

AN ANALYSIS OF LOANWORDS IN SELECTED ISIXHOSA TEXTS

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ABSTRACT

Loanwords are well researched in many of the world's languages, but there is a dearth of research into their occurrence and significance in isiXhosa. Previous research on isiXhosa borrowed words concentrates on contemporary speech, but this study focuses on written texts, drawing on sources from the 1800s to the present time. The words in this corpus are analysed in terms of their domains (including religion, politics, and lifestyle) in order to establish what prompted the borrowing. The preoccupations, political tensions, practicalities, motivations of prestige and novelties involved in isiXhosa contact with missionaries and settlers dominate the corpus domains, and this allows for an argument that places historical events as a key motivator for lexical innovation. It is clear from the corpus that while Afrikaans was the source language for many of the early borrowings, these were soon overtaken by English loanwords, while words from other indigenous languages hardly feature. This finding could support the argument that South Africa's Bantu languages were originally one language, and thus shared a common lexicon. In line with research findings on loanwords in other languages, I established that nouns made up the majority of borrowed words. This study provides the first extensive treatment of phonological equivalences in loanwords between the language pairs of Afrikaans and isiXhosa and English and isiXhosa. The changing phonetics of loanwords, as represented in the different orthographic representations, suggests subtle changes in their isiXhosa pronunciation: early writers assiduously adapted the borrowed words to the phonology of isiXhosa, which is evident in how they are spelled, while contemporary writers increasingly spell the borrowed words as written in the source language. It is instructive that the paucity of loanwords in the domain of nature would suggest that there is nothing in their natural universe that isiXhosa-speakers had not already discovered, identified and named long before they made contact with missionaries and settlers. Finally, the fact that today's isiXhosa-speakers might be borrowing more words from English does not mean that the language is getting weaker, but rather that its speakers are expanding their linguistic repertoires to encompass subtle differences in meaning.

CONTENTS

DECLARATION.....	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	iii
ABSTRACT.....	iv
Contents.....	v
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Introduction.....	1
1.2 Key concepts	2
1.3 Loanword adaptations.....	3
1.4 Orthography of isiXhosa	5
1.5 Linguistic biography – Zone S languages.....	6
1.6 Syllabic structure.....	7
1.7 Grapheme to phoneme correspondence.....	8
1.8 Variation	8
1.9 Cognate languages, language contact and forced separation	9
1.10 Loanword frequency and colonization and lifestyle changes	13
1.11 Placing loanword research in isiXhosa in an international context	13
1.12 Loanwords as part of language evolution.....	14
1.13 Background to the study.....	16
1.14 Loanword integration and phonological adaptation	17
1.15 Loanwords in other Bantu languages	18
1.16 Motivation to conduct the study	21
1.17 Aims of the study.....	23
1.18 Theoretical framework.....	24
1.19 Conclusion	25
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	26
2.1 Introduction.....	26
2.2 Power relations and lexical borrowing: Medieval England.....	27
2.3 Colonialism, language contact and lexical borrowing	29
2.4 Modernization and lexical borrowing	31
2.5 Different methods of phonologically adapting loanwords.....	32
2.6 Who really is the lender?.....	35
2.7 Languages borrowing from each other	37
2.8 Loanwords in endangered languages	39
2.9 Loanwords in non-endangered African languages	42
2.10 Loanwords in texts	58
2.11 Loanwords in African language texts.....	66
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY	76

3.1	Introduction.....	76
3.2	Research Design.....	77
CHAPTER 4: DATA PRESENTATION.....		81
4.1	Introduction.....	81
4.2	Newspaper Adverts (1884-1920)	82
4.3	Background to newspaper articles (1893 – 1992).....	86
4.4	Background to novels (1914-1980)	87
4.5	Background to novels (2003-2017).....	91
CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS		104
5.1	Introduction.....	104
5.2	Most popular domains: Names, and Environment	105
5.3	Second most popular domains: Education and Lifestyle	124
5.4	Third most popular domain: Religion.....	132
5.5	Other popular domains.....	137
5.6	Least popular domains	143
5.8	Summary	147
5.8.1	Domains.....	147
5.8.2	Phonological correspondences in loanwords	150
5.8.2.1	Voiceless plosives and affricates.....	151
5.8.2.2	Voiced plosives and affricates	153
5.8.2.3	Nasal stops.....	153
5.8.2.4	Voiceless fricatives	153
5.8.2.5	Voiced fricatives.....	154
5.8.2.6	Consonant clusters	155
5.8.2.7	Trills and approximants	156
5.8.2.8	Vowels	157
5.8.2.9	Diphthongs	158
5.8.2.10	Influence of spelling	159
5.8.2.11	Epenthetic vowels	159
5.9	Conclusion	163
CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION.....		164
6.1	Introduction.....	164
6.2	Findings.....	165
6.3	Limitations.....	172
6.4	The way forward – contemporary online texts	172
6.5	Lack of phonological integration of new loanwords	177
6.6	Closing comments.....	178

APPENDICES.....	192
TABLES: Newspaper articles (1884-1920).....	192
TABLES: Newspaper articles (1893-1992).....	193
TABLES: Novels (1914-1980).....	194
TABLES: Novels (2003-2017).....	200
TABLES: Newspaper articles (2012-2020).....	207
TABLES OF PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTIONS.....	210
TABLES: Newspaper adverts (1884-1920).....	210
TABLES: Newspaper articles (1884-1920).....	211
TABLES: Novels (1914-1980).....	212
TABLES: Novels (2003-2017).....	218
TABLES Newspaper articles (2012-2020).....	225

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

In this study my primary focus is on loanwords in isiXhosa texts. My interest in loanwords however goes back some years. For my MA research (Futuse, 2019) I focussed on how loanwords in a corpus of largely spoken contemporary isiXhosa are incorporated into the noun class system of the language. After an extensive and systematic examination of noun loanwords in the utterances of isiXhosa speakers my conclusions were that while Class 9 is still the preferred noun class for borrowed words in contemporary isiXhosa speech, other noun classes such as Class 1a (e.g., *uFacebook*) and even Class 14 (e.g., *ubudom – stupidity* from *dom* the Afrikaans word for *stupid*) are also becoming productive for loanword creations.

In this doctoral study my aim is now to establish a database of loanwords used in a selection of historical and contemporary texts, and to discover why they were used in the first place and how they are phonotactically and orthographically adapted to isiXhosa. In this regard we need to understand both perceptual influences, such as the spelling of the source language (see Venderlin and Peperkamp, 2006) and the phonology of the borrowing language (see Davidson, 2007).

My study is also concerned with what the loanwords can tell us about isiXhosa society at the time of writing, what new concepts were being introduced and how these can be seen in new (borrowed) lexical items, and for those reasons I scrutinize the most productive domains for loanword adoption. While in my MA study I predictably discovered that loanwords are used by isiXhosa speakers when there is a new concept, the data revealed that sometimes there are other reasons like prestige and even polysemy – if the isiXhosa word has too many meanings, e.g., *amandla* means *energy, power, force, strength* - and the speaker tries to be more specific and then uses the English word to distinguish between meanings. While the need for words to refer to new concepts is an important consideration, this research homes in the specific historical motivations that gave rise to the proliferation of loanwords in isiXhosa texts in the 19th and 20th centuries. This is an area of study that has never been afforded academic

attention before and therefore suggested itself to me as one that could benefit from closer linguistic analysis.

In my MA study I also reflected on the fact that because many isiXhosa speakers learn in the medium of English, the English word might seem more appropriate in certain contexts, *ipsychology* for example. It was discovered that sometimes a particular lifestyle generates more borrowing in the lexicon, e.g., in the beauty industry: *imassage*, *ifacial*, *ukuslimisha* 'to slim'. The lexicon of isiXhosa speakers is also influenced by speakers of isiZulu who migrate to the Western Cape and continue to speak exclusively in isiZulu. For example, I have heard isiXhosa speakers say *andinasikhathi* instead of *andinaxesha* when wanting to say *I don't have time*, borrowing the isiZulu word for *time* which is *isikhathi* but retaining the isiXhosa *ndi-* which is the 1st person singular subject concord. However, the issue of borrowing from isiZulu is moot when one considers that historically the languages were considered as one (see Arndt, 2022).

In this study I take consideration of all the above but focus on loanwords in texts. I therefore select a number of historical and contemporary isiXhosa texts specifically for this purpose. However, before I proceed, I need to clarify key concepts and terms that will be used in this study.

1.2 Key concepts

Borrowing

Durkin (2014:3) provides the following definition of the term borrowing

the term 'borrowing' describes a process in which one language replicates a linguistic feature from another language, either wholly or partly. The metaphorical use of the word 'borrowing' to describe this process has some well-known flaws: nothing is taken away from what is termed the donor language, and there is no assumption that the 'borrowing' or 'loan' will ever be returned. In many ways, the idea of influence would be more appropriate.

Donor language/borrowing language

When the vocabulary of one language enters the lexis of another language, the language that provides the new lexical item is called the donor language, and the language accepting the new word is known as the borrowing language, or the receiving language (Durkin, 2014:8).

New word forms

Durkin contends that the "borrowing language acquires a new word form or word meaning, or both, from the donor language" (Ibid.) My specific focus will be on the "new word form" and on how these new lexical items are phonotactically adapted to isiXhosa.

Code-switching

Code-switching is what happens when speakers do not deviate from the morphosyntactic of their language and merely "import single content morphemes or phrases from another language" (Winford, 2013:182). The question is "When do single morpheme insertions become loanwords?" Winford argues that although some scholars appeal to the frequency of use by monolinguals and morphological integration these explanations are inadequate since frequency counts are often inconclusive "and the distinction between a switch and a borrowing is not transparent to bilinguals" and even morphological integration to the receiving language is "shaky, since both word switches and borrowings may or may not be adapted" (Ibid.). In this study I am aware of these difficulties of definition in terms of when a word is merely a switch or when it is a borrowing, and it is for that very reason that I am hoping to present a data base that can provide some insights into the popularity of certain loanwords over a specific time span. The detailed description of the phonological integration of lexical items from the donor language to isiXhosa will also shed some light on the processes involved in the creation of loanwords.

1.3 Loanword adaptations

Loanword adaptations are alterations that are used in order for the words that are borrowed from the source language to fit in with the borrowing language. Peperkamp and Dupoux (2003:368) go on to say that "the phonetic form of the source words is faithfully copied onto an abstract underlying form, and that adaptations are produced by the standard phonological processes in production". Adaptation of borrowed words normally receive a phonological treatment where the loanword is made to conform with the borrowing language. For example, the word *phonetics* will be written as *ifonetiki* in isiXhosa, thus replacing the <p> by <f> in the orthography and the <c> with a <k> followed by a final vowel <i>. This shows that the borrowing language (in this case

isiXhosa) can apply a phonological adaptation process to incorporate the loanword into its lexicon.

It is obvious that languages in neighbouring regions often borrow from each other. Winford (2010:173) states that in terms of the relationship between the recipient language (which is referred to as the RL) and the source language (SL) loanwords:

have to be adapted to the syntax and morphology of the RL, particularly if it has rules involving categories like case, number, gender, agreement, and the like. In general, loanwords pose few problems for adaptation to the syntax of the RL, assuming they share the syntactic behaviour of items belonging to similar lexical categories in the RL.

One can agree that this is possible because throughout history people have taken words from other languages when they want to and they do this for a variety of reasons, including, but not limited to: to fill conceptual gaps, to name new objects or inventions, for stylistic reasons, for play and for prestige, possibly to sound more sophisticated or educated. They have adapted these borrowed words to the phonology of their own language. Sometimes the adaptation is extensive, as in the isiXhosa: *imyuziyam* 'museum' and sometimes it is minimal as with the isiXhosa *itships* 'chips'.

Mwita (2009:51) observes: "When a word is borrowed from one language to another, in most cases it violates some constraints of syllable well-formedness. The recipient language moves fast to fix the problem." What has not been studied in any depth with regard to borrowed words in isiXhosa is exactly how these problems are fixed in terms of orthography, phonology, morphological structure, and semantics. Researchers of borrowed words in languages such as Japanese have established that there are specific processes involved in the integration of English words into the language (see Kay, 1995; Irwin, 2011) and are able to describe these processes in depth. The phonological changes that take place when loanwords are incorporated into Japanese are detailed in terms of phonological change (for example just two of these being $v \rightarrow b$ so English 'van' becomes *ban* in Japanese, and *ti-* becoming *chi-* as in 'ticket' which becomes *chiketto*). While some studies in Bantu languages have focussed on borrowing (Jokweni, 1992; Branford and Claughton, 1995; Koopman, 1996; Khumalo, 1984; Futuse, 2019) not nearly enough research has been done to show the exact processes

involved in the integration of loanwords in isiXhosa using corpora of written texts. In this integration one can notice the intonation change in some of the loanwords in spoken isiXhosa, it is not possible to detect this in the written word since as Oosthuysen (2017:8) observes "sound is not usually indicated in writing in Xhosa".

1.4 Orthography of isiXhosa

IsiXhosa was "first produced in printed form in 1823 by Rev. J Bennie on a press imported from Scotland installed at Tyhume in the Eastern Cape" (Lloyd and Marshall, 2002:xxi).

The "Old Orthography" was "used by the Reverend John Appleyard when he printed first translation of the Bible in isiXhosa at Mount Coke in the Eastern Cape in 1859" (Oosthuysen, 2016:1). Features of the Old Orthography were the use of the apostrophe where it was considered that elision had taken place, the difference between aspirated and non-aspirated consonants not being indicated and the implosive and explosive 'b' not being differentiated (Oosthuysen, 2016:1-2). Oosthuysen notes that "by the time Kropf's dictionary was published an inverted comma above the following vowel was used to indicate aspiration as well as to indicate the voiced explosive bilabial" (Ibid.:2). An inverted comma was used above the letter 'r' to indicate the voiceless velar fricative while a dot above the 'r' was used to indicate the voiceless ejective velar affricate (Ibid.).

H.W. Pahl (1989:xxxiv) editor in chief of the first published volume of *The Greater Dictionary of Xhosa*, notes that "in all texts published in Xhosa before the mid 1930's the word-division was not consistent ... prefixes were written either conjunctively with the nominal stem or disjunctively". He goes on to detail the attempts made at the beginning of the 1930s to "bring order" to Xhosa spelling via the so called New Orthography which was devised and introduced in 1935." (Ibid.) He explains that because there were some non-Roman symbol for the implosive *b*, the velar fricative and the voiceless palatal fricative the New Orthography "proved to be impracticable" and the result was that it was never accepted by Xhosa writers (Ibid.). Finally, when the central government took control of Black education in 1954 "Xhosa orthography thus reverted to the use of the 26 letters of the Roman alphabet without any alien symbols" (Ibid.) Pahl admits that there still remain problems with the orthography, for example the letter

h has to serve for both the voiceless glottal fricative and the breathy voiced glottal fricative (Ibid.). Another major issue is that:

The distinction between the prenasalized clicks with breathy voice, *nch*, *nqh*, *nxh* in the New Orthography, occurs only Tshiwo Xhosa ... no such distinction is made in the other dialects of Xhosa, ie by the majority of Xhosa speakers. This difference resented an insuperable problem in the New Orthography as most Xhosas never knew which letter combination to write, *nch* etc or *ngc* etc, with the result that in the present standard Orthography no distinction is made in the writing of these clicks ... (Ibid.)

Pahl also refers to "the problem in differentiating between the aspirated alveo-palatal affricate [tʃ^h] and the ejective alveo-palatal affricate [tʃʰ]" (Ibid.).

While an understanding of the problems of orthographically representing isiXhosa phonology is critical to this thesis, it is also instructive to see the language as part of a larger language family, hence the following discussion on Zone S languages.

1.5 Linguistic biography – Zone S languages

Gowlett (2006: 610) has the classification of isiZulu and isiXhosa as Nguni languages – isiXhosa being Zone S41 and isiZulu being Zone S42. In terms of their phonology, he notes that Zone S languages have a five-vowel system "with the Nguni languages splitting /e/ into [ɛ ~ i] and /o/ into [~ o]. The raised allophone in each case is determined mainly by a following close vowel" (Ibid.:611). He observes that "The Nguni languages have a phonotactic constraint against vowel juxtaposition, and there are various strategies for its avoidance" and describes these strategies as being a) vowel deletion, b) vowel coalescence and c) consonantalization. (Ibid.:631). In terms of consonants Gowlett notes that Zone S languages have "large consonant inventories" (Ibid.:614):

Typically, there is a three-way distinction between stops and affricates: voiceless unaspirated (often ejective), voiceless aspirated and voiced. Voiced implosive stops occur in some languages. (Ibid.)

The consonants are tabled as follows:

XHOSA (In Gowlett, 2006:615)

<i>p'</i>	<i>t'</i>		<i>ts'</i>	<i>tʃ'</i>	<i>c'</i>	<i>k'</i>	<i>kx'</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>ʈ</i>	<i>ʄ</i>
<i>ph</i>	<i>th</i>		<i>tsh</i>	<i>tʃh</i>	<i>chy</i>	<i>kh</i>	<i>kxh</i>	<i>/h</i>	<i>!h</i>	<i>ʄ</i>
<i>ḃ</i>	<i>ḏ</i>		<i>ḏz</i>	<i>ḏʃ</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>g</i>		<i>gʃ</i>	<i>gʈ</i>	<i>ʄ</i>
<i>ḅ</i>										
<i>f</i>		<i>f</i>	<i>s</i>	<i>f</i>		<i>h</i>	<i>x</i>			
<i>v</i>		<i>ḃ</i>	<i>z</i>			<i>fi</i>	<i>ʃ</i>			
		<i>l</i>			<i>y</i>	<i>w</i>				
<i>m</i>	<i>n</i>				<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>		<i>ŋʃ</i>	<i>ŋʈ</i>	<i>ʄ</i>
<i>m</i>	<i>ḡ</i>				<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>				
<i>mp'</i>	<i>nt'</i>	<i>ntl'</i>	<i>nts'</i>	<i>ntʃ'</i>	<i>nc'</i>	<i>nk'</i>		<i>ŋʃ'</i>	<i>ŋʈ'</i>	<i>ʄ</i>
<i>mḃ</i>	<i>nd</i>	<i>ndḃ</i>	<i>ndz</i>	<i>ndʃ</i>	<i>ɲʃ</i>	<i>ng</i>		<i>ŋʃ</i>	<i>ŋʈ</i>	<i>ʄ</i>
<i>mpf'</i>										
<i>mḃv</i>										

ZULU (In Gowlett, 2006:616)

<i>b</i>	<i>bv</i>	<i>d</i>	<i>dl</i>	<i>dz</i>	<i>dʃ</i>	<i>g</i>
<i>ḃ</i>	<i>ḃv</i>	<i>ḏ</i>		<i>ḏz</i>	<i>ḏʃ</i>	<i>g</i>
	<i>v</i>			<i>r</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>w</i>
	<i>v</i>			<i>z</i>	<i>ʃ</i>	<i>w</i>
<i>m</i>		<i>n</i>			<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ŋ</i>
<i>m</i>		<i>ḡ</i>				<i>ŋ</i>

In terms of click consonants, Gowlett notes that "Ndebele, Zulu, Xhosa ... have borrowed extensively from the Khoesan click system" (Ibid.:616) while the canonical syllable structure of these languages is CV. With regard to stress, Zone S languages "have a penultimate length-stress feature which signals the end of a phrase or sentence in declarative sentences" (Ibid.:617). With regard to tone, Zone S languages "have a two-tone system "in which some syllables are accented (by a High tone) while other syllables are unaccented. High tones may spread rightwards to unaccented (Low-toned) syllables under certain circumstances" (Ibid.).

1.6 Syllabic structure

In order to best understand the processes at play in loanword creations in isiXhosa texts, a brief description of isiXhosa's syllable structure is relevant here.

Syllabic structure

Oosthuysen (2016:3) notes that isiXhosa syllables generally consist of a consonant (or a cluster of consonants) "followed by a vowel and are grouped together to form a word, as in *ngonaphakade* (eternally) which consists of the syllables *ngo-na-pha-ka-de*". Also germane to the syllabic structure of isiXhosa is the fact that "some words commence in

a vowel, in which case this initial vowel constitutes a syllable on its own, as in *amanzi* (water) which consists of the syllables *a-ma-nzi*" (Ibid.).

1.7 Grapheme to phoneme correspondence

The following table of the grapheme to phoneme correspondence for isiXhosa based on the standard orthography will help in assessing changes the spelling of particular words over time.

Grapheme to phoneme correspondence for isiXhosa (from Swart, 2000:27)

C = b,c,d,f,g,h,j,k,l,m,n,p,q,r,s,t,v,w,x,y,z			
V = a,e,i,o,u			
aa → [a:]	gr → [ɣ]	ngc → [ŋ]	p → [p']
a → [a]	Vgw → [q̣w]	ngq → [ŋ̣]	qh → [tʰ]
bh → [ḅ]	gx → [ŋ̣]	ngx → [ŋ̣]	q → [tʰ]
b → [b]	VgV → [q̣]	nkc → [ŋ̣]	rh → [x]
ch → [tʰ]	g → [g]	nkh → [ŋkʰ]	r → [r]
c → [t]	hl → [t]	nkq → [ŋ̣ tʰ]	sh → [ʃ]
dl → [ḍ]	VhV → [ḥ]	nkx → [ŋ̣]	s → [s]
dy → [ḍ]	h → [h]	nkV → [ŋkʰ]	tsh → [tʃʰ]
VdV → [ḍ]	imf → [iṃɸfʰ]	nty → [ŋcʰ]	tyh → [tʰ]
d → [d]	imv → [iṃɸv]	nyh → [ŋʰ]	th → [tʰ]
emfi → [eṃɸfʰi]	ii → [i:]	nc → [ŋ̣]	tl → [tʰ]
emfu → [eṃɸfʰu]	i → [i]	ng → [ŋg]	ts → [tsʰ]
emvi → [eṃɸvi]	VjV → [ḍʒ]	nj → [ŋdʒ]	ty → [tʰ]
emvu → [eṃɸvu]	j → [dʒ]	nq → [ŋ̣]	t → [tʰ]
emf → [eṃɸfʰ]	kh → [kʰ]	nx → [ŋ̣]	umb → [uṃb]
emv → [eṃɸv]	kr → [kxʰ]	ny → [ŋ]	umC → [uṃ]
eC ⁿ i → [e] 1 ≤ n ≤ 4	k → [kʰ]	nz → [ŋdz]	uu → [u:]
eC ⁿ u → [e] 1 ≤ n ≤ 4	l → [l]	n → [n]	u → [u]
ee → [e:]	mb → [mb]	oC ⁿ i → [o] 1 ≤ n ≤ 4	v → [v]
e → [e]	m → [m]	oC ⁿ u → [o] 1 ≤ n ≤ 4	w → [w]
f → [f]	ntyh → [ŋcʰ]	oo → [ɔ:]	xh → [tʰ]
gc → [ŋ̣]	ndl → [nḍ]	o → [ɔ]	x → [t]
gq → [ŋ̣]	ndy → [ŋj]	ph → [pʰ]	y → [j]
			z → [z]

1.8 Variation

In my MA research (Futuse, 2019), I analysed borrowed words in the speech of isiXhosa speakers and noted that borrowed words were realized differently phonologically and morphologically depending on the speaker, the context and even the intonation. This means that some loanwords can be in the form of a single borrowed word or phrase

with very little alternation in terms of the original phonology and morphology, for example: *i-autobank* and *i-pay-as-you-go*, or *u-e-wallet*.

Apart from different spellings of the same loanword over time, a consideration of variation is also important in terms of synonymous loanwords, e.g., *ishop* and *ivenkile* are both used for *shop*, but both enjoy different levels of popularity at different times (and with different speakers) in the history of the isiXhosa loanword lexicon.

Before embarking on the actual study, it is important to understand borrowing in isiXhosa within the broader context of lexical borrowing as a global phenomenon and to highlight those areas that will inform my own analyses.

1.9 Cognate languages, language contact and forced separation

Cognate languages share a common ancestral language – isiXhosa and all the other Bantu languages are believed to share an ancestral language known as Proto-Bantu. As Guthrie (1962:279) explains:

As there is a well-defined group of general Bantu roots, it may be inferred that these occurred in a single ancestor language to be called 'Proto-Bantu'. Assuming then that such an ancestor existed, the fact that every Bantu language contains reflexes of the general roots must mean that all the Bantu languages are descended from this one original stock.

Apart from existing research into borrowed words from Afrikaans and English in isiXhosa, this study also has to take into account that South Africa has recognized nine cognate indigenous languages¹, in addition to Afrikaans and English, as official languages, and it would be natural for lexical borrowing to occur amongst all these languages. Kamwangamalu (2000:50) refers to this multilingual post-apartheid South Africa in this short summary of the official languages:

¹ See South African Constitution, 1996, 6.1 (page 4) www.justice.gov.za/legislation/constitution/saconstitution-web-eng.pdf

After the demise of apartheid and the subsequent birth of democracy in South Africa in 1994, the new government has adopted a multilingual language policy and ... has given official recognition not only to English and Afrikaans, as was the case in the apartheid era, but also to nine African languages: Zulu, Xhosa, Venda, Swati, Ndebele, Tsonga, Tswana, Northern Sotho and Southern Sotho.

Returning to the issue of contact between Bantu languages (not just South African or Southern African Bantu languages) Herbert and Bailey (2002:65) imply that it is difficult to assess the influence of such contact as "the languages themselves, precisely on account of their shared ancestry, are broadly similar in structure and shared vocabulary". Also, important to remember is that the codifying of these languages was part of a colonial project and that this would have a direct impact on what the missionaries and linguists decided to write down, and what was left out².

Forced separation of these languages also further problematizes the issue. South African indigenous languages were primarily, or during apartheid times, according to Brenzinger (2017:42), "used as the main parameter for defining the distinct linguistic identities of "Bantu populations" and "subsequently black South Africans were forced to live in so-called "independent self-governing homelands". He goes on to observe that during this time language was "the device for splitting and dividing the black people of the Union and to establish barriers so they would not be able to engage politically and intellectually on a national level" and he mentions that the south African Constitution states that "Xhosa shall be the official language of the Republic of Transkei and, except as provided in section 41, Sesotho, English and Afrikaans may also be used for legislative, judicial and administrative purposes" (Ibid.:42).

What is important here is that politicians sought to create division amongst speakers of different languages in order to weaken any powerful opposition against their white hegemonic rule. An examination of loanwords in isiXhosa in texts written during apartheid should shed some light on whether there was sufficient contact between speakers of indigenous languages to influence borrowing amongst these languages, or

² See Makoni, S. and Pennycook, A. eds., 2006. *Disinventing and reconstituting languages*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, for a detailed treatment of the relationship between colonialism and language scholarship in Africa.

whether English and Afrikaans were the main sources of borrowed words which would then strengthen the assumption that languages of politically and economically powerful people tend to be the main source of loanwords for any language in contact situations. As Haspelmath and Tadmor (2009:1) observe “the likelihood of lexical borrowing depends on the type of contact situation. A language of a population under the political control of another group may be likely to borrow administrative terms from the dominant group’s language”.

The close family relationship of isiXhosa and isiZulu is something one still needs to take into account when considering whether one of these languages has borrowed a lexical item from the other. Taking a lesson from English again, Durkin (2014:171) is of the view that English vocabulary was also influenced by Scandinavian although it is difficult to ascertain the extent of the borrowing because the “earliest substantial records for any of Scandinavian languages date from later than the period of contact with English”. Another reason for this difficulty is:

the close family relationship of English and Scandinavian means that intricate philological work is often required to determine whether a loan has occurred in particular instance, or alternatively another type of influence, or even no influence at all. (Ibid.:171).

With isiXhosa words borrowed from English and Afrikaans no such difficulty exists because there is no close family relationship between the languages, but with loans from cognate languages such as isiZulu it is easy to forget that they have been borrowed and a similar problem (as with English and Scandinavian) could emerge in terms of trying to ascertain which language the loanword originated in.

Discussing similar divisions (as those between Nguni languages) in Scandinavian languages, Dahl (2001:216) observes that:

Communities tend to be in contact even after splitting up, and they tend to influence each other linguistically. Moreover, the notion of a speech community is itself problematic. The ideal case of a speech community would be a group of people where everyone speaks equally often to everyone else, and nobody ever speaks to anyone outside the group.

Thus, even after being separated physically, having different languages groups in proximity and their speakers interacting, makes it possible for nouns or even phrases

from one language to be seamlessly incorporated into another by speakers of the different language, for example, “Now *banqabile abantu abafana naye*, I must say” ‘Now people who are like him/her are scarce, I must say’ (Gxilishe, 1992:93)³. It becomes simpler for people who are in constant contact with each other to communicate especially when they are multilingual and have fluid lexicons that borrow from each other.

Historically, because speakers of African languages needed to communicate with English and Afrikaans speakers for various reasons (see Branford and Claughton, 2002) on a number of issues including politics and governance, education, employment, religion, and land (to name just a few) people would have been exposed to Afrikaans and English in all of these domains. Some of the domains would rely heavily on a lexicon that did not have equivalent words in the indigenous language and so speakers would need to adopt specific words in order to fill “conceptual gaps” (see Bhatia and Ritchie, 2008). In addition, speakers of diverse South African languages would have been in contact with each other and would have had occasion to borrow from one another (Slabbert and Finlayson, 2002; Mabule, 2015). The bottom line is that most of the time, lexical borrowing happens when there is language contact between people who meet face to face and become involved with each other and adapt aspects of each other’s lexicon to their own when the need arrives. According to Peperkamp and Dupoux (2003:367):

Linguists typically account for these adaptations in terms of the same conceptual framework used for standard phonological processes in the native language. That is, loanword adaptations are part of the native phonology and treated on a par with other phonological facts within the borrowing language.

³ There is a wealth of literature available on code-switching, code-mixing, translanguaging and more recently a new theory ‘relanguaging’ (see Krause, L.S., 2022. *Relanguaging language from a South African township school*. Multilingual Matters) but while these theories are essential for understanding how people “language” in multilingual spaces they are not the focus of this study which is restricted to borrowed words.

1.10 Loanword frequency and colonization and lifestyle changes

Another aim that prompted me to embark upon this study was to discover what loanwords in texts could tell us about the life of isiXhosa-speakers at the time of writing and the extent of the colonization process in infiltrating their intellects and world views (see Comaroff and Comaroff, 1989:284).

From my MA study I discovered that new loanwords in contemporary isiXhosa speak to new realities and technologies, but I still wanted to know which loanwords Xhosa writers used at the dawn of isiXhosa literature and what these words could tell us about the realities of life in South Africa at the time. These older loanwords are known as “established” borrowing (Durkin, 2014:295). In isiXhosa the difference between established borrowed words and newer ones can be seen by comparing older borrowings like *ivenkile* ‘shop’ and *isikolo* ‘school’ with new loanwords like *i-internet*, *i-data* and *i-wi-fi* and even nowadays *ishop*’ which are words in the vocabulary of both youngsters and older people who are comfortable with their phones, laptops or computers of hearing English words more frequently than Afrikaans ones, hence the shift from *ivenkile* ‘winkel’ to *ishop* ‘shop’. Cook (2009:98) quoted by Dowling states: “It is also probably more likely that speakers are opting for the vocabulary of the economically dominant language in order to index their urbanity” (Dowling 2011:355). This could explain not only borrowed vocabulary for technology but also the preference for loans for words that do have isiXhosa equivalents like *iTV* instead of *umonabonakude*.

1.11 Placing loanword research in isiXhosa in an international context

Taking into consideration the above observations it became clear to me that I needed to start the process of bringing research into loanwords in isiXhosa in line with that of other languages. For example, Durkin’s (2014) work on borrowed words in English covers a range of topics including early contacts in continental Europe and Britain, characteristics of earlier and later borrowings, sound changes, word geography and semantic borrowing, quantifying French and Latin loans and loanwords in English after 1500 and finally the long-term effects of loanwords on the English lexicon. All these areas (i.e., discussions on early contacts, earlier and later borrowings, sound changes,

word geography etc.) could be replicated in this study in the South African context with isiXhosa loanwords. As previously discussed, while there is some scattered work on borrowed words in isiXhosa, it is clear that far more needs to be done, specifically in terms of loanwords in texts. Durkin's (2014) important work on the significance of borrowed words throughout the history of the English language sets an example for scholars of loanwords in other languages. Although isiXhosa does not have the huge corpus of old written texts that English has, there are texts dating back to the early 1800s which could be used as sources such as the ones in this study that I am using.

Durkin (2014:105) mentions that earlier scholars of English tried to quantify the extent of loans from other languages, and he refers to Serjeantson's 1935 list of over 520 loanwords that were borrowed from Latin. Such a list (or lists) of borrowed words in isiXhosa (according to the source language) has yet to be compiled for isiXhosa.

Scholarship on borrowed words in English is not without controversy and this is also important for me and other scholars of borrowed words in South Africa's languages to take note of. For example, there is still a debate as to whether some words should be regarded as borrowed or as 'single-word switches to Latin' because it is not exceptional for some of the borrowed words to appear with their 'Latin case ending' (Ibid.:103). This would be similar to words in isiXhosa texts that are not in any way adapted to the morphology and phonology of the language, for example if a Xhosa writer were to use the word 'cupboards' in an isiXhosa sentence without the Class 10 plural prefix *ii-* and with no attempt at adapting the word to phonology of isiXhosa (the phonologically adapted word being represented orthographically as *iikhabathi*).

1.12 Loanwords as part of language evolution

The habit of speakers using words from other languages in their speech and writings is an ancient practice that has led to the enrichment of the vocabulary of many of the world's most powerful languages (see Banta, 1981; Durkin, 2014; Haspelmath and Tadmor, 2009). My study on loanwords in isiXhosa will thus take into account the fact that borrowed words themselves have often already been loaned from a language other than the source language (e.g., the English word *accommodation* was borrowed from

French via Latin in the early 1700s) although I will not treat historical etymologies in detail. It is, nevertheless, important for contemporary critics of the anglicization of the lexicons of African languages (see Mazrui, 2002) to be aware that borrowed words are a natural part of the evolution of lexicons in most of the world's languages. For example, Durkin (2014:253) notes that in a certain period of their history English speakers borrowed the names of the months from Latin or French and we should not forget that that borrowing happened even though "Old English also had non-borrowed words for all the months of the year". In a similar fashion, whereas nowadays everyone would accept *uJanuwari*, *uFebruwari* and the other borrowed months as legitimate isiXhosa words some journalists for the online isiXhosa newspaper *Isolezwe* still favour the original isiXhosa month names⁴ (e.g., *eyoMqungu*, *eyoMdumba*). This practice might be considered the equivalent of contemporary English journalists referring to May as *The Month of Three Milkings* as it was called in Old English.

Borrowed words, sometimes referred to as loanwords, are words that are accepted from other language(s) (the source language(s)) by the speakers of another language (O'Grady, Dobrovolsky & Katamba, 1997; Fromkin, Rodman & Hyams, 2018). The abstract noun "borrowing" refers to the process of speakers adopting words from a source language (in South Africa mostly English or Afrikaans and some international languages) into their native language (Branford and Claughton, 2002:215). IsiXhosa speakers, like speakers of other languages, also take advantage of their ability to assimilate borrowed words into the phonology and morphology of the first language (L1) (Thipa, 1992). This is how isiXhosa ends up with words like *itafile* (table) which is borrowed from Afrikaans *tafel* and *i-eropleyini* from the English *aeroplane*. Some speakers these days, especially the young ones who are studying at mixed languages schools, even just say *itable* and *iaeroplane* using English phonology and just prefixing *i-*. Therefore, as much as borrowed words have been around for a long time as is evident in some of the texts under scrutiny in this study, a number of them are changing in terms of the way they are being written and pronounced.

⁴ See for example an article that translates as "January does not want to end"
<https://www.isolezwelesixhosa.co.za/iindaba/eyomqungu-ayifuni-ukuphela/>

The borrowing of words may happen unconsciously but is motivated by a number of different factors such as “precision, explicitness, expressiveness, currency of term, gap-filling and modernisation” (Gumbo and Mutasa, 2020:53). Parents and grandparents might protest their children’s increasing use of borrowed words when speaking the mother-tongue, but it is also very common to hear language purists using the very same borrowed words (for the motivations listed above) for which they had chastised their youth. The view that the borrowing of words is something deviant and retrogressive is still current among certain demographics of the isiXhosa-speaking population (see Dowling, 2021), but the reality is that lexical borrowing is a natural process that all languages undergo at some time in their history (Haspelmath and Tadmor, 2009).

1.13 Background to the study

While a number of recent works have focussed on borrowed words in spoken and informal isiXhosa (Madubela, 2021, Futuse, 2019) in this study I endeavour to examine this linguistic phenomenon in formal writing (novels and newspaper articles) and therefore select a number of historical and contemporary isiXhosa texts specifically for this purpose. My definition of loanwords is those words that are accepted from other languages (the source language(s)) by the speakers of another language, but my specific focus will be on how these borrowed words are used phonologically, morphologically, syntactically, and semantically in isiXhosa texts and what their inclusion in these texts can tell us about society and politics at the time of writing. My study will also examine the strategies used by isiXhosa writers to integrate borrowed words into the morphology, phonology, and orthography of the language. It will be apparent from my corpus that I include words with their surrounding grammatical prefixes and suffixes – this in order to show the extent to which these words are treated as *bone fide* isiXhosa lexical items.

In the literature review it is important that I consult texts that view loanwords as a global phenomenon, and thereafter to consult academic words that scrutinize their presence in African and South African indigenous language texts.

1.14 Loanword integration and phonological adaptation

Nortier and Schatz (1992:188) argue that:

in many studies of language contact the degree of integration of one-word switches is used as a criterion for the distinction between code-switching and borrowing. A **completely integrated word is generally viewed as a loan.** (my emphasis)

The authors make reference to the fact that not all scholars are in agreement as to the extent to which the word must be integrated before it is considered part of the borrowing language's lexicon (Ibid.:189). Nortier and Schatz's own research (using five language pairs, one language being the source language, the other being the borrowing language) revealed that there are "different stages in the process of borrowing" (Ibid.:191). They attest that in the first stage of borrowing there is no phonological or morphological integration of loans, and that people who use these loans are bilinguals. In the next stage there is some phonological adaptation but no morphological integration – "the borrowed forms are bare, they lack morphological characteristics from either of the two languages" and both monolinguals and bilinguals can use these forms (Ibid.:192). Nortier and Schatz argue that the last stage is when speakers totally integrate the borrowed word into their own language, both in terms of its phonology and its morphology speakers are often unaware that they are even using a borrowed word and do not even have to know the donor language to use the borrowed word (Ibid.). These findings will focus my own analyses of data in terms of the stage of borrowing of the word.

Dowling (2011) used pictures that represented lexical items to find out why words that have equivalents in isiXhosa were used giving an English substitute by speakers of isiXhosa living in Cape Town. She showed her participants eleven noun pictures being a gun, an advertisement, a security alarm, newspapers, a remote control, weather, transport, a circle, a stadium, a wave, and the figure six. For the pictures of nouns only three were given isiXhosa words by over 50% of the participants, those being *umpu* 'gun', *iliza* 'wave', *imozulu* 'weather'. The participants applied direct borrowing (which were at the three nouns, using the Class 9 noun prefix *i-*, *i-alarm*; *i-remote*, *i-security* without further adaptation of the word morphologically, also using English phonology (Ibid.:355). There was "one back-to-front calque *amaphaphandaba*, translating 'papers-

news” (Ibid.:352). With the verbs only isiXhosa words were given to translate ‘carry’, ‘ride’, ‘drink’ and ‘add’ while borrowed words were used over 50% of the time for ‘hug’, ‘push’, ‘measure’, ‘polish’, ‘divide’ and ‘recharge’. IsiXhosa words were used for adjectives except for ‘stressed’ and ‘surprised’ for which over 80% of participants used the English words. The speakers accomplish this easily because they were communicating rather than writing the conversation.

1.15 Loanwords in other Bantu languages

My study is also motivated by continuing research into borrowing in Bantu languages in and outside of South Africa. In her study on loanwords in Kiswahili, Mwaliwa (2014:7) observes that most loanwords from Modern Standard Arabic (MSA) in Kiswahili “undergo adaptation processes in order to conform to the permissible Standard Swahili syllable structures”. She shows how Kiswahili speakers change closed syllables (syllables with short vowels ending in a consonant) to open ones (syllables that end with a long vowel sound), and gives examples with Modern Standard Arabic loans in Kiswahili, such as “/xabar/ > /xabari/ news “ (Ibid.:146 - /la:kin/ > /lakini/” (Ibid.:146) – the first word being the Modern Standard Arabic, the second being the Kiswahili word.

She also notes that although Modern Standard Arabic words can have stress on the penultimate syllable, this stress will also be found if the word is borrowed into Kiswahili, although the stress placement will be different, for example, the Modern Arabic word for ‘fifty’ /xamsi:n becomes /ham’sini/ (Ibid.:176). Mwaliwa (Ibid.:113) referring to work done by Aswani and Mwitwa notes that the CVC (consonant-vowel-constant) is “one of the syllables found in Kiswahili loanwords only” and gives as examples “/daktari/ for doctor in English and /sultani/ for Sultan in MSA.”

It is important that studies on lexical borrowings in isiXhosa also observe the way in which phonological restraints are resolved when loanwords are incorporated into the language.

Matiki’s (2016) study on patterns of lexical borrowings in Chichewa is also a helpful source of ideas on how to establish similar patterns in isiXhosa. Matiki’s study established that nouns are the “most borrowable lexical item” (Ibid.:83) and that those

verbs that were borrowed in Chichewa were ones that cover activities that are not indigenous to Chichewa culture, e.g., *batiza* (baptize), *tayipa* (type) (Ibid.:84). In Matiki's study out of a total of 359 loanword nouns, a whopping 252 (70%) had been borrowed from English (Ibid.:85). I anticipated a similar trend for English borrowings in isiXhosa, but it is important to learn from this study that isiXhosa is not alone in its reliance on English to provide much of its new lexical items. Matiki (Ibid.) includes the economic power of English and the relative short written history of Chichewa "which makes it less understood than English which is well-known and thus easy to identify loanwords in it" as some of the reasons for the dominance of English in loanword adaptation in that language. This reference to the relatively short written history of Chichewa resonates with this study, as isiXhosa also does not have a long history of written texts, and neither is its grammar and lexicon as extensively studied as is that of English. Matiki also notes that Chichewa appears not to have a need to borrow from other Malawian languages and this again is something that is relevant to my study as there are a number of Bantu languages closely related to isiXhosa which appear not to be huge contributors of loanwords to the language. Matiki groups loanwords in Chichewa into semantic fields (Ibid.86-87) and concludes that by far the most productive domain for borrowed words is 'The modern world'. This discovery again is pertinent for my study as I was also motivated to find out which domains stimulated the highest adoption of lexical items from other languages. Matiki notes that borrowed nouns were generally assigned to noun classes according to their semantic content: thus, nouns denoting people were assigned to Class 1 (Ibid.:91). An interesting observation of Matiki's is that nouns starting *chi-* were assigned to Class 7/8 (equivalent of *isi-/izi-* in isiXhosa) (Ibid.:91).

