodliwano-ndlebe xa ungafuni. Olu phando alunampendulo ichanekileyo okanye ingachanekanga ngokuphathelene nemibuzo yodliwano-ndlebe. Okulindelekileyo kukuba uphendule imibuzo ngokunyanisekileyo nangokolwazi lwakho.

Ngemvume yakho udliwano-ndlebe luza kushicilelwa ukuqinisekisa ubunyani bolwazi ngokuphathelene nohlalutyo lolwazi oluza kufakwa kuphando. Emva koshicilelo ndiza kukuthumelela ulwazi olushicilelweyo ukuqinisekisa izimvo ozinikileyo nokukunika ithuba lokuba wongeze ulwazi lwakho. Lonke ulwazi olunikezileyo luza kusetyenziswa kwingxelo yophando lwam kwaye igama lakho alizi kukhankanywa.

Ukuba unemibuzo engaphendulekanga ngokwale ngcaciso okanye ufuna ulwazi oluthe vetshe ungaqhagamshelana nam kule nombolo: 0631450834. Unako ukundithumelela umyalezo ku-gcingcaluvo@gmail.com. Ndiyakulangazelela ukwenza udliwano-ndlebe kunye nawe. Ukuba uyasamkela esi sicelo ndicela utyikitye ixwebhu lokuzibophelela ngezantsi. Enkosi.

Ozithobileyo
Gcingca Luvo

UXWEBHU LOKUZIBOPHELELA KUDLIWANO-NDLEBE

Mna.....ndiyifundile imbalelwano engasentla yesicelo sokwenza udliwano-ndlebe kunye nomphandi. Ndilifumene ithuba lokuhlwayela imibuzo, ndayifumana kanaanjalo ingcaciso ngemiba ibingacacanga kum. Ndikwazile ukufakela iinkcukacha endicinga ukuba zingalulutho kolu phando. Ndiyazi ukuba udliwano-ndlebe lwam kunye nomphandi luza kushicilelwa ukuqinisekisa ubunyani bolwazi. Ndiyazi kanaanjalo ukuba ulwazi endilunike kudliwano-ndlebe luza kusetyenziswa kwingxelo yophando kwaye igama lam alizi kukhankanywa kolu phando. Ndicaciselekile ukuba ndingarhoxa nanini kudliwano-ndlebe kwaye ndingangayiphenduli imibuzo xa ndifuna. Ndiyazibophelela ukuthatha ixaxheba kudliwano-ndlebe lolu phando. Ndiyazi ukuba akukho mpendulo ichanekileyo okanye ingachanekanga ngokuphathelene nemibuzo yophando. Ndiyazi kanaanjalo ukuba kulindeleke ukuba ndiphendule ngokunyanisekileyo nangokolwazi lwam.

Igama nefani yomthathi-nxaxheba.....
Utyikityo lomthathi-nxaxheba.....Umhla.....
Igama nefani yomphandi.....
Utyikityo lomphandi.....Umhla.....

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW QUESTIONS FOR RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

Please construct sentences based on the terms below. Your sentences should reflect your daily conversations with regard to the terms provided below. Do not think that there is a right or wrong way to use each word, just use the words as you normally would. There is no correct answer. We are just interested to see how words are being used

9. *ingqina*
10. *igongqo*
11. *ukuqhekeza*
12. *amaXhosa*
13. *ukujola*
14. *ukucanda*
15. *ukuncwela*
16. *umntwana*
17. *ibhokhwe*
18. *ukubasa*
19. *ukungcola*
20. *induku*
21. *ingwenya*
22. *ifele*
23. *inyathelo*

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION AND SUPPORT

ISIHLOMELO D: IMIBUZO YODLIWANO-NDLEBE EYA KUBATHATHI-NXAXHEBA

Yakha izivakalisi usebenzisa amagama esiXhosa angezantsi. Izivakalisi zakho mazintame iincoko zakho ngala magama angezantsi. Nceda uqaphele ukuba akukho ndlela ichanekileyo okanye ingachanekanga yokusetyenzisa kwamagama angezantsi kwizivakalisi. Ukutsho oko kwizivakalisi zakho amagama angezantsi wasebenzise ngendlela othi uwasebenzise ngayo kwiincoko zakho. Owona mdla wam awukho kwimpendulo echanekileyo koko ukwindlela owasebenzisa ngayo la magama kwiincoko zakho.

24. *ingqina*

25. *igongqo*
26. *ukuqhekeza*
27. *amaXhosa*
28. *ukujola*
29. *ukucanda*
30. *ukuncwela*
31. *umntwana*
32. *ibhokhwe*
33. *ukubasa*
34. *ukungcola*
35. *Induku*
36. *ingwenya*
37. *ifele*
38. *inyathelo*

NDIYABULELA NGENTATHO-NXAXHEBA KUNYE NENKXASO YAKHO

ⁱ The phenomenon of the languages of males in urban areas is generally only discussed in terms of youth languages (see Simango, S.R., 2021. 1 Language Contact and Structure in Urban IsiXhosa and Associated Youth Languages. In Mesthrie, Rajend, Hurst-Harosh, Ellen and Heather Brookes (Eds.) *Youth Language Practices and Urban Language Contact in Africa*, p.13-38 Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.