Simango (2000) collected borrowed words used by educated Chichewa-speakers (most of whom were between 25 and 45 years old) in the city of Blantyre over a ten-year period. Before embarking on his analysis of these words Simango gives some background to the status of the various languages of Malawi and makes the important point that "no single Malawian language rivals English for prestige" (Ibid.:491) which means that people are highly motivated to learn it and become bilingual which in turn has implications for more flexible lexicons which start to accept 'foreign expressions' as 'part of the vocabulary of the recipient language' (Ibid.:493). Thus, the author contends that:

Any analysis of linguistic borrowing must start with the analysis of the behaviour of bilingual speakers because the introduction of foreign linguistic forms into a language requires some degree of bilingualism. (Ibid.:493)

Simango shows us how sometimes the host language modifies the syntactic categories of the borrowed words, with borrowed words like *diningroom* being clipped to just the modifier as in *ku dining* 'in the dining (room)' (Ibid.:496) – hence the adjective *dining* takes the place of the modified noun *room*. Simango argues that in Chichewa nominal attributes can be used by themselves without the nominal which they modify (Ibid.:497). Simango's research also revealed that borrowed words in Chichewa sometimes undergo semantic modifications such as the word *madam* which can be used to mean a special, respected woman (Ibid.:499). When both the borrowed word and the original word are used Simango proposes that the borrowed word can be used for subtle differences in semantics such as the English word *dance* referring to a modern dance while the Chichewa word *gule* would be used for a traditional dance (Ibid.:500). Simango observes that borrowing English lexical items "has introduced lexical novelties into the language" (Ibid.:502) because complete phonological modifications "are associated with rural rather than urban speech" and contrasts the modified borrowed word *buledi* with *brede* for bread the latter having only the epenthetic *-i* in word final position while the former has undergone full integration (Ibid.). Simango (Ibid.:505) concludes that:

linguistic borrowing is not a passive process in which one language is the provider and the other the passive recipient; in a number of instances borrowing is an active process wherein the recipient language, in intricate ways, reacts to the presence of foreign forms by making the necessary adjustments to its own system as well as to the features of the foreign forms themselves.

This kind of subconscious acceptance of a word as belonging to one's own language is echoed by Spitulnik (1998:45) who argues that many of the English loanwords in Bemba (one of the three largest languages in Zambia) "carry minimal or no social significance as "foreign" since they have been so assimilated into its phonological and morphological system. She notes that sometimes the borrowed word and the original Bemba word merely act as synonyms for each other and cites the borrowed English word *washa* and its Bemba counterpart *-capa* which are both used for 'wash' and *amaflawas* and *amaluba* 'flowers' as examples (Ibid.:46). She cautions that it "remains to be seen in

these cases of co-existing synonyms ... whether conventional forms like *-capa* and *amaluba* will eventually fall from use and be fully replaced by their more recent counterparts *-washa* and *amaflawas*" (Ibid.) Spitulnik's insights should be applied to similar contexts in which two words - the original and the borrowed, or indeed, two borrowed words - are used in isiXhosa. Kangwa's work into Bemba loanwords draws attention to the way in which borrowed words are generally "fully naturalized into Bemba" (2012:122) and recognizes the role played by phoneme substitution which "subjects the English-derived loanwords to Bemba's restrictions on possible phonemes and their distribution" (Ibid.). I will discuss Kangwa's seminal work in more detail under 2.9.6 below.

Madiba (1994) in his study on loanwords in Venda pays specific attention to this relationship between synonymous words, including the original word and the borrowed word and between two borrowed words, for which he cites the examples of the adoptives *vhengele* (from the Afrikaans 'winkel') and *shopho* (from the English 'shop') and *kamara* from the Afrikaans 'kamer' which is used synonymously with *rumu* from the English 'room' (Ibid.107-108). This phenomenon has not yet been extensively studied with regard to the isiXhosa lexicon. Madiba (1992:133) had previously noted that it is important that speakers accept the loanword and that it is understood by the majority of speakers. He concludes that the status of loanwords in a language is "determined by their actual use and their agreement with the existing linguistic tendencies". Acceptability refers to both linguistic and social acceptability. On the linguistic side, one of the main concerns would be the extent to which the adopted form is readily understood by the maximum number of speakers and the degree of its assimilation into the language structure. In other words, the status of adoptives in a language, is determined by their actual use and their agreement with the existing linguistic tendencies.

1.16 Motivation to conduct the study

My academic readings into the history of loanwords in English and research into their prevalence in many of the world's languages have strongly motivated me to continue my investigation into how, where, and why they are used by isiXhosa speakers with a

focus on their writings: in other words – how loanwords have been incorporated into isiXhosa texts from the late 1800s to the present time.

But I need to give a context to this interest that is more practical and personal, drawing on my own experiences as an ordinary isiXhosa speaker working in the Department of African Languages and Literatures at the University of Cape Town. In this context I am exposed to isiXhosa texts all the time – in the form of exam papers, student essays and emails to colleagues written in isiXhosa. As a diligent administrator as well as a student in the department, I take particular care that all communications in isiXhosa are well-written and proofread. In the past, in my experience of speaking and listening to isiXhosa I came across many borrowed words (uttered by me, my friends and my children) which generally I accepted as if they were just a part of the language. However, it was in my role as a proofreader that these borrowed words started to pose more of a problem to me than the original isiXhosa words – there seemed to be a such flexibility in the way they were orthographically represented, and I was never sure which was the correct spelling. For example, it would appear that both of these spellings - *iyunivesithi* and *idyunivesithi* – are acceptable loanwords⁵ for the English *university*. It helps to remember that there was orthographical variation in the early years of written isiXhosa but by 1954 firm orthographical rules were established and are to this day upheld by the Pan South African Language Board. The old system of spelling can be seen and compared in historical newspaper adverts⁶ where you could find words such as *ikausi* for *socks* instead of *iikawusi*. With the proliferation of loanwords in the language due to technology and social media, even greater attention needs to be paid to correctly representing the borrowed words in writing. However, while all words need to be scrutinized by the professional proofreader, sometimes borrowed words prove problematic since there has not been a systematic study of their use and assimilation into, and adaptation to, the target language in terms of its orthography, morphology, and phonology. Once a large corpus of borrowed words taken from texts has been compiled it will make the task of the student of isiXhosa as well as its proofreaders and editors

⁵ Although Google lists 82 600 results for *iyunivesithi* and only 11 000 for *idyunivesithi*.

⁶ *Imvo Zabantsundu* (Native Opinion) 1899 – 10-30 – *Ifandes*.

easier, since there will be a list of words that have not only been integrated into the language by leading writers but tabulated and discussed in terms of what their spelling can tell us about how they were, and are, pronounced.

1.17 Aims of the study

Summary

The aims of this doctoral study are to develop a database of borrowed words occurring in a selection written texts in isiXhosa from the late 1800s to the present time, and, in line with research into borrowed words internationally, to tabulate the domains (e.g., religion, finance, education) which are most productive for loanwords and how these loans are phonologically incorporated and orthographically represented in the language, acknowledging the fact that both perceptual and phonological motivations are important considerations. In addition, it is my intention to discuss the reasons and motivations for the proliferation of loanwords in certain domains (referring to, for example, colonial practices at the time of writing), motivations for writers choosing to use loanwords, and variation in terms of how different writers orthographically represent the borrowed words and what this can tell us about how they were pronounced at the time. Comparing the spelling of loanwords in older and contemporary texts can tell us whether they have taken on any phonological features of the source language (the language from which the borrowed word is taken) over time.

A number of other scholars have examined aspects of lexical borrowing in Nguni languages (Khumalo, 1984; Jokweni, 1992; Branford and Claughton, 2002; Koopman, 1996; Dowling, 2011) but none have attempted a systematic examination of loanwords using historical and written texts as corpora.

By way of summary, this study therefore aims to:

- establish a data base of borrowed words from isiXhosa texts over a 130 year period;
- provide a statistical analysis of domains most productive for borrowed words in such texts;

- suggest reasons for certain domains being more productive than others in terms of loanword creations;
- examine the orthography of the borrowed words as they appear in texts and produce a phonetic transcript of each word;
- discuss the phonological correspondences in loanwords.

1.18 Theoretical framework

My theoretical framework uses the following tools drawing on Haspelmath's seminal work *Lexical borrowing: Concepts and issues* (2009):

1. **Description and Identification:** identifying loanwords and their histories through close scrutiny of their appearance (including orthographical appearance) in historical and contemporary texts. This I do by identifying loanwords in a written corpus of isiXhosa spanning consisting mainly of novels and a number of newspaper articles. Haspelmath (2009:44) notes that "In general, a word can only be recognized with certainty as a loanword if both a plausible source word and a donor language can be identified". In tabular form I identify the loanwords in the texts, their donor language, and the part of speech to which they belong (e.g., noun, adjective, verb).
2. **Explanation:** Explaining why certain words are borrowed (and not others) by looking at the following factors:
 - i) **Cultural, social and political motivation** – Haspelmath refers to such loanwords as "loanwords by necessity" but reminds us that speakers of a language, when confronted with a new cultural concept or object can "make use of their own resources" (Ibid:46).
 - ii) **Grammatical factors** (e.g., are nouns easier to borrow for speakers of isiXhosa and why?). This theoretical aspect explores the notion of a "core vocabulary that is very rarely (or never) borrowed" (Haspelmath, 2009:36) and "lexical borrowability" (Ibid.)
 - iii) **Adaptation and integration of loanwords** (see Hapselmath, 2009:42-43). Using this tool, I am able to explore phonological equivalences between

English/Afrikaans and isiXhosa as “the source words of loanwords often have phonological, orthographic, morphological and syntactic properties in the donor language that do not fit into the system of the recipient language” (Ibid:42). My detailed phonetic transcriptions and descriptions of the phonological equivalences will hopefully fill some gaps in our knowledge as to whether there are any phonological rules, or tendencies that are at play in loanword adaptation. It is important to note that a writer might adapt the orthography to suit isiXhosa phonology, another might leave the orthography as almost identical to that of the donor language. Haspelmath (Ibid:43) notes that “If a large number of loanwords come from a single donor language, then there is less need for adaptation, and instead the donor language patterns will be imported along with the words”.

1.19 Conclusion

In this section I have attempted to provide some background to the present study by referring to my own research into borrowed words in spoken isiXhosa, the study of borrowed words in other Bantu languages as well as viewing them as a global phenomenon occurring in all of the world’s languages and as part of their natural evolution. I have highlighted what is important in any study of loanwords in a language, particularly with regard to how the words are represented orthographically and the importance of locating the stage of borrowing, making a distinction between a single-word switch and a borrowed word that has been adapted to the phonological system of the recipient language. I have also stressed the need for categorizing loanwords in any corpus according to domains which will help provide insights as to the extent to which missionaries, western political systems and colonial power relations managed to influence the indigenous vocabulary of the isiXhosa language. I also underscore the need for a frequency count of borrowed words, which will also help in establishing whether newer loanwords are becoming more popular than earlier, synonymous counterparts and indeed the older, original Xhosa words.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

In this review of the literature, I start with a brief discussion on studies that deal with mutual borrowing between Southern Africa's indigenous languages and then proceed to look at lexical borrowing in medieval England and the influence of French on the English lexicon. One of the reasons I am foregrounding borrowed words in English is because as a middle-aged first-language isiXhosa-speaker I can testify to the fact that many of my isiXhosa-speaking peers (and also a surprising number from the younger generation too) view the incorporation of borrowed words into isiXhosa (particularly those from English) as something a) unique to isiXhosa and b) destructive and negative to the growth, development and use of the language. I want anyone who reads this thesis to understand that all languages borrow words from each other, and that this is a sign of their inherent strength and flexibility and is not a warning signal of impending vocabulary dissolution and language death. At the same time it must be remembered that borrowing itself is a colonial concept: scholars of African languages would do well to be critical of this "normalizing mission" not in order to berate speakers for doing something that is deviant by using loanwords, but rather to move away from focussing on separate, named languages. I would like this study therefore to be seen as an attempt at understanding what people do with language (see Krause, 2022). I also want readers to see how much, in fact, can be learnt by looking at the development of a language's vocabulary – what it can tell us about the history of the speakers and the way they accommodated different peoples, cultures and beliefs. After this opening discussion I continue to interrogate the literature available on lexical borrowing by referring to works that deal with language borrowing in the contexts of colonialization and modernization, loanwords, and language of origin (how difficult it is sometimes to see which language is the borrower and which is the donor), mutual borrowing and those academic works that deal with methods of phonological adaptation.

These more general discussions are then followed by discussions on loanwords in endangered languages as well as in non-endangered African languages. Following this I home in on literature that deals with loanwords in texts and finally, literature that covers

loanwords in African language texts. It is instructive that the issue of loanwords in texts, particularly in African languages, has not garnered much academic scrutiny, another reason why the present study is important.

I am hoping that this review sheds light on the issue of lexical borrowing and via such illumination encourages the reader to see the present study as an attempt to bring the isiXhosa language under the spotlight on the "loanword" stage. Let the curtain be raised! Act One!

2.2 Power relations and lexical borrowing: Medieval England

Horobin and Smith (2002:14) note that in medieval England:

The 'lowest' medieval classes were illiterate, as were many women of all social classes, and the 'highest' frequently did not use English at all, but preferred French and Latin.

The authors encourage us to think about the social background of the scribes at the time and how this might have influenced the words they chose to use in their texts (Ibid.). They caution us to remember that "Texts are never simply illustrative of past states of the language, for every text has a special context which conditions its content" (Ibid.). This has a bearing on how I analyse borrowed words in isiXhosa texts – it is important that we remember that the early texts were written by missionary converts and that like medieval scribes in England, these writers would not necessarily speak the same way as those people who had resisted religious conversion, who still practised their way of life according to traditional Xhosa custom and had not agreed to be educated according to Western norms.

So let us look at the case in medieval England more closely. Right up to just before the Norman Conquest in 1066 scribes were still writing in English (Classical Late West Saxon) but after the Conquest while some texts continued to be written in English, many legal documents started to be written in Latin because the ruling elite, being Norman French, considered Latin to be the international language of law (Ibid.:27). English started to become marginalized during this time and many French words were brought into the English lexicon, particularly when it came to food.

Elmes, (1999:59) notes:

The Normans brought their taste in food, and, as they were wealthy and held positions of power, their main experience of certain animals was in slices on a plate. The English peasant, on the other hand, reared animals but probably did not eat meat particularly frequently ... thus we end up eating beef, pork, mutton and so on, whilst the old English words like pig and sheep continued to refer to the animal because it was reared by English speakers.

Elmes (Ibid.) notes that many other French words came into the English lexicon during medieval England and gives as examples words for furniture and household objects like *carpet* (Old French: *carpite*), *wardrobe* (Old French: *wardereube*), *chair* (Old French: *chaiere*). He also notes that many English words connected to clothes originate in French, for example: *garment* (Old French: *guarnement*), *petticoat* (Old French: *petit cote*), *costume* (Old French: *costume*), *apparel* (Old French: *apareillier*) (Ibid.).

In medieval England the nobility soon became English speaking, but a knowledge of French was deemed extremely important for one's status (which has resonance for our situation in South Africa today where knowledge of English is often equated with being educated). Walter Bibbesworth's *Treatise* written in English the middle of the 13th Century "suggests that English is the mother tongue but French was a necessary accomplishment for cultivated discourse" (Horobin and Smith, 2002:27). Horobin and Smith give this extract from the *Treatise*, "Bot a man conne Frenss, me telth of him lute" (For unless a man knows French, he is thought of little account). However, before 1066 the only French word found in written texts was "**prud** (proud) and its derivatives such as **pryt** (pride)" (Ibid.:74).

From the 14th century onwards however, there was a rapid increase of French words being used by English speakers (Ibid) and it became normal for the higher social classes in England to signal their class-membership by using French vocabulary (Ibid.).

In contemporary English we can still see the enormous influence of French on the English lexicon. Here are some examples:

RSVP – (répondez s'il vous plait).

Grand prix

Entrepreneur

Genre

*Renaissance*⁷

In this section I have focussed on the particular case study of how the Norman Conquest of England in 1066 led to a change in the English language, particularly with regard to the lexicon.

I now look at the other aspects of lexical borrowing under the headings promised at the start of the review (colonization, modernization, donor/borrower conundrums, phonological adaptations). This is to set the stage for an examination on the literature of loanwords in African languages, with a specific focus on isiXhosa. A section in this review is also dedicated to loanwords in texts since currently there is very little work on the topic with regard to isiXhosa, most of the research thus far has focussed on the spoken lexicon and has not taken the written text in isiXhosa as a point of departure.

But let us start with the huge effects colonialism and language contact had on lexical borrowing globally.

2.3 Colonialism, language contact and lexical borrowing

Scotton and Okeju (1973:871) correctly challenged the exclusivity of the assumption that "lexical borrowings represent mainly new items to the culture of the borrowing language" and questioned why "borrowings which infringe on the core vocabulary of the borrowing language seem to be rarely mentioned" (Ibid.). They argue that "speakers may borrow certain types of core vocabulary items in great numbers" and support their theory by referring to data of non-essential borrowings in a Ateso, an East African language. Although it has been a good many years since their criticisms were first aired, it is important to revisit their evaluation of the scholarship surrounding borrowed words.

An issue that requires more focus in the lexical borrowing arena is that sometimes people fail to recognize that colonialism and language contact often occurred in waves,

⁷ <https://www.brainscape.com/blog/2012/02/words-french/>

with a single country and people being colonized more than once, and often having contact with traders of different languages with whom they would need to do business. For example, Tadmor (2009:698) notes that both Arabic and Dutch had an influence on Indonesian (the former as the language of Arab traders in the region, the latter also but more significantly as (often brutal) colonizers), but that when the era of Dutch colonialism came to an end in 1949 with the transfer of sovereignty "for all intents and purposes, the borrowing of Dutch words into Indonesian also ended". Tadmor observes that there are significantly more Dutch loanwords than those of Arabic origin and Persian combined (Ibid.) in Indonesia.

Staying in the East but moving now to Japan, Daulton points out that it is important to note that the different colonial powers all influenced the Japanese lexicon, even though English emerged as the main contributor of new words:

In Japanese, among Western languages, English is dominant. The periods of borrowing of Portuguese, Spanish, Latin, Dutch, French and German predate the large-scale borrowing of English, and many of these words still remain in the active Japanese lexicon (Ibid.).

Here are a number of words that Japanese borrowed from other languages as cited by Daulton (Ibid.): *betto* - from German *bett* (originally used in Japanese for a hospital bed), has been replaced by *beddo* from English *bed*; *gurasu* comes from English and refers to a glass for drinking while *garasu* comes from Dutch *glas*.

With reference to borrowed words in Vietnamese Phuong (2021:326) notes that both Chinese and English have contributed to the lexicon of this language:

Vietnam has experienced more than a thousand years of Chinese domination and nearly 100 years of being invaded by the French, so it is more or less affected by the culture and languages of these countries.

Alves (2009:632) refers to his own research project from which he discovered that Chinese loanwords in Vietnamese make up over a quarter of that language's lexicon. Alves adds other important information about these loanwords, arguing that:

On the matter of means of transmission, a solid majority of Chinese loanwords in Vietnamese were not borrowed by groups in spoken contact but rather via texts. (Ibid.)

This has important implications for my study as my focus is on borrowed words in isiXhosa texts.

2.4 Modernization and lexical borrowing

During the late 19th and early 20th centuries modern Western technology was first introduced to China and Japan which resulted in a proliferation of phonologically adapted foreign words (Du Steinberg, 1996:92). Daulton (2008) contends that Japan has “distinguished itself by the scale and alacrity of its borrowing,” and that foreign words have had a huge influence on Japan’s language and society (Ibid.:9). He also elaborates on how contact “with Americans was at first limited to designated Japanese at isolated trading posts ...” and how “following the 1868 Meiji Restoration, the Japanese rushed to introduce Western culture and technology ... eventually including a vast number of words” (Ibid.:10). Du Steinberg (1996:121) notes that the most frequent categories in recent historical and contemporary Japanese lexical borrowing include high technology, world finance and medicine and cites as examples (pronunciation only provided here but intext graphemes are included in Du Steinberg's thesis):

gene bank *jiin banku*
hardware *haadowuea*
laser *reezaa*
open trade *oopun toredo*

In a similar vein, Daulton (2008: 11-12) argues that what is important to note is that *konpyuuta tekunorojii* (computer technology) in Japan sped up the amount of English loanwords in Japanese but if the above loanwords suggest that they would be easy for an English-speaker to recognize, cautions that this is not the case, and that in fact:

English-based loanwords are indecipherable when written and typically incomprehensible when spoken. ... major changes include phonological transformation; shortening and other morphological changes; hybridisation and coinage; grammatical transformations; and semantic change (Ibid:16).

However, Daulton lists some borrowed words in Japanese that appear to have undergone minimal interference in the borrowing process: *afutanuun* ‘afternoon’; *banku* ‘bank’; *benefito* ‘benefit’; *chirudareni* ‘children’ and *makudonarudo* referring to the McDonalds fast food chain (Daulton, 2008:18).

Phuong (2021) argues that what enriched the Vietnamese language was all the different cultures who contributed to its lexicon, and she provides by way of example the influence of French, explaining that "when the Vietnamese were invaded by the French in the 19th century, they used many words borrowed from French when they received the French's cultural and technological knowledge" (Ibid.:326) Phuong mentions that even if Vietnamese speakers of French have not yet reached the level of bilingual in Vietnamese-French, or if they do not know French at all, they still tend to use some French elements in communication. The following are some Vietnamese words that were borrowed from French: "*pê-nan-ty*" (penalty), ... "*ghi-ta*" (guitar), "*ca-bi-nê*" (cabinet)" (Ibid.:332). Phuong also points out that French loanwords in Vietnamese are used for different fields like, cuisine: "*cà rốt* (*carottes*), *sô cô la* (*chocolat*)", medicine: *a-xê-tôn* (*acétone*), in science: *các-bon* (*carbon*), *sun-phát* (*sulfate*). *Các-bô-níc* (*carbonique*)" (Ibid.:333).

Piechnik (2014) based his article on studies about the rate of changes in languages and argues "the fast erosion or archaic character of languages has not been taking place much due to geographical and chronological factors ... but mainly due to other extralinguistic factors" (Ibid.:396). Trudgill (2011:103) explains the different rates at which language changes in terms of generational factors: older generations do not keep the language to themselves but recruit new speakers who are their children to speak it as well and they would come with their own innovations to the vocabulary. According to Trudgill even teachers of the language would "exercise ... less control over the learning process" (Ibid.) suggesting that authorities and elders, no matter how respected, cannot retard the rate of change in a language.

2.5 Different methods of phonologically adapting loanwords

Vendelin and Peperkamp (2007) note that sometimes it is not the pronunciation of the source language's speakers that affects how the loanword is incorporated into the borrowing language but the way the word is spelled (its orthography) and the way the speakers perceive the graphemes of the donor language. The authors conducted an experiment with French-English bilinguals produced online adaptations of non-English words. In one section of the experiment the stimuli were produced only orally, while in the second half they were given in both oral and written forms. Their results indicated

that in the mixed stimuli conditions participants were more influenced by the graphemes than the orally produced sounds and led the researchers to conclude that they were able to show that "loanword adaptations are influenced by orthography" (Ibid.: 1004). The authors conclude their paper by encouraging researchers to study loanword adaptations:

within an experimental framework that allows one to examine a wide variety of factors that are likely to play a role in the nature of the adaptations, including phonetic variation, level of bilingualism, orthography, and prestige of the source language. It is only when all these different factors will be taken into account that a comprehensive theory of loanword adaptations will become within reach. (Ibid.:1006)

Kang's (2010) study on the adaptation of English loanwords in Korean homes in on an important issue: the difference between phonological adaptation of loanwords (what happens during production so that the loanword is adapted to the sound system of the borrowing language) and phonetic adaptation (adaptation based on perception – how the borrowed sounds are received and produced). Her diachronic studies focus on the adaptation of English obstruents [dʒ], [tʃ] and [ʃ] to Contemporary Korean (1890–present) and investigates how the adaptation pattern evolved from Enlightenment Period Korean (1890–1910), through 1930s Korean, to the present day. Using examples of loanwords from extant texts from these eras Kang observed that “based on normative conventions we would not expect <w> to occur in adaptations of English posterior coronal consonants”. Her study revealed however that <w> occurred “frequently in [ʃ] adaptations throughout Contemporary Korean” (Kang, 2010:233). This observation of diachronic change in loanword adaptations is important for my study and the reason why I have selected borrowed words from texts written at different times in South Africa’s history.

In their study, Alshammari and Alshammari (2020), investigate the phonological and morphological adaptation into Turkish of loanwords of Arabic origin and in doing so they tackle the way in which morphological markings and compound forms in Turkish loanwords are treated. Turkish, like all other languages that borrow from others integrated a substantial amount of loanwords from various languages such as Arabic and Persian. The Alshammari and Alshammari study deals with “some of the phonological processes that are applied to Turkish loanwords of Arabic origin in order not to violate the structural constraints of Turkish” and looks specifically at substitution and deletion, of vowels (Ibid.:388). Standard Arabic (not modern dialects) in texts was

analysed and it was discovered that many loanwords incorporated into Turkish had been phonologically and morphologically assimilated. Arabic morphemes such as the definite article become inseparable with Turkish nouns as stated in the examples such as “*ceibir* ‘algebra’ (Ar. > al-jabr) where the definite article [al] is deleted” (Ibid.:391). Various forms are used in adjusting Arabic words in such a way that they can fit within the Turkish phonetic system. Sounds not present in the Turkish phonetic inventory are substituted with native sounds, for example: Arabic *qalam* Turkish *kalem*; meaning (pen/Tur. Pencil) Arabic *xaja:l* Turkish *haja:l* meaning (imagination); Arabic *ʔawwal* Turkish *evvel* meaning (before/first) (Ibid.:392). The authors mention that some Arabic words with “grammatical markers or compound words are incorporated as chunks (a single word/morpheme) with fossilized morphological marking in Turkish loanwords” (Ibid.:395).

As with many languages, even though many Arabic lexical items have passed into Turkish as loanwords, some have undergone phonological changes where the majority loanwords are understood in a different way by native speakers of the recipient language. There are various stages in the process of phonological adaptation and the authors explain that:

Turkish loanwords sometimes fail to obey restrictions on vowel harmony. Native speakers can distinguish recently borrowed lexical items from native ones or very old loans purely by means of differences in the phonology. However, loanwords that were adopted many years ago have had more of a chance of being assimilated, especially as Turkish speakers became less aware of the origin. (Ibid.:396)

The authors explain that “The Turkish language reform in the mid-19th century was initiated by individuals, groups, and the government-inspired campaign to eliminate the Arabic and Persian grammatical features and the many thousands of Arabic and Persian borrowings that had long been part of the language” and conclude that this campaign to purify Turkish included the elimination of many loanwords and in their place “old Turkish words from texts and manuscripts were reintroduced” and “new meanings were given to existing modern Turkish words” (Ibid.:389).

Hall-Lew (2002:24) referring to Gao (2000:65) discusses transliterated borrowings from English in Chinese and argues that transliteration is the preferred action for proper names, like *Yinggelan* for ‘England’. Hall-Lew also notes that:

Chinese has phonological restrictions of co-occurrence that are different from those in English, so English words must change their phonological characteristics when borrowed into Chinese (Ibid.27)

2.6 Who really is the lender?

Davidson (2007:263), in her seminal article *Relating perception of non-native phonotactics to loanwords* makes the important observation that:

it is difficult to know how listeners incorporate perceptual factors, because it is not necessarily the case that words are borrowed from source-language speakers or disseminators.

In other words, the person or peoples who introduce the new words may not themselves be first-language speakers of the source language. She cites the case of Japanese which borrows a large number of words even though its speakers "are largely not bilingual" (Ibid.:263). She further cautions that "we cannot simply look at the stable forms of loanwords and infer from that how they must have been perceived" (Ibid.).

In the same discussion on Indonesian referred to earlier, Tadmor notes that because Dutch and English are related linguistically it is:

often impossible to tell simply by looking at a word whether it was borrowed directly from Dutch or from English. This is especially true for words ultimately derived from Greek and Latin, many of which would have the same shape in Indonesian regardless of whether they were borrowed from Dutch or from English. (2009:698)

According to Clauson (1959) in a study he conducted on the earliest Turkish loanwords in Mongolian, the simplest method to work out which language is the lender and which is the borrower is "to examine the word in both languages and ascertain whether it is the traditional word for a particular concept in one language and a more or less superfluous duplicate of some other word in the other" (Ibid.:174). He is of the view that when one group of people dominates another, as with the Mongols who dominated the Tuvans (an ethnic Mongolian group), "the language of the latter people becomes completely saturated with the vocabulary of the former" (Ibid.). This also happens if two groups of languages are close to each other and both languages become influenced by each other. Clauson (Ibid.:176) is also of the view that if a word is common to both languages and can be identified as a derived word, then it can be assumed that the

word is a loanword in one of the two languages. Seemingly, both in Mongolian and Turkish derived words are formed in the same way by attaching suffixes to the basic forms of verbs or nouns. Clauson (Ibid.) compares this kind of borrowing to that of English where “in English, *philo*-meaning ‘fond of’, borrowed from Greek, is used to make compound words like ‘philoprogenitive’ (love of offspring or prolifically reproducing) of which the second element is not Greek, being from the Latin *progenitus* “begot or begotten”. A word in which both elements are Greek is ‘philanthropist’ which derives again from the ancient Greek *philo-* and *anthropos* ‘humanity’. Clauson (Ibid.:177) also states that “chronology by itself may prove almost conclusively that a word common to both languages is native to one and a loanword in the other”. By this he means that, if one examines the vocabulary of all the texts (existing before language contact) in, say Language A then if Language B developed texts at a later stage but contains words from Language A, then if that word can be traceable to texts in Language A in the pre-contact phase Language B can be said to have borrowed the word from Language A. But if the word in Language B cannot be traced to any early texts of Language A, then the word must be native to Language B. But, Clauson warns, we cannot be entirely sure of this fact, since the texts of Language A might not contain all the words used at that time.

Clauson also uses an illustration of the name "Turk", which was the name of a tribe which in fact “did not become known to history until the second half of the 6th century A.D., but peoples with other names, who certainly or almost certainly spoke a form of Turkish, can be traced back to a much earlier period. ... which roughly formed the boundary of ancient China ...” (Ibid.:178). He continues to say there is a general impression in the Chinese records that “that the earliest ancestors of the Mongols were a forest people centred somewhere north of the edge of the forest belt ... and that neither the Kitañ nor the Mongols became known to the rest of the world until they emerged from the forests and adopted a nomadic form of life” (Ibid.:181). Here are some words that are borrowed by both Mongolian and Turkish which have similarities: *takiya* "fowl"; *takigu*; "calf", *burđ'u / buzađu*; "calf", *tokuz/tokkuz*, “nine” (Ibid.:186). In his article (Ibid.:187) he regrets that because he is dealing with such early texts, his theory that “the earliest phase of Mongolian borrowings from Turkish started in about the fifth century A.D.” cannot be provable. In the case of isiXhosa, luckily, I have far later texts

to scan (dating from the early 19th Century) which will make the task of identifying the source language of the loanwords more easily.

2.7 Languages borrowing from each other

When elaborating on '*Borrowed Words in English and Chinese Vocabulary*', Shen (2009:62), explains that borrowed words occur because of language development and cultural contact and notes that the contact between Chinese and English resulted in both languages borrowing words from each other's lexicons. Shen argues that not only do Chinese words enrich the English vocabulary but they also "draw more and more western people's attention to know China in every aspect of life, such as Chinese food, clothes, plants, places, traditional medicine, and so on" (Ibid.:63). Words that the non-linguist would think were originally English are imported from Chinese – here are just a few examples that have become common in our daily English conversations:

- Chop chop (as in "Do it chop chop!")
- Ketchup
- Tea
- Tofu
- Tycoon
- Typhoon (see also Shen, 2009:66 for further examples)

In Chinese the proliferation of English terms is also evident, for example *wei ta ming* comes from "Vitamin", *a si pi lin* comes from "asprin", and *fan shi lin* comes from "Vaseline" (Ibid.:66).

Hardman-De-Bautista (1982) in an article discussing mutual borrowings between Spanish and the indigenous languages of the Andes notes that Spanish-speakers borrowed words mostly for cultural items, including foodstuffs, such as *quinoa* (a cereal plant grown in high elevations) and animals, for example *llama* (an Andean camel). The Andean languages borrowed words from Spanish that named clothing items, like *pullira* from the Spanish *pollera* (skirt – of the wide-gathered type) and manufactured items such as "sijari < Sp. sigarro 'cigarette' (Ibid.:147). Even kin terms were borrowed by the Andean languages for a number of different reasons including "interlingual taboos" and the preoccupations on the part of priests regarding what they imagined to be incest" (Ibid.:148).

Mutual borrowing between South Africa's indigenous languages

As already discussed in 1.9 South Africa has officially recognized nine indigenous languages⁸, in addition to Afrikaans and English, and although all these languages borrow from one another (Louwrens, 1993; Batibo, 1996; Drame, 2001; Branford and Claughton, 2002; Bylund, 2014; Mahlangu, 2014) it is the two official 'colonial' languages, English and Afrikaans, that are the dominant donors of lexical items to the indigenous languages (Gough, 1996). The proliferation of borrowed words in indigenous African languages in South Africa has resulted in research studies that analyse and observe this phenomenon (Finlayson et al., 1998; Slabbert and Finlayson, 1999; Dowling, 2011) in terms of both the orthography and the semantic significance of the loanwords, and whether or not viable synonyms exist in the original language.

Apart from the academic project, there is another reason why this present study is important and that has to do with consistency and reliability in the production of contemporary published texts in indigenous African languages.

The main reason why people borrow words from other languages is to provide a word from the language when there is no suitable existing word in the target language. English, for example, is one of the world's most prominent languages and according to Hoffer (2005:54) "Its history is interesting for many reasons, including its flexibility in borrowing from other languages, a flexibility that has enriched its vocabulary over the centuries." Besides, as Grosjean (1982:5) puts it:

It is practically impossible to locate a genuinely monolingual country, that is, one that does not contain one or several linguistic minorities whose members use, to some extent at least, both the majority and minority languages. Even in the countries of Europe or of North and South America, which we think of as monolingual, one is hard to find a truly monolingual nation.

Thus, sometimes word borrowing occurs because speakers are bilingual and exposed to different languages, be they official or indigenous. Grosjean goes on to say that most bilinguals appreciate being able to communicate with people from different cultures and even feel that being bilingual gives them two perspectives on life and even more job

⁸ See South African Constitution, 1996, 6.1 (page 4) www.justice.gov.za/legislation/constitution/saconstitution-web-eng.pdf

opportunities when it comes to reading or even translating literature in the original text (Ibid.:272). When it comes to writing, and once we start to explore the whole question of textual borrowing, Pennycook (1996:203) mentions that:

the notion of ownership of text and learning becomes very complex. It is important to understand the cultural and historical specificity of notions of ownership and authorship and to explore the implications of these concepts' being increasingly promoted as international norms.

The above discussions have all illuminated the ways in which language contact situations gave, and still give, rise to lexical borrowing, often enabling languages to enrich their lexicons.

The next section deals with loanwords in endangered languages and the implications of lexical borrowing for both language survival and language death.

2.8 Loanwords in endangered languages

2.8.1 Ket of the Yeniseian

The Siberian language Ket is the only surviving language of the Yeniseian languages group, and it is currently estimated to have not more than 20 speakers. According to Vajda (2009) where Ket speakers are located is farther north of where other Yeniseian tribes lived during 1600s and the first other country to make contact with them was Russia. This contact and a rise in inter-ethnic marriages developed a permanent language shift from Ket to Russian

Luckily, the extant words from the extinct Yeniseian languages, have recently been published together with “all of the Ket and Yugh vocabulary gathered during the 20th century” (Ibid.:478). The majority of Ket words show no sign of borrowing from other languages and “quite a number of them are semantically rather unique” (Ibid.:479) but even then, there are some loanwords and phrases encountered that are borrowed from Russian and below are a few of those:

kurúk ‘hook’ (< Russian *kriuk* ‘hook’), (Ibid.:482)
postóp ‘glass bottle’ (< Russian *stopka* ‘shot glass’) (Ibid.:483)
da-deld-uyabet ‘she shares it’ (< Russian *delit* ‘to share’), (Ibid.:487)
da-kerasin-atayit ‘she rubs him with kerosene’
(< Russian *kerosin* ‘kerosene’) (Ibid.:487).

Vajda (2009:482) notes that “there are no incontrovertible examples of basic Ket content words (body parts, kinship terms, words for basic actions and the like) originating as direct loans from another language. Nor do borrowed nouns, adjectives, or verbs from Russian belong to the core vocabulary”. This observation is important for my study since, apart from looking at the loanwords in the language, it reminds me to also consider those words that are never borrowed.

2.8.2 Kemantney

In his paper discussing the lexicon in one of Ethiopia’s dying languages called Kemantney, Leyew (2003) discusses how this language was slowly losing not only its lexicon but also its speakers. In his research he collected a word list of up to 670 items from nine speakers of the language who were believed to be proficient. In doing this he considered sociolinguistic variables such as age, sex, occupation, where people who spoke the language were born and grew up to see the rate of loss and retention of this language. These 670 were in Amharic and were given to participants so that they can give equivalents in Kemantney. According to Leyew, (2003:42) “All informants volunteered borrowed Amharic words at different level without modifications.” The results indicated that speakers who were staying in rural areas showed more retention of Kemantney lexical items than those from urban areas regardless of their age, sex, education, or place of birth. When it came to occupation, he discovered that peasants and Kemant priests were more proficient in the language than others. He is of the view that education plays a bigger role in accelerating the process of language death because educated people had an opportunity to travel widely thus getting the opportunity of “abandoning the Kemantney language in favour of Amharic” (Ibid.:43). When it comes to borrowing from other languages, Kemantney employs different strategies, for instance, words can be borrowed with or without modification, phonological modification, or unpredictable phonological modification. The latter is when there are differences in the vowel sounds even among informants of the same dialect which make it problematic to make clear phonological rules for integrating loanwords because they are unpredictable. (Ibid.:46). Below are Kemantney words that are borrowed from Amharic:

mīlas - in Kemantney *Mriiläy* meaning 'tongue'

masilla - in Kemantney *mäyla* meaning 'maize'
siga - in Kemantney *sīya* meaning 'meat' (Ibid.:47)
azzān - in Kemantney *azān*- meaning 'be sorry'
c'ärräs - in Kemantney *c'äräs* - meaning 'finish' (Ibid.:51)

2.8.3 Khoisan languages

The Ket and Kemantney languages might be losing speakers, but it is heartening that at least linguists have been studying and documenting their lexicons. Many African languages are not studied, particularly with regard to their changing lexicons – as Jaggar (2010:35) puts it, they are “underdescribed” which makes it difficult for one to understand its linguistic history because as the time goes by, sounds and meanings wear away and some lexical items get replaced. As a result, the task of modernizing linguistic history becomes a challenging one.

Southern Africa also has a group of Khoisan languages that are facing gradual death. Khoisan has three families, namely, Tuu, Kx'a and Khoe-Kwadi. According to Gunnink (2020:27) Tuu and Kx'a families have been spoken in Southern Africa for a considerable length of time, but the Khoe-Kwadi family appears to have arrived more recently. Khoisan languages are spoken by small-scale groups that live in the more remote areas of Botswana, Namibia, and South Africa and unfortunately almost all Khoisan languages are threatened because of the ongoing language shift to some dominant Bantu languages or Afrikaans. (Ibid.). As much as Khoisan languages are marginalised, their speakers also had an influence in the neighbouring Bantu speaking groups and this can be witnessed by the way that most adopted the click consonants which occur mostly in Khoisan languages. Pakendorf et al. (2017) and Sands and Gunnink (2019) as cited in Gunnink, (2020) observed that in the south-east, clicks occur in the closely related languages of the Nguni cluster and one language of the Sotho cluster, Sesotho. In this current article, Gunnink speaks mostly about how Khoisan languages had an effect specifically on Setswana and her attention is in particular on the occurrence of loanwords as a result of these languages making contact which she estimates will last for a while because “contact between Setswana speakers and speakers of various Khoisan languages is still ongoing.” (Ibid.:28). When different speakers interact with each other it is natural for relationships to form, and these relationships can lead to people from different speech-communities marrying each other. These different

communities will have different socio-cultural practices that will have an effect on languages of both spouses who will borrow words from each other's respective languages. Gunnink is of the view that regularly detecting certain loanwords becomes complicated as the loanwords might be “misidentified as native words, or alternatively native words being misidentified as loanwords.” (Ibid.) She also thinks that because Khoisan languages have no documentation and are so different from other Bantu languages a similar lexicon may be obscured. She refers to Traill’s study (2002) in which the author states that because these Khoisan languages are now extinct, it becomes difficult to identify the loanwords that Bantu languages have acquired from them. This difficulty might stem from the fact that the loanword might come from spoken Khoisan language that is not documented. As Setswana does not use clicks in its vocabulary, when words with clicks are borrowed from Khoisan these get converted to non-clicks in order for these to fit in Setswana. Below are a few Setswana words borrowed from Khoisan with the above-mentioned conversions:

tsá lá ‘friend’, from *Jul’hoan* †àrà or *Khwe* †gàrà
mù-qháló ‘buffalo thorn’ †qǁ’árò, *Kua* †q’árò, *Naro* †x’áro
s^wàà, fàà ‘brief downpour’ Glui - *súà*
mù-qhú *mphát há* ‘*Grewia flavescens*’ - Glui *qǁ’úm* - *Naro* *kx’óm*
ø-qhámá ‘red hartebeest’, *Kua* *lǁama*, Glui *lǁāmā*, *Naro* *lǁāmà*
 (Gunnink, 2020.:28-37).

2.9 Loanwords in non-endangered African languages

2.9.1 Hausa

Hausa is widely spoken across West Africa and has about 40 million first language speakers. It is a well-researched language which has a number of reference grammars and also “Hausaists have at their disposal lexical and grammatical resources extending back over 150 years ... historical linguistic information available from Hausa documents in Arabic script (ajami).” (Jaggar, 2010.:36). Jaggar goes on to note that when people get separated and live in different areas, language change is inevitable because of contact they have with other communities. He also explains that this moving around of people occurs because of external pressures including wars and conflicts, natural disasters, climate change, the need to look for other sources of land and food, or because the population has grown and so there is a need to expand (Ibid.:36).

Jaggar (2010:38) notes that in the family of Proto-Afroasiatic languages there exist grammatical morphemes that are inherited which correspond to a genetic link between Chadic languages and between Chadic and Afroasiatic and it is from this that both Hausa and Chadic inherited a “gender/number-marking pattern which distinguishes masculine *n, feminine *t, and plural *n in a range of environments...”. He mentions also that Hausa, does not originate from Semitic-Chadic families even though “the prestigious cultural accomplishments of speakers of Arabic, Hebrew, Aramaic,” are well-recognized “the emergence of major world religions, sacred texts, ancient scripts, sophisticated civilizations, and a long tradition of scholarship, etc. - these phenomena are all non-linguistic, of no relevance to genetic classification” (Ibid.:38).

Therefore, even though Hausa speakers have been considerably dispersed and have mixed with speakers of other languages, this only meant that there are not major differences in its dialects as the case would be in languages derived of smaller groups of speakers. It is said that Hausa language alone forms a sub-group of West Chadic, and has “no close relatives, apart from Gwandara which is a creolized offshoot of Hausa” and this situation is what made it possible for pre-existing languages to be replaced. (Ibid.:38). It is the same situation that made it possible for Hausa to expand and even then, made it possible for words to be borrowed from its other neighbouring languages and these included a variety of African languages as well as from Arabic. Most words that are borrowed from Arabic contain semantic fields such as government, law, religion, commerce, horsemanship, scholarship, and literature (Ibid.:39). One of the African languages that Hausa borrowed from is Kanuri whose speakers are of the dominant political and cultural group in Nigeria, and it (Kanuri) has an impact on many Chadic languages. Hausa also borrows words from the Berber language whose loanwords go into Hausa through Kanuri, and it also borrows from the Tuareg language. Below are a variety of loanwords from these diverse languages:

dabiinò ‘date(s)’ in Kanuri *difunò*
ragàmaa ‘halter’ < Berber *(a(a)-l(a)gam*
takòobii ‘sword’, cf. (several varieties of) Tuareg *tākoba*
talàkà ‘commoner’, cf. Tuareg (Ahaggar) *taləqqé* ‘poor person’
řeezàa borrowed from English - ‘razor’
suur àa borrowed from Arab - ‘chapter of Qur’an” (Ibid.:43-44).

2.9.2 Tanzanian languages

In this section I concentrate on two studies of loanwords in Tanzanian languages (Lusekelo 2013 and 2014). The reason for my choice of articles is because while most scholarship on loanwords in indigenous African languages concentrate on the incorporation of English into the target language, it is important to paint a broader picture of the phenomenon by looking at how African languages borrow from each other and spread to other speech-communities (see Simango, 2006).

Tanzania offers a good example of language contact and influence. Lusekelo (2014), explores how indigenous words have been adjusted to accommodate new concepts in selected communities in Tanzania and the way in which several Tanzanian languages also use loanwords from both English and Kiswahili to perform this task (Ibid.:91). The author notes that:

a number of other loanwords and/or semantic areas that would otherwise be occupied by loanwords in smaller languages are filled with modified traditional (existing) lexicons whose semantics are adjusted to fit the new concepts. (Ibid.:92).

He also argues that there had been contacts between the different Tanzanian languages as well as with English and Kiswahili and further observes that cultural issues played a role in how people modernized meanings of words depending on how the concept was introduced. According to Lusekelo (2014) only a few English-speaking people lived in Tanzania when early contacts between it (English) and the languages of Tanzania occurred and that “Early contacts between Kiswahili speaking people and Luguru speakers (as well as other Bantu languages) revolved around Islamisation, Christianisation and trade” (Ibid.:96).

Lusekelo notes that among the Kiswahili words borrowed from English there can be a corresponding native word and the two different words will not be entirely synonymous. For example, if one looks at the lexicon of healthcare and medical services (Ibid.:152) during the time of the missionaries one has to take into account two separate healthcare systems (traditional vs Western) – see Lusekelo (2014:102). These two health care systems can be observed in *daktari* ‘doctor’ and the native word *omuganga*.

Lusekelo also discloses that Tanzanian Bantu languages are divided into 'different' categories: one category has taken the Kiswahili word for school as "*shule*" (with various modifications: *syiole, ishuule, shuli, isuli* or *sule*) (Lusekelo, 2014:153); while the other makes use of the English word school (*isukulu, insukulu, sukulu*)" (Ibid.: 158) The rest of the words show various languages have used Kiswahili loanwords in the domain of education, namely *andika* 'write', *mwalimu* 'teacher' and *kitabu* 'book'.

Missionary activities became the centre of the introduction of new concepts in the country (Ibid.:103) which would explain why the loanword *hospitali* 'hospital' "is pervasive in all Bantu languages spoken in Tanzania" (Ibid.:102). Lusekelo also lists a number of other nativized loanwords of English that had been established in Kinyakyusa and Chindali (both languages of Tanzania) including words like *isopo* 'soap', *isupuni* 'spoon', *ifulupi* 'envelope', *ibatani* 'button', *Mande* 'Monday', *sisala* 'scissors', *ungwindo* 'window', *ikoloti* 'court', *ibokoshi* 'box' and *hendeli* 'handle' (Ibid.:107). This means that when looking at borrowed words in any written text, one needs to be familiar with where, or rather, which language the word originated from, and what semantic change, if any, or assimilation took place.

The contact situation in Tanzania describes what happens when two powerful languages such as Kiswahili and English come into contact with smaller, less dominant languages such as Kinyakyusa and Chindali. Later in this review I look at research that focusses on the way English managed to influence the lexicon of Japanese, a powerful East Asian language, but now we will consider the case of loanwords in Chichewa, an African language that is spreading beyond its traditional borders of Malawi, Zambia, and Mozambique (cf. Simango, 2006).

2.9.3 Chichewa

Chichewa, an official language of Malawi along with English, is the topic of Matiki's (2016) research. In the author's article entitled '*Patterns of Lexical Borrowing In Chichewa*', he points out that Chichewa is also spoken in some parts of Zambia, Mozambique, and Zimbabwe, where it is referred to as Chinyanja. The main focus of his article is, however, not on regional varieties, but:

the nature of borrowing in Chichewa in terms of semantic field, word classes and source languages. Specifically, the study attempts to find out which

semantic fields are likely to attract loanwords; from which source languages is Chichewa likely to borrow and how these loanwords are integrated in the nominal class system of Chichewa (Ibid.:80).

Matiki (Ibid.) goes on to discuss that the fact that Malawi is “language rich”, the average Malawian having a linguistic repertoire that would include three language types: local vernaculars, varieties for trade in market places and urban areas “for communication between speakers of different vernaculars” and a language used for specialised information. He observes that Chichewa is mostly spoken “at home, in the market and in shops, at work, at religious and political meetings, in school, on the radio and television, among many other domains” (Ibid.:80). Among this three-language structure is English, which is “primarily used in the formal or secondary domains of national life” (Ibid.:80).

Matiki’s data (2016:83) revealed that 91% of loanwords were nouns. Chichewa mainly borrows words for things like; *inter alia*, clothing and grooming, religion and belief, kinship, warfare and hunting, food and drink, emotions, and values (Ibid.:85). Some of the borrowed words include *duku* (doek) from Afrikaans; *bulu* (donkey) from Portuguese; *kama* (bed) from Portuguese; *kabichi* (cabbage) from English; and *pasinjala* (passenger) also from English (Ibid.:91). He notes that the few borrowed verbs are from English and:

cover activities that are not indigenous to Chichewa culture, e.g., *batiza* (baptize), *tayipa* (type, as in typing or word processing), *folo* (queue, from the word follow), among others. It is quite interesting here that Chichewa has borrowed *folo* to avoid the more circuitous *imani pa nzere* (stand in a queue). Thus, one of the motivations for borrowing is to avoid complex words or expressions (Ibid.:91).

Matiki observes that by far the majority of loanwords come from English, comprising nearly 68% of his collected loanword data (Ibid.:84). He argues that the contribution of English to the Chichewa lexicon is as a result of bilingualism (the fact that English and Chichewa are the official languages of Malawi must be taken into account), the use of English by the educated classes and the economic and socio-political clout enjoyed by English in the country. He adds that another important factor is that Chichewa does not have a long history of written texts, nor does it have a language academy to prescribe

purism in Chichewa and no body that oversees the way in which the mass media uses the language (Ibid.:85).

This notion of language purity, often disregarded by academics, can be framed under the descriptor "ancestral code" and as Woodbury (2005) argues:

a concentration on the ancestral code and its impending loss cannot be dismissed out of hand as an externally-imposed agenda. Nor can the loss of the ancestral code be regarded as separate from the loss of traditional cultural practices and ways of speaking.

Much as Woodbury's sentiments ring true with me, a side-effect of language purism can be a manufactured authenticity. Marten and Petzell (2016:106) discuss how in the process of transferring an oral story told in Kagulu (a Bantu language of Tanzania):

different language use and language ideologies take effect and the nature of the text is transformed from the initial recording of an oral story into a written and edited version of the text. In the process, the text is 'purified' in that perceived effects of language contact with Swahili are replaced by forms seen as being more 'authentic' Kagulu.

Most of the texts that I have used for my data collection would have gone through an editing process which might have resulted in the "purification" of certain words. These words might well have been loanwords not only from English and Afrikaans but also from other Southern African languages, slang words, words considered inappropriate, and words considered to be non-standard. Therefore, although the stories, advertisements, and articles from which these words were extracted did not originate in an oral narrative, there would have been interventions that were applied by standard language experts, at least to some of the texts. Matiki's observation on the lack of a language overseeing body in Malawi has been important since it brought up the issue of authentic vs inauthentic language and to what extent borrowed words are sometimes themselves under threat. The next section however suggests that nothing can stop the tidal wave of English loanwords in ChiShona.

2.9.4 ChiShona

This huge and important borrowing of words from English specifically is also evident in ChiShona as noted by Gumbo et al. (2020) in their article *The inevitability of linguistic change: The motivation of borrowing English terms by Shona speakers*. In this article they reveal that new concepts, ideas, and technologies that did not exist previously in the language, were brought by Europeans, and that ChiShona, along with other

indigenous languages such as isiNdebele, Tshivenda, chiNambya, TjiKalanga, had no choice but to absorb a substantial new vocabulary into their lexicons (Gumbo et al., 2020:53). Gumbo et al.'s observation is true for isiXhosa as well, with words like: *i-DNA*, *ikhompyuta* (computer), *ukukopa* (to copy) and *ukuprinta* (to print) and more recently *ukudownloadwuda* (to download) having entered the average urban isi-Xhosa-speaker's lexicon. In fact, even the borrowed word 'science' in isiZulu, is written as '*isayensi*' (<http://wordhippo.com>). Gumbo et al.'s article is qualitative in nature, and it "adopts a descriptive approach in analysing the data gathered through structured and oral interviews, questionnaires and secondary sources" (Ibid). Although ChiShona has also borrowed from other languages, the authors focus more "on English loan terms because it is the language from which it has borrowed extensively" (Ibid.:54).

Gumbo et al. discern that this contact that ChiShona had with English occurred through colonialism, mainly through trade and missionary activities (Ibid.:53). According to them a significant contribution in undermining the language came from the colonial government and this was done through its language policies "that promoted English to an official status" (Ibid.). Apart from the political influence of colonial languages, the authors note that "no matter how much a people may want to maintain the purity of their language and culture, in any language contact situation, the borrowing of linguistic terms from other languages is an inevitable occurrence which, indeed, cannot be avoided" (Ibid.:54).

The authors also note that the ChiShona has language conservatives who also "aim at indigenous terms for improving the ChiShona vocabulary" (Ibid.:57) but observe that although this is done, "they cannot overcome the influence of English vocabulary, especially in scientific and technological areas where Shona is deficient" (Ibid.:53).

On elaborating on the manner in which borrowed word are incorporated into ChiShona the authors note that "these are adapted in the receiving language by conforming its pronunciation to the orthographic and grammatical conventions used in the receiving language" (Ibid.:54), just like isiXhosa and many other indigenous languages. For instance, they say when an English term like 'laboratory', is adopted and adapted into the Shona language, the phonological combinations are changed into acceptable ChiShona phonological combinations such as *rabhoretari* (Example 1).

(1) La -bo- -ra- -to- -ry

↓ ↓ ↓ ↓ ↓
 Ra -bho -re -ta -ri (Ibid).

Because Gumbo et al. (2020) do not provide a list of loanwords I here include the following ChiShona borrowed words from English that I sourced from Mareva and Nyota (2012:113-115): *chikoro* (school); *wacha* (wash); *makeke* (cakes); *gwavha* (guava); and *waya* (a piece of wire).

In their article Gumbo et al. (2020:54) mention that there are two main types of linguistic borrowing found among languages that adopt words of English origin, and these are: loan transliteration, which is “a word which is changed into the corresponding character of another alphabet or language” ... and “loan translation, which is “the direct translation of a foreign word into the borrowing language” (Ibid).

Their study involved a very small sample of predominantly ChiShona-speaking participants, who were asked what they thought or felt about the borrowing of English terms into ChiShona. They also analysed published books and research papers to “gain insight and comprehensive knowledge” (Ibid.:55) of what people really feel about borrowing from English. Like many other indigenous languages scholars, the authors tend to see dichotomies between "superior" and "inferior" languages (the former being more likely to be the donor language, "lending" their lexicon to the "inferior" language) as is evident from Gumbo et al. conclusion that “languages regarded as inferior borrow from the superior language”. They back up their claim by observing that in Zimbabwe, “English is used in all spheres of life: education, workplaces, public places and government, to name but a few” (Ibid.).

The authors are also of the view that to a large extent, “linguistic gap-filling is probably the most obvious reason for borrowing scientific and technical terms from English because Shona has lexical deficiencies in scientific and technical areas where vocabulary has not yet been developed” (Ibid.: 56). Also, they feel that people borrow technical and scientific terms because they feel it is “better to adopt the English terms rather than creating an equivalent term in the indigenous language” although they fear that “uncritical acceptance of borrowed terms into Shona could stunt the development of the language in the long run” (Ibid). This is the fear that most indigenous language conservatives have – a fear that might be fuelled by the current generation of children

who are more exposed to English than their mother tongue. The authors are of the opinion that “if countries like China, Malaysia and Japan successfully developed indigenous languages to a level where they are used in both public and private sectors, Zimbabwean Shona speakers can be encouraged to do it as well” (Ibid.:57). They are also of the opinion that any language can express any concept “taking into account appropriate strategies of term creation” (Ibid). This theory begs the question: can language change really be stopped? Are some languages more prone to linguistic borrowing than others?

Moving away from hypothetical and rhetorical questions about whether certain languages are more prone to borrow than others I now consider Uffmann's (2006) work on ChiShona, which he refers to without its prefix. Uffmann precedes his discussion on epenthetic vowel quality in loanwords in Samaon, Shona and Kinyarwanda with the observation that “the quality of the epenthetic vowel results from the complex interaction of three distinct processes, vowel harmony, local assimilation to the preceding consonant and default insertion” (Uffmann, 2006:1079). He asks the question whether one would be able to predict epenthesis strategies using a large corpora of loanwords and sets out to do just that in his study (Uffmann, 2006:1081). He chose the following variables:

the quality of the preceding vowel (to control for vowel harmony effects), the place of articulation of the preceding consonant (for consonantal assimilation) and also the consonant’s manner of articulation. (Uffmann, 2006:1082).

His study revealed that /i/ is the most popular vowel for epenthesis in Shona (Uffmann, 2006:1083) but he cautions that it is not possible to claim that /i/ is the epenthetic default vowel for this language since it only applies when “other strategies are blocked” (Uffmann, 2006:1086).

2.9.5 Kiswahili

In his paper on *The Adaptation of Swahili Loanwords from Arabic: A Constraint-Based Analysis*, Mwita (2009) notes that in his selection of loanwords “care was taken to include words with various types of syllables, for example, words that do not change phonologically, words with consonant clusters in the initial, mid and final positions, words with consonant geminates, vowel hiatus and long vowels.” Mwita (Ibid.:47) notes

that Kiswahili, just like other languages, has its words divided into syllables according to the principle of increasing sonority and Mwita goes on to say that sometimes when a borrowed word has three or more vowels in a row, some of the vowels are deleted so that at most two remain.”

In his analysis of Kiswahili loanwords from Arabic he points out that Kiswahili prefers “vowel epenthesis to vowel syncope or apecope in the resyllabification of loanwords.” (Ibid.:59). O’Grady et al. (1997:322) define vowel syncope and apecope as entailing the following means of deleting vowels “Vowel deletion may involve a word-final vowel (apocope) or a word-internal vowel (syncope).” Mwita observes (giving examples of Kiswahili words borrowed from Arabic) that:

It seems that where a borrowed word has three or more vowels in a row, some are deleted so that at most two remain. This is what we see in /iddaaa/ → dai ‘claim’, /aib/ → aibu ‘shame’ and /baia/ → bei ‘price’. What then emerges is that Kiswahili can comfortably accommodate two vowels occurring in a row; it is not in the tendency of employing consonant epenthesis to break vowel clusters. (Mwita, 2009:58).

Mwita also refers to the tendency of Kiswahili loanwords to use vowel epenthesis which is the addition of one or more sounds to a word or in fact any utterance (see Hall, 2011:1576). He shows how the Kiswahili word *birika* (kettle) has undergone epenthesis as it a loanword of the Arabic *ibriq* with the same meaning (Mwita, 2009:54). Mwita’s discussions of how vowels are deleted and included in the formation of loanwords will be useful in my analysis of how loanwords are created and represented in isiXhosa texts.

Some noun classes of Kiswahili⁹ can be used to domesticate loanwords and Schadeberg (2009:84) gives the example of loanwords being used in the zero-morpheme class (with its plural *ma-*), *kaburi/maburi* (grave/s). The word *kaburi* is loaned

⁹ *M-wa* class (*mutu* (person)/*watu* (people); *M-mi* class (*mti* (tree)/*miti* (trees); *Ji-ma* class (*jitu* (giant)/*majitu* (giants); *Ki-vi* class (*kitabu* (book)/*vitabu* (books); *N* class – also *NO* prefix (*ndege* (bird)/ *U* class (*utoto* (childhood); *Ku* class (*kupiga* (beating/to beat)

from the Arabic *qabr*. Other examples he gives are *divai* (wine) from French *du vin*; *Shule* (school) from the German *Schule* (Ibid.).

Schadeberg (Ibid.:91) goes on to explain that "... a few borrowed words end in -a and are inflected just like native verbs;." and he uses an example of a verb *ku-tawal-a* (to rule) from Arabic *tawalla*.

Fabian (1982) discussing loanwords in Shaba Swahili (which is the variety of Kiswahili spoken in the copperbelt of Zaire's south-eastern Shaba province) is of the view that whilst borrowing words from other languages generally signals a gap in the vocabulary of the borrowing language, this is not always the case. Examining transcripts of recorded dialogues in Shaba Swahili the author notes that there were almost half as many French words as Shaba Swahili words in the conversations and asks the question "can such a high proportion still be the result of borrowing?". He finally concludes:

Should we not rather state that, as far as we know from these examples, the lexicon of Shaba Swahili is of a heterogeneous nature, analogous to that of Standard Swahili with its high proportion of Arabic? (Ibid.:23-24)

Long before translanguaging had even been thought of, Fabian was hinting at a different way of looking at language: not fixed, as Otheguy et al (2018:637) put it but with borrowed and native words "residing in an undifferentiated lexicon." This is also an important observation for me to take into my analysis of loanwords in isiXhosa texts.

2.9.6 Bemba

In his initial formative work on Bemba (2017) Kangwa observed that epenthetic vowel insertion was widespread in the incorporation of English borrowed words into Bemba (2007:122) – a phenomenon that needs to be taken into account when considering the integration of loanwords in isiXhosa. He gives the examples of different types of vowel insertion including anaptyxis – the insertion of a vowel between two consonants, one of which can be seen in the English word 'brake' becoming '*buleki*' in Bemba (2007:93). This aspect of epenthetic vowel insertion will be examined in my analyses, as will prothesis (initial vowel insertion) and paragogue, the insertion of a vowel at the end of a word (Kangwa, 2012:93-94). In his later study (Kangwa, 2017), Kangwa includes a detailed analysis of how diphthongs in English vowels are represented in Bemba (Ibid.:40) – this is instructive for my analysis of diphthongs in isiXhosa. Kangwa's

concluding (Ibid.) remarks that “vowel substitution is a patterned and systematic phenomenon in Bemba loanword phonology” and that by establishing vowel substitution patterns “it is possible to make predictions regarding the upcoming English words where similar substitution of vowels may be observed” is extremely relevant to this study which seeks to establish patterns in vowel substitution for English and Afrikaans words in isiXhosa.

2.9.7 South Africa’s Bantu languages

Mafela’s (2010) research on borrowing and dictionary compilation for South Africa’s indigenous languages is important because he is one of the few academics who points out that the fact that South Africa’s indigenous African languages borrow not only from English and Afrikaans but also from other African languages: “Indigenous languages of South Africa share a great deal of vocabulary, as well as some cultural aspects, because they belong to the same language-family” (Mafela, 2010: 694). Borrowing between cognate languages is even easier because words are able to slot in perfectly because of a shared cultural background and also because of a shared grammatical base. I start this discussion with reference to isiZulu and follow it with an in-depth examination of isiXhosa loanwords. Since isiXhosa is a Nguni language and is the focus of this study, a linguistic biography of Zone S languages, with specific reference to isiZulu and isiXhosa is provided below.

IsiZulu

Khumalo (1984:205) argues that loanwords (which he calls *adoptives*) have to adjust to the syllable structure of isiZulu and to the “types of clusters permitted”. He notes that “many new words will present syllabic problems because they will end in a consonant” (Khumalo, 1984:206) which he argues is normally repaired by “adding a final vowel, thus converting this final consonant into a CV syllable” (Khumalo, 1984:206). He also notes the importance of vowel epenthesis and asks the question “How is this vowel chosen?” (Khumalo, 1984:207). He concludes that:

A very general rule seems to apply in which the new vowel must be high, and also must agree in labiality with the tautosyllabic consonant it follows, i.e. the high back vowel /u/ will be epenthesized to labials and the high front vowel /i/ elsewhere. (Khumalo, 1984:207)

He provides a number of illustrative examples including the Afrikaans *blom* 'flower' becoming *ibhulomu* and the English *plate* which in isiZulu is *ipuleyiti* (Khumalo, 1984:207).

Khumalo (1984:209) also observes that "at times it appears that endings of adoptives are influenced by or "mimic" high frequency morphological terminations in isiZulu, such as -ula, -ela, -ana, etc." Two of the examples he gives are *itafula* 'table' and *udokotela* 'doctor'. In terms of diphthongs, he notes that /eə/ and /ou/ are "generally interpreted as single vowels", one of his examples being *isitezi* 'stairs' [steəz] and that the other diphthongs are "usually interpreted as two different vowels separated by a glide" e.g., *ubhiye* 'beer' (Khumalo, 1984:210). While he notes that the English /r/ is adjusted to /l/ in isiZulu, but he adds that "the phoneme /r/ has now been accepted into the phonemic system of Zulu, occurring only in adoptives" and gives by way of example the Zulu words *irabha* 'rubber' and *irula* 'ruler' (Khumalo, 1984:211).

Bosch and Pretorius' (2009) work on cross-linguistic similarities in isiZulu and isiXhosa computational morphology also sheds light on how the gender system of these languages allows for fairly easy loanword incorporation.

When talking about 'Loanwords classification in isiZulu', Ngcobo (2013) focusses mainly on "those words that have been morphologically and phonologically assimilated into isiZulu system" and he gives an example of *i-aleji* (allergy) (Ibid.:22). Ngcobo refers to three issues germane to the incorporation of loanwords in isiZulu: lexicalization, institutionalisation, sociolinguistic factors (Ibid.:22-23). Quirk et al. (1985:1525f.) refer to lexicalization as a process of creating a new word for a (new) thing or notion instead of describing this thing or notion in a sentence or with a paraphrase. Therefore, for example in English, in the last few years we have seen the new word "influencer" being used to describe people with enough social media presence to be able to influence buyers' decisions. A recent example of lexicalization in isiXhosa is the word "*ucimi-cimi*" (Noun Class 1a) for "loadshedding", although many speakers loan the English word and just prefix the Noun Class prefix for Class 9 *iloadshedding*, but Ngcobo would argue that this is also an example of lexicalization. According to Ngcobo, lexicalization "refers to a situation where a loanword is still recognized as a foreign word" (Ibid.:23). Ngcobo mentions "Class 9 will also be considered as less morphologically unmarked as it uses the prefix i- in some nouns ..." and he uses an example of *idolobha* (dorp or town)."

(Ibid.:22). Ngcobo argues that variation in the way loanwords are incorporated into isiZulu can be attributed to speakers' sociolinguistic background (Ibid.).

IsiXhosa

Ngcobo's analysis resonates with observations I made in my MA research that "The proliferation of loanwords in Classes 9 and 10 ... would lead one to suspect that all loanword nouns in isiXhosa would be given the Class 9 prefix, with their plurals in Class 10." (Futuse, 2019:6). However, my research revealed other noun classes were also productive for loanwords – e.g., Class 1a was often used for technological and social media innovations such as *uWhatsApp* and *uFacebook* (Ibid.:88) while some speakers used Class 5 and not Class 9 for certain loanwords as is evident in the translation of "My belt is broken" for which some isiXhosa-speakers gave "*Ibhanti yam yophukile*" clearly putting the borrowed word "*ibhanti*" for 'belt' in Class 9 while others gave *Ibhanti lam lophukile* – the possessive concord *la-* and the subject concord *li-* → *I-* before vowel verbs indicating a Class 5 noun (Ibid.:61). In addition, my research revealed that:

Loanword nouns that refer to objects made of paper or of card are often found in this class e.g., *iphepha* (paper) and *ikhadi* (card) as are some loanword nouns which form part of a pair, e.g., *itayala / amatyala* (tyre/s). (Ibid.:50)

Dowling (2011) conducted an experiment with isiXhosa-speakers in Masiphumelele (a township close to Fish Hoek in Cape Town) during which she showed participants pictures for which she elicited one-word responses. She discovered that the majority of her participants used English words "not only to fill lexical gaps, but also to express emotions, states and attributes that have a particularly urban context and for which English lexical items seem most appropriate and economical" (Ibid.:361). Her research is relevant in that it was clear that speakers were not conscious of named languages when they offered the words, they merely wanted to complete the task using the words they had at the ready in their linguistic repertoires. Thus, although in this thesis I specifically address the notion of lexical borrowing, I do keep in mind the understanding that words are not owned by anyone and are there for everyone to use as they see fit. Although not explicitly argued as such, in the following study the author shows that

people of one named language can seamlessly use parts of speech from another named language, to perform a specific semantic function.

Simango's (2019) study on the borrowing of English prepositions by isiXhosa-speakers is therefore instructive as prepositions are normally considered as belonging to "closed-class items" in a language which "hardly accept new members" (Ibid.:314). Simango's research revealed that of a total of 268 borrowed prepositions, 110 were the word *for* (Ibid.:320) which the author explains by referring to the fact that in isiXhosa "there is no preposition in isiXhosa and related Bantu languages that corresponds to, or is equivalent to, the English preposition *for* in terms of meaning (Ibid.:322). Simango notes that the applied extension *-el-* in isiXhosa does perform many of the meanings of the English *for* but argues that it faces competition from the latter in certain contexts (Ibid.). Simango also established that the applied extension and the English *for* are used interchangeably by some speakers who consider the latter as "native to isiXhosa ... even though it is foreign" (Ibid.:324). According to Gibson et al. (2022:165) "Bantu languages may have prepositions which interact with applicatives in different ways. This includes some prepositions that have come to be used in constructions in which they compete with or reinforce the applicative extension". The authors note that "We also see borrowed forms such as *for* from English in Sesotho" (Ibid.) and, as an isiXhosa-speaker I can corroborate this use in isiXhosa: for example I often hear people using the applicative together with the English borrowing *for*, as in the sentence "*Ndiyithengela for abantwana bam le fruit*" (I am buying this fruit for my children): Ndi- (I) -yi- (Object concord)-theng- (buy)-el- (applicative)-a (final vowel).

Sesotho

In his article, *Borrowing and Loanwords: The Lemmatizing of Newly Acquired Lexical Items in Sesotho sa Leboa*, Mojela (2010) discusses how foreign languages, together with English, Afrikaans, Xitsonga, Tshivenda and other Nguni languages influenced Sesotho sa Leboa, or Northern Sotho, and says that borrowing from these languages resulted in the Sesotho sa Leboa's vocabulary increasing. In the same article, Mojela analyses the advantages and disadvantages of the adoption of these foreign items in Sesotho sa Leboa dictionaries (Mojela, 2010:700). He also analyzes the role that is played by borrowing in the development of the Sesotho sa Leboa lexicon (Mojela,

2010:703). Mojela is also of the view that Sesotho sa Leboa is still a quite underdeveloped language as far as its lexicon is concerned when compared to some English and other highly advanced African languages such as Kiswahili (Mojela, 2010:701).

Mojela has some loan lexical items that were borrowed directly from languages, including words like *malekere* 'sweets' (from Afrikaans lekkers); *mpete* 'bed' and *tšhinkamo* for 'chewing gum' (Mojela 2010:702). He is also of the belief that there are direct and indirect types of borrowing and describes the indirect one as: "... found where a foreign or a new concept is taken over, and not the word itself. In most cases such a concept is associated with an indigenous word, such as *motu* 'resin' for 'chewing gum' instead of the loanword *tšhinkamo* (ibid.:702). Mojela also highlights the important role that is played by borrowing in Sesotho sa Leboa, which includes the fact that it develops the vocabulary and keeps the language current with regard to scientific and technological terms. He also observes that borrowing increases the volume of vocabulary and helps in bridging "morphological gaps existing between the various African languages" (Mojela, 2010:703).

Venda

Madiba (1992:123) observes the fact that while there are many adoptives (a synonym for loanwords and borrowed words) in Venda "There is always the fear that adoption may cause the language to lose its character. Madiba goes on to argue that this fear is ungrounded since loanwords have actually had a positive influence on the language:

Adoption has served the Venda language since time immemorial. Until the 1950's when the language planning bodies were established to work on the development of Venda terminologies, innovations took place spontaneously without interference from any governing institution or other agents. (Ibid.:129).

Madiba goes on to argue that rather than having language bodies to police the number of loanwords in a language, it would be more beneficial to research "patterns of language use and the dynamism involved in the social interaction of the speakers" (Ibid.). Madiba (Ibid.:130-134) nevertheless characterizes criteria for the characterization of adoptives in Venda being: frequency of usage, referential adequacy (is the word helpful to its users), systematic adequacy (can they be phonologically and morphologically adapted in to the recipient language), and linguistic and social acceptability. In terms of phonologically adapted loanwords in Venda Madiba cites

pulane for 'plan' and *diraiva* for 'driver' while one of his examples of morphologically adapted words is the singular and plural pair for 'machine': *mutshini* and *mitshini* (Ibid.133). He notes that some loanwords that are frowned upon are those that have negative connotations and cites (without translations) words such as *gele* and *tshiboyi* which must have been adoptives used in the Apartheid era to refer to domestic workers 'girl' and 'boy' (Ibid.).

2.10 Loanwords in texts

Do all writers use loanwords in texts in the orthographically adapted forms in isiXhosa? The answer is no, but a further question is why not? It could be that are used to seeing the word in English and therefore naturally use the spelling they know, so even a borrowed like *brandy* which in *The Greater Dictionary of isiXhosa Vol.1 A-J* (Tshabe et al., 2006:238) appears as *ibranti* is spelt in a recent online text as *ibrandy*¹⁰. Works that have gone through publishers and editors are more likely to adhere to the dictionary spellings, but the author might still want to signal something with their choice of retaining the English spelling. For example, in her isiXhosa poem *Uthando* Athambile Masola uses the word *ice-cream* (Masola, 2021:60) in its unadapted source language form (it is formally entered as *i-ayiskrimu* in isiXhosa dictionaries and word-lists). The poem features this loanword being used to coax an isiXhosa-speaking child into good behaviour with the promise of ice-cream as a treat. The English spelling could signal its otherness and rarity in the child's world, unlike the borrowed words in many of Masola's other poems, which are phonotactically adapted. It could be argued that not integrating the word to isiXhosa phonotactics distances it from the "dominant culture" which in this case is that of the Xhosa people (see Androutsopolous, 2000 for a discussion on non-standard spellings).

Other discussions on the variability of the spelling of loanwords refer to differences in the way older and newer loanwords into a language are adapted (Poplack et al., 1988; Šabec, 2009). With regard to loanwords in Slovene, Šabec (2009:21) notes that

¹⁰ See <https://ibalikamahle.wordpress.com/> then anikwe I tot ye brandy

"orthographically, older loanwords are stable, and in most cases consistently spelt in the same way. Typical English letters that do not exist in Slovene are replaced by their Slovene near-equivalents". I would argue that a similar case exists for isiXhosa loanwords. Šabec (Ibid.) also observes that sometimes there are double or even multiple orthographic forms certain loanwords" which she intimates is far more common with more recent loanwords in Slovene. As I examine the loanwords in isiXhosa texts, it is important that variations in spelling and phonotactics are explained and attention paid to the role of orthography in "adaptations that are either based on written input or established by speakers who know the spelling of the loanwords in the source language" (Peperkamp, 2005: 249-250).

2.10.1 Loanwords in translated texts

In her article entitled *Translating culture: problems, strategies and practical realities*, Guerra (2012:1) explains that translating a literary text poses many problems for translators. For instance, some words, phrases, and concepts, are so deeply rooted in their source culture that they have no equivalent in the target culture, and as a result they are not yet codified in the target language. She is also of the view that when there are cultural differences it is not easy to for translators to transfer thoughts from one language to another (Ibid.). Her article looks at adding to existing typologies and classification when translating cultural terms as well as at showing useful procedures and strategies for resolving issues that arise when translating texts between different cultures. In order to achieve this, Guerra (Ibid.:2), collected data on how students attending a course in English-Spanish translation translated texts that included cultural references (40 preselected cultural terms occurred in these preselected texts given to her students to analyse). Before analysing her students' strategies for translating cultural words and concepts the author includes a discussion on existing strategies and classifications, and observes many scholars agree that "language is an expression of culture and individuality of its speakers and have, hence, deeply examined cultural terms ..." (Ibid.) She goes on to quote Newmark who "puts forth his classification of foreign cultural words, establishing five categories" (Ibid), and these are: Ecology (climate, etc.); material culture (food, clothes, houses, etc); Social culture (work and leisure); Organizations, customs, activities, procedures, or concepts; and Gestures and habits (Ibid). She also observes that some things that can make it difficult for a

translation to be precise include, among other things, geographic and ethnographic terms; words or expressions referring to folklore, traditions and mythology; names of everyday objects, and events; and social and historical terms, departments, professions, titles, greetings and treatments (Ibid.:4).

The author mentions, though, that, even though difficulties arise, translators can “coin or borrow the term” (and this is an important observation in terms of my study) from the source language into the language they are translating into to or even adapt it to “suit” that language. It is mainly up to the translator to decide the most suitable way to render the words in the translation language and when doing this they take the potential readers into account (Ibid.:5). Guerra also noticed that: some studies focus only how translators should deal with cultural words, and cites Graedler’s (in Guerra, 2012:6) four procedures (note in the following discussion SL stands for Source Language, SC is Source Culture, TL stands for Target Language and TC stands for Target Culture):

- (i) making up a new word, (ii) explaining the meaning of the SL expression in lieu of translating it, (iii) preserving the SL term intact, and (iv) replacing it using any term in the TL that has the same “relevance” as the SL term.

Guerra makes a distinction between adaptation, borrowing, and calque translation, explaining that adaptation is “used in those cases in which the type of situation being referred to by the SL message is unknown in the TC and translators create a new situation that can be described as situational equivalence” (Ibid:7), and borrowing as when a term is “taking a word or expression straight from another language, without translation. An example of adaptation from English to isiXhosa would be “*Thyini bethuna!*” for “Oh my word!”, or “*Omg!*” (as the youngsters say it in alphabets these days) instead of the incorrect literal translation into isiXhosa “*Yho igama lam!*”, whereas borrowing would be *ivenkile*, for ‘shop’ being borrowed from Afrikaans *winkel*. The borrowing procedure is normally used when a term does not exist in the TC, or when the translator tries to get some stylistic or exotic effect” (Ibid). She describes calque as “a literal translation (either lexical or structural) of a foreign word or phrase” (Ibid.:8). An example of a calque in isiXhosa is *amaphephandaba* (papers-news) (Dowling, 2011: 352).

Guerra's experiment with her students – giving them texts with culturally specific words – allowed her the opportunity of seeing that adaptation, description, and borrowing were used more often than other translation procedures for these terms (Guerra, 2012:16). With regard to description the author notes:

It seems that, when facing culture-specific terms, students do really know what they imply or denote, but cannot always find an equivalent term in the TL, so they tend to describe it (Ibid.:21).

An equivalent in isiXhosa would be '*inzululwazi ngengqondo*' to translate the word 'psychology' (see Fischer et al., 2013: 490). In the end, all these articles above, whether they talk about foreign or indigenous language, are a proof that most languages, without a doubt, do use English repeatedly to borrow words. As it was pointed out at the beginning, this study is going to focus more on how isiXhosa writers implement these words (that isiXhosa borrows from mainly English and Afrikaans, and sometimes from some indigenous) in texts.

Frankenberg-Garcia (2005:1) observes that:

in translation the use of loanwords is generally associated with strategies for dealing with culturally-bound concepts that are difficult to translate, and with deliberate ways of showing respect for the source-text language culture.

Translators nevertheless can still choose whether to use the loanword, or whether to try to "explain" the word in the target language but this choice is often influenced by the level of prestige of the source language (Ibid.:2). Frankenberg-Garcia analysed loanwords in translated English and Portuguese texts and found that there were substantially more loans in the Portuguese translations than in the English ones, the researcher concluding that "Portuguese readers tend to be more exposed to loans than English readers" (Ibid:10). Frankenberg-Garcia, however, cautions academics not to jump too hastily to the conclusion that when Portuguese translators translate an English text into Portuguese are guilty of "foreignizing" loans, while English translators translating from Portuguese into English "domesticate" the loans (Ibid.:10). A closer statistical analysis of loans in English and Portuguese translations shows that English translators don't try to avoid using Portuguese loanwords it is just that the original Portuguese texts already HAD English loanwords in them (Ibid:12). Interestingly, English source texts

tended to have far more loanwords than Portuguese source texts which suggests that “it was the English source texts rather than the translations that proved to be more open to borrowing words from other languages” (Ibid.17).

The following two articles elaborate on the impact of the loanwords acquired from European languages, focussing specifically on French and Italian. The articles discuss what loanwords do to written text, as will also be explained in this research.

2.10.2 English Loanwords in French and Italian journalistic texts

Varga *et al.* (2011) conducted a study on loanwords in French and Italian newspaper articles. In their article, Varga *et al.* (Ibid.) discuss how English loanwords specifically are used in French and Italian journalistic texts, using a corpus in which there was a high level of equivalence between topics and genres. They preface their study with commentary on the relevance of linguistic borrowing, especially for fields such as “economy, international and European politics, environment, technology” (Ibid.:71). They, like many other scholars, are also of the view that the English language has had a tremendous impact on European languages including French and Italian (Ibid.). When elaborating on the incorporation of English loanwords into French and Italian texts, the authors admit that the ease of social interaction between peoples from different areas and cultural backgrounds assists the process of linguistic borrowing as it results in contacts between two or more languages, which as the time goes results in languages “constantly permeating each other” (Ibid.:72). What can happen in this process is that languages that are considered less prestigious receive loanwords from the more dominant language and the reasons for this include “linguistic, sociolinguistic, political and cultural factors” (Ibid.:73).

The authors mention two types of loanwords borrowing: denotative and connotative. Denotative loanwords are those that are taken as they are from the language borrowed in order to “fill a lexical gap” in the borrowing language (Ibid.:74) and connotative loanwords are those loanwords that one borrows for prestige or that may be referred to as “loanwords of luxury” or ... “snobbisms” (Ibid.) (an example being saying ‘babysitter’ when speaking Italian instead of using the Italian *bambinaia*). It is also worth noting that while most languages employ Anglicisms, other languages such as French, German, Italian and Spanish have also been sources of loanwords “at different periods of history” and this led to the languages generating “...galicisms, hispanisms, italianisms,

germanisms, latinisms to name but a few” (Ibid.:75) and this is done according to the grammatical rules of the receiving language.

The authors also mention that there is a presumption that some Italians perceive that using English words meant that they were free from the oppression they experienced under fascist Mussolini (Ibid.). On the other hand, in France, there has been a war against what the French called “franglais”, and the French institution called *L’Académie française* has, for over 400 years, had a mission of protecting the French language and of making sure that it was used correctly by “creating and updating the Academy’s dictionary and working on boards responsible for new terminology” (Ibid). Nevertheless, words have been borrowed from English by both French and Italian languages, and the authors show that the use of these have been obvious in “journalistic texts dealing with specific fields, including information technology, mobile communications, and the entertainment industry” (Ibid.:78). They also mention, though, that the Italian texts show an even more obvious use of English loanwords especially in “journalistic texts dealing with the English-speaking world, as well as the European Union” (Ibid). Below are a couple of words that were borrowed from English and how they are written in both French and Italian (Ibid.:79):

‘the summit’ in French is *le sommet* and in Italian is *il summit*; ‘site’ in French is *sur un site* and in Italian is *sul sito*; ‘record label’ in French is *un label musical* and in Italian is *una label musicale*; ‘fans’ in French is *les fans* and in Italian *i fan*; ‘smartphone’ is *smartphone* in both French and in Italian (Ibid.:78-79)

The authors observe that contemporary Italian journalists constantly include unadopted English loanwords extensively, in most of their topics which range from politics to gossip. They also note that French journalists use denotative loanwords (words taken from the source language to give a name to new concepts) whereas Italian journalistic texts have many connotative loanwords – or luxury loans – which are words that are borrowed because of the perceived prestige of the country where the donor language is spoken (Ibid.).

In addition, while French journalists’ texts try to find a French equivalent (substitution) “the loanwords found in Italian journalistic texts fall within the scope of the importation process” (Ibid.:80). This would suggest that the *L’Académie Française* (The French Academy, a council responsible for all matters relating to the French language) is resolute in its objective of containing the influx of loanwords in French (see Grigg, 1997),

particularly in writing where they can wield the most authority and oversight, while Italian journalists are at a greater liberty to use loanwords without fear of tight linguistic control from an authorised language body.

From looking at contemporary research on the topic of loanwords in European languages (and later in this chapter in African languages) it is clear that, without a doubt, English is by far the most frequently used donor language to other languages, be they European or indigenous African languages.

In the next section I look at loanwords in Spanish tourist texts – a domain that appears to be particularly prone to borrowing words and concepts from other languages, particularly English.

2.10.3 Loanwords in Spanish Tourist Texts

In their paper discussing *Anglicisms in Spain* ('Anglicism' meaning a word that is borrowed from English and incorporated into other foreign languages), De la Cruz et al. (2008:13) discuss how it is traditionally assumed that the influence that English has upon Spanish is widespread and that this becomes complicated when taking into consideration the language of tourism, which covers diverse subjects like for instance, economics, history of art, marketing, sports and law.

De la Cruz et al. (Ibid.) note that it is important to scrutinize how loanwords adapt to the grammatical system of the borrowing language in terms of gender assignment and plural formation: this allows them to determine whether English loanwords in Spanish are governed by usual criteria regarding gender assignment or not. They also centre their attention on how these words change when they are introduced into Spanish, whether they sound Spanish or whether it is obvious that they have been borrowed (Ibid.). The authors are of the view that after Spanish had contact with the English language (particularly in America), more borrowed words were introduced and that this borrowing increased the Spanish vocabulary considerably, noting that borrowing is often done for specific purposes. For instance, when one is referring to domains that include technology, science, and tourism, the English lexicon is the one most likely to provide the loanwords (Ibid.). This observation has relevance for my study which will also show how certain domains, for example, computers and technology, will generate a greater number of loanwords, such as *ikhompyuta* 'computer' or *iwayifayi* 'Wi-Fi' and a proliferation of other terms adapted from English.

The authors of the article collected their data from different sources to establish a corpus of words with which to continue with their study (Ibid.:15). Their corpus included brochures, official publications and web sites that deal with tourism. Because the official documents yielded only a few loanwords they included in their search magazine and website articles that dealt with mountain biking, racing, snow mountain activities and other adventure pursuits. They also made use of articles dealing with travelling, snowboarding, news and advice, mountain safety advice, clothing for mountain sports, “touristic products, advertisements of rural homes, hotels excursions and trips, and a selection of rural hostels and activities around different areas” (Ibid.:17). When doing this, they had to be careful because gender is an inherent grammatical feature of all nouns in Spanish, therefore it was necessary for them to, as they put it, “complete the gender assignment process in order to incorporate and assimilate English loanwords” (Ibid.). Doing this would make it possible to indicate the assimilation of the word because English does not use gender as the Spanish language does. Thus, in English the word ‘computer’ is assigned a feminine gender in Spanish which we can see from the feminine article *la* in “*la computadora*”. A masculine noun would have *el* instead of *la* as in the Spanish for a male dog being *el perro* while a female dog would be *la perra*.

When analysing their data though the researchers encountered a problem because the majority of the terms that they sourced from selected magazines and web pages had no gender marking, as they explain “It is often difficult to know the gender applied by the author to a given term because it lacks determiners or adjectives that modify it” (Ibid.: 21). In Spanish there is a predominance of the masculine gender which means that if a noun constitutes doubt when it comes to gender then it is marked as masculine. The authors also mention that normally “the gender in Spanish can be deduced by the ending of the word” (De la Cruz et al, 2008:23). Therefore, if a noun is feminine it ends with an ‘a’ and if it is masculine, it ends with an ‘o’. The following are examples of Spanish feminine nouns: *casa* ‘house’, *día* ‘day’ *tema* ‘topic’, *problema* ‘problem’ and *programa* ‘programme’; while these are masculine ones: *libro* ‘book’. *foto* ‘photo’, *moto* ‘motorbike’ (Ibid). About the tendencies of unmarked gender, the authors observe that: “As it happens in other Romance languages, the unmarked gender in Spanish is the masculine. This means that “when doubting about which gender a foreign item should take, nouns tend to be assigned to the masculine one” (Ibid.:26). It is interesting to note though that some professional nouns have a double gender, for example *policía*

(‘policyperson’), *guía* ([tourist] guide’), *artista* (‘artist’) and that these “can be masculine or feminine just by using the masculine or feminine article in front of the word” (Ibid.:27).

The two English suffixes ‘-ics’ and ‘-ism’ correspond to Spanish *isítica* and *ismo*, for example, logistics, corresponds to *logística*, and Linguistics, to *lingüística*; baptism, corresponds to *batismo*, and modernism, to *modernismo* thus making it easy to assign gender (Ibid.). While we do not have masculine and feminine gender as such in isiXhosa there are some underlying rules for the incorporation of loanwords that predispose them to fall into a particular Noun Class, as in borrowed words with initial S tend to fall into Class 7 (*isi-*) so the issues around gender as encountered by the researchers are definitely germane to this research study.

Finally, the authors conclude that the plural -s (common to both English and Spanish) dominates over the Spanish plural -es (Ibid.:29) even though the usual rule for Spanish plurals is that if the noun ends a vowel the -s morpheme is used but those that end in a consonant suffix -es. The authors argue that words like ‘snowboarders’ and ‘quads’ would not be understood by Spanish speakers out of context and that the English plural is kept “as an identity mark of their foreign character” (Ibid.:31).

In the next section I discuss academic words that have focussed on loanwords in African language texts.

2.11 Loanwords in African language texts

There has been very little written on loanwords in early African language texts so I start this section with a discussion on Blench’s seminal work *Archaeology, language, and the African past* in order to provide a historical perspective on the issue of what loanwords can tell us about the history of people on a continent.

2.11.1 Patterns of loanwords in Africa

Blench (2006:7) notes that loanwords (the evidence of which can be found in archaeological artifacts including ancient texts) can “track the introduction and diffusion of new or innovative material culture or socio-economic institutions” as well as trace “the sources and etymologies of toponyms and ethnonyms”. Later he argues that loanwords “can play an important role in unpicking the layers of influence on a particular society”

(Ibid:15). These insights are critical for my study as I want to understand why certain loanwords predominate in particular historical isiXhosa texts as well as what this predominance might say about the writers and their sociocultural backgrounds and influences. Blench refers to the fact that domestic animals were never indigenous to Africa (apart from the donkey and guinea fowl) and that species such as the chicken “introduced >3000 years ago, have created a complex trail of loanwords that clearly indicate the routes whereby they entered and diffused across the continent.” (Ibid.:36). The author even suggests that what is generally considered a Proto-Bantu word for “cow” is rather an “ancient loanword” (Ibid:37) because of what archaeological evidence suggests. Blench argues that “the tracking of loanwords can provide much information that is unavailable through other means” (Ibid.) and gives the following example:

The Portuguese had a considerable impact on African culture in many other ways, but their replacement by other colonial nations has meant that the Portuguese era is often forgotten or assigned only minor importance. But loanwords reveal periods of intense interaction. A good example of this is the maritime vocabulary of the East African coast, much of it borrowed from Portuguese (Ibid.)

The history of food crops on the African continent can be similarly tracked – because of loanwords we can see how certain crops spread from one group of people to another and how this spread happened (Ibid:38).

2.11.2 Loanwords in texts in Southern African languages

In this section I move the lens back to loanwords in South African languages – an issue that researchers are baffled by because of the huge amount of English and Afrikaans loanwords in African languages and the relative scarcity of words from cognate languages. The focus here though is specifically on loanwords in written texts in South African languages – sadly there is a dearth of academic literature on this topic although there has been some reference to the phenomenon with regard to dictionaries and terminology development.

Dictionaries and terminology development

Gambushe (2015:20) notes that the early isiXhosa dictionaries were:

unidirectional dictionaries that explained isiXhosa by way of English and this was meant to help second language speakers of isiXhosa, not first language

speakers. It is only towards the end of the 20th century that isiXhosa dictionaries for mother tongue speakers were introduced.

Mafela (2010:697) observes that “Lexicographers of South African indigenous languages are reluctant to include loanwords from other indigenous languages in their dictionaries for various reasons” one being that they are reluctant to do the arduous research necessary to establish the etymology of a shared indigenous word. Another reason he offers is that lexicographers are not eager to include loanwords from other indigenous languages as they want to maintain the purity of their own languages (Ibid.:698). He concludes by advising that it is also important to include loanword vocabulary from other indigenous South African languages when it has become accepted in the spoken and written language because when these loanwords are added to the standardized lexicon it will assist dictionary users to learn more about the culture of other indigenous African languages (Ibid.:698).

The next work stays on the subject of dictionary development in South Africa but focusses specifically on how technological and scientific terms are presented in bilingual dictionaries.

Xitsonga

In her dissertation on *The Treatment of Technological and Scientific Terms in Xitsonga Bilingual Dictionaries: A Lexicographic Approach*, Mafuyeka (2012) examines a variety of types of translation equivalence problems and also discusses different strategies and procedures that are used in the process. She also investigates the problems that are encountered which are “the impact of transliteration when dealing with the translation of technological and scientific terms in Xitsonga bilingual dictionaries and how lexical engineering contributes towards language change; language shift; language evolution and sometimes language death” (Mafuyeka, 2012:(iv)). The aim of her study was to provide evidence that transliteration of technical and scientific terms can end up in language change, language shift and even language death in some cases. As far as language change is concerned, she states that, because languages come into contact with each other, speakers’ attitudes towards each other can influence the way they speak. What happens in the process of meeting is that people will then borrow words from each other’s language and the results of such contact “differ according to social, economic, and political relationships between the speakers.” Mafuyeka (2012:25) For

language shift she draws a scenario where a driver would want to bribe a traffic officer that stopped him/her by offering the officer a “cold drink” which is actually a monetary value to make the officer stop writing the fine. This might be considered a rather simplistic definition of language shift as it is just one borrowed phrase, and language shift involves speakers abandoning their mother-tongue in favour of another language (Kamwangamalu, 2003). Mafuyeka also mentions that language change may result “in language evolution or language death” (Mafuyeka, 2012:35) and that the changes that are the result of extensive borrowing of words may advance “faster or even differently in one segment of a population of its speakers than in another” (Ibid.:36).

Mafuyeka notes that English-Xitsonga dictionaries generally rely heavily on “transliteration of borrowed terms from the source language English as the means of providing equivalents to the target language” and concludes that “in many instances, this approach does not assist the user to get the intended meaning” (Ibid.:2). Mafuyeka is also of the view that Xitsonga speakers have shown evidence of loss of transmission of Xitsonga vocabulary from generation to generation, and she goes on to explain that the Xitsonga word *miyobva* was known and used by the speakers of the language who lived between the 1910s and 1930s but concedes that this word has since been replaced by the English word *banana* (Ibid.:37). She also mentions that Xitsonga words like *mafundza* ‘respect’, are hardly known by the new generation of Xitsonga speakers as it is considered “archaic” and that speakers of Xitsonga choose to use the isiZulu word *nhlonipho* instead (Mafuyeka (2012:38).

Mafuyeka is of the view that several factors caused the abandonment of most of the Xitsonga vocabulary, and these include the high rate of illiteracy among the past generation of speakers, while the younger generation became educated. In order for this generation to have jobs they had to use English for communication, and this led to the Xitsonga vocabulary being severely comprised by English (Ibid.)

Mafuyeka also examines various types of translation equivalence problems and different strategies and procedures that are employed when dealing with non-equivalence. Mafuyeka explains ‘transliteration’ as “the coinage of target language terms from the source language” and further elaborates that “it occurs when there is a low level of translatability of source terms or zero-equivalents” (Ibid.:21). Mafuyeka (Ibid.: 18) argues that lexicographers too readily replace words with transliterated

(borrowed) English words where the source items still remain foreign, without allowing the evolution of terms in the target language and without providing target language definitions. She provides the following words to illustrate her point: planet becomes *pulanete*; ticket becomes *thikiti*, plank becomes *pulangu*; telescope is *theleskopu*; commission is *khomixini*; while stamp becomes *xitempe* (Ibid.:13-19). Mafuyeka also mentions that the above borrowed source language terms have been established in Xitsonga as translation equivalents and have since been used by users of the language in their everyday life. She warns, however, that this wholesale importation of lexical items does not always aid comprehension, and cites Roets' conclusion (cited in Mafuyeka, 2012:18) that "this kind of adoption deprives the African language an opportunity to evolve."

Mafuyeka, like other scholars, points out that when the speakers of languages come into contact with each other, their attitudes towards each other influences the way they speak. She goes on to say that sometimes only a few words are borrowed, and in some cases because of this borrowing "a whole new language may be formed" and that "the results of such contact differ according to social, economic, and political relationships between the speakers" (Ibid.:25). She also observes that:

Most African languages have been influenced at one time or another by contact causing different degrees of transference of features from one language to another. The transference of language features do not always require speakers of different languages to have actual contact, but can be done through book learning; by teachers who then pass on new vocabulary to other speakers via literature and dictionaries (Ibid.:29).

Mafuyeka cautions that as translation involves transferring meaning from one language to another it requires very thorough, professional approaches to achieving this end. Therefore, translators need to analyse the text they are translating from exhaustively and do the same with the one they are translating to and thus must establish "a distinction between the two languages or cultures involved" (Ibid.:42). Translators also need to be "brief in order to achieve optimal transfer procedure" and have to have cultural knowledge of both languages and the two communities involved in order for the translation to be successful (Ibid.) Mafuyeka concludes that:

The lexicographers and terminologists are therefore prompted to make valuable judgments about semantic and syntactic approximation. It is crucial for translators and terminologists to have a thorough knowledge of semantic

implications on both texts because it enables them to deal with the problem of non-equivalents when it occurs. (Ibid.)

Mafuyeka suggests that lexicographers can use a loanword if the source word is “not cultural to Tsonga” but should follow that word with an explanation in the target language and gives by way of example the words ‘acronym’ (akhronimi), ‘cake’ (*khekhe*) and ‘camera’ (*khamera*) (Ibid.:67).

I now discuss problems in the translation of terms for a multilingual health glossary because although it does not focus on loanwords, per se, it deals with the issue of conceptual gaps which are often resolved by loanwords.

The specific objective of Mabasa’s (2006) doctoral study on ‘Translation Equivalents for Health/Medical terminology in Xitsonga’ was, however, to identify problematic translation instances in the DSAC *Multilingual Glossary of Medical/Health Terminology*. She wished to ascertain whether mother-tongue Xitsonga speaking health care experts shared her reservations in terms of appropriateness of certain translation equivalents (Ibid.:5) to compare the DSAC glossary terms with those used by the health care experts and to “identify possible reasons for the inappropriateness of DSAC translation equivalents” (Ibid.)

Mabasa requested six mother-tongue Xitsonga health care professionals (three doctors and three nurses) to give the equivalent of 33 terms from the DSAC glossary (Ibid.:22). Her findings reveal that these health care professionals generally did not use only one word to explain the English term with their patients but would paraphrase the word in 62,5% of all cases while the glossary only used paraphrases of words in 32,5% of cases (Ibid.:28).

Some of the problems that led to Mabasa doing the study were the fact that certain translations in the “DSAC Multilingual Glossary of Medical/Health Terminology” were challenging when it came to word forming strategies that were used and the fact that some terms were “inappropriate” for mother-tongue speakers of Xitsonga” (Ibid.:40). Mabasa goes on to say that some of the terms in the said glossary do not even have equivalents provided and a blank space is used instead (Ibid.:41). She is of the view that when speakers are translating from another language into Xitsonga and vice-versa they encounter problems where the term might not have an equivalent in both languages and thus fail to provide suitable terminology. Another problem she

mentioned is what she refers to as “referential gap” (Ibid.:11) where the translators encounter a lack of consistency in both the target and the source language. This difficulty can be caused by culturally specific concepts that can cause the absence of semantic relationship between two words. Mabasa gives the example of a term that was observed ‘*xenodiagnosis*’¹¹ which she mentions was not translated in the glossary the specialists (who worked with people, not animals) did not know the term. The health/medical specialists chose to substitute the term ‘*xenodiagnosis*’ with ‘*diagnosis*’ (Ibid.:32). Mabasa argues that where the glossary did not provide any gloss a loanword could have been used instead (Ibid.:33). Mabasa’s observation that what really matters is that the translated term should be understandable to the target audience is critical

term developers would rather opt for maximising transparency and comprehensibility, than putting in an effort to coin a term that can be used as a so-called ‘directly insertable translation equivalent. (Ibid.:38)

Loanwords in Zimbabwean isiNdebele

Ncube (2005) focusses on the acceptance or non-acceptance of loanwords in an isiNdebele dictionary which he refers to as the ISN being the acronym for *Isichazamazwi SesiNdebele*. In tracing the origins of loanwords in Ndebele, Ncube notes that historically isiZulu is the primary source of these words and continues to “facilitate the entrance of loan-words from other languages into the Ndebele lexicon” (Ibid.:296). Ncube notes however, that today, most loanwords in isiNdebele are of English and Afrikaans origin and “Most of these loan-words, which today have been naturalised as authentic Ndebele words convey ideas, concepts and/or objects previously unknown to or inexpressible in Ndebele (or Zulu itself)” (Ibid.:297). IsiNdebele has, however, also borrowed words from other Bantu languages:

Ndebele has enriched its vocabulary by borrowing words like *inopi* (pumpkin porridge) and *ishamari* (a person involved in an illicit love affair) from Kalanga and Shona respectively. (Ibid.)

¹¹ Merriam-Webster defines Xenodiagnosis as : the detection of a parasite (as of humans) by feeding a suitable intermediate host (such as an insect) on supposedly infected material (such as blood) and later examining the host for the parasite (<https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/xenodiagnosis>)

Ncube reveals that the editors of the ISN were criticized for including loanwords (which some users complained could “corrupt the language”) in the dictionary but the researcher points out that this is a big challenge since it is difficult to “circumscribe a point in history when a language like Ndebele, for instance, existed as an 'isolated language', unadulterated by loan-words” (Ibid.:298). Users were particularly adamant that loanwords should not have been included in the dictionary when equivalent words in isiNdebele existed (Ibid.) Ncube explains however that the favoured isiNdebele words were not in fact “actively used in everyday conversation” leading to the ironic fact that those who object most to the borrowed words are in fact responsible for their popularity (Ibid.). The author also notes that sometimes the negative attitude towards a loanword is influenced by a negative attitude towards the source language and states “Ndebele mother-tongue speakers find it difficult to accept Kalanga words” (Ibid.:300). He elaborates further:

To date, minority groups such as the Kalanga favour Ndebele in place of their mother tongues. In such a situation, borrowing is conceived of as an anomaly when it occurs from a perceived language of 'low status' to a perceived language of 'high status'. (Ibid.)

Ncube notes that this linguistic purism is not similar across generations and describes the youth as only being concerned about loanwords when they impact their understanding of concepts in an educational setting, “Otherwise, the younger generation, in particular those of school-going age, is favourably inclined towards the inclusion of loan-words in ISN” (Ibid.:301). He goes on to note, however, that until loanwords are used in examinations their popularity might not be as strong as expected (Ibid.). He also cautions that lexicographers have to be aware of the difference between formal words and stylistically motivated loanwords as the inclusion of the latter in dictionaries could be viewed in a negative light (Ibid.:302). Ncube concludes, however, that lexicographers have to be practical and face the fact that loanwords form a large percentage of the average person’s isiNdebele lexicon (Ibid.:302). Ncube concludes with the truism that “From a lexico-graphic point of view, loan-words vindicate the widely accepted opinion that there is no static language. Every language grows, Ndebele being no exception to the rule” (Ibid.:304).

Loanwords in isiXhosa advertising

In her 2013 article on the use of isiXhosa in print advertising, Dowling discovered that loanwords were frequently used to advertise a product, particularly for taglines, or when brand identities were being referred to and argues that English is often used in these contexts for “pragmatic and stylistic reasons” (Ibid.:176). However, she notes that “The variety of isiXhosa used in advertisements in the late 1980s is standard, with translators using borrowings only when absolutely necessary” (Ibid.:180). However, from 1990 the use of isiXhosa in print advertisements declined dramatically and “in the June 2012 edition of the isiXhosa Bona there were 44 advertisements, 35 of which were in isiXhosa” (Ibid.:184). Dowling’s study includes reference to Nedbank’s Ke yona campaign which was run in vernacular languages used the borrowed words *i-inshorensi* (insurance) and *i-Pay-as-You-Use account* (Ibid.:185). Ten years later on 20th August 2022 in the online version of Isolezwe (www.isolezwelesiXhosa.co.za) there is only one advertisement, and that advertisement is in English, for a competition run by the National Sea Institute.

Loanwords in African language literary texts: Long Road to Freedom

In her PhD study of African language translations of Nelson Mandela’s autobiography *Long Walk to Freedom* Kanyane (2018) includes extracts of interviews with the translators of this classic text into South Africa’s indigenous African languages. The isiZulu translator noted that apart from finding some English words very difficult to translate, there were also isiXhosa words that he had to leave in that language as there were no isiZulu equivalents (Kanyane, 2018:317). For some words that he did translate into isiZulu the translator even felt it necessary to include the original English words in brackets by way of clarification (Ibid.:318). The isiXhosa translator also experienced difficulties, particularly with kinship terms as there is no equivalent in isiXhosa for “half-brother” or “step-daughter” in isiXhosa (Ibid.:319). The isiXhosa translator also admitted using loanwords when he felt that people were used to the words and cited his use of “*idemokhrasi*” for “democracy” (Ibid.:320) as an example of a word that most people would recognize.

Conclusion

The literature reviewed in this chapter serves to contextualize the present study and has been instrumental in shaping my theoretical tools and methodology. I also hope that through examining academic works and research into loanwords historically and cross-linguistically, that I have shown that the issue of taking a word from another language and using it in one's own is natural, useful and contributes to the robustness of the borrowing language. Furthermore, my reading has helped me understand that loanwords can tell us much about societies in contact, about power relations and technological and industrial advancements at different times in the history of the world. Moreover, this review also revealed that not only are loanwords used in popular world languages such as English and French, but even in what are considered less prestigious languages where it is not always a powerful language that is providing the loans, but other languages that the speakers are in contact with. I hope to bring further knowledge to this wide-ranging debate by focussing specifically on loanwords in isiXhosa texts: what these loanwords are, what the motivations were that encouraged their adoption by first language isiXhosa speakers, how they are represented orthographically and what the orthographic representations can tell us about pronunciations of loans historically.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

Before proceeding with an explanation of the methodology used in collecting and analysing my data set of loanwords it is necessary that I explain my understanding of what constitutes a borrowed word. I return to Durkin's (2014:3) definition of the term 'borrowing' as discussed in 1.2 (Key Concepts) which speaks of the replication of linguistic features. Durkin explains that "the term 'borrowing' describes a process in which one language replicates a linguistic feature from another language, either wholly or partly" (Ibid.). I do realize, however, that there is a problem distinguishing between single-word switches and loans and therefore acknowledge, as does Gardner-Chloros (2013:195) that "there is no failsafe method" to help one arrive at such certainty with regard to whether a word is a switch or a loanword. Gardner-Chloros reminds us that code switches presumably start life spontaneously and "then generalize themselves among speakers of the host language" and notes that by looking at such transfers "at different stages of contact" one can get a better picture of how words integrate into the receiving language (Ibid). This is an important aspect of the present study which takes an historical view of the process of loanword integration.

With this definition in place, I can proceed to my research questions which were the main drivers behind the data collection and analysis processes.

This study uses both qualitative and quantitative data collection methodologies with purposive sampling of key texts to answer the following questions:

- i) To what extent do borrowed words form a significant part of the isiXhosa lexicon as it occurs in texts penned by both historical and contemporary literary writers and journalists? What do current social media posts reveal about the nature and type of lexical borrowing?
- ii) Have borrowed words changed over time in terms of their orthographical representations and what can this tell us about reconstructing their pronunciation

at different times in history as well as their accommodation by the old and new isiXhosa orthographies?

- iii) What are the themes or domains most productive for borrowed words?
- iv) Which languages (e.g., English, Afrikaans, other languages) are borrowed from the most? Has there been any change over time as the source language for borrowing? Has, for example, English taken over as the main language from which borrowed words come?
- v) What do these borrowed words tell us about the social, political, religious, and cultural realities of the times in which these texts were written?

In order for me to apply my methodology correctly I had to take into account the linguistic biography of isiXhosa as well as an elucidation of its syllable structure, orthography and phoneme to grapheme correspondence. This is done below.

3.2 Research Design

3.2.1 Methods and procedures of data collection

In order for me to analyse how productive borrowed words are in literary and journalistic texts, as well as in social media platforms, I employed the following data collection methodologies:

Procedure 1: Undertaking data collection of borrowed words using a corpus of historical and contemporary isiXhosa literary texts. Historical texts span the years of 1914 to 1980: *Ityala Lamawele* (Mqhayi, 1914), *Ingqumbo Yeminyanya* (Jordan, 1940), *Buzani Kubawo* (Tamsanqa, 1958), *Ukuba Ndandazile* (Tamsanqa, 1967) and *UDingezweni* (Mtuzze, 1971). The five contemporary texts date between 2003 and 2017: *Kwisizwe Esitsha* (Mlandu, 2006), *Iziqendu Zobomi* (Dyosi, 2003), *Ungowam* (Gcwadi, 2014), and *limbuso ZikaGawulayo* (Bangani, 2006) and *Izigqibo esizenzayo* (Jita, 2017). I collected the data by making a note of each instance of a borrowed word (as tokens and types,

as they occur in the text) and then categorize the borrowed words according to their domain in which they occur and the part of speech, e.g., noun, verb, adjective.

Procedure 2: Capturing isiXhosa borrowed words in isiXhosa newspaper articles dating between 1893 and 1992 using the following newspapers and periodicals: *Imvo Zabantsundu*, *Umteteli wabantu*; and *NUM News (National Union of Mineworkers)*. Contemporary articles date from 2012 to 2020 in the following newspapers: *Isigidimi samaXosa*; and *Isolezwe lesiXhosa*.

3.2.2 Methods and procedures of analysis

In order to systematize the analyses of the collected loanwords I use the following procedures:

Procedure 1: Summarizing extracts

Before I present the data from each book, newspaper, magazine article and social media post, I first give a summary of the extract followed by the sentences or paragraphs containing borrowed words from each publication and a translation thereof to show how the author used loanwords: i.e., for purposes of style and natural dialogue or to fill conceptual gaps.

Procedure 2: Tabulation of borrowed words

The loanwords are tabulated according to the texts in which they occur, the source language for the borrowed word, the domain, and the part of speech.

Procedure 3: Phonetic transcriptions of orthography of the borrowed words

The study focusses on how isiXhosa writers orthographically represent words borrowed from other languages via phonetic transcriptions of the borrowed words. These phonetic transcriptions also give us an idea of how these words were actually pronounced by isiXhosa speakers at the time of writing and enables me to assess the practice of borrowing (how the orthography of isiXhosa accommodated and still accommodates borrowed words) by writers over a demarcated historical period (1914-2017).

Procedure 4: Grammatical, orthographical and phonological analyses

This procedure pays attention to the orthographical and grammatical representation of the loanwords. For example, if they are nouns, what noun class prefix are they used with and what the surrounding morphemes are (e.g., locative prefixes, possessive concords, demonstrative pronouns, adverbial formatives), and if they are verbs which, if any, concords, and tense and mood markers they used with. A phonological transcription of the spelling of each of the loanwords allows for a consideration of its possible pronunciation at the time of writing. A count of loanwords per part of speech reveals the parts of speech in which most loanwords occur.

Procedure 5: Analysis of most productive domains for loanwords. These domains are:

- i. Education
- ii. Elements
- iii. Employment: subdivided into professions and work-related terms
- iv. Environment: subdivided into places, tools and equipment, household items, furniture, plants, animals, minerals
- v. Exclamations
- vi. Family relations
- vii. Finance
- viii. Government
- ix. Health
- x. Lifestyle: subdivided into clothes, fashion items, cuisine, sports, news, entertainment, advancement, daily activities
- xi. Measurements
- xii. Names: Subdivided into biblical names, missionary names, settler names, personal names derived from animal names, personal names derived from objects, personal names from other languages.
- xiii. Nations
- xiv. Religion: subdivided into religious office and the supernatural
- xv. Technology
- xvi. Time concepts
- xvii. Titles
- xviii. Transport
- xix. Uniformed services
- xx. Nature

I establish which domains encouraged the most borrowing and whether these domains are related to colonial practices, contact with other races or natural changes in isiXhosa-speakers' environment due to migratory practices.

Procedure 6: Statistical analyses

In order to answer the first question (to what extent do borrowed words form a significant part of the isiXhosa lexicon?) a statistical analysis of the number of borrowed per text allowed me to establish not only the extent of lexical borrowing in isiXhosa, but also to establish which of the selected authors used the most loanwords as well as which **kinds** of texts had the most borrowed words.

The inclusion of both historical and contemporary texts established a diachronic data set that would enable historical linguists to trace the development of borrowed words in isiXhosa – including their popularity and orthography.

Procedure 7: Variation in loanwords

Attention is paid to variation in loanwords – synonymous loanwords, i.e., whether there is more than one loanword for the same object/concept (and from what source language) – and different spellings of the same loanword. Stages in the development of loanword use can be traced by paying attention to variation in spelling over time.

CHAPTER 4: DATA PRESENTATION

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I merely underline the presence of the borrowed words in some extracts from the selected texts – these underlined words are later analysed in *Chapter 5: Analysis* – and the full corpus presented in the form of tables in the *Appendices*. What I wanted to do in this chapter was for the reader to notice how the loanwords were integrated into the texts – without being immediately influenced by my explanations and analyses. My aim was to stimulate thinking on their meanings (both literal and in terms of the reasons for their presence as well as for the way in which they are integrated) and the authors' possible motivations for using them as they did. Although intertextuality is not a topic to be covered in this thesis, it is instructive to view the presence of loanwords in isiXhosa texts as being part of the written isiXhosa language that was only codified in the early 1800s and then in a context of immense social, economic, and political upheaval. The isiXhosa language (as discussed in 1.4 above) had to be constrained to suit the preconceived ideas of the function and forms of language brought by missionary linguists who were influenced by their own languages, literatures and understanding of linguistics. IsiXhosa also had to busy itself with the commodities and businesses of a life that was becoming increasingly commodified and politicised. In addition, the Xhosa were compelled to commit to writing their own language with linguists who believed in the primacy of the written text (particularly in the form of the Bible) and in the context of colonial texts and concepts. Thus, the texts presented here are just an indication of the "sea of words" that surrounded their writers, the loanwords becoming part of the current and movement of their discourses:

We create texts out of the sea of former texts that surround us, the sea of language we live in. And we understand the texts of others within that same sea ... Sometimes as readers we consciously recognize where the words and ways of using words come from and at other times the origin just provides an unconsciously sensed undercurrent. And sometimes the words are so mixed and so dispersed within the sea, that they can no longer be associated with a particular time, place, group or writer. Nonetheless, the sea of words always surrounds every text. (Bazerman, 2004:83-84)

With regard to the newspaper advertisements and articles, we do not always know who wrote these texts. It is important to bear in mind that it could be that the text (particularly in the case of an advertisement) was initially written in English and then translated into isiXhosa which could explain use of borrowed words in these texts. The translator might not have been aware of the precise meaning of the English word and would then play it safe by merely using the isiXhosa borrowed word.

4.2 Newspaper Adverts (1884-1920)

4.2.1 *Imvo Zabantsundu*¹² (1884). “Utengisa impahla yamadoda yonke Kwisitrata sikaMaclean”, (see Table 1)

IXABISO 3d.] KING WILLIAM'S TOW

Ngenxa yokungabina mpilo 'ntle u
C. FENNEL & CO.
 UTENGISA IMPAHLA YAMADODA YONKE,
 Kwisitrata sika Maclean.

Kumbulani olo 1 December.
 Uytengisa yonke impahla yake ukuba
 ipele kanye.

Amanani atotywe kakulu!
 Akufuneki kusele neyokubika ingubo.

Ingubo zonke zamakwenkwana,
 namadodana, namadoda zihliswe kwi-
 nto ebe ziyiyo kukuhliswa kwakuqala
 nge 20 per cent.

Okukukuti xa utenge into yeshelani ezintlanu,
 isheleni yobuyela kwakuwe.
 X'utenge eyeshumi ezimbini zobuyiselwa kwa-
 kuwe.
 X'utenge eyeshumi, lendaliso ezintatu zobuyi-
 selwa kwakuwe.
 X'utenge eyeponti isheleni ezine zobuyiselwa
 kwakuwe.

Impahla yamadoda eyibulukwe ne-
 batyi ne ndulubatyi itotywe kwi 75/-,
 ngoku ikwi 39/6.

Amalapu ezandla (handkerchiefs)
 esilika etotywe kwi 4/6, ngoku ayi 2/6

Ihempe ezidluliseleyo zefannel zokudlala ibola,
 7/11

Iibini zitengiswa ngexabiso elinga-
 pantsi nakwelo zatengwa ngalo Pe-
 sheya.

W. O. O.
 Kwisitrata sika
 Maclean
 Akabizwa n
 Iswakile (k
 Isapa, iM
 Inkumtyo,
 intlele v
 Inkumtyo
 ne plati,
 Isokoko ne
 Iyoyi
 Ibulukwe
 amilob
 Ibatyi, ne
 Ungabo, n
 anki
 Imikala n
 Gung
 Lemphala
 yonke int
 Isana wal
 seta.

P.S. - U
 zonkomo, 1
 futsheane, 2

PAULA
 umadoda 25
 ngokul' al
 akantu azis

W. O. CA
 Mac
 KING WI

IN

INTLONDO
 ne Gredipani, 41
 amadoda 40/-
 afubane 40/-
 fubane 40/-
 wane, omnye
 kwi 1/6.

Ihempe 2/6, 2/6
 amadoda 2/6, 2/6
 2/6, 2/6, 2/6
 2/6, 2/6, 2/6

E. G. G. G.
 2/6, 2/6, 2/6

W. J
 amadoda 2/6, 2/6
 amadoda 2/6, 2/6
 amadoda 2/6, 2/6
 amadoda 2/6, 2/6

Translation

All [types of] men's clothes are being sold at Maclean Street.

Remember the 1st December.

There is a sale on all types of clothes and they must all go at once. The prices are massively reduced!

There should not be even a blanket left.

All boys' blankets and men's are reduced from what they used to be by 20 percent.

This means that when you buy something for five shillings (fifty cents), one shilling (ten cents) will be returned to you

When you buy for one rand, three shillings will be returned to you

When you buy for a pound, forty cents will be returned to you

Men's pants, jackets and under-coats have been reduced from 75/- and are now 39/6.

Silk handkerchiefs have been reduced from 4/6 and are now are 2/6

Top flannel shirts for playing soccer 7/11

A pair is sold for a price lower than they were bought for from overseas.

¹² The Native Opinion of South Africa

4.2.2 Imvo Zabantsuntu¹³, (1884). “Abathenga impahla kwamanye amazwe”, (see Table 2)

JOHN J. IRVINE & CO.,
 Abatenga impahla kwamanye amazwe,
 Nakweli,
 Nabatengeli bofani ngofani,
 Abatengi bento eziveliswo ngabantsundu
 esinjengo
BOYA, IZIKUMBA ZENKOMO,
 Nezempahla emfutshane,
 BEMPONDO,
Nokudla, njalo njalo.

Ivenkile nezitora zentlobo ngentlobo, ezikwindawo
 ngendawo, ezitenga impahla kuti, zine cam lokufumana
 impahla yentlobo zonke ehambe itengwa ngentelekelelo
 enkulu kumagumbi ngamagumbi elizwe.

Kuyo yonke indawo esitenga kuyo impahla yezi zitora
 zetu sitenga ngapandle kokwenza tyala, ngokwenjenja-
 lo ke sondele ekufumanini eyona mpahla itshatshelayo
 ngamaxabiso apantsi.

Amaxabiso apezulu anikwayo ngamaxa namaxa nge-
 nto esukuba itengiswa anikowa apa.

JOHN J. IRVINE & CO.

G. WHITAKER,

Translation

Those buying clothes from other countries and here.

And those buying for whoever it may be

Those buying products produced by blacks like
 FUR, COW HIDE,
 and horn accessories

Food etcetera.

Shops and stores of all types in various places that buy clothes from us have the privilege of getting a range of clothes that were carefully bought at diverse international [sales] rooms.

Everywhere where we buy clothes for our stores, we buy without incurring debt, by so doing we can focus on getting the most popular clothes at low prices.

The highest prices given at different times for the item being sold are given here.

JOHN J. IRVINE & CO.

G. WHITAKER

¹³ The Native Opinion of South Africa

4.2.3 Imvo Zabantsundu¹⁴ (1899).
 "Ifandesi", (see Table 3)



Translation
 FOLOKOCO (PASCOE)
 WANTS YOUR ATTENTION
 AUCTION, AUCTION
 SMALL BLANKETS PRINTS BOLTS [OF
 MATERIAL] TO MAKE SHIRTS
 SHIRTS TROUSERS SUITS
 HATS TIES COLLARS
 etcetera, etcetera.

GERMAN PRINT 3 yards

MEN'S SUITS starting from 15/- (Jacket and
 Trousers and other clothes for this attire)
 UNDER-SHIRTS,
 SOCKS, COATS,
 EVERYTHING IS REDUCED!

COME QUICKLY BEFORE THEY FINISH TO

"FOLOKOCO."

IN KING WILLIAMSTOWN.

Fire! Fire! Fire!!!

MUNCNICH & CO.

E RABULA

¹⁴ The Native Opinion of South Africa

4.2.4 Umteteli wabantu¹⁵ (1920)
(see Table 4)

IPILISI ZAKWA FREED EZIVUSAYO NQI

Ezi pilisi ziqinisekile kakhulu ekuwabuyiseni amandla obudoda. Nokuba umntu sepele kangakanani na ziyakubuvusa ubudoda ngexeshana elincinane. Ezipilisizijitikezwe nge'DAMANA' ne "NUX VOMICA" nange "FREE PHOSPHORUS". Lamagqabi ke atembeke kunene ekuvuseni Amandla wobudoda, ngumchiza omkulu wegazi ongazange woyiswe kunjalonje. Zitatwa ngalemigaqo – Ginya liba linye kakatu ngemini. Amanani 3/6 ibhotile, ngeposi 3/10; ibhotile ezi 6 ziyi 18/- ne1/- ngeposi.



Translation

These pills are reliable in returning manly power. Even if someone is sexually depleted, they return manhood rapidly. These pills are mixed with DAMLAXA and MCX VOMICA and FREE PHOSPHORUS. These leaves are very reliable in waking up manly power, it is a good blood medication that is never conquered. They can be taken through according to these doses: Take one three times a day. 3/6 bottle by post 3/10 per 4 bottles at 18/ and 1 by post.

'VUKA-MFAZI' KA FREED
UMCHIZA WAMA KOSIKAZI

Ezipilisi zezabafazi bodwa, zilungisa igazi zibenze okokuba bafumane igazi elitsha elinamandla. Umfazi oti nxa eye exesheni lake eve intlungu ezipilisi zitata nje ixeshana elincinane ukuzipelisa ezontlungu. Nongasawaboniyo amaxesha ake azimenza okokuba awabone, zisebenza kanye esibelekweni, ziyasihlamba zikukulise konke ukungcola okubangela zonke intlungu. Kufneka ugqibe ibhotilana ezintandatu. Zitatwa ngalemigaqo: - Ginya ibenye katatu ngemini. Amanani 3/6 iqaga ne 4d, ngeposi, okanye amaqaga ayi 6 nge 18/ - ne 1/- ngapezulu ngeposi.

Translation

FREED'S 'WAKE UP WOMAN'
FEMALE MEDICINE

These pills are for women only, they repair the blood so that they can get new strong blood. For a woman who feels pain when she has her period, the pills only take a short time to relieve the pain. Even if you have amenorrhea, these will make you get your periods again, they work right in the womb, they wash away all the dirt that causes all the pain. You have to complete six bottles. It should be taken as follows: - Take one three times a day. Prices 3/6 per cent and 4d, by post, or 6 per cent at 18/- and 1/- above by post.

¹⁵ Mouthpiece of the People

"77" UMPITIKEZO KA FREED

Lomchiza unyanga umzimba ombi, ukujaduka, umsolo, nezilonda nentshatshezi ezinga vumi ukupola, izilonda ebusweni nazo zonke izifo zegazi. Ibhottle enye nokokuba zimhini ze "77" zonyanga inqaba zezifo ezoyise yonke eminye imichiza. Nokokuba yi Gcushuswa lomchiza "77" uyaku kunyenga nxa unoku wusebenzisa inyanga ezintatu. Akuko nalinye iyeza elilungisa egazi njengo No. "77".

Liselwa ngalemigaqo – Icepe elikulu namanzana katatu ngemini emva kokutya. Litengwa nge 4/6, ibhottle ne 1/-.



Translation

"77" FREED'S MIXTURE

This medicine cures a bad body, rash, ulcers and warts that don't heal, ulcers on the face, and all blood diseases. One or two bottles of "77" cures the rare diseases that are not cured by other medicines. This medical supplement "77" will even cure Gonorrhoea if you can use it for three months.

There is no other medicine that cleans the blood like No. "77".

Drink as follows - A large spoon with water, three times a day after meals. Sold for 4/6, a bottle and 1/-

4.3 Background to newspaper articles (1893 – 1992)

Background to the newspapers

Imvo zabantsundu (Black Opinion), was the first Black newspaper in South Africa and was published in King William's Town in (1884) with Tengo Jabavu as editor. The newspaper closed in August (1901).¹⁶ *Umteteli wa Bantu* (Mouthpiece of the People) was published after the mineworkers had a strike in (1920), and this publication lasted until (1956).¹⁷ *Ikwezi Lomso* (Morning Star) started in August (1844) and ended in December 1845 and

¹⁶ <https://www.sahistory.org.za/node/124256>

¹⁷ <https://www.uj.ac.za/library/informationresources/special-collections/Online-Exhibitions/TEBA/Pages/Umteteli-wa-Bantu.aspx>

only four issues of this newspaper were published.¹⁸ NUM News (National Union of Mineworkers) was founded in (1982) and its birth was facilitated by several comrades including Cyril Ramaphosa who rose to be its first General Secretary.¹⁹ *Isigidimi samaXhosa* (The Xhosa Messenger) started in October 1870 and ended in December 1875 but it was re-founded again in August (2012).²⁰ *I'solezwe lesiXhosa* (Eye of the Xosa Nation) started in March (2015),²¹ and is currently available weekly in the Eastern and Western Cape provinces and also can be accessed online at <https://www.isolezwelesixhosa.co.za>.

Below are copies of the original newspaper articles/advertisements:

4.3.1 *Imvo zabantsundu*²² (1893). “UMr Effendi”, (See Table 5)

U MR. EFFENDI.

INDABA ekubonakala zizezipambili zaleveki zezokungena kuka Mr. ATTON MAH EFFENDI emnyadaleni wokumela i Kapa e Palamente. Lento sisigamo soku nyovunya kuka Mr. HOFMEYR abebala ngezinto ezinjengokungenisisa amagama emquluzini wabayoti. Nakuba ngokuzalwa engum Taki, u Mr. EFFENDI, ngazo zonke indlela uqukwa nabonqulo lwakowabo ngegama lobu Slamsi; kwaye kungeko bani obecingela ukuba ama Slamsi ebengade abenazi into ziwa-xakanisayo pambi kokuba kwenziwe lomteto wokungenisa amagama wanyakenye yi Palamente. Emicimbini yolaulo bebengakunjulelwe nganto, ngapandle kokucingwa

Translation

The news that seems to be leading this week is the entry of Mr Aton Mah Effendi in the race to represent the Cape in Parliament.

This is the result of Mr. Hofmeyr's greed for things like entering names into the voters' roll. Although he is Turkish by birth, in every respect Mr Effendi is included with his own Islamic religion and who would have thought that the Muslims would have had things to worry about before this last year's nomination process was tabled by Parliament. In matters of control, they were created without thought to ...

¹⁸ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Xhosa_language_newspapers

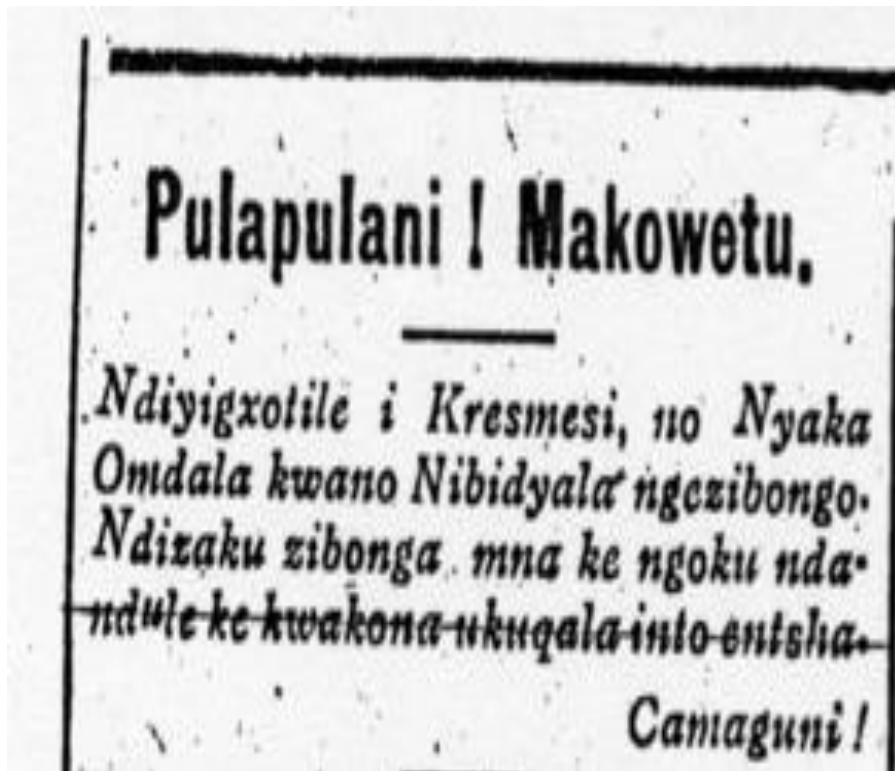
¹⁹ <https://num.org.za/About-Us>

²⁰ https://issuu.com/isigidimi-samaxhosa/docs/isigidimi_samaxhosa_online

²¹ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/I%27solezwe_lesixhosa

²² The Native Opinion of South Africa

4.3.2 *Umteteli wabantu*,²³ (12 Jan 1924). “Pulapulani Makowethu”, (see Table 6)



Translation

Listen! My people.

I have dismissed Christmas, and New Year's as well. You are singing poems. I'll be grateful to them now before I start something new. Thank you/Let it be!²⁴

²³ The mouthpiece of the Native People.

²⁴ According to Zungu (2020:17) the term Camagu is “similar to the “Amen” in Hebrew”. Zungu, C., 2020. *Camagu: A Multimovement Work Exploring the IsiXhosa Culture of South Africa*. University Of Northern Colorado.

4.3.3 Ikhwezi Lomso,²⁵ (1958). "Umbutho Weetitshala Ze CATA Uvuse Abantu" (See Table 7)

Ikhwezi Lomso
Registered At The G.P.O. As A Newspaper.
VOL 1 No. 3 NOVEMBER 1958 PRICE 6D

**FIGHT AGAINST DISMISSAL OF TEACHERS CONTINUES
C.A.T.A.'S LAST ROUND WITH N.A.D.**

EARLY next month the long and hard dual between the Native Affairs Department and the Cape African Teachers' Association over teachers' rights should be brought to a close in the Supreme Court. As will be remembered, the Cape African Teachers' Association, under the leadership of the N.A.D. ministers of African teachers' "dismissals" in 1955 by challenging the dismissal of Maud L. E. Maud and L. C. Maud by their respective Board School Boards.

In February, 1957, the Eastern Districts Local Division of the Supreme Court declared the two regulations of the two laws and effect and declared that the two teachers were entitled to reinstatement in their posts. The N.A.D. appealed against this decision. On 14th October of the same year the Appellate Division dismissed the appeal with costs.

Dismissed Again
While the teachers were still claiming their former salaries from the Minister of Native Affairs and their reinstatement from the Boards, the N.A.D. requested the position with regard to its regulations. These two regulations were then brought into force in January of this year. Although the two teachers are entitled to their salaries under the old regulations, the N.A.D. had not been given the opportunity to give the new regulations by which they would have agreed upon their legal rights, they were again dismissed at the end of the year.

Issue at Stake
Now month concludes the Supreme Court will decide whether:
(1) The Minister is entitled to make any regulations from the teachers' salaries.
(2) The latest dismissals were in fact legal.

RETRIBALISING NURSES
THE Nursing Commission Act of 1957 was designed specifically to benefit the nurses of the system of South Africa and to bring about a more uniform system of training for the nurses of the country. Yet even before this measure of betterment had time to get fully underway, the hospital authorities everywhere have been trying to put it into effect.

YENYUK IRAFU YENYANGA
URUSULELA Abangeli kuzuka...
Kawubona ne Ntombi...
Ngaphakathi kwe 230 ne 225...
Ngaphakathi kwe 220 ne 215...
Ngaphakathi kwe 210 ne 205...
Ngaphakathi kwe 200 ne 195...
Ngaphakathi kwe 190 ne 185...
Ngaphakathi kwe 180 ne 175...
Ngaphakathi kwe 170 ne 165...
Ngaphakathi kwe 160 ne 155...
Ngaphakathi kwe 150 ne 145...
Ngaphakathi kwe 140 ne 135...
Ngaphakathi kwe 130 ne 125...
Ngaphakathi kwe 120 ne 115...
Ngaphakathi kwe 110 ne 105...
Ngaphakathi kwe 100 ne 95...
Ngaphakathi kwe 90 ne 85...
Ngaphakathi kwe 80 ne 75...
Ngaphakathi kwe 70 ne 65...
Ngaphakathi kwe 60 ne 55...
Ngaphakathi kwe 50 ne 45...
Ngaphakathi kwe 40 ne 35...
Ngaphakathi kwe 30 ne 25...
Ngaphakathi kwe 20 ne 15...
Ngaphakathi kwe 10 ne 5...
Ngaphakathi kwe 0 ne 0...

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kaloku zikumngcipheko wokuphulukana nomsebenzi.

ICATA ke ichaze ukuba inyala nehlozo ayizange, ingasayi kuze ilimele de kuye ekufeni. Yoba isoloko iwuvusa umzi ngezinto ezikhobokisa ingqondo zabantu. ICATA yokhusela iititshala nabantwana kwanemfundo, idize oonchothoza kwanezinto ezikhupha isidima kumsebenzi wobutitshala. Yagqiba ngelithi "AKUYIWA MZI WAKOWETHU."

Translation

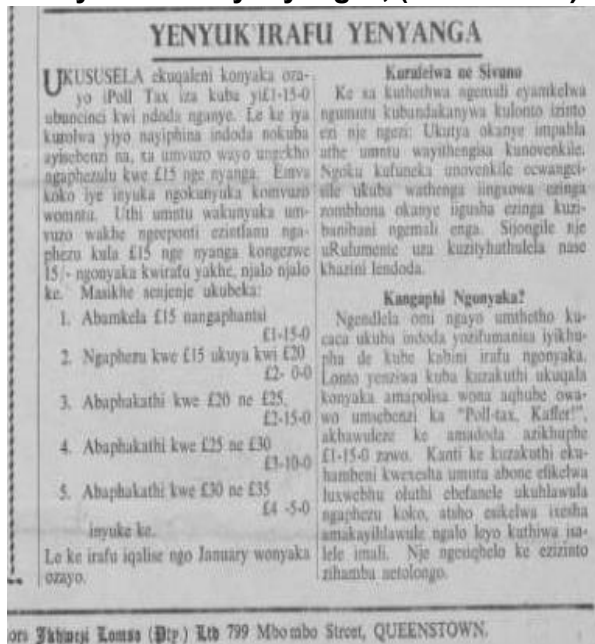
In the meantime, the CATA teachers' union has awakened people by releasing papers describing the idiots who always want to enslave people's minds and who want to climb up with other teachers to benefit from the fattened cow. And he explains that teachers always work under the threat of being forced to do things they are not satisfied with because they are at risk of losing their jobs.

Kwesisithuba umbutho weetitshala ze CATA uvuse abantu ngokukhupha amaphepha achaza amabebenxa asoloko efuna ukukhobokisa ingqondo zabantu nafuna ukunyuka ngezinye iititshala ukuze aye kuxhamla umdyuba wenkomo ebuthisileyo. Futhi uchaza ukuba iititshala soloko zisebenza phantsi kwembulaleko ezintshutshiso yokunyanzelwa ngebhaxa ukuba zenze izinto ezenelisekileyo kuba

CATA explained that shame and disgrace never had, and never will hurt it until its death. Because it always wakes up the city with things that captivate people's minds. CATA will protect teachers and children as well as education, revealing the secrets and things that bring a lack of dignity to the teaching profession. It concluded that "MY PEOPLE WE ARE NOT GOING ANYWHERE."

²⁵ Morning Star

**4.3.4 Ikhwezi Lomso, November (1958).
“Yenyuk’ irhafu yenyanga”, (See Table 8)**



Ukususela ekuqaleni konyaka ozayo iPoll Tax iza kuba yi £1-15-0 ubuncinci kwindoda nganye. Le ke iyakulolwa yiyo nayiphina indoda nokuba ayisebenzi na, xa umvuzo wayo ungekho ngaphezulu kwe £15 nge nyanga. Emva koko iye inyuka ngokunyuka komvuzo womntu. Uthi umntu wakunyuka umvuzo wakhe ngeeponti ezintlanu ngaphezu kula £15 nge nyanga kongezwe i5- ngonyaka kwirhafu yakhe, njalo njalo ke. Masikhe senjenje ukubeka:

1. Abamkela £15 nangaphantsi £1-15-0
2. Ngaphezu kwe £15 ukuya kwi £20 £2-0-0
3. Abaphakathi kwe £20 ne £30 £2-15-0
4. Abaphakathi kwe £25 ne £30 £3-0-0
5. Abaphakathi kwe £30 ne £35 £4-5-0 inyuke ke.
6. Le ke irafu iqalise ngo January wonyaka ozayo.

Kurafelwa nesivuno

Ke xa kuthethwa ngemali eyamkelwa ngumntu kubandakanywa kulonto izinto ezi nje ngezi: Ukutya okanye impahla athe umntu wayithengisa kunovenkile ecwangcisile ukuba wathenga iingxowa ezinga zombona okanye iigusha ezinga kuzibanibani ngemali enga sijongile nje uRulumente uza kuzithyuthulela nasekhazini lendoda.

Kangaphi ngonyaka

Ngendlela omi ngayo umthetho kucaca ukuba indoda yokufumanisa iyikhupha de kube kabini irafu ngonyaka. Lonto yenziwa kuba kuzakuthi ukuqala konyaka amapolisa wona aqhube owawo umsebenzi ka "Poll-tax Kaffer", akhawuleze ke amadoda azikhuphe £1-15-0 zawo. Kanti ke kuzakuthi ekuhambeni kwexesha umntu abone efikelwa luxwebhu koko atsho esikelwa ixesha amakayihlawule ngalo leyo kuthiwa isalele imali. Nje ngesiqhelo ke ezizinto zihamba netolongo.

Translation

From the beginning of next year, the Poll Tax will be a minimum of £1-15-0 per man. This will be paid by any man regardless of whether he is not working, if his income is not more than £15 per month. Then it increases with the increase in income of the person. Say a person increased his income by five pounds over this £15 a month added 5- a year to his tax, and so on. Let's put it this way: 1. Those earning below £15 and under £1-15-0
2. Over £15 to £20 £2-0-0
3. Between £20 and £30 £2-15-0
4. Between £25 and £30 £3-0-0
5. Those between £30 and £35 £4-5-0 will increase.

6. This tax will start in January next year

The harvest is also taxed.

When one speaks of the money being received by a person, it includes things such as these: Food or clothing that someone has sold in a store with the intention of getting bags of corn (in exchange) or, so many sheep to so and so for so much, it looks as though the government will steal from a man's dowry/lobola.

How many times a year

From the way the law stands it is clear that a man can be taxed up to twice a year. This is done because at the beginning of the year the police will conduct their own "Poll-tax Kaffer" operation, and the men will quickly withdraw their £1-15-0. However, over time, a person will see a document arrive and then they will be told that the time to pay it is due. As usual, failure to comply can result in a prison sentence.

4.3.5 NUM News,²⁶ (November 1992). “Iindatyana Abasebenzi Mgodini Kwimayini Yegolide Iprimrose Bebengenele Ugwayimbo”, (See Table 9)



- Inkampani imbuyisele emsebenzini ucomrade Alfred Mguma ukusukela ngomhla we 20 October 1992
- Ikomiti elihlglangeneyo lwemashali steward kunye nabaphathi lisekiwe ukuze lihlengahlengise izi Stop Order
- Umvuzo unyuke nge R1 ishifit kubo bonke abasebenzi ukusukela ngomhla we 1 October 1992

Translation

PRIMROSE GOLD MINE MINERS WERE ON STRIKE

Miners at the Primrose gold mine near Germiston were on strike demanding a NUM contract and the reinstatement of a worker who had been unfairly dismissed by the mine's management. On October 13-16, 1992, workers at the Primrose mine went on strike, persuading the management to accept their grievances. A meeting was held with the company with the aim of solving the old problem. The union and the company agreed on the following points

- An interim agreement to enter the company's borders should be negotiated by both parties between November and December 1992
- No disciplinary action will be taken against the workers who participated in the strike on October 13, 1992
- The company reinstated comrade Alfred Mguma from October 20, 1992
- A joint committee of marshals and stewards has been established to revise the Stop Orders
- Salary increased by R1 per shift for all workers from 1 October 1992

ABASEBENZI MGDINI KWIMAYINI YEGOLIDE I PRIMROSE BEBE NGENELE UGWAYIMBO

Abasebenzi mgodini kumgodi wegolide ePrimrose kufutshane ne Germiston bebengenele ugwayimbo bebanga isivumelwano seNUM kunye nokubuyiselwa emsebenzini komsebenzi owayegxothwe ngendlela engafanelekanga ngabaphathi bomgodi. Ngomhla we 13-16 ku October 1992 abasebenzi mgodini ePrimrose bangena kuqhanqalazo betshutshisa abaphathl ukuba bavume imibango yabo. Intlanganiso yabanjwa nenkampani ngenjongo yokusombulula intsinda badala. Umbutho kunye nenkampani bavumelana ngale miba ilandelayo

- Isivumelwano sexeshana sokungena emacekeni enkampani makuthethathethwano ngaso yimibutho yomibini phakathi ku November no Desemba 1992
- Asikho isinyathelo soluleko esizokuthathwa kubasebenzi ababethathe inxaxheba kugwayimbo ngomhla we 13 ku October 1992

²⁶ National Union of Mine Workers

4.4 Background to novels (1914-1980)

4.4.1 *Ityala Lamawele (The Case of the Twins)*, Mqhayi SEK (1914)

Mqhayi, who was born into an established Christian family, was well-versed in biblical studies and had in-depth knowledge of both customary and Roman-Dutch law. According to Saule (1996:107) “the church as the initiator of the movement of isiXhosa-written literature and language, not only had control over what could be published, but also upon those engaged in the writing”. This book is about an investigation conducted between twins who were born under difficult circumstances and thus fought about who was the eldest between them. When their mother was giving birth, one twin only showed his hand and the midwives cut a finger (from the first knuckle) from that hand. Because of the pain, the hand went back inside the mother. When the first twin came out and the midwives checked him, both hands had no finger missing. The baby with the cut finger came out second, although that baby had originally been the first to appear.

I used the 1970 edition of the book for my research from which the following are passages showing loanwords:

Ubelikholwa lakudala eWesile. ... ude uyibone isiya kungena eofisini ... ibhala kweziphambili iitafile, ibala zimali. ... ngulo John Knox Bhokhwe lowo... Ukhe wangumphathi weposi nocingo ... wacelwa nguMnu. uJ. T. Jabavu ukuba aye kuba yikomponi naye kwiMvo. (76)

He was a long-time believer of Wesley [Methodism] ... you would see him going into the office ... writing on the tables in front, counting money ... that is John Knox Bhokhwe ... He was once the director of post and telecommunications ... he was asked by Mr J.T. Jabavu to join company with him at iMvo

4.4.2 *Inggumbo Yeminyanya (Wrath of Ancestors)*, Jordan AC, (1940)

AC Jordan was born at a Mission in the Tsolo district. His father was an Anglican church minister. He (Jordan) trained as a teacher at St John's College, Mthatha, and was involved in many educational and literary projects including working on his classic isiXhosa novel, in 1940, *Inggumbo Yeminyanya*. Later this novel was translated into English by his wife as

The Wrath of the Ancestors.²⁷ He was also offered a Carnegie bursary in order for him to do research in the United States, but the South African government refused him a passport. This forced him to leave South Africa doing so on an exit permit.

This book is about the beliefs and customs of the Xhosa clan known as the amaMpondomise. The chief of the clan, Zanemvula asks his councillors to hide his four-year-old son, Jongilanga so that he would not be affected by his brother's witchcraft in his childhood. This son consequently grows up differently from others, not well-versed in the traditions practiced at home although he is heir to the Mpondomise throne. He leaves university and becomes the new leader of the Mpondomise but because of his progressive ideas he angers many people. When he gets married the elders are not happy and look for another wife for him. His wife is also like him, not knowledgeable about traditions and customs of the clan and thus when she finds a snake near her child, and she kills it. It turned out that the snake is the totem of the amaMpondomise's respected ancestors, and this enrages many of the elders. Jongilanga's corrupt uncle starts a revolt against him and Jongilanga's life and that of his wife end tragically.

Here are two illustrative passages containing loanwords from the novel:

... abafundi bakwaNokholeji bekhwelisa impahla kwilori eyayibaphuthumile, ... Wabona isimanga ukusuka ama-Afrika namaIndiya nabeBala bavane ngokungathi bazalwa mfazi mnye. ... Kwada kwangena iBhishophu, ... yahleka iBhishophu, ... yabulisa iBhishophu, baphendula abafundi bonke ngamxhelo mnye, "Ulale kakuhle bawo." (30)
College students loading luggage from the truck which had fetched them ... He saw a wonderful thing of Black, Indian, Coloured getting along like they were from the same mother... The Bishop entered ... the Bishop laughed... the Bishop greeted them ... they all responded in one voice "Sleep well Father."

"Hayi, maan, tshaya nants' isigarethi. ... Ukuba uRhulumente wayekhe wajika wayimpukane nje okwaloo mini, wangena waphulaphula uMthunzi efundisa, wayeya kusuka emke ezigoba amacala eqonda ukuba uqeshe itishala yokwenene kulo mfana. (54)

"No, maan, take, smoke a cigarette... If the Government had just turned into a fly on the wall that day and had gone in and listened to Mthunzi teach, it would have left boasting, knowing that it had hired a real teacher in this young man.

²⁷ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Archibald_Campbell_Jordan

4.4.3 Buzani Kubawo (Ask Father) Tamsanqa WK, (1958)

W.K. Tamsanqa is said to have started school when he was 10 years old proceeding with his studies at Blythwood, where he occupied many leadership positions which include being in the “debating society, church groups and many others.”²⁸ He later did a teacher’s course, and after looking for a teaching post for two years without success he decided to work in the coal mines. “In 1955 he was one of those people who gathered in Kliptown to draft the “freedom charter” ... In 1980 he was voted by the people of Butterworth as a member of parliament for the Transkei homeland representing Butterworth, until the military coup.”²⁹

This book is about the isiXhosa tradition of parents choosing a bride for their son. In this case, the son, Gugulethu already had someone that he loved and thus did not want to accept the wife that his father chose for him. When the girl, Nomampondomise, that he loved, read about his marriage in a local newspaper she killed herself. Gugulethu then left home to work in another town. During the twelve years that he was there his wife had three children and Gugulethu’s father sent her to where Gugulethu was together with the children. On the evening that they arrived Gugulethu kills them all and when asked why in court his only response Buzani is kubawo, which means ‘ask father’.

Here is an illustrative passage with loanwords from the play:

.... *Eli tyala alindilingene ...ndiza kufumana ndiliyekele ijaji. Mapolisa hambani niye kumvalela. ...Phaya ebhankini ndinemali ekumakhulu avisayo eeponti. ... Ngoko ke ndiboleke amapolisa andixhage ndiphuthume loo ncwadi yemali endlwini.* (96)

This case is beyond me ... I will leave it for the judge. Police, arrest him. ...At the bank I have a few hundred pounds. ... Therefore, lend me a couple of police who can escort me to fetch the bank book from home.

4.4.4 Ukuba Ndandazile (If I had known) Tamsanqa WK, (1967)

This book is about a Chief, Zilimbola who decided to take a second wife, this being part of customary law. The problem was that his first wife was totally against this decision and was not happy about it. She was also vocal about it, and for that reason it was not

²⁸ <https://sala.org.za/2009-2/w-k-tamsanqa/>

²⁹ <https://sala.org.za/2009-2/w-k-tamsanqa/>

surprising to hear her saying that the second wife would only come “over my dead body”, but her cry was ignored. On the day of the wedding, she arrived in time to tell the priest that she was already married to the Chief according to traditional custom. She adds that if the Reverend continued to conduct the ceremony the marriage would not be holy. The bride-to-be wept bitterly when she heard this, and because her mother could not come to the ceremony, someone ran to tell her, and on hearing this the bride’s mother died of a shock. The title of the book contains the words that the groom uttered at the grave before he fainted “*ukuba ndandazile*” “if I had known”.

Here is an illustrative passage from the book showing loanwords:

“Uthe akufika ekhaya ... wakhwela ephepheni ecela le nzwakazi ukuba badibane nayo eWeza evenkileni ngoLwesithathu ukuphuma kwesikolo, ... eyicela ukuba incede ingesuki evenkileni ibalinde ukuba sithe saphuma isikolo bengekafiki, nabo bophuma esikolweni basukele ngamahashe, ... Ubhale wayigqiba waqubula imvulophu ... Bathe befika evenkileni saye sisithi ... ukuphuma isikolo saseWeza. ...Kungemzuzu behleli evenkileni abafana ibonakele isithi gqi intombi kaNjeza ... ezandleni iphotha ijezi ... Ubonakele ezula umfana kaNtshinga ... evarendeni yevenkile apha the kungena evenkileni ebuka into angayaziyo ...” (33)

When he got home ... he wrote asking this lady to meet him at Weza shop on Wednesday after school ... asking her not to leave the shop and wait if they did not arrive after the school came out, and that they would leave school and rush there on horses ...he wrote and put the letter in an envelope ... By the time they got to the shop they saw Njeza’s girl approaching ... knitting a jersey in her hands ... He paced around at the shop veranda and would sometimes enter the shop and then aimlessly window-shop.

4.4.5 UDingezweni (The Wanderer) Mtuze P, (1971)

Peter Tshobisa Mtuze was born and grew up on a farm in the district of Middelburg, Eastern Cape. He passed the then Junior Certificate and started working in the South African civil service as court interpreter clerk in various towns. He also did various other jobs, working “as an announcer, producer and translator” ... He is an Anglican priest, archdeacon and canon in the Diocese of Grahamstown and is the rector (self-supporting) of the parish of St. Andrew Ginsberg and St. James Peddie.³⁰

This book is about disciplining children in such a way that discipline can be beneficial to them even when the parents are not there anymore. The writer suggests that every child

³⁰ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Peter_Mtuze

needs to be disciplined according to his/her unique ways. It explains how it is the parents' responsibility to discipline children and cautions as to the disastrous results one can have if they slacken with regard to discipline. The main protagonist is a boy called Dingezweni who grows up in a rich family but is careless about his surroundings. He tragically loses his mother and has to leave home only to move around the world with no purpose. Even when he tries to settle in Johannesburg, he cannot keep up with the thugs that he is working with, and who eventually steal all his savings. He moves to Durban but is unable to develop his character and ultimately decides to return home.

Here are illustrative passages from the book showing loanwords:

Kwala xa esesithubeni laphela itikiti, wamthoba umbombela. ... Wajonga kweso sitishi saseKhaniwe (Conway). ... wayecaphukela into yokuba umntu engenakho ukumka khona lingekapheli ixesha abelijoyinele. ... Umsebenzi wawunzima, kukhala ipeki nomhlakulo, kunyamuluka iinyoka ... phantsi kwelitye livunjululwa yidamaneti ... (80)

When he was in the middle of nowhere the ticket expired and the train dropped him off, ...He looked at the Conway station ... he did not like the fact that a person could not leave before the contract had finished. ... the work was hard, only the pick and spade making a noise ... unravelling a snake under the stones that were crushed by dynamite...

Uphinde watsibeleka enengcwangu yebhere ezimisele ukumcima igama ... Kunzima nokwahlula umntwana wesikolo kwimidladlunge ehamba iphanga abantu, itshaya ezitratweni nasezindlwini zotywala.(106).

He jumped at him again like an angry bear aiming to kill him ... It is difficult to differentiate a school child from the robbers walking around robbing people, smoking in the streets and shebeens.

4.5 Background to novels (2003-2017)

4.5.1 Iziqendu Zobom (Passages of Life) Dyosi OJ, (2003)

I could not find any information about the author, except that he wrote a book of short stories called *Ukholo lunje* (Faith is like this) in 2004, a year after he wrote *Iziqendu Zobom* (Passages of Life). The fact that he was an active writer in the 2000s clearly marks him as a contemporary writer of isiXhosa fiction.

This is a book of short stories which focus on everyday life. It touches on what happens among people and how they live their lives. It is about the activities of everyday life such as religion, self-subsistence, social events, and even includes bad social scenarios that people do not generally like to mention that occur in our communities.

Here are illustrative passages from the book showing borrowed words:

“Ngenye imini ooVusumzi bathi besaofile kwafika isipheke-pheke somLungu sisithi sifuna amadoda angamashumi amahlanu aza kusebenza kwikontraka yokwakha izindlu eMafikeng.” (12)

One day when Vusumzi and them were off a white man arrived in a hurry saying he needed to contract fifty men to work building houses in Mafikeng.

“Ngenxa yezo zityholo balunyukiswa ukuba bangawubeki umcondo wabo kwilokishi ekufuphi nenkomponi leyo. Oonontente ke bafika namhlanje endaweni kodwa kuse sekukho amazwi amancinci kwaneelokhwe elucingweni.” (14)

Because of these accusations they were advised not to go to the township close to the company. Tent workers arrive today in the place and by the morning there are small voices and dresses on the line.

4.5.2 limbuso zikaGawulayo (Faces of AIDS) Bangani, S (2007)

Mr Siviwe Bangani's studies were in the field of Library and Information Sciences, and his first work experience was as a student assistant and tutor at the University of Transkei from 2000 to 2002. After that he started formal work as an information librarian at the University of Cape Town. In his profile ³¹ he explains that over the years he was involved in “several activities that include the mentoring of up-and-coming young librarians, community engagement as well as writing and publishing.” He was also involved in addressing the problem of the shortage of libraries in communities and schools.

This book has as its focus the issue of HIV/AIDS. It explores the fact that when ignored, it kills and when doing so, it does not choose who to kill whether one is rich or poor - it is indiscriminate: it kills people of every race, creed, and colour. The book is about a young woman, Zamampondo, who, as a student, has an affair with an old man, a chief, named Thambo. They both become victims of many ills including getting infected by HIV/AIDS. Shortly after she gets infected, Zamampondo dies, and sadly her mother also dies soon afterwards. This results in more tragedy because her father cannot not take the pain of losing both his wife and daughter and he also commits suicide, in front of his younger son.

³¹ https://cdn.ymaws.com/www.liasa.org.za/resource/resmgr/awards/profile_-_siviwe_bangani.pdf

Here are illustrative passages from the book showing loanwords:

Ukusuka ezindleleni, ezikolweni, kwiikliniki, njalo-njalo.(31)

... Wacinga ekhukhumalisa ibhatyi lo mhlonitshwa ubaluleke kunene. ... Kwafuneka uZamampondo emzamele indlela eza kumfundisa mahala (Bursary) kweso sikolo sasePentekhi yaseKapa. ... ingekadibani iPentekhi neTekinikhoni ... Wayethethile ke nalowo wayephethe loo ngxowa-mali. (34)

From the roads, schools, clinics etc. ... This important dignitary thought he was important, puffing out his jacket ... It was imperative that Zamampondo should try to find a way of allowing him to study for free (Bursary) at the Cape Pentech ... the Pentech had not yet amalgamated with the Technikon. ... he spoke to the director of finances.

Inxibe isinxibo esiyipitsa ngeyona ndlela esiqanda yaza yathi gatyia ibhegi encinci eqanda emagxeni. Ngesandla iphethe unodolana ofukufuku. ... (35)

She wore a tight-fitting outfit with a small bag across the shoulders. In her hand she had a fluffy doll ...

...wayebanjelwa ubusela bokutya imali yepalamente, ubuqhetseba bokunceda umfazi wakhe enzelelelwe kwiithenda ukuze kuphumelele ikhampani yomfazi wakhe, ... seyihlala ezihotele nje le ndoda (55)

... he was charged with stealing parliamentary money, a corrupt tender process in favour of his wife, ... this man was now staying at hotels.

4.5.3 Kwisizwe esitsha (In A New World) Mlandu MS, (2003)

Mr M.S. Mlandu³² is a municipal administration overseer who also is an author of short stories. He writes in both isiXhosa and English and has been writing in isiXhosa from 1977 and in English from 1987. In an interview with the Daily Dispatch Mr Mlandu mentioned how passionate he was about African literature, but his problem was that “Africans do not want to read their own languages.” This might explain why he uses borrowed words to accommodate those who show interest in his writings.

This book is a collection of short stories focussing on normal events that happen in people’s everyday lives. Some themes are nation-building, journalism, and issues affecting the youth and women and include wise aphoristic sayings and injunctions.

Here are illustrative passages from the book showing loanwords:

“... futhi nelali zabo zikwimimandlana ebhityileyo xa kuthelekiswa nezimbiwa ezaziphantsi kwegada lemimandla yeedolophu ezinjengeRhawuti, iKhimbali, neNyukhasile.” (2)

... and also their rural areas in small regions compared to the minerals under the guardianship of urban regions like Johannesburg, Kimberly and New Castle.

³² <https://www.pressreader.com/south-africa/daily-dispatch/20130713/281582353228763>

“... zitshone *ii-inshorensi*; idingeke *nemali* yokuya koogqirha. ... Wafika eyithembisa ngokuyizakuzela iqeshwe *yinkampani* awayesithi iyafika kwelo. ...Yada yacela ukuqhekezelwa kwinkamkam ngabazali yazithengela *imashini* yokubhala xa sele ikuloo ofisi eyayiza kuvulwa. “Lona iSebe lezeMfundo ndiza kulilinda *ngevesi*.”(40)
 ... insurances will go down, money to go to the doctors will be needed ... He arrived and promised to help find a job for her in the new company there ... She even asked her parents to help her from their pension money and bought herself a typewriter for when she would be in that office that was going to be opened. “I will wait for the Department of Education with a verse”.

4.5.4 Ungowam (You Are Mine) Gcwadi M, (2014)

Gcwadi has self-published several books in isiXhosa, and these are: *Ubuntu Bubomi* (2010), *Liduduma Lidlule* (2011), *Sekunjalo* (2009), *Yinto Engekhooyo Leyo*, (2009), including *Ungowam*. He grew up in Gugulethu, Cape Town, in an environment that he believes was congested and separated from nature. His research in the rural areas “saw how isiXhosa elders from the Eastern Cape opened up a wealth of birds and other animals, myths, stories and rituals” (Gcwadi, 2018:74). And this is what he used to create what he calls a “palpable and powerful sense of place for the reader.” When referring to some of his writings he says that he initially thought he would “use a first-person narration since it could provide the reader with intimate emotional and psychological insights.”

This book is about the emotional devastation that lovers feel when they cannot be together. Mbulelo, the main character, feels heartbroken after his lover Sindiswa has to leave the township to stay in the rural areas. When they are at school in Gugulethu they vow that only death will separate them, they have plans to go to university together, but then Sindiswa’s family has to move to another town very far from where they were, and this makes it impossible for their dreams to come true.

Here are illustrative passages from the book showing loanwords:

“Siyancokola ngezi selula kaloku *zinoo-Whatsapp*. lindaba kule mihla zibaleka okombane.’ Watsho uSindiswa ekhupha *ifowuni* yakhe *epokothweni*.” (15)
 “We are chatting with cellphones that have Whatsapp. These days news runs like lightening”, said Sindiswa taking her phone out of her pocket.

“UBuyiswa wayesele esazi ukuba uza kwenzelwa nguMbulelo umsebenzi *wesikolo*. Ukhawuleze wangena *kwiipijama*. ...Uye wavula *ifestile* elangazelela umoya opholileyo.” (29)
 Buyiswa already knew that Mbulelo would do her schoolwork. She quickly put her pyjamas on. ... she opened the window in search of fresh air.

“Ijule *ipakethi enkulu ye-Simba* ngasemva le ndoda ... *Imoto* ngoku yayingena iphuma endleleni. ...Bekunuka *itayala lemoto* kwezo ndlela.” (57)

The man threw a big Simba packet onto the backseat ... the car was weaving across the road. ... the roads were full of the smell of car tyre.

“Wayehamba ngentsimbi yesine esukela itreyini yentsimbi yesihlanu. ... Wawajonga amadoda awayethengisa iilekese koololiwe enovelwano.” (63)

He used to leave at four o’ clock and rush for the five o’ clock train ... he felt pity as he looked at the men selling sweets in the train.

4.5.5 Izigqibo esizenzayo (The Decisions That We Make) Jita (2017)

I was not able to find anything about Ms Jita, except for the fact that she is a married woman with children and is a person who appreciates family life. She lives in Cape Town but is originally from Qumbu, Eastern Cape. In a review of her book *Izigqibo Esizenzayo* one reviewer,³³ wrote that “... *amadoda atshatileyo mawazithande intsapho zawo ayeke uukulawulelwa ngomama babo imizi yabo indoda xa sele itshatile inomfazi nabantwana kumele ijongane nabo.*” Married men must love their families and not let their mothers rule their families. If a man is married, has a wife and kids, he must focus on them. The review carries on saying that this story is sad and “*kunzima ukukhetha umphokoqo xa sele uwagalelile amas*” ‘it is difficult to squeeze out the sour milk from the crumbly maize meal porridge’, meaning that life is not easy for spouses who are cheated on.

This book is about two people, Vusumzi and Buyiswa, who are in love. Buyiswa is from Dutywa and when Vusumzi met her, she was doing last year of her studies to become a teacher. Vusumzi is working at a nearby mine. Their love was very strong in the beginning, but as the time went by it became bitter. Vusumzi’s mother did not like her daughter-in-law at all and did not hide her feelings about that. Buyiswa became very miserable to a point where she even became an object of ridicule the village.

Here are illustrative passages from the book showing loanwords:

: ... *angafa lamakhwenkwe ukuba angalala endle, betefiswe ngonina ... nge purity ... azakuvuka ngomso ayokujonga imfuyo phambi kokuba aye esikolweni (36)*

Akukho nepeni yakhe abeyikhuphile apha ... Waye wazibophela izoli yakhe uQhinebe wangqengqa ngomqolo phezu kwebhedi. ... Wanikeza umyeni wakhe naye wahlala phantsi baphunga loti emnyama, (73)

These boys would die if they were to sleep outdoors, having been pampered by their mothers ... with purity ... they will get up tomorrow to watch over the livestock before they go to school. There is not a single penny from him ... Qhinebe just lit up his cigarette and

³³ [Izigqibo esizenzayo - Zintle Mvundlela Jita - Google Books](#)

lay on his back on the bed. ... She gave her husband tea and she too sat down, and they drank that black tea.

Lafika ixesha lokuphuma kwesikolo ... Bakhulula impahla yesikolo abantwana ... Iswekile kaloku yayicelwe kwaMamZizi ngoku selincinci igcinelwe ukuba kwenziwe iti yabantu abadala.

The end of the school day arrived ... The children took off their school clothes ... The sugar that had been begged from MamZizi was already low and was being kept to make tea for the adults.

4.6 Background to newspaper articles (2012 – 2020)

4.5.6 *Isigidimi SamaXhosa*,³⁴ (November 2012). “Umaskhenkethe Ikhaya lam!” (See Table 20)



Unomgcana okanye umaskhenkethe ligama lesiXhosa elibhekisela kweza bhegi zinemigca zeplastiki zenziwe e China. Apha eMzantsi Afrika le bhegi yaziwa ngabaninzi njenge Zimbabwe bhegi, ookhumbulekhaya kunye nema Shaangan bhegi. Zidume zwelonke ezibhegi kuba nakwamanye amazwe zinamagama ezithiywe ngawo. Ngokomzekelo kwelase Nigeria zaziwa ngelokuba zingoo Ghana Must Go bhegi, kwesika kumkanikazi u Vitoliya, eNgilane, zaziwa njengee Bangladeshi bhegi, eJamani zaziwa njengee Turkish bhegi, kwaye e Melika zibizwa ii Mexican bhegi, ngoxa kwi Caribbean zaziwa njengee Guyanese Samsonite. Lamagama ngokuyintloko adiza ucalulo olufunyanwa ngabo basebenzisa ezibhegi, xa befika kwiindawo abatyelela kuzo. Umaskhenkethe ufuzisela imfuduko eyenzeka zweni banzi, hayi ukusuka kwelinye ilizwe uye kwelinye kuphela, kodwa nemfuduko eyenzeka kwilizwe elinye ngaphakathi.

apho abantu bafuduka ezilalini besiya ezixekweni beyokuxelengela inyama. Unomgcana usisikhumbuzo sobuqu kum seyam imfuduko ngaphakathi kweli loMzantsi Afrika. Ndinamava kunye nemvavanyo endityhubele kuzo zomfuduki njegokuba yayindithatha ixesha elide into yokuqhelana nendawo endifudukele kuyo. Umaskhenkethe ebesoloko engumkhuseli kunye nekhaya lam.

Translation

Unomagcana (a striped bag) or *umaskekethe* (let's tour) is a Xhosa word that refers to those striped plastic bags made in China. Here in South Africa, this bag is widely known as the Zimbabwe bag, *ookhumbulikhaya* (remember home) and the Shaangan bag. These bags are famous nationally because there are other countries that have names named after them. For example, in Nigeria, they are known as Ghana Must Go bags, where Queen Vitoria lives, in England, they are known as Bangladeshi bags, in Germany they are known as Turkish bags, and in America they are called

³⁴ The Xhosa Messenger

Mexican bags, while in the Caribbean they are known as Guyanese Samsonite. These names mainly reveal the discrimination experienced by those who use these bags, when they arrive at the places they visit. The striped bag symbolizes the migration that takes place generally in countries, not only from one country to another, but also the migration that takes place within a country, where people move from villages to cities to sell meat. *Unomgcana* (a striped bag) is a personal reminder to me of my migration within South Africa. I have the experiences and trials that I went through with immigrants that it took me a long time to get used to the place I moved to. The striped bag has always been my protector and home.

4.5.7 Isolezwe lesiXhosa³⁵, (Canzibe 2014). “Zinyembezi Zodwa eNigeria”, (see Table 21)



Izwe lonke lithe ntsho amehlo kwelaseNigeria; oomongameli neenkokheli zaseNtshona zifuna ukuthumela amajoni azo

kuyokukhangelwa amantombazana angama-276 abiwe liqela labagrogrisi. Ngoms'ombomvu womhla we-15 kuTshazimpuzi 2014 kwagaleleka imigulukudu yabagrogrisi be “Boko Haram” benxibe iimpahla zamajoni, kwisikolo saseChibok kumntla- mpuma waseNigeria. Njongo zabo? Yayikukuthatha amantombazana angama-276... Ewe, bezikhe zakhona iingxelo ngalomba kumajelo osasazo kweli lakuthi, kodwa nkqi uphengululo olunzulu - olufana nolu sizakulenza apha. Besikhe saseKhayelitsha, siyokukroba iindawo ezintsha esinokusasaza kuzo eliphephandaba. Kolohambo bekumane kubakho

neencoko nabahlali bakoomaSite B, Litha Park, Harare, njalo-njalo. Sibabuza ukuba zintoni abanokuthanda ukufunda ngazo. Ingaba bazazi kangakanani na iindaba zakwamanye amazwe aseAfrika? Bayazi na ngentlekela yamantombazana angama-276 abiwe kwisikolo saseNigeria? Mpendulo ibingu “Hayi!” omangazayo. Bambi besithi “sineengxaki zethu nathi aph’ eMzantsi!” Sizibuze ke ukuba ingaba sisizathu esaneleyo na eso sokuba singakhathali, singenzi nto? Phof’ yintoni esinokuyenza ke nyani, singakwazi kwa ukuzinceda kwa thina kweli lakuthi? Sinobundlobongela nathi. Singenza ntoni?

Akho nto ingako, kodwa yanga le ntlekela ikweliya laseNigeria - okukuduka kwamantombazana angama-276 - ingasisifundo ngeenkolo nangengxaki zamanye amazwe kweli laseAfrika. Mhlawumbi kobububi singafunda ukwazana singamaAfrika. Pha kwisikolo esiyiChibok Government Girls Secondary School kumntla- mpuma waseNigeria kwilali yaseBorno kwakurhona, kugqushugqushuza amantombazana kwiibhedi zawo. Kubo, ngosuku olulandelayo babezakuvuka balungiselele ukuyobhala iimviwo zabo. Tu iingcinga zokuba ingalelona suku lakhe lwalubi esikolweni, kubo. Tu. Phof’ iimviwo ziyoyikisa kodwa hay’ ngohlobo lwale yabehlelayo. Ngoms'ombomvu, waloomhla we- 15 kuTshazimpuzi (kulo ka-2014) kwagaleleka imigulukudu yabagrogrisi inxibe iimpahla zamajoni; ivusa onke amantombazana, ngelithi kufuneka ekhwele

³⁵ Eye of the Xosa Nation

kwiilori ezaziphandle basiwe kwindawo yokhuseleko... Phuthu phuthu yabangumngcelele ukuya kwiilori; into engangama-300 yamantombazana. Yabe ke kukuduka kwamantombazana oku.Ezilori zayokuzimela ematyholweni nalamantombazana... Amashumana nje ambalwa alamantombazana akwazi ukuqhwehsha, abalekela kwiilali ezikufuphi naloomatyholo babefihlwe kuwo. Ukuzothi ga ku le nyanga kaCanzibe, awakabuyi lamantombazana. 276 yonke yawo. Nyamalele.

Besinganqwenela ukuba ibiyintsomi nje le; kodwa ngelishwa yinyani. Kukho abazali pha eNigeria abangalaliyo. Phof' ulala njani umntu umntana wakhe engamazi ukuba uphi? Utya ntoni? Wenziwa ntoni? Ngubani? Xa kude kuphele inyanga, umbuzo iba ngu: Ingaba urhulumente waseNigeria wenza ngokwaneleyo na ukufumana lamantombazana? Sekulithuba ngoku kubulawa abantwana besikolo kweliya laseNigeria. Umongameli waseNigeria, onguGoodluck Jonathan uthe kufuneka kwenziwe konke okunako ukwenziwa ukuqinisekisa ukuba lamantombazana angama-276 ayakhululeka elubajweni lwababagabadeli beBoko Haram (ekukholelwa ukuba babe lamantombazana). Ziziqhushumbisi phantse yonk'imihla; ingakumbi pha kwezalali zaseBorno naseYobe pha eNigeria. Ku lo nyaka sekubulewe iwaka elinamakhulu amahlanu (1500) lonke labantu. Kusolwa ukuba kukungcola kweBoko Haram . abagrogrisi abanqula inkolo yobuIslam - oku. Eligama linguBoko Haram sisiHausa (lwimi laseNigeria) elitheth'ba "asiyifuni ifundo yaseNtshona!"

Elona gama lesiArabhu leliqela ngu *Jamā'at Ahl as-Sunnah lid-da'wa wal-Jihād* ngesiXhosa singathi ngu "Khongolose Wabantu Bezithethe zobuProselytism nobuJihad". Eliqela laqalwa nguMohammed Yusuf koka-2002 ngelithi bafuna ukuba ngamaSlamsi asulungekileyo okanye angcwengekileyo alandela umthetho wobuSharia ngelithi bafuna ukuphelisa ifuthe neenkubeko zaseNtshona abazibona njengengcinezelo kubo. Abafuni ukulandela mgaqo-siseko waseNtshona, abafuni Demokhrasi, abafuni buKrestu kwaye abazifuni izifundisa zaseNtshona. Badume ngokuhlasela amaKrestu is'kakhulu; baqhushumbisa iCawe, hlasela izikolo nezitishi zamaPolisa, bagrogrisa abakhenkethi baseNtshona kwaye babulala ngokungenasini. Ukusukela koka-2002 kuqikelelwa ukuba seabulele abantu abangama-10 000. Umbhali wodumo, ongutat' uWole Sonyika – onkaba iseNigeria – ukhe wayicacisa kanje iBoko Haram: "iBoko Haram ibonisa inqanaba lokugqibela le 'fatwa' [umthetho ovunyiweyo kwinkolo yamaSlamsi kulamaxesha siphila kuwo... Ingaba le mithetho yeBoko Haram, ezi-'fatwa' zabo, zivunyiwe na ngawo onke amaSlamsi? "AyingomaSlamsi okwenyani abantu abalandela iBoko Haram. Le yinto eyaziwayo kumntla-ntshona ukuyotsho kumntla-mpuma waseNigeria; ayingomaSlamsi. Nomlawuli wombuso weOsun, oyiMuslim naye utsolisa elithi kufuneka benze konke okusemandleni abo ukulwa lemincekeleli yobubi esebenzisa inkolo yabo ekudaleni ububi bayo, 'inkolo yamaMuslim / yamaSlamsi yala konke okwenziwa yileBoko Haram ye nkohlakalo..."

Kukho imibuzo ekufuneka sizibuze yona ke ngalentelelo; mibuzo ekufuneka iqale kumba wenkolo. Ukuba zonke iinkolo ziyalingana kwaye ababantu bathi balandela imiqweno kaAllah (uThixo wabo) thina singobani ukuba sibagxeke? Inkokheli yeBoko Haram, i-Imam Abubakar Shekau yenze isibhengezo sokuba uninzi lwalamantombazana bawathathileyo sebewaguqulele kwinkolo yobuSlamsi kwaye anoxolo ngalonto. Okulandelayo kukubatshatisa. Ukuba nathi maXhosa, sikroba kwimbali yethu sakhe sanalo uqeqesho olwaluqeqeshela amantombazana umtshato; umntana oyintombazana wayengayi esikolweni - wayelungiselelwa umtshato okanye ukugcina ikhaya. Asitsho ukuba oko kwakulungile koko sizama ukuqondisisa izezo zeBoko Haram ngaso elinamava kwinkubeko yamandulo. Ukuba singathi sifuna ukubuyela kundalashe, kungathini? Ukuba enyanisweni le mfundo yaseNtshona neDemokhrasi iyasibetha singaphetha sisithini? Ingaba ke akwenzekanga loo nto kwababantu sithi ngabagrogrisi? Abagrogriswanga yinkubeko yaseNtshona sebenje nje? Okanye baziindlavini qha

Translation

The whole country is watching Nigeria; Western presidents and leaders want to send their troops in search of 276 girls that were stolen by a group of terrorists. In the early hours of April 15, 2014, gangs of "Boko Haram" terrorists, dressed in military uniforms, stormed the Chibok school in northeastern Nigeria. Their goals? It was to take 276 girls. Yes, there have been reports about this in the local media, but no deep investigation - like the one we're going to do here. We were in Khayelitsha, looking for new places where we can distribute this newspaper. During the trip there were conversations with residents of Site B, Litha Park, Harare, etc. We ask them what they would like to learn about. How well do they know the news of other African countries? Do they know about the fate of the girls? By the way, 276 stolen from a Nigerian school? The answer was "No!" surprising. Some say, "we have our own problems here in the South!" Let's ask ourselves then if that is a good enough reason for us to not care, not to do anything? What can we really do if we can't even help ourselves here? We also have violence. What can we do? There is nothing much but may this incident in Nigeria - the disappearance of 276 girls - be a lesson about religions and the problems of other countries in Africa. Maybe from this evil we can learn to know each other as Africans. At the Chibok Government Girls Secondary School in the northeastern part of Nigeria, in the village of Borno, the girls were snoring and stirring in their beds. For them, the next day was for them to wake up and prepare to write their exams. No-one thought that it was her worst day at school, for them. No-one. Of course, exams are scary, but not what befell them.

On April 15, 2014, gangs of terrorists wearing military uniforms arrived; waking up all the girls, saying that they should get on the trucks outside and be taken away to the shelter. Something like 300 girls marched to the trucks. Then that is how the girls got lost. The trucks hid in the bushes with the girls... Only a few of the girls managed to escape, and they ran to the villages and near the bushes where they were hidden. Until May, the girls have not returned. 276 all of them. Disappeared. We wish this was just a myth; but unfortunately, it is true. There are parents in Nigeria who do not sleep. How can a person sleep without knowing where his child is? Is she eating? Who is doing what to her? At the end of the month, the question becomes: Is the Nigerian government doing enough to get these girls? It's been a while, now, school children have been killed in Nigeria. The president of Nigeria, Goodluck Jonathan said that everything that needs to be done must be done to ensure that these 276 girls are freed from the captivity of Boko Haram terrorists (who are believed to have stolen the girls). There are explosives almost every day; especially in the villages of Borno and Yobe in Nigeria. This year a total of one thousand five hundred (1500) people have been killed. It is suspected that it is the brutality of Boko Haram terrorists who worship Islam. The name Boko Haram is Hausa (Nigerian language) which means "we don't want Western education!"

The original Arabic name for the group is Jamā`at Ahl as-Sunnah lid-da`wa wal-Jihād - in Xhosa we can say "Congress of People of the Traditions of Proselytism and Jihad". A group was started by Mohammed Yusuf in 2002 saying that they want to be pure Muslims who follow Sharia law and that they want to eliminate the influence and cultures of the West that they see as oppressive to them. They don't want to follow the Western constitution, they don't want Democracy, they don't want Christianity and they don't want Western teachings. They are famous for attacking Christians a lot; they bombed Churches, attacked schools and police stations, threatened Western tourists, and killed indiscriminately. They are estimated to have killed 10,000 people since 2002. A famous writer, Father Wole Soyinka - from Nigeria - once explained Boko Haram as follows: "Boko Haram represents the last stage of this 'fatwa' [law approved in the Islamic religion] in the times we live in... Are these laws of Boko Haram, their 'fatwas', approved by all Muslims? "The people who follow Boko Haram are not true Muslims. This is a popular phenomenon in the north-west to north-

east of Nigeria; They are not Muslims. And the governor of Osun state, who is a Muslim, also regrets that they must do everything they can to fight against the perpetrators of evil who use their religion to create their evil, "the religion of Muslims / Muslims emphasizes that all the acts of Boko Haram of cruelty..." There are questions we should ask ourselves about this disaster; questions that should start with the religious issue. If all religions are equal and people say they follow the will of Allah (their God) who are we to criticize them? The leader of Boko Haram, Imam Abubakar Shekau has announced that most of these girls have been taken away. they have already been converted them to Islam and are at peace with that. Next is to marry them. If we, the Xhosa, take a look at our history, we have this discipline that trained girls for marriage; a girl child did not go to school - she was prepared for marriage or to keep a home. We are not saying that that was good. We are trying to understand the actions of Boko Haram through the experience of ancient culture. If we want to go back to the olden days, what would it be? If in fact this Western and Democratic education is beating us, what can we conclude? Is this not what happen to the people we call terrorists? Are they not threatened by Western culture? Or they are just bullies.

4.5.8 Isigidimi SamaXhosa,³⁶ (Eyesilimela neyeKhala 2014). "Sabonyulela ukuba babe ngamahomba kulaPalamente?" (see Table 22)

EYESILIMELA NEYEKHALA 2014 5

SABONYULELA UKUBA BABE NGAMAHOMBA KULA PALAMENTE?



Emva kwethutyana engasabonakali uMongameli Gedleyihlekisa Zuma uth e gqi ngomhla we-17 kweyeSilimela 2014, ekhangeleka ethe-ethe ngokwempilo kodwa esegazini kwaye ezilungiselele ukunikeza intetho yesimo sesizwe emva, njengamongameli 'omtsha' emva kokuphumelela ulonyulo lwalonyaka. Gqaba, umongameli wenjenje kwintetho yakhe: - uthembise ukudala amathuba emisebenzi. Urhulumente uzakuqwalasela ezolimo is'kakhulu ngoba kungakho izigidi zamathuba emisebenzi kwezolimo. Athi efika u-2030 babe abantu belima.

- isimo sentlalo sabasebenzi-mgodini sizakuqwalaselwa kwaye siphuculwe; kufuneka iinkampani zemigodi zilungise iiHostel zabasebenzi ukuze zikwazi ukuhlalisa namasapho abo. - urhulumente uzakuzama ukuqinisekisa ukuba iinkonzo nezinye izinto eziyilwa ngabantu bakweli zithengwa kuqala ngurhulumente - into engange 75% yezinto ezithengwa ngurhulumente kufuneka zibe zenziwe eMzantsi Afrika. - urhulumente uzimisele ukunceda ulutsha ukuze nalo lukwazi ukuthatha inxaxheba kwezoqoqosho laseMzantsi Afrika. - urhulumente uzakuqhubeka ngokutyala nzulu kwimifundo nophuhliso lwezakhono zabemmi beli. Umongameli uth: "kufuneka iinjini, oogqirha, ootitshala nabanye oosochwephetshe bezifundiswa kweli lakuthi..." - Imfundo iyakuhlala ibekelwa phezu kwiinkqubo zakarhulumente. - Ukanti kwelezempilo urhulumente uzakuzama konke anako oosochwephetshe abantu abantu bakwazi ukuhlalisa namasapho abo.

Izizathembiso ngezithembiso - ethembisa 'u zakuqwalasela'.

Ka sngena epalamente sibalizwe ngolomfanekiso eqingqiweyo wabawo vuyezakuba ngumongameli wek, uNelson Rholihlela Mandela. (Umyale umhlabo onobuhlelo-lingo lo walemifanekiso nezantsi kwekhali. Inokheli zetho zibangathi zingozawayo ngamhla wethetho kumongameli, naba oobehleli, oofide noobhalekane kuzimifanekiso... Le mifanekiso yingabavange yethu nezeyehi kuzimifanekiso. Ikarhulumente.

Emva kwethutyana engasabonakali uMongameli Gedleyihlekisa Zuma uth e gqi ngomhla we-17 kweyeSilimela 2014, ekhangeleka ethe-ethe ngokwempilo kodwa esegazini kwaye ezilungiselele ukunikeza intetho yesimo sesizwe emva, njengamongameli 'omtsha' emva kokuphumelela ulonyulo lwalonyaka. Gqaba, umongameli wenjenje kwintetho yakhe: - uthembise ukudala amathuba emisebenzi. Urhulumente uzakuqwalasela ezolimo

is'kakhulu ngoba kungakho izigidi zamathuba emisebenzi kwezolimo. Athi efika u-2030 babe abantu belima.

- isimo sentlalo sabasebenzi-mgodini sizakuqwalaselwa kwaye siphuculwe; kufuneka iinkampani zemigodi zilungise iiHostel zabasebenzi ukuze zikwazi ukuhlalisa namasapho abo. - urhulumente uzakuzama ukuqinisekisa ukuba iinkonzo nezinye izinto eziyilwa ngabantu bakweli zithengwa kuqala ngurhulumente - into engange 75% yezinto ezithengwa ngurhulumente kufuneka zibe zenziwe eMzantsi Afrika. - urhulumente uzimisele ukunceda ulutsha ukuze nalo lukwazi ukuthatha inxaxheba kwezoqoqosho laseMzantsi Afrika. - urhulumente uzakuqhubeka ngokutyala nzulu kwimifundo nophuhliso lwezakhono zabemmi beli. Umongameli uth: "kufuneka iinjini, oogqirha, ootitshala nabanye oosochwephetshe bezifundiswa kweli lakuthi..." - Imfundo iyakuhlala ibekelwa phezu kwiinkqubo zakarhulumente. - Ukanti kwelezempilo urhulumente uzakuzama konke anako

³⁶ The Xhosa Messenger

ekuqinisekiseni ukuba abantu bafumana iinkonzo ezibhetele ukuze bakwazi ukuphila ubomi obude.

Translation

A while after the President was no longer visible, Gedleyihlekisa Zuma, appeared on the 17th of July 2014, looking frail but healthy and prepared to give a state of the nation address later, as the 'new' president after winning this year's election. In general, the president did the following in his speech: - he promised to create jobs. The government is going to consider agriculture more because there may be millions of employment opportunities in agriculture. By 2030 people will be farming. - the social status of miners will be considered and improved; mining companies need to fix Hostels for workers to accommodate their families. - the government will try to ensure that the services and other things created by local people are bought first by the government - about 75% of what is bought by the government should be made in South Africa. - the government is willing to help the youth so that they can be able to participate in the economy of South Africa. - the government will continue to invest heavily in education and the development of the skills of the country's citizens. The president said: "we need engineers, doctors, teachers and other professionals who are educated in this country..." - Education will always be at the top of the government's agenda. - But in health, the government will try everything it can in ensuring that people receive better services so that they can live a long life.

4.6.4 *Isolezwe lesiXhosa, (29 Aug 2019). "Wabhubha uWatson eshiya imibuzo" (see Table 23)*



GAVIN WATSON

IMIBUZO eliqela endaweni yeempendulo, unyawo lwemfene kwanamarhe okuba uzibulele.

Ezi zezinye zezinto ezisemilebeni yoluntu ukusukela oko kuvakele iingxelo zokuba ingqonyela yeBosasa, uGavin Watson, ubhubhe kwingozi yemoto kufuphi nesikhululo seenqwelomoya iOR Tambo eRhawutini ngentseni yangoMvulo wale veki. Igama likaWatson livele kakhulu kwiKomishini kaSekela Jaji oyiNtloko uRaymond Zondo ephanda ukudlakatheliswa kombuso lusapho lakwaGupta, emva kokuba obesakuba ligosa lakwaBosasa, uAngelo Agrizzi, waveza ukuba lo kaWatson ebengungqondongqondo kumabholo ezobuqhophololo ebesenziwa yile nkampani kumasebe kwanakwiinkokheli zikarhulumente. Ebhubha nje uWatson, okhulele eBhayi emva kokuzalwa eAlicedale, ebengomnye wabo babalelwe ukuba kufuneka bavele ukuze baziphendulele kwiKomishini kaZondo.

Iingxelo zithi uWatson wenze umthandazo ngeCawe, usuku phambi kokubhubha kwakhe, kwakunye nabasebenzi baseAfrican Global Operations (ebifudula isaziwa njengeBosasa). Ngokuya aqhuba la imoto yohlobo lweToyota Corolla, uWatson ebeyishiye kwaBosasa imoto yakhe eyiBMW X5. Ebengaphethanga kwamfonomfono. Amapolisa avakalisile ukuba aza kuqhuba nophando malunga nokwenzeke kule ngozi, atsho esithi oko yinto engathatha ixesha. Umbutho iANC ukhuphe amazwi ovelwano utyibela igalelo likaWatson kumzabalazo woMzantsi Afrika. "Oobhuti bakaWatson bayaziwa ngomzabalazo wabo kwiUnited Democratic Front kwanakwiANC," itshilo iANC kazwelonke kwimbalelwano.

Inkonzo yesikhumbuzo kaWatson iza kubanjelwa eRoodepoort eRhawutini ngomso (Lwesihlanu). Umngcwabo wona kulindeleke ubanjelwe eBhayi kusuku ebelungekaziswa ngethuba sibhala eli nqaku.

Translation

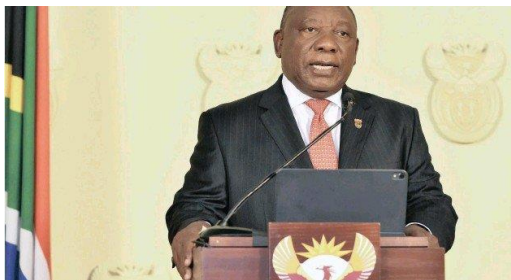
A couple of questions instead of answers, suspicions on rumours that he killed himself.

These are some of the things that have been on the public's lips since the reports that Bosasa chief minister, Gavin Watson, died in a car accident near the OR Tambo airport in Johannesburg on Monday morning this week. Watson's name came up a lot in the Deputy Chief Justice Raymond Zondo's Commission investigating the embezzlement of the state by the Gupta family, after a former Bosasa official, Angelo Agrizzi, revealed that Watson was the mastermind behind the fraud schemes that the company was doing to departments and government leaders. Shortly after his death, Watson, who grew up in Port Elizabeth after being born in Alicedale, was one of those listed as having to appear to answer to the Zondo Commission.

Reports say that Watson prayed on Sunday, the day before his death, along with the staff of African Global Operations (formerly known as Bosasa). While driving this Toyota Corolla car, Watson had left his BMW X5 car at Bosasa. He did not even have a phone with him. The police have announced that they will continue with the investigation into what happened in this accident, saying that this is something that may take some time. The ANC issued a statement of condolence praising Watson's contribution to the struggle in South Africa. "Watson brothers are known for their struggle in the United Democratic Front as well as in the ANC," said the national ANC in a correspondence.

A memorial service for Watson will be held in Roodepoort in Johannesburg tomorrow (Friday). The funeral is expected to be held in Port Elizabeth on a day yet to be announced at the time of writing this article.

4.6.5 *Isolezwe lesiXhosa, (26 Matshi 2020). "Hlalani ngendawo zenu!" (see table 24)*



UMFANEKISO: JAIRUS MMUTLE/GCIS

UMongameli Cyril Ramaphosa ethetha nesizwe malunga nentsholongwane yeKhorona.

SELE etshilo uMongameli Cyril Ramaphosa, ememelela kuye wonke umntu ukuba athobele imithetho emisiweyo yokuba abantu mabahlale ezindlini – baphume kuphela xa kukho imfuno emandla efananokuya kwiinkonzo zempilo okanye xa beyothenga ukutya. Ukusukela

ezinzulwini zobusuku banamhlanje (umhla wamashumi amabini anesithandathu kweyoKwindla) ukuya ezinzulwini zobusuku.

URamaphosa ubhengeze ukuthintelwa kokuhamba kwabantu elizweni iintsuku ezingamashumi amabini ananye. Uthi oku ziinjongo zikaRhulumente zokunqanda ukunwena kwentsholongwane yeKhorona. Abantu ukuba umntu owophula imiqathango yokuba makahlale ekhayeni angabanjwa agwetywe okanye adliwe imali yinkundla yomthetho," utshilo uGomba. Imithetho emisiweyo ngurhulumente iquka ukugwetywa ixesha elinofika kwiinyanga ezintandathu, okanye umdliwo, xa exoka ngokuba unesifo seKhorona, wosulele umntu ngabom ngeKhorona okanye utyeshela imithetho ebekwe ngurhulumentu yokulwa neKhorona abazakuvunyelwa ukuba bahambahambe ngaba: Abasebenzi bezempilo (abakarhulumente nabo babucala), abeenkonzo zikaxakeka (iiAmbulensi), abezomthetho (amapolisa, amajoni, amagosa ezendlela njalo njalo), abavelisa

nabathutha ukutya, iinkonzo ezindundoqo kwiihanki, abalungisa umbane, amanzi nezonxibelelwano, iinkonzo zelabhorathri, abanikeza ngezixhobo zokucoca kwanamayeza. “Abantu abazukuvunyelwa ukuba bashiye amakhaya wabo. Baza kuvunyelwa phantsi kweliso elibanzi kuphela xa beyokuthenga ukutya, ukuya kubonana nabezempilo okanye xa besiya kufuna imali yenkamnkam. “Uxanduva lwethu kukuthibaza ukunwena kwale ntsholongwane. Sifundile kumazwe athe akhawuleza ukuthabatha izigqibo ukuba iziphumo zibazihle,” utshilo uRamaphosa. Kusenjalo uMphathiswa wezeMpilo eMpuma Koloni uSindiswa Gomba ukwakhuthaze abantu ukuba bathobele imithetho. “Abantu baneendlela zobuchule ezithile, ufike ngamanye amaxesha bethenga utywala baselele kumzi okufutshane. Sifuna ukulumkisa abantu bomhla weshumi elinesithandathu kuTshazimpuzi, abemmi boMzantsi Afrika kufuneka bahlale emakhaya. Oku kubhengezwe nguMongameli Cyril Ramaphosa ngokuhlwa kwangoMvulo.

Translation

President Cyril Ramaphosa has already called on everyone to obey the rules that people should stay at home - only go out when there is a strong need such as going to health services or when they go to buy food. From midnight tonight (March 26) to April 16, South Africans must stay at home. This was announced by President Cyril Ramaphosa on Monday evening.

Ramaphosa announced a 21-day curfew. He says this is the government's goal to prevent the spread of the Corona virus. People who violate these conditions that they must stay at home can be arrested and sentenced or deprived of a fine by the court of law, said Gomba. People who will be allowed to travel are: Health workers (public and private), emergency services (Ambulances), law enforcement (police, soldiers, traffic officers etc.), food producers and transporters, basic banking services, electricity, water and telecommunication operators, laboratory services, providers with cleaning supplies and medicines. "People will not be allowed to leave their homes. They will be allowed under close supervision only when they go to buy food, to see health professionals or when they go to get money for pension. "Our responsibility is to slow down the spread of this virus. We have learned from countries that are quick to take decisions that the results were good for them," said Ramaphosa. Meanwhile, the Minister of Health in the Eastern Cape Sindiswa Gomba also encouraged people to obey the law. "People have certain techniques, sometimes they come to buy alcohol and drink it by a nearby house. "We want to warn people that a person who violates the conditions to stay at home can be arrested and sentenced or confiscated by the court of law," said Gomba. The laws set by the government include being sentenced for a period of up to six months, or imprisonment, if one lies about having Corona disease, intentionally infects someone with Corona or violates the laws set by the government to fight Corona.

4.7 Conclusion

The loanwords underlined in this chapter (and the complete data sets in the Appendices) speak to a world in which language was deeply rooted in colonial activities and pursuits. The Poll Tax regulations in 4.3.4 and the loanwords there, speak to a constructed reality, a world the author notes, in which everything can be taxed, even bride price, *lobola*. Looking at the other examples of loanword insertions it is clear that isiXhosa-speakers, in the years before real segregation and apartheid set in, were viewed by settlers as an active, participative, and potentially lucrative market interested in a wide range of products including the then equivalent of Viagra. The advertisements aggressively sell clothes and medicines as well as the postal service, often appealing to their target market's understanding of prestige goods coming from "overseas".

In addition, the number of loanwords occurring in political contexts is indicative of a society eager to get involved in governmental and parliamentary machinations. As time goes by, just before democracy was ushered in in the early 1990s, the loanwords include reference to committees, shop stewards, comrades and marshalls – there is a tension in the texts which include loanwords relevant to worker strikes and conditions at the mines.

From the early 2000s onwards, we see an increasing number of loanwords referring to financial enterprises, worker rights and worker conditions and educational institutions. More recent loanwords speak of the Corona virus, laboratories and ambulances, but the normal suite of borrowed words also abound, specifically those including contracts, off-times (the word *basa-ofile* 'they are still off' – is an innovation that stood out from the other more usual loans) hostels, soldiers, police and communication devices and platforms such as phones and WhatsApp.

To conclude, I have fished the loanwords out of this "sea of words" referred to in 4.1 and have provided illustrative extracts from the texts to give the reader an indication of the contexts in which they swim.

On a purely practical note, please note that the Appendices include the borrowed words as they appear in the text (with all isiXhosa grammatical prefixes and suffixes, i.e., the tokens), its translation, the source language, its meaning, and the part of speech to which it belongs.

CHAPTER 5: ANALYSIS

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I discuss the domains into which the borrowed words occurred, (for example, names, environment, religion) and try to give reasons for the popularity of borrowed words in certain domains. A count of the donor languages per text is also provided. In addition, I analyse the words in terms of their phonetics and the phonetic environments in which they occur. I start always with the earliest texts and end with the most recent ones – trying to establish whether anything has changed over time in the way in which writers assimilated, or not, the borrowed word into isiXhosa. Some scholars of borrowed words (see Durkin, 2014) avoid discussing names in their research as it is a specific sub-field of specialist enquiry, but I have decided to include English and Afrikaans names that writers have integrated into the orthography of isiXhosa as they tell us much about the phonological processes involved and how particular phonemes are graphically represented in the orthography.³⁷ This is important for developing a general understanding of the way in which writers orthographically represent all borrowed words and will allow us to see whether there have been any changes over time and whether these changes can be linked to possible changes in pronunciation by isiXhosa-speakers or whether contemporary writers have decided not to integrate borrowed names into the orthography of isiXhosa and what the reasons for this might be.

In the conclusion section of this chapter, I attempt to itemize the phonological correspondence in isiXhosa adaptation of loanwords from English and Afrikaans. I also discuss the use of epenthetic vowels as it “is a noteworthy phonological feature in the adaptation of loanwords” (Uffmann, 2006:1080).

³⁷ Where a word occurs a number of times (such as *itafile* 'table' and *isikolo* 'school') in different texts, I only discuss its morphology and phonology once.

5.2 Most popular domains: Names, and Environment

An analysis of borrowed words in isiXhosa texts written from 1893 to 2020 reveals that the most popular domains for borrowed words were names, the environment and lifestyle. The fact that almost 43% of all the borrowed words in the texts selected for this study fall into the environment and lifestyle domains is significant and suggests that the isiXhosa lexicon had to adapt to encompass a range of new places, tools, clothes, and lifestyles brought by the missionaries and settlers. Beinart (2003:vii) emphasises the changing nature of the Eastern Cape pastoral economy in the 1800s and speaks of it as “a crossroads for new species, new agricultural techniques and new ideas”. This new environment would necessarily be reflected in the lexicon of amaXhosa.

Mqhayi’s classic masterpiece, *Ityala lamawele*, for example, was published in 1914 just one year after the Land Act that radically limited African land ownership and would have involved amounts of administration bewildering even to those accustomed to high levels of bureaucracy – hence the proliferation of borrowed words to do with papers and postal services. Mqhayi was also a scholar who came from a long line of Christians and was steeped in the teachings of the Bible which explains the large number of borrowed words in the Religion domain. Religion also influenced the incorporation of many Biblical personal and place names (Names being the 7th most popular domain in my data set) e.g., *Mosisi* ‘Moses’, *Davide* ‘David’, *Sirayeli* ‘Israel’ and *iTiyopiya* ‘Ethiopia’ which Mqhayi faithfully adapted to the orthography of isiXhosa.

During the time that Mqhayi was writing, amaXhosa were fighting not only for an education but also for their land and their lifestyle which would have further required a boosting of their vocabulary because they would have had to learn some English and Afrikaans if they were to negotiate with and understand the legal system of non-isiXhosa-speakers. Bundy (2004:10) notes that the Eastern Cape was:

a borderland of settlement by successive waves of peoples and life-styles, and a military marchland for over a century. It was also an economic frontier, a frontier of labour and commodities, a platform of missionary endeavour, and an arena of cultural contestation.

As with most of the novels in this research, A.C. Jordan’s 1940 classic *Ingqumbo yeminyanya*, yielded a good deal of borrowings in the Education domain. As Bundy (2004:9) remarks:

In Xhosa communities, being schooled or non-schooled assumed a decisive cultural significance. Schools like Lovedale, Blythswood, St Johns and Clarkebury ensured that the social identity of an educated African elite crystallised here earlier than anywhere else in southern Africa.

Bundy later makes the salient point that before the introduction of Bantu Education Black South Africans were educated at schools “under mission control” and he adds that “Before the 1940s, these institutions were overwhelmingly concentrated in the Eastern Cape” (Ibid.:15). It goes without saying that English would have been the only language encouraged, and sometimes even allowed, at these schools. Bundy (Ibid.:16) notes that in 1927 the Governor of Healdtown instructed a colleague to take action if pupils spoke English, his precise words being “All girls talking any language except English must be reported to the Governor”. It makes sense that the pupils’ new English vocabulary would be put to use when needed to describe things, people and events foreign to amaXhosa.

My focussed discussion on these popular domains will start with names as earlier texts exhibited a high number of names adapted to the orthography and phonology of isiXhosa. I then go on to examine borrowed words in the other popular domains.

5.2.1 Names ³⁸ (Imvo zabantsundu), (1 December 1884). “Utengisa impahla yamadoda yonke kwisitрата sikaMacleaen”

Although not strictly a name, the inclusion in this text of the phrase *Bofani ngofani* (Literally: ‘The different types of surnames ones’) is noteworthy since the Class 2a allomorph *bo*, which is usually used as a vocative prefix with proper nouns here is used to indicate ‘people of note’. This prefix with *fani* coming from the Afrikaans word *van* [fan] ‘surname’ lends an air of exaggeration that the journalist exploits to convey the impression of a throng of well-connected people. The final /i/ is inserted to avoid a word-final consonant.

5.2.2 Names (Ityala lamawele, 1914)

It is important to discuss borrowed words in the domain of names in this text in the context of missionary influences on the intellectual life of Black South Africans.

³⁸ Translation: S/he sells all men’s clothing in Maclean Street

It was not until well into the eighteenth century (1737) that the missionaries arrived in South Africa (Hattersley, 1952:86). Over time, they had spread their stations and influence in all provinces and according to Fourie and Swanepoel (2015:2), their rationale for establishing bases in certain areas was motivated by their goal to “convert as many souls as possible and they therefore would have settled in the most densely populated regions”. The same authors go on to say that their settlement “at the start of the twentieth century has a persistent impact on education levels in much of Africa” (Ibid.:8). Among the things that the missionaries did was bringing with them the Bible which would have influenced writers of the time, like Mqhayi, to use Biblical names in their own creative works. This is evident in *Ityala lamawele*, (1914) where the dominant domain is ‘names’ with a predominance of Biblical names (adapted to the orthography and phonology of isiXhosa), such as *Mosisi* ‘Moses’, *Sawule* ‘Saul’ and *Davide* ‘David’. Although names dominate as borrowed words, the influence of the Bible generally on early isiXhosa-writers in all domains cannot be underestimated. These writers and journalists would have studied the Bible in depth and hence the bulk of borrowed words in their manuscripts relate to biblical events and people. As Zotwana (1993:iv) notes with reference to the conversion of amaXhosa to Christianity, it:

was anchored on the principle of total alienation of the Xhosa from their world-view: from their culture, from their religion, from their chiefs, from their literary art, and even from their homes. The intention was to turn them into new beings - Christian and loyal subjects of the British Crown - and to make them not only reject, but also despise their past.

It is important to note that most of the borrowed biblical names come from the Old Testament. When writing about Mqhayi, Nyamende (2010:19) states that “It is evident that Mqhayi was inspired by a biblical text, Genesis 38:27–30 to write a story where the Xhosa custom of finger cutting creates a legal complication”, and this means that Mqhayi had a background of Bible knowledge which inspired him to use biblical names in his texts as well as comprehensive knowledge of how justice was applied by amaXhosa before they made contact with western culture. Neethling and Mpolweni (2006:132) admire the fact that Mqhayi did not “turn his back on his own culture” and this duality in terms of the author’s spiritual and cultural leaning is evident in Mqhayi’s use of a Bible story to explain a custom of amaXhosa.

The biblical names are retained in Mqhayi's telling of the story, but their orthography is adapted to that of isiXhosa - if Mqhayi had wanted the names to seem foreign he would have kept them in English orthography. As they stand in the text, these biblical names in isiXhosa orthography bear witness to Mqhayi's ability to use both his biblical knowledge and his knowledge of isiXhosa culture and language to present the Bible as relevant to all peoples, not just Christians, or westerners.

In this section I therefore discuss the orthographic strategies that Mqhayi used to “Xhosafy” biblical names.

Orthographic changes in process of borrowing biblical names in Ityala Lamawele

The English grapheme is given first and is followed by the isiXhosa grapheme.

<ph> > <f>

English sometimes uses <ph> as the grapheme for the voiceless dentilabial fricative [f].

In English the title and names **Pharaoh** [fɛɹəʊ], **Ahitophel** [əhɪθəfɛl], and **Asaph** [eɪsæf] are pronounced with an /f/ (as is evident in the phonetic transcriptions) – and this sound is reflected in the isiXhosa orthography as *Faro* [fa:rɔ], *Ahitofele* [ahitʰɔfɛ:lɛ] and *Asafu* [asa:fu] respectively in *Ityala lamawele*. In fact, Mqhayi demonstrates an ability to sound-map the English alphabet onto the isiXhosa one – note the addition of the word-final vowels with names that in English end with a consonant – *Ahitophel* > *Ahitofele* and *Asaph* > *Asafu*. Uffmann (2006:1087) notes that “the preceding vowel influences the choice of epenthetic vowel, but this choice is far from being straightforward”. However, the fact that /u/ follows /f/ in *Asafu* can be explained by the fact that labial consonants are generally followed by /u/ (see Uffmann, 2006:1088) and discussion on epenthetic vowels in this chapter. It is clear that the /e/ in *Ahitofele* has been influenced by the preceding /e/ but with **Pharaoh** [fɛɹəʊ] > *Faro* [fa:rɔ] the word final diphthong in the English [əʊ] is realized as an open-mid back word-final vowel [ɔ] in word-final position in the isiXhosa.

<iah> <iya>

The trisyllabic *Messiah* [mɪsaiə] is represented in isiXhosa orthography as *Mesiya* [mesi:ja]. The English spelling of the diphthong /aɪ/ is represented by semivowel <y> while the schwa

/ə/ in word final position is realized as [a] in isiXhosa. In isiXhosa orthography a double <s> is not allowed, so is reduced to just one in *Mesiya*.

<ia> > <ya>

There is also the isiXhosa *Miriyam* [miri:ja:m] for the name *Miriam* [mɪrɪ:jəm] in which [ja:] replaces the [jə] of the English and is orthographically represented by <ya>.

<ue> > <uwe> and <au > <awu>

Mqhayi writes the names *Samuel* [sæmjuəl] and *Saul* [so:l] as *Samuweli* [samuweli] and *Sawule* [sawu:lɛ], the diphthong in *Samuel* being circumvented via the insertion of the semivowel /w/ and the vowel /e/ after the high-back rounded vowel /u/ while with *Saul* the long mid-back rounded vowel is replaced by the semivowel /w/ followed by the long close-back rounded vowel /u:/. In both names epenthetic vowels are also used to avoid word-final consonants (see Uffmann, 2006:1080). Uffmann observes however, that the issue of epenthetic vowels in word-final positions is not simple when considering loanwords in Bantu languages and asserts that “there still is comparatively little empirical work regarding the question which vowel exactly is inserted, both within a language, in a given context, and crosslinguistically” (Uffmann, 2006:1080).

Grammatical and Phonological aspects of settler names in Ityala Lamawele

The novel also has a few settler names such as *uBhokhwe* ‘goat’ from the Afrikaans *bok* [bɔk], *uBhukwana* [uɓuk^wa:na] derived from the isiZulu *ibhuku* ‘book’ (*ibhukwana* ‘small book’) via the English *book* [bʊk], *uStokhwe* [ustɔ:k^{hw}ɛ] ‘stock’ [stɔk], *Dyan* [uɟa:n] ‘Jan’ [jʌn], *Baliti* [uɓali:tʔi] ‘Birt’, *Kheyizare* ‘Kaiser’ [kaɪzə] and *Zephelin* [zɛp^heli:n] from *Zeppelin* [zɛpəlɪn].

Mqhayi had no doubt heard of many Afrikaans speakers using the word *bok* and merely adapted it to form the name *uBhokhwe* ‘goat’. With *uBhukwana* it is important to note that isiXhosa-speakers often use the diminutive suffix *-ana* as a way of changing a common noun like *usisi* ‘sister’ to a proper name as in *uSisana* ‘Little Sister’, hence its inclusion in *uBhukwana*. Apart from the context in which this name occurs, the capitalizing of the initial vowel clearly signals that this is a proper noun.

The inclusion of the name *Dyan*, from the Afrikaans *Jan* [jan], is historically and politically relevant. The fact that the name *Jan* was given to isiXhosa-speakers by settlers and missionaries has been proven. For example, Levine (2010:84) speaks of a Xhosa chief named Jan Tzatzoe, who was also a missionary, and who was born into a Xhosa royal family around 1792 in South Africa. He was also a cultural intermediary on the eastern Cape frontier and in Cape Town and is said to have helped in integrating African and European world views. To speakers of isiXhosa this man was known as *Dyani* Tshatshu (Levine, 2010:84). This name changes from Jan and becomes *Dyani* because Afrikaans words starting with <j> are written <dy> in isiXhosa and pronounced with the palatal stop [ɟ].

In the isiXhosa adaptation of the English *Kaiser* [kaɪzə] to *Kheyizare* [uk^hejiz̩aːa] the aspirated velar plosive, which is <kh> in the orthography has been used to represent the English <k> while the diphthong /ai/ is written with the semivowel <y>.

UZephelin [uz̩ep^heliːn] is from the English *zeppelin* [zɛpəlɪn] which is a word originally from Germany. The Zeppelin was an aircraft named after Count Ferdinand von Zeppelin, who constructed it, and Mqhayi in his isiXhosa text uses the name *Zephelin* for one of his characters. It is significant that he does not use a final vowel when adapting the word to isiXhosa orthography.

5.2.3 Names (Umteteli wa Bantu, 12 Jan 1924)

The Xhosa *Apoliyoni* comes from the English *Apollyon* (borrowed from Hebrew). The spelling of the Xhosa derives from the English pronunciation of the name. The epenthetic vowel /i/ is inserted after the liquid /l/ and before the semi-vowel <y> and a final vowel /i/ avoids a word-final consonant. Kangwa (2012:99), analysing final-vowel epenthesis in Bemba, another Bantu language spoken in Zambia, notes that /i/ is generally used after [ŋ] in word-final position.

5.2.4 Names (Ingqumbo yeminyanya, 1940)

The isiXhosa *OoKey* is a name that has been used as it is except that the noun class morpheme of Noun Class 2a oo- is prefixed. This prefix indicates plural, referring to *Key and friends* or *Key and company*.

5.2.5 Names (UDingezweni, 1971)

In *uDingezweni* we see borrowed religious names such as *uYehova* [ujəhɔːvɑ] ‘Jehovah’ [dʒəhəʊvə] and *kaSathana* ‘of Satan’ [seɪtən]. It is significant that *uYehova* ‘Jehovah’ [dʒəhəʊvə] originates in Hebrew but in English is normally pronounced [dʒɪhəʊvə] but also sometimes [jɪhəʊvə], the latter being the pronunciation that the isiXhosa spelling is based on. The Class 1a prefix *u-* is used to show that this is a proper noun.

The environment domain - an introduction (1884 – 1971)

The new way of living that the missionaries and settlers and Afrikaans farmers brought with them, introduced to the amaXhosa many unfamiliar objects, institutions, and ways of organizing the environment including, in terms of the latter, places like schools, shops and streets which would not have been part of the traditional Xhosa way of life or immediate environment before this encounter. In addition, speakers would have had to listen to the way in which English- and Afrikaans-speakers referred to these items and places and name them appropriately, often just using the original term and adapting the orthography to the way in which isiXhosa-speakers would pronounce these words. Fourie and Swanepoel (2015:11) mention that “...all these mission stations were rural in nature, located far from towns and often in rugged terrain that had poor accessibility”, but even so, the words would travel from these far-flung areas to other villages and towns as converts and missionary-educated people would have travelled from where they lived to such locations.

5.2.6 Environment (Imvo Zabantsundu, 1884)

In an article entitled *Abatenga impahla kwamanye amazwe nakweli* ‘Those who buy clothes in other countries and here’ there is the borrowed word *ivenkile* [ivenkʰile] ‘shop’ which is borrowed from the Afrikaans word *winkel* [vɔŋkəl]. The assimilation of the final syllable [kəl] is achieved by the replacement of [əl] by [ile]. As discussed, the prefix *i-* generally indicates a borrowed noun in Class 9.

Nezitora [neziːtʰɔːra] ‘and stores’ is borrowed from English *store* [stɔː(ɹ)] and the *ne-* (from *na-* + *i*) translates ‘and’ and the <z> is because the noun has the Class 8 prefix *izi-*. In isiXhosa the /r/ in a borrowed word is generally replaced with // so this borrowing is an exception. It is, however, more common to hear contemporary isiXhosa-speakers say *istoro* (clipping the *isi-* to just *is-*) depending on their background or dialect (Futuse, 2019:82) and

there is now a proliferation of borrowed words orthographically represented this way, e.g., *istayile* 'style', *isteyidiyum* 'stadium'. It could be argued that in the past, borrowed words that started with the consonant cluster /st/ would be realized by isiXhosa-speakers as nouns in Class 7 using the full noun prefix *isi-* of that class and the root word would then start with the voiceless ejective alveolar explosive [t], as in *isitora*.

The establishment of settler and later colonial hamlets in the Eastern Cape in the early 1800s would have ushered in shops which first would have been referred to in Afrikaans as *winkels* [vəŋkəls] and later by the English as *stores* and *shops*. The fact that in 1884 the writer uses both borrowed words *ivenkile* and *istora* shows that even borrowed words in those days had synonyms. In fact, in contemporary isiXhosa a third word *ishop* can be added to the lexicon, and although it has not yet entered any dictionary it is widely used.

5.2.7 Environment (Ityala lamawele, 1914)

From *Ityala lamawele* (1914), in the environment domain under the sub-category place, we encounter words such as *eFransi* 'in France', *weBhritani* 'of Britain', *weAfrika* 'of Africa', *eYuropu* 'in Europe', *eKhimbili* 'at/in/to/from Kimberley', *,kwaSomaseti* 'at/in/to/from Somerset', *yaseMelika* 'of America', *laseKoloni* 'of the colony' *kwelaseTiyopiya* 'to the Ethiopian one', *eSkotilani* 'at/in/to/from Scotland', *eKapa* 'in the Cape', *eNatala* 'in Natal', *eofisini* 'at/in/to/from the office'.

Grammatical and phonological changes in process of borrowing place/environment names in Ityala Lamawele

The isiXhosa locative prefix *e-* in *eFransi* [ɛfra:nsi] can translate 'in/at/from/to' and is used as such in many of the examples mentioned above. In fact, the phonetic transcription of the English pronunciation of *France* [fʌns] is exactly the same as Mqhayi's conversion of the word to isiXhosa. The epenthetic vowel /i/ avoids the word-final consonant /s/.

The isiXhosa for *Europe* [juərəp] *Yuropu* again includes the glide/semivowel [j] which sound-maps the English diphthong /ju/ and then the epenthetic final vowel /u/ would appear to harmonize with the /u/ in the first syllable.

The isiXhosa *weBhrithani* [wɛbr̥ɪtʰa:nɪ] and *weAfrika* [wɛʔafri:kʰa] are both possessives evident from *we-* derived from the possessive concord of either Class 1/1a or Class 3 *wa-* which has been prefixed to the initial vowel of the noun: *wa-iBhrithani* > *weBhrithani* and *wa-iAfrika* > *weAfrika*. The schwa in the English pronunciation of Britain [brɪtən] is replaced by [a] in the isiXhosa and to avoid the word-final consonant [n] the epenthetic /i/ is used.

In *weBhrithani* the voiceless aspirated alveolar explosive is represented by the grapheme <th> in the isiXhosa, no doubt because it more closely represents the English pronunciation of /t/ – the isiXhosa /t/ would create an ejective sound which does not represent how the word is pronounced in English, although some isiXhosa-speakers might still eject it. The <bh> in the orthography, in the phonetics [b̥], represents a bilabial plosive with delayed breathy voicing in the isiXhosa. The final vowel here is /i/ which, as Kangwa (2007:99) has noted, is common after the nasal [n].

With *Afrika* [afri:kʰa] ‘Africa’ [æfrɪkə] it is clear that isiXhosa-speakers eject the <k> while English-speakers do not, aspirating it instead because of the following vowel /a/. If it had been spelled <kh> in isiXhosa that would suggest aspiration in the pronunciation.

The example of *eKhimbili* is an interesting one because the root is *Kimberley* [kɪmbəli] but most isiXhosa-speakers say *eKhimbali* instead of *eKhimbili*. Mqhayi’s example suggests that he had heard the name pronounced by missionaries who would have used the Received English pronunciation of [kɪmbəli].

KwaSomaseti [kʷʔasɔmase:tʰi] refers to the place name ‘Somerset’ [sʌməsɛt] and is used with the locative prefix *kwa-* which is used when place names are named after someone. The question is, why would isiXhosa-speaking writers use <o> and not <a> when adapting the name to isiXhosa orthography? It could be that they were influenced by the English spelling, not English pronunciation of the name.

The isiXhosa possessive *yaseMelika* [jasɛmelikʰa] is derived from *America* [əmɛɪkə]. Here the liquid trill /r/ is replaced by another liquid /l/ and the schwa [ə] is changed to the low central vowel [a].

There is another possessive in *laseKoloni* [lasek²olo:ni] from the English *Colony* [kɒləni], or more likely, from the Afrikaans *kolonie* [kɔləni]. In *A Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles*, the meaning of *Kolonie* “as used in the phrase ‘die Kolonie’”, was the name given to the Cape Colony” (Silva et al., 1996:387).

In *kwelaseTiyopiya* the root is *Ethiopia* [English pronunciation: [i:θiəʊpiə]; isiXhosa pronunciation: [it²iyop²i:ja] In *kwelase-* the locative prefix *ku-* is followed by a possessive pronoun vowel /e/ and thus the merger of *ku-* + *e-* > *kwe-* plus a possessive concord for Class 5 *la-* followed by the prelocative *s* and finally the locative prefix *e-*. The writer deletes the first vowel of the word <E> in *Ethiopia* when changing it to isiXhosa (as he did with <A> of *America* > *Melika*) and then voiceless dental fricative [θ] is pronounced as an ejective alveolar plosive [t²] (represented by <t> in the orthography) since voiceless dental fricatives do not occur in isiXhosa.

eSkotilani ‘in Scotland’, *eKapa* ‘in Cape Town’, *eNatala* ‘in Natal’, *eofisini* ‘at the office’, all have the locative prefix *e-* and for *office* [pɹɪs] the locative suffix /ini/ is used. With *eSkotilani* [esk²ot²ila:ni] an isiXhosa-speaker would have increased the syllables from the two in *Scotland* [skɒtlənd] to four in *Sko/ti/la/ni* with the addition of the epenthetic vowel /i/ between the /t/ [t²] and the // and the insertion of the final vowel /i/. The schwa in the second syllable of the English pronunciation [lənd] is represented by the low central vowel /a/ and the /d/ is not represented at all in the isiXhosa borrowing.

In the environment domain under the sub-category household/tools, we encounter words such as *idyokhwe* [iɟo:k²wɛ], derived from the English noun *yoke* [jəʊk]. Here we can see the writer taking the monosyllabic borrowed word and transforming its orthography to represent the additional syllable that isiXhosa-speakers would have inserted in [iɟo:] to represent the voiced palatal affricate, and then the use of the /k/ being the voiceless ejective velar plosive /k²/ followed by the semivowel /w/ with the final epenthetic vowel /e/ [ɛ].

Idyokhwe ‘yoke’ is a borrowed word no longer frequently used and Ramncwana and Hisham (2011:16) explain that packing up some museum objects reminded them of growing up in Peddie in the Eastern Cape where they used items like some of these museum objects. They go on to say that “we took these objects for granted and at times threw them away, claiming that they were old because we didn’t know their value. ...here I

was, handling the similar objects but in a professional environment: objects such as the yoke '*idyokhwe*.'” Xhosa people had started using these tools and by 1829 two full generations of them were born and brought up on white farms. The 1820 settlers arrived in the Eastern Cape with a new way of seeing the world as well as the need for commodities foreign to the inhabitants of the region. These in turn ushered in economic and political variables unfamiliar to the Xhosa and other traditional inhabitants of the region. This new social, economic and political environment would have necessitated the creation of appropriate words (often borrowed from the source language) in the indigenous languages. (Engelbrech, 2011:10).

The plural noun *iitafile* [i:tʔafi:lɛ] ‘tables’ [teɪbʰlz] is derived from the Afrikaans noun *tafel* [tɑ:fəl] and the prefix *ii-* signifies the plural for borrowed nouns in Class 10. Once again, the Xhosa phonotactics requires a final vowel which in this instance is <e> [ɛ] which is preceded by the epenthetic /i/ between the /f/ and the //.

5.2.8 Environment (Umteteli wa Bantu, 12 Jan 1924)

From *UMteteli wa Bantu* (1924) in the article *Pulapulani makowethu* ‘Listen brothers’ on the 12th January, 1924, we encounter words like *eFidalisdolophu* [ɛfiɖalisɖolo:pʰu] in *Villiersdorp*. While the change of the Afrikaans word *dorp* [dɔrp] to *idolophu* has already been discussed in 5.1.8. What is of interest here is the isiXhosa orthography for *Villiers* [viljɛz] to *Fidalis* [fiɖalis]. The complete adaptation of town names to isiXhosa as is evident in *eFidalisdolophu* is more prevalent in older texts, as today most speakers would just write *eVilliersdorp* and many would keep the Afrikaans pronunciation. It could be that isiXhosa-speakers had previously heard surnames like De Villiers, and somehow felt the need to incorporate the *De* into the name of this town but there is no evidence to this effect. No matter what the reason, the early writers clearly wanted to represent the isiXhosa articulation of these names accurately. Therefore, the fact that /v/ is pronounced /f/ in Afrikaans is evidence that the word was borrowed from the Afrikaans. The locative prefix *e-* is the prefix in *eFidalisdolophu* [ɛfiɖalisɖolo:pʰu].

5.2.9 Environment (Ingqumbo yeminyanya, 1940)

The borrowed word *edolophini* [ɛɖolopʰi:ni] ‘in town’ has undergone significant changes from the original Afrikaans *dorp* [dɔrp] in that /r/ is replaced with // and the original

monosyllabic word changes in isiXhosa to one with four syllables *i/do/lo/phu* via epenthetic vowels after the liquid consonant /l/ and the bilabial /ph/ and the insertion of the word-final epenthetic /u/. With regard to /u/ Uffmann (2006:1081) notes that most frequently, consonantal assimilation is observed as labial attraction, i.e., insertion of a round vowel like /u/ following a labial consonant” which clearly applies in this case. In addition, in this case, for *dorp*, [dɔrp] to become a fitting locative, it will be pronounced with the appropriate prefix *e-* and the suffix *-ini* replaces the /u/ to form *edolophini*.

The case is the same with *ebhulorhweni* [ɛɓuloxwe:ni] ‘at the bridge’ which is a borrowed word from Afrikaans *brug* [brœ:x] which stands as the root word, and in order for it to become a locative prefix *e-* has been inserted in front and the suffix *-eni* has been added as the isiXhosa word ends in a mid-high back vowel /o/. The trill liquid consonant /r/ in *brug* [brœ:x] is replaced with the liquid glide /l/ to make it conform to isiXhosa's phonotactics, while the <g> in the spelling of the Afrikaans is replaced with the grapheme <rh> in the isiXhosa, both representing the voiceless velar fricative [x]. Syllabically the increase is from one syllable in *brug* [brœ:x] to four (excluding the locative prefixes and suffixes) in *i/bhu/lo/rho*. The final vowel being an /o/ seems appropriate seeing that the vowel in the previous syllable is also an /o/. Uffmann (2006:1086) explains this repetition of vowels as “vowel harmony or spreading of vowel place features”.

Entolongweni [ɛntʔolong^we:ni] ‘in jail’ (in its uninflected form *intolongo*) is a noun that has been borrowed from the Afrikaans word *tronk* [trɔnk]. The locative prefix *e-* is used together with the suffix *-weni* (used with nouns ending in /o/ and /ɔ/ and not preceded by a bilabial) and the liquid trill /r/ is replaced with the liquid glide /l/. Once again there is an increase in syllables from one in *tronk* to four in the uninflected isiXhosa noun *in/to/lo/ngo*. The repetition of the /o/ can be explained by vowel harmony as mentioned above. The velar nasal /ŋ/ replaces /nk/ which could be because the former is pronounced more as one sound than the latter and therefore eases the articulation of the open-mid- back rounded vowel [ɔ].

All of these Afrikaans words would also have been heard by English settlers, as Silva (1978:65) notes “many of the Cape Dutch words heard by the settlers were translated, as a whole or in part, into English, and then absorbed into their vocabulary.”

In the environment domain under the sub-category of household we encounter borrowed words such as *etafileni* 'on the table', *efestileni* 'at the window', *kwisofa* in which the locative prefix *ku-* is used with *isofa* borrowed from English 'sofa' [səʊfə]. *Efestileni* 'at the window' has an Afrikaans origin in *venster* [fɛnstər] 'window'. The prefix *e-* is inserted to show the locative and the /r/ in *venster* is replaced with /l/. Although the Afrikaans spelling uses <v>, it is pronounced [f] in Afrikaans and this pronunciation is represented in the isiXhosa orthography and phonology. The nasal element in /nst/ is avoided entirely and only the consonant blend /st/ used. The use of *-ile* [ilɛ] in place of the schwa in the Afrikaans could be explained by Khumalo's (1984:209) observation that "at times it appears that endings of adoptives are influenced by or "mimic" high frequency morphological terminations".

In the environment domain under the sub-category of tools we get words such as *iisali* [i:sa:li] 'saddles' from the Afrikaans *saals* [sa:ls] and *isitena* 'brick' from the Afrikaans *steen* [stɛn]. The word *isitena* [isitʰɛ:na] is in Class 7 *isi-/is-* because words that start with /s/ in the source language, when borrowed are often treated as Class 7 nouns in isiXhosa (see Futuse, 2019:46; Ngcobo, 2013).

5.2.10 Environment (Buzani kubawo, 1958)

From *Buzani kubawo* (1958) we have common borrowed words like *ebhankini* [ɛbʌŋkʰi:ni] from the English *bank* [bæŋk] *edolophini* 'in town' from the Afrikaans *dorp* [dɔrp] (see 5.1.8). The voiced bilabial plosive (or stop) [b] in *bank* becomes a bilabial plosive with delayed breathy voicing in the isiXhosa [b̤]. *EPitoli* [ɛpʰitʰo:li] comes from *Pretoria* [prɛtɔɪɪə] pronounced [prɛ'tʊəriə] in Afrikaans which is probably the source language for the isiXhosa. It is clear that the two /r/ sounds in the name posed some difficulties for isiXhosa-speakers who deleted the first /r/ and replaced the second one with an /l/. The first vowel is changed in the spelling from <e> to <i> and /ia/ in the word-final position is also replaced with /i/ that harmonizes with the preceding /i/.

One should consider the historical significance of the English word *bank* (being the financial system) and why it has been brought into the isiXhosa lexicon. People in the past used a bartering system, which was a system of direct trade of goods and services between parties. Peires (1982:98) observed that in order for the Xhosa people to increase their wealth they

“entered into a trade which was largely speculative. The goods obtained in these exchanges were utilized not as consumption, ... but as cattle equivalents ...”

When the bartering system subsided after the arrival of the 1820 settlers (see Webb, 1988) people started to use money and to keep it in the bank and that is where words like ‘*ebhankini*’, came into use. This relationship with banks has only increased over the years. Masocha, Chillya and Zindiye (2011:1857) conducted a primary research survey in Alice and noticed how the majority of the respondents indicated that they were inclined to bank with a bank which uses advanced modern banking technologies such as cellphone banking and internet banking. They go on to explain how clients would “stay in a relationship with a bank and their sense of belongingness to the bank in the presence of e-banking” (Ibid.: 1860).

5.2.11 Environment (Ukuba ndandazile, 1967)

From *Ukuba ndandazile* (1967), we see a number of code-switches such as 'my case is a different one altogether' (Tamsanqa, 1967:29) used alongside borrowed words such *everandini yevenkile* ‘at the veranda of the shop’.

Returning to the word *veranda* – we must remember that this architectural aspect of a residence was a common feature of colonial homes in Australia in the 1850s³⁹, and that would explain its existence in colonial buildings in South Africa as well at that time. The arrival of the missionaries brought these words into new perspective in the environment as there must have been places already where people would sit outside, but still covered as inside, and words like *everandini yevenkile* were easily adapted into the language and were allocated a noun class to belong to and pronounced in a manner acceptable to isiXhosa-speakers.

5.2.12 Environment (UDingezweni, 1971)

From *uDingezweni* we find borrowed words not occurring in the previous novels, being *kwilokishi* [kʰwɪlokʰi:jɪ] ‘in the location’ and *ezitratweni* [ɛzɪtʰratʰwe:ni] ‘in the streets’ the

³⁹ <https://www.thespruce.com/outdoor-spaces-what-is-a-veranda-2736767>

singular, uninflected form being *isitrato* [isitʔratɔ] In *A Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles*, the meaning of *location* is noted as referring to land ‘set aside by the farmer for his labourers’ (Silva et al., 1996:425) The orthography of *ilokishi* [ilokʔi:ʃi] ‘location’ [lʊʊkeɪʃən] again demonstrates the way in which English diphthongs are dealt with in isiXhosa: [əʊ] > [o], and how the voiceless prepalatal fricative [ʃ] written <sh> directly sound-maps the English. It might be that we have an example of a backformation here: Xhosa-speakers must have assumed that the English *location* was a locative (with suffix in (∅)) and that that derived from a base noun something like *lokash*.

The word *ezitratweni* [ɛzɪtʔratʔwe:ni] ‘in the streets’, which in its uninflected form is *izitrato* [izɪtʔratʔo] is from the Afrikaans *straat* [stra:t]. It must be noted that there are already isiXhosa words such as *indlela* or *umgaqo* which are used by the speakers to refer to roads and streets. There is also the variant *izitalato*. *Indlela* is a ‘way’ or ‘road for travelling’, and *umgaqo* is a ‘path’ which is a way laid down for walking. The reason why people would use *isitrato* or *isitalato* instead of *indlela* or *umgaqo* is because *indlela* can refer to “anything that connects two points while streets are public ways which have buildings on either side”⁴⁰. From the early 1800s, the settlers started establishing towns in the Eastern Cape, and these towns would have had streets with buildings on either side. The word *ezintenteni* [ɛzɪntʔentʔe:ni] ‘in the tents’ (also in *uDingezweni*) has a root *tent* [tʰɛnt] which *A Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles* define as “consisting of canvas over a hooped wooden framework” (Silva et al., 1996:714). The full noun prefix *in-* in *intente* occurs instead of the allomorph *i-* which occurs with most Class 9 borrowings. This might be by analogy with the sound [nt] in the actual root noun *tent* which is then duplicated in the isiXhosa both in the prefixal and final syllable positions: *intente*⁴¹. The final vowel /e/ is to be expected as it harmonizes with the e’ vowel of the root noun ‘tent’. In isiXhosa the noun commences with the Class 9 prefix *in-* which is explained by Koopman (1992:113) in his observation that “normally a medial nasal will give rise to an extra initial nasal”. Koopman

⁴⁰ <https://www.here.com/learn/blog/whats-the-difference-between-a-road-a-street-and-an-avenue#:~:text=So%20a%20'road'%20is%20anything,a%20median%20through%20the%20middle.>

⁴¹ I thank Prof Lutz Marten of SOAS for another insight/possible explanation for *intente*. In his external examiner report he mused “the introduction of the nasal seems slightly unmotivated, but in comparative terms it looks a little bit like an inverse (or undoing?) of what is called Meinhof’s law, where in the context of two nasal + consonant clusters in a word, one of them (typically) the first is ‘simplified’ and the nasal deleted.

gives *inkampani* in isiZulu by way of example (the word is found in both isiZulu and isiXhosa dictionaries). From the sub-category of animals, we find words such as, *ikati* [ikʰa:tʰi] ‘cat’ [kʰæt], *ibhere* [ibɛ:rɛ] ‘bear’ *iponi* [ipʰo:ni] ‘pony’ [pʰəʊni] all of which would not have been animals indigenous to the Eastern Cape.

In the sub-category of tools, we encountered borrowed works such as *ngepeki* [ngɛpʰe:kʰi] ‘with a pick’ (English: [pʰɪk]; Afrikaans:[pik]) and *idyokhwe* ‘yoke’ (already discussed in 5.2.8). The adverbial formative *nga-* is used together with *ipeki* to form *ngepeki* and the isiXhosa version of the noun has been achieved by changing the voiceless aspirated bilabial plosive [pʰ] to ejectives [pʰʰ] in the pronunciation and, as to be expected, the final epenthetic vowel /i/ is used. The near-close front unrounded vowel [ɪ] in [pɪk] becomes the raised mid-high front vowel [e] in [pʰʰe:kʰi].

When referring to *ikati* [ikʰa:tʰi] ‘cat’, we should bear in mind Silva’s comment (1978:66) that: “Bantu-speakers were not only ‘over the River’ but were also frequently employed by settlers, so that the linguistic contact was often close” and it is this closeness that would have led to encounters with domestic animals favoured by the colonial settlers, such as cats and ponies, and to have heard them being named with the English words, which would later be referred to in their own isiXhosa conversations with slight adaptations of the phonology.

Eofisini and *elokishini* respectively have roots *office* and *location* and the prefix *e-* was inserted to demonstrate that these are locatives. Putting the words *ibhere*, *iponi* and *ipeki* (*bear*, *pony* and *pick* – from the Afrikaans *pik*) into their historical perspective Silva (1978:64) mentions that: “many settlers had to learn new skills, especially farming, hunting and transport-riding, and the Cape Dutch terms linked to these occupations were readily available ...” and then it is likely that these Cape Dutch terms were also incorporated into isiXhosa by amaXhosa who came into contact with the settlers.

5.2.13 Environment (Isigidimi samaXhosa, 2012)

In an article under the headline *Umaskhenkethe ikhaya lam!* ‘My bag my home’, we find *eNgilane* [ɛngila:nɛ] ‘in England’ and *eMelika* [ɛmeli:kʰa] ‘in America’ which are derived from

the English words *England* [ɪŋɡlənd] and *America* [əmeɪɪkə] with the locative prefix *e-*. Also, in this part is *iplastiki* from plastic.

5.2.14 Environment (Ungowam, 2014)

The borrowed word *ikhaphetshu* [ik^hap^he:tʃu] is derived from the English *cabbage* [kæbɪdʒ]. The first syllable [kæ] of the English word becomes an aspirated velar explosive [k^h] followed by the low central [a] in the isiXhosa while the [b] is replaced with the aspirated bilabial explosive [p^h].

The locative *epokothweni* [ɛp^ook^oot^hwɛ:ni] ‘in the pocket’ from the English *pocket* [pɒkət] which in isiXhosa is *ipokotho*.

Ifestile [ifest^ʔi:lɛ] has an Afrikaans root *venster* [fɛnstər] ‘window’ and has been already discussed in 5.2.10. In *ejimini* [ɛdʒimi:ni] ‘at the gym’ the root is *gym* [dʒɪm] and the grapheme <g> is replaced by <j> to keep the original sound of the word.

The Class 9 borrowed noun (minus its initial vowel) *khabhathi* [k^hab̩a:t^hi] is adopted from the English word *cupboard* [kʌbəd]. *Kwelo khitshi* [k^ʷɛlɔ k^hi:tʃi] ‘in that kitchen’ is from the English *kitchen* [kɪtʃən] while the *kwelo* is the made up of the locative *ku-* + *elo* being the second position of the the Class 5 demonstrative, evidence that this noun, which one would assume would be in Class 9 (as most borrowed nouns are in this class), is in fact in Class 5.

The word *esofeni* [ɛsofɛ:ni] ‘on the sofa’ has its adoptive base the English noun *sofa* with the locative prefix *e-* and locative suffix *-eni*.

With the borrowed word *esikolweni* [ɛsik^oolwɛ:ni] the noun is borrowed from Afrikaans *skool* [skuel] ‘school’[skuəl]. The repetition of the vowel /o/ in its uninflected form *isikolo* is predictable as Uffmann (2006:1086) observes with reference to another Bantu language, chiShona “/o/ is inserted after /o/”.

Ekhemesti [ɛkhɛmɛ:st^ʔi] is derived from the English word *chemist* [kɛməst] while the locative is created only by the prefix *e-* there being no locative suffix in this word. The isiXhosa gets around the schwa in the second syllable [mɪ] by the epenthetic word-final vowel /i/.

Edolophini [ɛdolop^hi:ni] and *ezilokishini* [ɛzilok^ʔɪʃi:ni] have also already been discussed in 5.2.10 and 5.2.13, although in the latter the discussion was of *elokishini* which is just the

singular locative of *ezilokishini*. Note how, if the locative is applied to a plural borrowed word in Class 10 the basic noun prefix *-zi-* is evident. There is also an instance of *kwiidolophu* [kʷi:ḡolo:pʰu] which is the locative prefix *ku-* prefixed to the Class 10 plural *iidolophu*.

In *esasikwisitulo* [ɛsa:sikʷisitʷu:lɔ] ‘which was on the chair’ from the Afrikaans *stoel* [stul] ‘chair’ is preceded by the relative concord of Class 7 in the remote past continuous tense *esasi-* followed by the locative *ku-* *esasikwi-* and then the borrowed word *isitulo*.

Egeyithini [ɛgɛjithi:ni] ‘at the gate’ has the English word *gate* [geɪt] as the root with the locative prefix *e-* and suffix *-ini*. Again, the diphthong is represented by the semivowel /y/ followed by the epenthetic /i/ and the /t/ is represented by the voiceless aspirated alveolar explosive <th> in the isiXhosa. The possessive *kwegeyithi* [kʷɛgɛji:thi] ‘of the gate’ has *gate* [geɪt] as the basis and the prefix *kwa-* demonstrates the possession of something in Class 15, *kwa-* + *igeyithi* → *kwegeyithi* (this could also refer to a locative position as in *phezu kwegeyithi* ‘above the gate’).

The word *elokishini* [ɛlokʷijɪ:ni] ‘in the location’ has been dealt with in 5.1.8. In *ipakethi* [ipʷakʷe:thi] ‘packet’ [pækət], the plosive [p] in the English word is realized as a voiceless ejective bilabial plosive [pʷ] in the isiXhosa. The borrowing *efestileni* [ɛfestʷile:ni] ‘at the window’ is from the Afrikaans word *venster* [fɛnstər] ‘window’ and has previously been discussed in 5.1.10. *Ngeplastiki* [ngɛpʷlastʷi:kʷi] ‘with plastic’ is from the English *plastic* [plæstɪk] and is preceded by the adverbial formative *nga-* + *iplastiki* > *ngeplastiki*. *Ngefestile* [ngɛfestʷi:lɛ] ‘at the window’ has an Afrikaans root *venster* [fɛnstər] which has already been discussed in 5.1.10.

5.2.15 Environment (Isolezwe lesiXhosa, 2014)

In an article about Nigeria *Zinyembezi Zodwa eNigeria* there is *aseAfrika* [asɛʷafri:kʷa] ‘of African’ from the Afrikaans *Afrika* ‘Africa’ which has already been discussed in 5.1.7.

The noun *kwibhedi* [kwiḡbe:ḡi] derives from the English *bed* - here it appears with the locative prefix *ku-* which becomes *kwi-* when followed by a vowel, in this instance *i-* - e.g., *ku-* + *ibhedi* > *kwibhedi*.

The phrase *nezitishi zamapolisa* [nezi:ʔiʃi zamapʔoli:sa] ‘and the police stations’ is derived from the roots *station* and *police* or *polisie* [pəli:si]. The English word *police* has [ph], the Afrikaans has [p], while the isiXhosa has [pʔ].

5.2.16 Environment (Izigqibo esizenzayo, 2017)

The environment domain was the second most popular domain for borrowed words in this novel while lifestyle was the dominant one. From the domain of environment in the sub-category of place we encounter *kwaSpar* [kʔwaspa:] ‘at the Spar’ which has the name of the shop *Spar* as its basis while the prefix *kwa-* demonstrates the locative.

Ngaseposini [ngasepʔosi:ni] ‘at the post office’ has the Afrikaans *pos* [pɔs] as base, with the prefixes *nga-* and *-se-* indicating location.

The possessive *sa-* with the noun *izikolo* being *sezikolo* [sezi:kʔɔ:lo] ‘of the schools’ is a word the root of which is borrowed from the Afrikaans *skool* [skuəl]. Similarly, the noun *isitulo* [isitʔu:lo] ‘chair’ is from the Afrikaans *stoel* [stul] (see 5.1.17).

The possessive prefix *kwa-* is used after locative positions such as *phantsi* ‘underneath’ and *phezu* ‘above’ and we see it here in the environment of *kwa-* + *ibhedi* in *kwebhedi* [kweβedi] ‘of the bed’.

5.2.17 Environment (Isolezwe lesiXhosa, 2019)

In an article entitled *Wabhubha uWatson eshiya imibuzo* ‘Watson died leaving questions’ there is the word *eRhawutini* [ɛxawutʔi:ni] ‘in Johannesburg’ which is from the Afrikaans word *goud* [χɔʊt] ‘gold’ [gəʊld] with the locative prefix *e-* and suffix *-ini* but there is a possibility that it might also have been borrowed from the Sesotho for ‘in Johannesburg’ being *Kgauteng*. The sound [ɔʊ] is managed by using /a/ and /wu/ represented by <awu> in the orthography.

With *eBhayi* [ɛβa:ji] ‘in Port Elizabeth’ the root is from the Afrikaans word for *bay* which is *baai* [ba:i] with the locative prefix *e-* added. This borrowed place name has now been replaced by the isiXhosa *iGqeberha*⁴².

⁴² See <https://www.citizen.co.za/news/south-africa/government/govt-gazettes-new-names-for-port-elizabeth-king-williams-town/>

5.2.18 Environment (Isolezwe lesiXhosa, 2020)

Appearing in an article with the headline *Hlalani ngendawo zenu* ‘Stay in your places’ we have *kwiibhanki* [kʰwi:ɓankʰi] is derived from the English noun *bank* and is used with the locative prefix *ku-* which changes to *kw-* before the vowel *i-*. In *Koloni* [kʰoloni] ‘colony’ [kɔləni] the root word is borrowed from Afrikaans *kolonie* [kɔləni] (see 5.1.7).

5.3 Second most popular domains: Education and Lifestyle

Missionaries must have also gained some knowledge from amaXhosa that they lived with, but they also brought new concepts with regard to lifestyle and a formalized education system. Tisani (1992:69) speaks of how the missionary Van der Kemp “started school with eleven pupils of different nations” but does not specify whether he is referring to speakers of different languages or different dialects. Tisani goes on to say that “this was the practice that was followed by all who followed pioneer Van der Kemp. By 1841, the Glasgow missionary society had established a seminary at Lovedale for the training of teachers and catechists.” (Ibid.)

These trainee teachers and catechists would have been isiXhosa-speaking and would have had to incorporate the new knowledge taught to them (in English, Dutch and Afrikaans) into their own isiXhosa lexicon. In order to incorporate the borrowed words meaningfully, the morphological, syntactical, semantic, and even phonetic aspects of each word had to be applied and this is evident in the borrowed words in the education and lifestyle domains below.

5.3.1 Education (Ityala lamawele, 1914)

Many of the borrowed words in the education domain in *Ityala lamawele* are common ones that are still encountered in everyday contemporary isiXhosa such as *ititshala* [itʰitʰa:la] and *utitshala* [utʰitʰa:la] both referring to *teacher* [ti:tʰə], and *ubutitshala* [ubutʰitʰa:la] this last word referring to the abstract concept of *teaching*.

Western education was seen as critical to the success of converting indigenous populations to Christianity (Gallego and Woodbury, 2010:295) and in addition, during Mqhayi’s time it

was not expensive or exclusive and so the proliferation of borrowed words in this domain would have spread easily, even in rural communities.

The popular borrowing *isikolo* [isikʔɔ:lɔ] ‘school’, is a borrowed word from the Afrikaans noun *skool* [skuel] the prefix *isi-* is that of noun Class 7). *Ngobutitshala* [ngɔbutʔitʰa:la] ‘about teaching’ (*nga-* + *ubutitshala* > *ngobutitshala*) is derived from the noun *teacher* [ti:tʃə] and is turned into an abstract noun via the Class 14 noun prefix *ubu-*. Comparing the isiXhosa orthography with the English phonetic transcription it is clear that the isiXhosa orthography neatly sound maps the English, especially with the affricate [tʃ] represented by <tsh> in the orthography. The /r/ in *teacher* is replaced with //l/. *Njengotitshala* [ndʒɛngɔtʰitʰa:la] ‘as a teacher ‘also uses ‘*utitshala*’ [utʰitʰa:la] as the root word, with the prefix *njenga-* (as) prefixed *njenga-* + *utitshala* > *njengotitshala*.

The isiXhosa word *kholeji* [kʰole:dʒi] is from the English *college* [kɒlɪdʒ]. The voiced alveolar fricative of the English [dʒ] becomes an alveolar fricative with breathy voice in isiXhosa [dʒi]. The absence of an initial vowel in *kholeji* is because in the text there was a preceding demonstrative.

In the borrowed word *yititshala* [jitʰitʰa:la] ‘is a teacher’, there is an identificative copulative concord *yi-*, and this noun has now changed its noun prefix from *u-* (Class 1a) to *i-* (Class 9). A Google search has 16 300 results for *utitshala* and 14 200 for *ititshala*. In *neetitshala* ‘and the teachers’ the noun is now in Class 10 (the plural of Class 9) *na-iititshala* > *neetitshala* [nɛ:tʰitʰa:la].

Another borrowed word in this text was *eLovedale* [ɛlaydɛji:li] which the writer did not adapt to the orthography of isiXhosa which suggests that he used the English pronunciation of this name. It is said that in 1825 the agents of the Glasgow Missionary Society founded a new mission station twelve miles south-east of the Tyhume River and they named it Lovedale in honour of the society’s first Chairman, Dr John Love (White, 1987:1). The agents turned it into an educational centre for Africans, and the education that was offered was designed for the Africans and this meant that “emphasis was placed on vocational training and that academic education focussed on the study of English rather than the Classics” (Ibid.) even though they also stress the importance of mother tongue education.

Apparently, the missionaries “wanted to see co-operation between the Church and the State in the education of the African” (Ibid.:iv).

5.3.2 Education (Ingqumbo yeminyanya, 1940)

In the environment domain under the sub-category of education we encounter the words *iMatriculation* [imatrikuleiʃi:ni], *lasesikolweni* [lasɛsikʰolwe:ni] ‘of school’, *kwaNokholeji* ‘at college’, *iiPsychology* ‘Psychologies’, *neeEthics* ‘and Ethics’, *neLogic* ‘and Logic’, *iitishalana* ‘young teachers’, *isikolo* [isikʰɔ:lɔ], ‘school’, *notishalakazi* ‘and a female teacher’, *iitishala* ‘teachers’, *iisuitcase* ‘suitcases’, *ootitshala* ‘teachers’, and *ebutitshaleni* ‘in teaching’.

In *iMatriculation* the author adopted the noun from ‘matriculation’ [məˌtrɪkjʊˈleɪʃən] and added the Class 9 noun prefix for borrowed words *i-* without any further attempt to change the phonology or orthography to suit that of isiXhosa.

KwaNokholeji [kʰwanɔkʰole:dʒi] is derived from the *ikholeji* ‘college’. It is fairly commonplace for isiXhosa-speakers to use the prefix *kwa-* with *no-* which is a morpheme often used in the creation of female nicknames but also as a generic prefix to indicate a trade or profession as well as with commonplace nouns (see *The Greater Dictionary of isiXhosa*, Vol. 2, 2003:668-669) with *kholeji* when referring to the college in the Eastern Cape town of Alice (*eDikeni*) and the word is now frequently used to refer to the University of Fort Hare in that town. This is to distinguish it from ‘*ekholejini*’ which would be the standard grammatical translation of *at the college*.

With the borrowings *iiPsychology* [i:sajikʰolo:dʒi], *neeEthics* [nɛʰɛthikʰsi], *neLogic* [nelɔdʒi:kʰi], *iisuitcase* [i:sutʰkʰeji:si] – the English words are used as they are with the noun class prefixes of isiXhosa being the only attempt at adaptation.

In *iititshalana* [i:tʰijala:na] there is the isiXhosa word *ititshala* (borrowed from the English ‘teacher’) with the diminutive suffix *-ana*. *Notitshalakazi* [tʰitʰalaka:zi] (and female teacher) is here derived *utitshala* (note the use of both Class 9 and Class 1a prefixes with the root *-titshala* with the feminine suffix *-kazi*. *Ootitshala* [ɔ:tʰijʰa:la] is the plural of *utitshala* with the Class 2a prefix *oo-*, while *ebutitshaleni* [ɛbutʰijʰale:ni] is derived from the same English noun and is turned into an abstract noun in isiXhosa via the Class 14 prefix *ubu-* which is here in the locative with the prefix *e-* and the suffix *-eni*. It is noteworthy that all of these

new isiXhosa nouns (*ititshala*, *utitshala*, *ubutitshala*, *iititshalana*, *utitshalakazi*), have been borrowed from the one English noun *teacher*.

5.3.3 Education (UDingezweni, 1971)

Mtuze, the author of *UDingezweni* could not, at first, attend school because his father had to move from one farm to the other in search of jobs and as a result only at age nine, he started school on at Katkop farm (Mafrika, 2016:80). The importance with which many people at the time viewed schooling would have no doubt meant that words such as *esikolweni* [ɛsikʰolʷe:ni], ‘at school’, *ititshalakazi* [itʰitʰalaka:zi] ‘female teacher’, and *iititshalana* [i:tʰiʰala:na] ‘young teachers’, the possessive *wesikolo* ‘of school’ all would have peppered daily conversations that the young Mtuze was privy to.. Apart from the word *kwaNokholeji* with the <kh> which orthographically represents an aspirated velar explosive (discussed in 5.2.4) it is instructive to note that Mtuze does not attempt to integrate the word *psychology* into isiXhosa orthography and merely uses it as it is spelled in English with the addition of the Class 10 prefix *ii-* (used with borrowed words) *iipsychology* [i:sajikʰolo:dʒi].

Gallego and Woodbury (2010:298), explain that in the early days of missionary education all education and printing had to be in the colonial language, and in addition all teachers and medical personnel had to have a professional credential from the colonizing state, and this must have led to the introduction of words such as *psychology* in education narratives circulating amongst the educated isiXhosa elite. It is noteworthy that Mtuze does not just refer to teachers as such, but he makes uses suffixes to distinguish them, either using a diminutive as seen in *iititshalana* [i:tʰiʰala:na], or by the feminine suffix *-kazi* as in *ititshalakazi* [i:tʰitʰalaka:zi].

5.3.4 Lifestyle (Imvo Zabantsundu, 1884)

In an article headlined *Utengisa impahla yamadoda yonke kwistrata*⁴³ ‘S/he sells all men’s clothing on the street’ we find words like *ne ndulubhatyi* [nɛnduluβa:cʰi] ‘and waistcoat’ is

⁴³ S/he sells all men’s clothing on the street.

from the Afrikaans *onderbaadjie* [onəba:ici]. The *ne-* indicates *and* (*na-* + *i-*). After the orthography of isiXhosa was revised word forms like the associative *na-* (*ne-* when preceding a noun with *i-* as the initial vowel) had to be written conjunctively whereas here it is written disjunctively.

Amalaphu [amala:p^hu] ‘rags’ is borrowed from the Afrikaans noun *lap* [lep]. The [p] in the Afrikaans pronunciation of the word gains further aspiration in the isiXhosa [p^h] and the word-final epenthetic vowel /u/ is to be expected, as Uffmann (2006:1083) notes “/u/ is the preferred epenthetic vowel after a labial consonant”.

When words like *silk* are used to qualify a noun in isiXhosa a possessive is used as in *esilika* [ɛsili:k^ʔa] ‘of silk’ is from the English *silk* and *zeflannel* [zɛflanɛl] ‘of flannel’. In *esilika* the possessive concord of Class 6 *a-* has been prefixed to *isilika* (*a-* + *isilika* > *esilika*), and a word-final epenthetic vowel /a/ inserted. This vowel /a/ can frequently (but not all the time) be found in word-final position with borrowed words ending with the velar [k] as is evidenced by *idesika* ‘desk’ and *ipesika* ‘peach’ from the Afrikaans *perske* [pɛrskɛ].

In the second example the possessive concord for Class 8 or 10 being *za-* is prefixed to *iflannel* to produce *zeflannel*. Here the writer reproduces the English spelling of *flannel* without attempting to adapt the word to isiXhosa orthography.

5.3.5 Lifestyle (Imvo Zabantsundu, 1899)

In an article untitled *Ifandes* ‘auction’ there is the English word *iprinti* [ip^ʔri:nt^ʔi] borrowed from the English *print* [pɹɪnt] which is integrated into isiXhosa via the Class 9 noun prefix for borrowed words *i-* and the addition of the epenthetic final vowel <i>.

In the same article we find *ikeleko* [ik^ʔɛlɛ:k^ʔɔ] ‘calico’ [k^hælkəʊ] and *ikolala* ‘collar’ which are borrowings derived from the spoken English in which <c> is pronounced as [k]. With *ikolala* [ik^ʔɔla:la] there is repetition of the second syllable /la/. This is to circumvent the glide-schwa /lə/ in the English *collar* [k^hɒlə]. Using /a:la/ to circumvent the consonant-schwa can also be seen in *teacher* [t^hi:tʃə] which is realized as *utitshala* [ut^ʔit^ʔa:la].

The borrowed isiXhosa word *isuti* [isu:tʰi] ‘suit’ could have been pronounced [sju:t] or [su:t] by the English settlers as both pronunciations are acceptable. The closed back rounded vowel /u:/ is represented by the isiXhosa high back vowel /u/.

The isiXhosa for *jacket* is *ibhatyi* [i:ɓacʰi] and is borrowed from the Afrikaans word *Baadjie* [ba:ici]. IsiXhosa adapts syllables such as /dje/ and /tjie/ from Afrikaans with the voiceless ejective palatal affricate [cʰi] spelled <tyi>.

In *nebhulukwe* [neɓulu:kʰwɛ] the noun is derived from the Afrikaans word for ‘trousers’ being *broek* [bruk]. We live in the days where most men wear trousers as we saw with most of our authors making some reference to *ibhulukhwe* but it is worth noting that in the past, before the influence of colonial styles of dressing, boys would wear an animal skin sheath or wrap themselves around with a blanket (Tyrell, 1976:187). Fourie and Swanepoel (2015:13) argue that apart from teaching literacy skills, mission schools “introduced European ideas” which “included wearing European style clothes”.

Coetzee and Nutall et al. (1998:266) observe that during the time of the missionaries in South Africa “Western dress was seen as both the sign and instrument of the transformation necessary for African bodies to undergo ‘to become vessels of the Spirit’”. It is also said that mission stations became centres for European goods and economic practices and the introduction and implementation of these innovations was perceived by the missionaries as an extension of the “civilising task the missionary enterprise was engaged in. Dressing in western attire soon became the norm for converts and missionaries always noted with joy the adoption of the Manchester cloth” (Tisani, 1992:73).

The sound /bru/ in *broek* [bruk] is integrated into isiXhosa as *bhulu* because the /r/ in Afrikaans gets replaced by the /l/ in isiXhosa, and the partially devoiced bilabial plosive /b/ is used for the Afrikaans .

Ihempe [ihɛ:mpʰɛ] ‘shirt’ is borrowed from the Afrikaans *hemp* [hɛmp] as is *ikausi* [ikʰau:si] ‘socks’. Here the spelling conforms to the old isiXhosa orthography, the revised orthography made it necessary to separate such vowels as <au> with a semi-vowel, as in *ikawusi*. Note

too that the long vowel of the Class 10 plural prefix *ii-* is represented by the grapheme <i> in the old orthography.

Idyasi [ij̥a:si] ‘coat’ is borrowed from the Afrikaans *jas* [jas]. Here the Afrikaans sound [j] is replaced by the isiXhosa [j̥] which is pronounced as a palatal plosive with full breathy voice. We have also seen this change in the spelling of the borrowed word with the example of *Jan* being pronounced as *Dyan* in 5.1.2.

5.3.6 Lifestyle (Ityala lamawele, 1914)

An example of a borrowed word in the sub-category of clothes is *ibhanti* [iḃa:ntʰi] ‘belt’ from the Afrikaans word *band* ‘strap’.

5.3.7 Lifestyle (Ingqumbo yeminyanya, 1940)

Apart from loanwords already discussed previously, there is also *isigarethi* [isigare:tʰi] from the English *cigarette* [sɪgəretʰ] in this novel.

5.3.8 Lifestyle (Ukuba ndandazile, 1967)

In this novel there are borrowed words for items of clothing (already discussed). Under the sub-category news, we get *ephapheni* [ɛpʰɛpʰe:ni] which has as its root *iphapha* [ipʰɛpʰa] from the English *paper* [pʰeɪpə] with the locative prefix *e-* and suffix *-eni*. Under the sub-category sport we get *lomdyaro* [lɔmja:xɔ] ‘of a race’ (with the possessive concord of Class 5 *la-* + *um-*) borrowed from the Afrikaans *jaag* [ja:x]. Note the old orthography in the spelling of *umdyaro*, the writer using <r> instead of <rh>.

5.3.9 Lifestyle (UDingezweni, 1971)

From *UDingezweni* the lifestyle domain has sub-categories that range from news, cuisine, entertainment and advancement where we encountered clothing items already discussed but in addition there are descriptive copulatives like *Kubhetele* ‘it is better’, nouns used adjectivally with possessives *eswekile* ‘of sugar’, nouns used in the locative as in *eswekileni*

'in the sugar', and others like *ifleyithi* [iflɛji:tʰi] 'flute' from the Afrikaans *fluit* [flœyt]. The diphthong in this word is circumvented in the isiXhosa by [ɛji:] which is <eyi> in the spelling.

Kubhetele [kʰuβɛtʰɛlɛ] 'it is better' is derived from the English *better* [bɛtə]. In some dialects people say *kubhetere* replacing the /l/ with an /r/. The English voiced stop [b] in *better* [bɛtə] is represented by the isiXhosa <bh> which is a partially devoiced bilabial plosive [b̥] often found with borrowed words that have a (e.g., bible – *ibhayibhile* [iβajibi:lɛ]). Another thing to note is that isiXhosa does have a word for *better* and one can say *-ngcono* but some people prefer to use the borrowed word *-bhetele*.

Eswekile [ɛswɛkʰi:lɛ] also *eswekileni* [ɛswɛkʰi:lɛ:ni] both have *iswekile* 'sugar' as the root from the Afrikaans noun *suiker* [sœykar]. In the first example there is a possessive *a-* + *iswekile* > *eswekile* and the second word *eswekileni* is in the locative, with the prefix *e-* and the suffix *-eni*. The isiXhosa uses /w/ to circumvent the diphthong [oey] spelled <ui> and the schwa in the Afrikaans is replaced by *-ile* which has already been discussed in 5.1.10 as a possible mimicking of a high frequency morphological termination (see Khumalo, 1984:209).

On the other hand, *mlesi* [mle:si] 'reader' is derived from the Afrikaans verb *lees* 'read'. *Mlesi* is someone who does the reading, and the prefix *m-* (the Class 1 noun class prefix *um-* minus its initial vowel to indicate the vocative) demonstrates that the reader is being directly addressed.

5.3.10 Education (limbuso zikaGawulayo, 2006)

In the word *kwasemotweni* [kʰwasɛmotʰwe:ni] 'of in the car' the possessive concord of Class 15 *kwa-* is followed by the prelocative *-s-* and the locative prefix *e-* and the suffix *-eni* which becomes *-weni* after a final /o/.

The borrowed word *veni* [vɛni] 'van' [væn] is minus its initial vowel because of a preceding demonstrative. The near-open front unrounded vowel [æ] of the English *van* becomes a mid-low front vowel [ɛ] in the isiXhosa. In the phrase *imavili-made* [imavili ma:dɛ] 'that had long wheels', the word *amavili* is borrowed from the Afrikaans *wiel* [vil]. The epenthetic word-final vowel /i/ is predictable because of the preceding /i/. In *emotweni* [ɛmotʰwe:ni] the prefix *e-*

and suffix *-ni* demonstrates the locative. For *ibhasi* see 5.2.8 and with *itekisi* note the extra vowel inserted after the /k/ - compare with the variation *itekisi*. In *ezibhasini* [ɛz̩ɪb̩a:sini] ‘in the buses’ the noun is in the locative, with the basic noun prefix of Class 10 *-zi-* reappearing in the borrowed word in the locative. *Ngemoto* ‘by car’ [ngɛmɔ:tʰɔ] is derived from ‘motor’ [mɔʊtə] and is prefixed by adverbial formative *nga-* to indicate ‘by means of’ in this instance.

5.3.11 Lifestyle (Iziqendu zobom, 2003)

Falling under this category we get *ama-apile* [amaʰapʰi:lɛ] ‘apples’ [æpəlz] and the word *kwaneelokhwe* [kʰwanɛ:lɔkʰwɛ] ‘and dresses as well’ which has as its base *iilokhwe* which is derived from Afrikaans *rokke* [rɔkə] ‘dresses’. The prefix *kwa-* together with *na-* here translate as *well/also* and the normal sound change has occurred with *na- + ii- > nee-*.

5.4 Third most popular domain: Religion

5.4.1 Religion (Ityala lamawele, 1914)

Mqhayi spelled Christ with an <i> as in *likaKristu* [likʰakʰre:stʰu] which is derived from the English *Christ* [kʰraɪst] and the possessive prefix of Class 5 when used with Class 1a nouns: *lika-*. In *kwaSirayeli* [kʰwasiraje:li] ‘in Israel’ [ɪzɪɪɪl] *Sirayeli* is the root and the prefix *kwa-* indicates location. In *zakwaSirayeli* [zakʰwasiraje:li] ‘of Israel’, *Sirayeli* is the root and the possessive concord of Class 10 plus the locative prefix *kwa-* together form *zakwaSirayeli*.

The isiXhosa borrowed word *Atshibhishopu* [atʰʰib̩ɪʃo:pʰu] from the English *Archbishop* [ɑ:tʃbɪʃəp] contains the voiceless ejective prepalatal affricate [tʰʰ] represented by the grapheme <tsh> in the isiXhosa (corresponding to the grapheme <ch> in the same word in English) and the grapheme <bh> representing the bilabial plosive with delayed breathy voicing [b̩].

AmaFilistiya [amafilistʰi:ja] derives from *Philistine* [fɪlɪstɪn]. The voiceless dentilabial fricative [f] represented by the grapheme <f> in the isiXhosa orthography maps the phonology of the English word (see discussion of this in 5.1.2). Usually, isiXhosa speakers refer to Philistine as *AmaFilisti* and that is how it appears in the isiXhosa version of the

Bible⁴⁴, but the author has a word-final [ja] represented by the grapheme <ya> in *AmaFilistiya*. This kind of variation with borrowed words can be found elsewhere in the lexicon, for example *idama*, *idamu* and *idam* are all acceptable translations of the English word *dam* (see *The Greater Dictionary of isiXhosa, Vol. 1, A-J*, 2006:348).

KaFaro [kʰafa:rɔ] has the root *Pharaoh* [fɛrəʊ] borrowed from English and the same principle of replacing <ph> with <f> in the orthography has been followed. *LweBhayibhile* [lweɓajibi:lɛ] ‘of the Bible’, has the root *iBhayibhile* from the English *Bible* [baɪbəl] and the possessive concord for Class 11 *lwa-* + *i* > *lwe-* is prefixed to the noun (*ulwazi lweBhayibhile*). The diphthong [aɪ] is replaced by [aji] in the isiXhosa pronunciation which is represented by <ayi> in its orthography.

KumaWesile [kʰumawesi:lɛ] ‘to the Methodists’ is derived from *Wesley* [wɛsli:], an epenthetic vowel /i/ between the /s/ and the /l/ and the noun going into noun Class 6 (*ama-*) with the locative prefix *ku-*.

In *uBhishopu* [uɓisho:pʰu] ‘Bishop’ is the noun and the prefix *u-* indicates a Class 1a noun, while in *yeebhishopu* [je:ɓisho:pʰu] ‘of bishops’ the noun is in Class 10 *iibhishopu* ‘bishops’ and the possessive *ya-* is prefixed *ya-* + *iibhishopu* > *yeebhishopu* (as in *indlu yeebhishopu*) ‘the house of bishops’.

SeKerike [sekʰeri:kʰɛ] ‘of the Church’ from the Afrikaans *kerk* [kɛrk] has the possessive concord of Class 7 *sa-* prefixed to the noun to form *se-*. The <rk> of the Afrikaans becomes [rikʰ], with the epenthetic vowel /i/, and a final vowel /e/ is added, to accord with isiXhosa phonology via vowel harmony.

The borrowed word *neerhamente* [nɛ:xamɛ:ntʰɛ] is also derived from Afrikaans, in this case from *gemeente* [xemi:entə] [xemi:entə] congregation, the prefix *nee-* being formed from *na-* + *iirhamente*. In this word the grapheme <g> in the Afrikaans is represented by the grapheme <rh> in the isiXhosa and pronounced as the voiceless velar fricative [x].

The Class 5 possessive concord *la-* is prefixed to *ubutyalike* to form *lobutyalike* [lɔɓucʰali:kʰɛ] ‘of the church’. The root word *-tyalike* is also borrowed from Afrikaans *kerk* [kɛrk] but the

⁴⁴ <https://www.bible.com/bible/281/JDG.16.20.XH075>

change in orthography here is more extensive than with *ikerike*. It could be that this Xhosa word derives from an Afrikaans dialect in which the initial /k/ is pronounced [kj] which here is replaced by the voiceless ejective palatal affricate [c'] represented by the grapheme <ty>. The vowel [ɛ] of *kerk* is orthographically changed from <e> to <a> in isiXhosa as it is now pronounced with the low central vowel [a] in *ubutyalike* which is in turn followed by the epenthetic vowels /i/ and /e/.

Nompriste [nɔmpʔristʔɛ] 'and the priest' is from the English *priest* [pɹi:st] in isiXhosa here *umpriste* is prefixed by *na-* 'and' *na-umpriste* > *nompriste*. The word *umpriste* does not occur in *The Greater Dictionary of Xhosa* and in contemporary isiXhosa the word *umfundisi* which used to be used for both *teacher*' and *priest* is now exclusively used for *priest* and the borrowed words *utitshala* and *ititshala* used for *teacher*.

Fritshatshi [fritʃʰa:tʃʰi] is derived from *Free Church* [fri: tʃ:ʃ], the grapheme <tsh> representing the voiceless ejective alveolar affricate [tʃʰ] which is close to the voiceless palato-alveolar affricate [tʃ] in the English. The mid-low front vowel in *Church* represented by the grapheme <u> becomes the low central [a] in the isiXhosa represented by the grapheme <a>.

In *ebuvangelini* [ɛbuvangeli:ni] 'in evangelism' derived from *ubuvangeli* 'evangelism' [ɪvændʒɪlɪzm] the locative prefix *e-* with the basic noun prefix *-bu-* appears before the noun root followed by the locative suffix *-ini*. Likewise, *ebutempileni* 'in the templehood' [ɛbutʰempʰile:ni] derives from *ubutempile* from the English *temple* [tʰɛmpəl] and is in the locative with the prefix as for *e-* and the suffix *-eni*. The isiXhosa orthography again circumvents the difficult (for isiXhosa-speakers) consonant cluster [pl] by the epenthetic vowels /i/ and /e/.

5.4.2 Religion (Ingqumbo yeminyanya, 1940)

Because A.C. Jordan's classic text is dominated by the theme of a clash of cultures, there are borrowed words that are in the religion domain, such as *likaKrestu* [likʰakʰre:stʰu] 'of Christ', *kaSawule* [kʰasawu:le] 'of Saul' (see 5.1.2), *lweBhayibhile* [lweɓajibi:lɛ] 'of the Bible', *nompriste* [nɔmpʔristʔɛ] 'and the priest', *weFritshatshi* [wɛfritʃʰa:tʃʰi] and 'of the Free Church' (all discussed in 5.3.1).

Kaschula (2003:62) gives the readers an insight as to why this is so when he explains that the influence that the missionaries had on people was:

an inhibiting factor in the natural development of Xhosa literature, especially as far as thematic repertoire is concerned. Authors were encouraged to write about specific topics in a didactic and Christian way. Anything traditional was to be condemned, thereby adding to the country/city divide in the sense that anything traditional or country' was to be seen as heathen.

This outlawing of traditional themes would mean that the early isiXhosa-writers had to write within a western worldview which would have meant that concepts that were not familiar to amaXhosa would have had to have been borrowed into the language from English.

How the author integrated some of the English words related to the new religion of Christianity has already been discussed but with others, such as *iisister* 'nursing sisters/nuns', no phonological adaption is evident, and it is only the noun class prefix that effects any change at all. In *zasekishini* [zasekɪʃi:ni] 'of the mission' the possessive concord of Class 10 is prefixed to the locative prefix *e-* and the root *ishini* 'mission' [ɪʃɪn]. It might be that we have another example of a backformation here (see *ilokishi* under 5.2.14) because isiXhosa-speakers might have assumed that the English *location* was a locative (with suffix *-in* (∅)) and that it derived from a base noun something like *ishini*. On a related semantic issue, it is important to note that sometimes when amaXhosa speak about *imishini* 'mission' [mɪʃɪn], they are referring to the mission station where the missionaries are located. One cannot judge anyone's perspective in this regard especially if one looks at the explanation given by Ferdinando (2008:46) who states that when she uses a word, it means just what she chooses it to mean, "neither more nor less", and she goes on further to say that:

However, perhaps ambiguity in the meaning of "mission" may not matter so much. What is important is not precise definition of the term, but informed and biblical reflection on the various dimensions of Christian activity and ministry to which it might refer. Substance is far more important than the words used to represent it. Nevertheless, it does still matter in that confusion over the meaning of words is likely to produce uncertainty about such questions of substance as well. In this case there is agreement about the central importance of mission—whatever it is—and the obligation under which it places churches and individual Christians. (Ibid.:46)

This we can see clearly in A.C. Jordan's (1940:60) reference to "*ezo titshala zasemishini*" [ɛzo tʰitʰa:la zasemij:i:ni] 'those mission teachers', as to a place where these teachers resided, instead of saying *ezo titshala zemishini* – mission teachers. The following statement by Tisani (1992: 65) confirms that *mission* was used as a location as well, as she states: "By the middle of the 19th century, the valleys of the Nxuba (Fish), Tyhume, KeiskamalXesi and Qonce (Buffalo) Rivers were dotted with Christian centres (*iimishini*, as amaXhosa called them) ...".

UJonatana [udʒɔnatʰa:na] 'Jonathan' [dʒɔnəθən] has the English voiceless dental fricative represented by the grapheme <th> which is pronounced as a voiceless ejective alveolar plosive [tʰ] and is written with the grapheme <t> in isiXhosa orthography. Predictably, because of the previous occurrences of /a/ in this word, the epenthetic final vowel here is /a/ as a result of vowel harmony.

In *ngeKilisimesi* [ngɛkʰilisime:si] the noun *Christmas* [kɹɪsməs] is used but [kɹɪ] is changed to [kʰili] by means of an epenthetic vowel and the /r/ to /l/ change. Again, via an epenthetic vowel the consonant cluster [sm] becomes [sim] and the schwa in the final syllable of the English [əs] is, in the isiXhosa, a raised mid-high front vowel [e:] represented by the grapheme <i>. In *iAngelus* [iandʒɛlas], only the prefix /i/ has been inserted and the root word *Angelus* has been used without any attempt at assimilation.

5.4.3 Religion (Buzani kubawo, 1958)

Ndiseparadesi [ndisɛpʰarade:si] 'I am in paradise' has the English *paradise* [pærədəɪs] as the root and *ndise-* is the 1st person singular subject concord *ndi-* followed by the locative preceded by a prelocative /s/. The diphthong in the English word [ai] is avoided by using the raised mid-high front vowel represented by the grapheme <e> in the isiXhosa.

SamaHebhere [samahɛbɛ:rɛ] 'of the Hebrews' is from *Hebrew* [hi:bju:] and is used with *sa-* the possessive concord of a noun in Class 7 prefixed to the Class 6 noun prefix *ama-*.

5.4.4 Religion (Ukuba ndandazile, 1967)

In addition to *le Bhayibhile* 'this Bible' from the English *Bible* [baɪbəl] there is, in this novel, the isiXhosa noun (minus its initial vowel because of a preceding demonstrative) *vesi* [vɛ:si] which derives from the English *verse* [vɜ:s]. The difference in the vowel sounds – English

having an open mid-central unrounded vowel [ɜ:] and the isiXhosa having a raised mid-high front vowel [e:] – is not represented in the grapheme <e> which is used for both the isiXhosa and the English words. The isiXhosa word also loses the grapheme <r>. The word *irhamente* [ixamɛ:ntʰɛ] is discussed in 5.4.1.

5.4.5 Religion (UDingezweni, 1971)

There is a possessive concord *za-* with the plural Class 6 noun *amaKristu* in *zamaKristu* [z̥amakʰri:stʰu] ‘of Christians’. In *kaSathana* [kʰasathʰa:na] from the English *Satan* [sɛtən] is used as a root with the possessive prefix *ka-* which is used with Class 1a nouns. In terms of the diphthong [eɪ] it would appear that the English spelling of *Satan*, more than its pronunciation, influenced the isiXhosa pronunciation and spelling as normally [eɪ] is realized as [ejɪ] but here is [a]. The common device of spelling the English [t] via the grapheme <th> is followed here, and the final vowel /a/ is predictable since the other vowels in this noun are also the low central [a].

It is noteworthy that with the root word *Christ* in both *Christ* and *Christians* the isiXhosa is given as *Krest* by A.C. Jordan and *Krist* by Mqhayi and Mtuze.

5.5 Other popular domains

5.5.1 Employment (NUM News, 1992)

In an article entitled “*Abasebenzi Mgodini Kwimayini Yegolide Iprimrose Bebengenele Ugwayimbo*” ‘Mine wrkers at Primrose Gold Mine go on strike’, the dominant domain was employment with words such as *nenkampani* [nɛnkʰampʰa:ni] ‘and company’, *enkomponi* [ɛnkʰompʰo:ni] ‘at the compound’, *ikomiti* [ikʰomi:tʰi] ‘committee’.

Inkampani [inkʰampʰa:ni] is a word borrowed from the English *company* [kʰʌmpəni] and the prefix *ne-* is prefixed to translate ‘and’ – *na-inkampani* > *nenkampani*. As can be seen when comparing the phonetic transcript of the English and the isiXhosa orthography, the borrowing largely follows the English pronunciation closely, except for the fact that in isiXhosa the nasalized ejective /p/ consonant would be an ejective bilabial stop after the nasals /n/ and /m/ while in English it is a voiceless bilabial stop. Also, in isiXhosa the noun

commences with the Class 9 prefix *in-* which is explained by Koopman (1992:113) as a repetition of a medial nasal.

In order to avoid the diphthong /au/ in *compound* [kʰɔmpaʊnd] isiXhosa-speakers and writers merely use the raised mid high back vowel [o], duplicating it in the second syllable and ending the final syllable with a vowel. The locative prefix *e-* is used but there is no locative suffix in *enkomponi* [ɛnkʰompʰo:ni]. As with *inkampani* [ɪnkʰampʰa:ni] this noun is also given a Class 9 prefix *in-*, although borrowed words usually only take *i-* as a prefix. It could be conjectured that because the English words ‘company’ and ‘comound’ both have the consonant cluster /mp/ which is common in isiXhosa, the Class 9 prefix *in-* was used analogously.

It is significant that the isiXhosa word for *mine* which is *umgodini* is used in the locative (minus the locative prefix) in the title as part of a compound noun to translate ‘mine workers’ (*Abasebenzi Mgodini*) which would normally be written with a hyphen as *abasebenzi-mgodini*. However, the translation of *gold mine* is represented by two borrowed words *imayini yegolide* [kʰwimaji:ni jegoli:de].

Kwimayini [kʰwimaji:ni] ‘at the mine’ is borrowed from the English noun ‘mine’ [maɪn] and the locative prefix *ku-* + *imayini* = *kwimayini*. The isiXhosa orthography shows the use of [aji] which is represented by <ayi> in the spelling, to circumvent the English diphthong /aɪ/. In *yegolide* and *wegolide* from ‘gold’ [gəʊld] the root word is *igolide* [igoli:de] and the possess. The epenthetic vowel [e] in word final position can be seen with other borrowed nouns that have the preceding consonant as an alveolar plosive with delayed breathy voice /d/, for example *iholide* ‘holiday’.

5.5.2 Finance (Buzani kubawo, 1958)

From the domain of finance, we encountered *zemali* [zɛma:li], the root word is *mal* and has been borrowed from Arabic while the prefix *za-* is the possessive concord of Class 8 or 10 – *za-* + *imali* > *zemali*. In *eeponti* [ɛpʰo:ntʰi] ‘of pounds’ [pʰaʊndz] is the root and is prefixed by the Class 6 possessive concord: *a* + *iiponti* > *eeponti*.

5.5.3 Finance (Yenyuk’ irhafu yenyanga, Ikhwezi Lomso, November 1958)

The word *irhafu* has been borrowed from the Dutch *gave* [xa:və] which *The Greater Dictionary of isiXhosa Vol.3* (1989:114) explains is “a word used by the first missionaries

among the Khoikhoi at Bethelsdorp to denote the contributions of members to the church”. This fact would suggest that the word *irhafu* dates as far back as the early 1800s when missionaries first founded Bethelsdorp near Algoa Bay. The general rule in isiXhosa is of the Dutch/Afrikaans ‘g’ [x] being replaced by the isiXhosa ‘rh’ [x].

5.5.4 Government (UMr Effendi, Imvo Zabantsundu, 1893)

From the old newspaper, *Imvo Zabantsundu*, (1893) the dominant domain was government and there were words like *epalamente* [ɛpʰalamʰɛ:ntʰɛ] from the English *parliament* [pɑ:ləmənt] in which the schwa sounds in the English are replaced with the isiXhosa vowels /a/ and /ɛ/. With *wabavoti* ‘of the voters’ from the English ‘voters’ [vəʊtəz] the possessive concord *wa-* is prefixed to the noun in Class 2 which is made up of the prefix *aba-* and the noun stem *-voti*.

The use of borrowed words for institutions like parliament and activities such as voting speak to the fact that exactly similar institutions and enterprises did not exist prior to colonial rule for amaXhosa who had their own systems for rule (see Lester, 1997) and, following logically from that, would therefore have had their own isiXhosa lexical items for those words referring to administrative and legal authorities and processes.

In *epalamente* the origin of the word is from the English *parliament* [pʰɑ:ləmənt] and there is the locative prefix *e-*. In *wabavoti* the possessive prefix *wa-* is used in the phrase *umbutho wabavoti* ‘the union or organization of the voters’. In his text, the author used *abavoti* instead of *abanyuli* being the isiXhosa word for *voters*. It would appear that contemporary isiXhosa-writers try to avoid using borrowed words when discussing issues of justice and governance, possibly in attempt to shed vestiges of colonial infiltration of the lexicon. For example, there are some terms mentioned by Ntshingana (2019:58) such as *ubulungisa* for *justice* and *umthetho* for *law* – terms which were also used by Mqhayi in *Ityala lamawele* in 1914 so it is difficult to specify a date in which borrowed words started to be shunned by isiXhosa-writers or to pinpoint the domains in which existing, indigenous isiXhosa words started to make a comeback. It is surprising however that a text written in 1893 uses a borrowed word for voters (*abavoti*) while in 2008 we have *unyulo* to refer to an *election* not *i-election* or *ukuvota* ‘voting’:

Liyinyani eli kodwa xa inxanxheba enikwa uluntu ingena ntsingiselo, unyulo ingaba kukuphela kwesisombululo uluntu olunaso.

It is true that when opportunities that are given to mankind are meaningless, only an election can be the solution that mankind needs. (Nyati, 2008:100).

5.5.5 Government (Buzani kubawo, 1958)

From the domain of government we find *ijaji* [iǀǃa:ǀǃi] which is derived from the English *judge* [dʒʌdʒ]. The voiced palato-alveolar affricate in the English [dʒ] is realized as an alveolar affricate with delayed breathy voicing in the isiXhosa [ǀǃ].

From the domain of uniformed services, we find *amapolisa* [amapʰoli:sa] derived from the Afrikaans *polisie* [pəli:si] with the Class 6 prefix *ama-* to indicate plural.

5.5.6 Government (Isigidimi samaXhosa, 2014)

In an article headlined *Sabonyulela ukuba babe ngamahomba kulaPalamente?* (Are we voting them to that Parliament for decorative purposes?) we have the borrowed word *ipalamente* 'parliament' [pʰɑ:ləmənt] which has already been discussed in 5.4.3. Here it is written conjunctively instead of with the demonstrative and the noun as two words (correct according to standard orthography) *kulaa palamente*. The locative prefix *ku-* is used with the demonstrative pronoun of Class 9 in the third position *laa* but here only with one vowel. The noun *urhulumente* [uxulumɛ:ntʰɛ] 'government' has the Afrikaans root *goewerment* [xuvəmə:nt] and the prefix *u-* shows this is a noun in Class 1a and for *ngurhulumente* [nguxulumɛ:ntʰɛ] the copulative *ngu-* is prefixed, while with *zicarhulumente* [zikaxulumɛ:ntʰɛ] 'of the government' the prefix *zika-* is the possessive formative of Class 10 when a Class 1a nouns is the possessor.

5.5.7 Government (Ungowam, 2014)

From the government domain we encountered *amapasi* [amapʰa:si] 'passes' with the root *pass* and the Class 6 noun prefix *ama-*. Although most borrowed words in isiXhosa can be found in Classes 9 and 10, there is evidence that many objects made out of paper or cardboard are assigned Class 5/6 prefixes (see Futuse, 2019: 50). In South Africa, The

Pass Laws Act of 1952 made it compulsory for black South Africans over the age of 16 to carry a pass book (also known as a *dompas*).

5.5.8 Government (Wabhubha uWatson eshiya imibuzo⁴⁵, *Isolezwe lesiXhosa*, 29 Aug 2019)

From the domain of government there is *kwikomishini* [kʰwʰikʰomʰi:ni] ‘in the commission’ which is derived from the English *commission* and is used with the locative prefix *ku-* (which becomes *kw-* before vowels). In addition, with respect to the spelling, the initial grapheme <c> has been replaced by <k>. Some writers would replace the <c> with <kh> to keep the original aspirated stop sound, but this is a matter of choice. *Zikarhulumente* [zikʰaxulumɛ:ntʰɛ] has an Afrikaans root *goewerment* and has been previously analysed in 5.4.5.

5.5.9 Health (lipilisi zakwaFreed ezivusayo nqi⁴⁶, *Umteteli wa Bantu*, 1920)

In this advertisement the dominant domain was health and there were words such as *ezipilisi* ‘these pills’ (written conjunctively) from the English *pills* [pɪlz], *iibhotile* ‘bottles’ [bɒtlz], and *ngeposi* ‘by post’ from the Afrikaans *pos* [pɔs]. The isiXhosa word *iipilisi* [i:pʰili:si] adds two more syllables [ii/pi/li/si] by the epenthetic vowel /i/ inserted after the /l/ and also in word final position.

From the English word *bottles* [bɒtlz] the isiXhosa borrowing is *iibhotile* [i:ḃotʰi:lɛ] the prefix *ii-* being the Class 10 plural allomorph used with borrowed words. The two syllables of *bottles* is increased to three syllables – *ii/bho/ti/le* – with /tlz/ being replaced by /tʰi:lɛ/. Other borrowed words, with similar final syllables in the source language, are adapted to isiXhosa orthography similarly: *i-apile* ‘apple’ [æpl] and *iketile* ‘kettle’ [ketl] via vowel epenthesis.

In *ngeposi* [ngepʰo:si] the root word is *post* [pʰəʊst] and the adverbial instrumental prefix *nga-* + *i-* > *ngeposi* translates ‘by post’. It could be that amaXhosa first heard the word *post* uttered by Scottish missionaries who would have pronounced it with a de-aspirated /p/ which could explain why in the isiXhosa it is spelled without the /h/ unlike, for example, *paper* which

⁴⁵ Translation: Watson died leaving questions

⁴⁶ Translation: Freed’s pills rejuvenate

is pronounced [p^h] in isiXhosa and is also represented by the grapheme <ph> in the orthography. The diphthong [əʊ] in *post* is replaced by the mid-high back vowel /o/ while the [t] is deleted.

5.5.10 Health (Iimbuso zikaGawulayo⁴⁷, 2006)

From the domain of health we find *kwiklinikhi* [k^ʔwi:k^ʔini:k^hi] derived from the English *clinic* [kɪɪnɪk] and here the final <k> is written <kh> as an aspirated velar explosive (compare with the alternative spelling *ikliniki* [ik^ʔini:k^ʔi]).

5.5.11 Transport (Kwisizwe esitsha, 2003)

Ngamavili [ngamayi:li] ‘with the wheels’ has an Afrikaans root *wiel* [vil] and the adverbial formative *nga-* is prefixed. A very uncommon, borrowed word for *petrol* [pɛtʊəl] forms the base of *nepetula* [nɛp^ʔet^ʔu:la] ‘and petrol’. Here the <r> is dropped and the original <l> is used. An epenthetic vowel /u/ appears between the /t/ and the //l/. Normally isiXhosa-speakers and writers use *ipetroli* for *petrol* – the uncommon *ipetula* with the more common *ipetroli* might be considered what Durkin (2014:322) refers to as a *doublet* – this is when there are two borrowings for the same word, but the one word has become rare or obsolete. Durkin cites the English example of the old English words (borrowed from French via Latin) *adapt* and *adaptate*, the latter *adaptate* now being obsolete (Ibid.).

5.5.12 Transport (Iziqendu zobom, 2003)

From the domain of transport the following words were encountered *itikiti* [it^ʔik^ʔi:t^ʔi] which is derived from the English *ticket* [tɪkɪt]. In *webhasi* [wɛɓa:si] ‘of the bus’ the root is *bus* [bʌs] and the prefix *wa-* indicates that something in Classes 1, 1a or 3 was possessed. The same principles apply in *weteksi* [wɛt^ʔe:k^ʔsi] ‘of the taxi’ where the root is English *taxi* [tæksi] and the prefix *wa-* indicates possession. In *iimoto* [i:mɔ:t^ʔɔ] the root is borrowed from the Afrikaans ‘motor’ [mɔʊtə] or the clipped English *motor car* and *ii-* is an allomorph plural prefix of Class 10.

⁴⁷ Translation: The Faces of HIV/Aids

5.5.13 Transport (Isolezwe lesiXhosa, 2020)

From the domain of transport we have the capitalized *iiAmbulensi* [i:ʔambʊle:nsi] with the root ‘ambulance’ [æmbjʊləns] from English and the Class 10 prefix *ii-* which normally pluralizes borrowed words. We also note that the capital letter <A> in *Ambulensi* which could have been prompted by the author being influenced by the way this word is displayed on the official vehicle.

5.6 Least popular domains

5.6.1 Elements (Ityala lamawele, 1914)

There were very few words from this domain – only *yegesi* and *nesalfure*. The word *yegesi* [jɛgɛ:si] ‘of gas’, has an English root *gas* [gæs] with the prefix *ya-* to indicate the possessive concord for Class 9 *ya-* + *igesi* > *yegesi*. In *nesalfure* [nɛsalfu:rɛ] from the English *sulphur* there is the prefix *na-* to indicate ‘and’: *na-* + *isalfure* > *nesalfure* and the low central vowel [ʌ] in the first syllable in the English is replaced by the fronted vowel [a] in the isiXhosa. The final vowel in this instance is <e> [ɛ] in the isiXhosa.

5.6.2 Family relations (Buzani kubawo, 1958)

From the family relations domain we encountered *lelikabhuti* ‘it is brother’s’ from the Afrikaans *boet* [but] prefixed with *lelika-* consisting of the copulative of Class 5 *l(i)* followed by the possessive pronoun vowel *e-* and the possessive *lika-* being the prefix used used when nouns of Class 1a (in this case *ubhuti*) possess a noun in Class 5.

5.6.3 Nations (Ingqumbo yeminyanya, 1940)

From the domain of nations we have *amaAfrika* [ama-ʔafri:kʔa] ‘Africans’ from the Afrikaans *Afrika* and *namaIndiya* [namaʔindi:ja] ‘and Indians’ derived from the English noun *Indians*.

5.6.4 Nations (Isigidimi samaXhosa, 2012)

In an article under the headline *Umaskhenkethe ikhaya lam!* ‘My bag my home’ there is the word *njengeBangladeshi* ‘like Banglaeshi’ [nd͡ʒɛngɛɓanglɑdɛːʃi] in which we have *Bangladesh* [bæŋglədəʃ] as the root and the prefix *njenga-* to translate ‘like/as’.

5.6.5 Professions (Ingqumbo yeminyanya, 1940)

Apart from mainstream professions like teachers, priests and other religious people, the domain of professions was not highly populated. This could suggest that amaXhosa were not yet encountering people involved in diverse working environments that were new to them. However in A.C. Jordan’s classic novel we do encounter the borrowed verb *etolikelwa* [ɛtʰolikʰɛːlʷa] ‘being interpreted for’ from the Afrikaans verb *tolk* [tɔːlk]. Here the verb is in the passive preceded by the applied extension *-el-*. Again, one can see the tendency of isiXhosa-speakers and writers to separate consonant clusters like /lk/ by the insertion of an epenthetic vowel: *tolk* > *tolika*.

5.6.6 Technology (Izigqibo esizenzayo, 2017)

From the domain of technology, we find *ifouni* [ifowuːni] ‘phone’ [fəʊn], borrowed from English. The <ph> is replaced with <f>. Normally a <w> would be used in the spelling to separate the vowels [o] and [u] to create the borrowed noun *ifowuni*.

5.6.7 Uniformed services and exclamations (Ingqumbo yeminyanya, 1940)

From the domain of uniformed services we find words such as *ubuMajor* [ubumɛjiːd͡ʒa] from the English *major* and the Class 14 *ubu-* signifies the concept *major* when prefixed. The [ʃ] that is borrowed from English stays as it is, unlike with the Afrikaans <j> which becomes <dy> as discussed in 5.1.2. The domain of exclamation was also not fruitful as it had only *Arha!* [axa] as a borrowed word from the Afrikaans *ag* which means ‘ah, gee’.

5.6.8 Uniformed services (*Isolezwe lesiXhosa, 26 Matshi 2020. “Hlalani ngeendawo zenu”*) (‘Stay in your places’)

The word *amajoni* [amad͡ʒoːni] ‘soldiers’ occurs in this newspaper article and is derived from the English *Johnny* [d͡ʒɒni] an English slang term used to refer to soldiers.

5.6.9 Time concepts and employment (Ukuba ndandazile, 1967)

From the domain of time concepts there is *iveki* [iᵛekʰi] ‘week’ from the Afrikaans *week* [vʝi:k] and *ngempela-veki* [ngɛmpʰɛlayɛ:kʰi] ‘during the weekend’ which derives from which is a calque - where a word-for-word translation has been used, which is literally ‘end-week’. The Afrikaans word *uur* [y:r] ‘hour’ is borrowed in the isiXhosa *kweyure* [kʰweju:rɛ] ‘of an hour’ which has the possessive concord of Class 15 *kwa-* prefixed to *iyure*. In order to avoid the juxtaposition of the two vowels *i-* and *uur* [y:r] an epenthetic semi-vowel /y/ is used and the double <uu> is reduced to one in the spelling. In terms of pronunciation the palatal glide [j] is followed by the lengthened high back vowel [u:].

From the domain of measurement there is *zimayile* [zɪmaji:lɛ] ‘they are miles’ [maɪlz] derived from the monosyllabic English root *mile*. The diphthong in the English [aɪ] is realized as <ayi> in the isiXhosa spelling. The English *hostel* is written without any adaptation apart from the initial Class 9 prefix /i/ as *ihotel*. The noun *injineli* [indʒine:li] comes from the English *engineer* [ɛndʒɪniə] and what is happening here is the same as for *tyre* (see 5.4.16). The /r/ in the English is pronounced before a following vowel, and this is replaced in Xhosa by //.

5.7 Statistical data

A total number of 711 words were borrowed.

5.7.1 Domain popularity for borrowed words

Environment – subdivided into: Household	38	191
Place	119	
Tools and Equipment	8	
Furniture	4	
Plants (fruits only)	3	
Animals	15	
Minerals	4	
Lifestyle		113
Education		81
Government		45
Religion		45
Transport		47
Names		39
Finance		37
Employment		21
Time concepts		20
Technology		15
Uniformed services		13
Nations		11
Health		9
Titles		11
Exclamations		2
Family relations		3
Elements		3
Measurements		2
Professions		3
Nature		0
TOTAL		711

5.7.2 Source languages for borrowed words

The texts written before 1950 had more English borrowed words (127 compared to Afrikaans which was the source language for just 58 borrowed words).

The texts written after 1950 and before 1970 generally had an equal number of English to Afrikaans words – with this data set (1950-1969) English had 28 borrowed words and Afrikaans almost the same number at 26.

The texts written after 1970 had 15 more words borrowed from English (44) than Afrikaans.

The texts written in the 2000s had more borrowed words from English (234) while Afrikaans was the source language for just 151 borrowed words.

Reasons for these statistical outcomes on the source languages for loanwords are discussed in the Conclusion chapter, 6.2.

5.7.3 Parts of speech for borrowed words

The majority of the words borrowed were nouns – 696 of the total of 711 – 98% of the total. This would suggest that at the time the texts under discussion were being written isiXhosa-speakers found ways to describe the actions or processes of English verbs adequately in their mother-tongue and also did not struggle to find equivalent isiXhosa words for English adjectives, adverbs and conjunctions as these do not feature in my data set. This trend for nouns to dominate as loanwords across the world’s languages has been observed by Durkin (2014:44) whose research provided empirical evidence for Tadmor et al.’s (2010:231) claim that:

adjectives (and adverbs) are almost as hard to borrow as verbs—this is a much less well-known fact which has hardly received any attention so far ... Words with grammatical meanings ('function words') are even harder to borrow than verbs

In my concluding chapter (Chapter 6) I will suggest that in the area of verbs at least, contemporary spoken isiXhosa (and what I will call “social-media” isiXhosa) are currently displaying a greater number of borrowed verbs than before (see Madubela, 2021).

5.8 Summary

5.8.1 Domains

This chapter organized the borrowed words in terms of popular domains such as names, environment, education, lifestyle, religion, government, and finance which were all fairly productive in terms of stimulating loanword incorporation. The domains were also helpful in establishing the extent to which English and Afrikaans cultures influenced the vocabulary of isiXhosa. The manner in which foreign names, particularly biblical ones, were assimilated into the phonology and orthography of isiXhosa is significant and reminds one that not only

did amaXhosa have to embrace new objects, farming methods and education systems, they also had to familiarize themselves with a world view that was highly influenced by Christianity with the Bible as a critical text, and the Western lifestyles that most reflected the tenets of this new religion.

There were some unpopular domains such as elements, employment, exclamations, family relations, health, measurements, technology, time concepts, transport, and uniformed services. It is clear from the popular domains what new activities and concepts were introduced to amaXhosa and looking at the less popular domains which areas were less influenced by missionary or colonial influences (such as time concepts) or which influences were only seen in the borrowed word data of modern texts (such as technology).

Detailed discussion of the phonology of the borrowed words, and their representation in the orthography allows the contemporary scholar to be able to make some hypotheses as to how these words were pronounced. Thus, it is safe to say that the more assimilated a word is, the greater the possibility that isiXhosa-speakers would not have used English or Afrikaans pronunciations as is the case with some current borrowings which are not adapted either orthographically or phonologically. However, this tendency to reproduce borrowed words without any adaptation is not confined to contemporary practices, as was made evident by the word *flannel* in an 1884 newspaper not being adapted at all to the orthography of isiXhosa.

As already mentioned, the influence of the missionaries on early isiXhosa-writers must have been considerable, particularly since at its heart was a translated text, the Bible, which was one of the first that the educated isiXhosa elite would have had access to. The proliferation of loanwords in terms of the incorporation of biblical names, religious office terms and education in early isiXhosa writings allows us to focus the lens on how the lexicon responded to this new religion which was inextricably linked to education as this was also offered by the missionaries. We see from the words such as *uSawule* 'Saul', *uAtshbishopu* 'Archbishop', *isikolo* 'school', *ikholeji* 'college' 'college' and the many words referring to teachers and teaching *utitshala* and *ititshala* 'teacher' and *ubutitshala* referring to the abstract concept of teaching that many (although by no means all) amaXhosa had embraced this new religion and world-view and did not see any words in their existing lexicon that they felt could be used for such roles, activities and concepts. An alternative view would be that the nuances inherent in each of these words are realized by means of

the noun class system of isiXhosa: *utitshala* being in Cl.1a which includes proper names and a large number of kinship terms, might indicate a closer relationship with a particular teacher, whereas *ititshala* is a noun in Cl.9 which is most productive for loanwords and could refer to teachers more generally, while the Cl.14 prefix *ubu-* transforms the word to a more abstract concept – here *ubutitshala* roughly translates 'the teaching profession'. As Krause (2022:83), referring to the strategies teachers use in township schools to create meaningful English language lessons, argues that "the nuances of ... linguistic strategies ... can only be understood if we also make visible the nuances of the linguistic features that constitute them". In the context of this study I understand this to mean that as we focus on what we call loanwords we should not lose sight of what speakers and writers do with their linguistic resources to fully exploit their semantic potential. As mentioned earlier, these new words all had to undergo some phonological transformation, morphological, grammatical, and semantic changes in order to adapt into isiXhosa in such a way that it was not immediately obvious that they were from other languages.

Another influence that the missionaries and settlers had was that of culture and lifestyle which can also be witnessed in the many borrowed words for tools and farm animals such *idyokhwe* 'yoke' and *ibhokhwe* 'goat' that the amaXhosa were introduced to. This being said, it is important to consider the fact that there would have been existing names for livestock⁴⁸ and wild animals but these would have been abandoned and replaced by the borrowed terms. The influence of Afrikaans on the isiXhosa lexicon is most evident in the terms for items of clothing such as *ibhulukhwe* 'trousers', *ibhatyi* 'jacket', and *ihempe* 'shirt' that the speakers of isiXhosa ended up adopting. In addition, there were new government and legal institutions and processes that were also introduced, as can be witnessed in words such as *ithenda* 'tender', *entolongweni* 'in prison', *iipolitiki* 'politics', and *ijaji* 'judge' [ɔʒʌɔʒ].

The establishment of migrant labour and commercial enterprises recruiting amaXhosa as labourers is also witnessed in words like *inkampani* 'company', *inkomponi* 'compound' and *imayini* 'mine', *ibhanki* 'bank' and *iponti* 'pound'.

While borrowed words in the technology domain were fairly infrequent in the early years of contact between amaXhosa and English and Afrikaans speakers, there is now a proliferation

⁴⁸ <https://theconversation.com/the-story-of-how-livestock-made-its-way-to-southern-africa-64256>

of borrowed words that still show the isiXhosa-speaker adroitly adapting the phonology of these terms to the language, for example in the two new verbs *-watsap-* 'WhatsApp' and *-feysbhuk-* 'Facebook'.

5.8.2 Phonological correspondences in loanwords

My corpus has shown that early isiXhosa-writers tended to adapt loanwords more to the phonology of isiXhosa than their modern counterparts as is evident in the orthography. For example, *eFidalisdolophu* (in a 1924 newspaper) for *Villiersdorp* which is now just *eVilliersdorp* and the adapted names such as *Dyan* for *Jan* which would be left as it is in the Afrikaans by contemporary isiXhosa writers.

In order to place this research in the context of other work on loanword rephonologisation I refer to fairly recent research into this phenomenon in chiShona. Kadenge and Mudzingwa (2012:142) make the important observation that:

loanword rephonologisation is governed mainly by the syllable structure well-formedness rules, phonotactic constraints and segment inventory of the recipient language. English words violate some constraints of chiShona syllable structure well-formedness. As a result, they are 'repaired' in order to make them fit into the chiShona preferred phonological structure.

Kadenge and Mudzingwa's research with both mono- and bilinguals led them to conclude that:

In monolingual speech, vowel epenthesis has a dual function. It is used to simplify consonantal clusters (complex onsets) and to remove English syllable codas. In bilingual speech it is used to repair syllable codas only. Glide epenthesis is used in both monolingual and bilingual speech to 'repair' diphthongs: it involves the spreading of V-Place features from input coronal or labial vowels, resulting in homorganic oral glides, viz. [j] and [w], respectively. This pattern of diphthong simplification is in keeping with the processes of chiShona native phonology, which spread V-Place features to create hiatus breakers such as [j w]. (Ibid.:150-151).

The situation is similar for isiXhosa. For example, loanwords from English are repaired to conform to isiXhosa syllable structure. Drame (2000:239) notes that there is no regularity with regard to what vowel is added to allow words with different syllable structures into isiXhosa. She notes that loanwords which conclude with a labial phoneme usually take a back vowel while nonlabial consonants are normally followed by /i/ - examples from my research support this hypothesis, e.g. *archbishop* → *atshibhishopu*; *wheel* → *ivili*. Drame

cautions that even though one can make certain predictions like this, there is no absolute regularity.

Although this research study has as its focus loanwords in texts, I have been able to establish that the way in which an English or Afrikaans word is incorporated into isiXhosa is largely influenced by the phonetics rather than the spelling of the donor words (however, any exceptions will be noted). Thus, in the next section I look at phonological incorporation processes employed by isiXhosa writers referred to in this study with a specific emphasis on feature changing rules and vowel-insertion rules.

Below I outline the phonological correspondences in loanwords from English and Afrikaans that I have been able to deduce from the loanword spellings and from my own (52-year-old) and my mother's (85 year old) pronunciations (we are both first-language isiXhosa speakers who grew up in the Eastern Cape).

5.8.2.1 Voiceless plosives and affricates

Apart from one or two exceptions in which the English consonant yields the same consonant in isiXhosa, most voiceless plosives and affricates in English yield ejective plosives in isiXhosa.

[p^h] > [pʔ] a voiceless aspirated bilabial plosive is realized as a voiceless ejected bilabial plosive:

police [p^hə'li:s] > *ipolisa* [ipʔoli:sa]
parliament [p^hɑ:ləmənt] > *ipalamente* [ipʔalamʔɛ:ntʔɛ]

[p^h] > [p^h] a voiceless aspirated bilabial plosive yields the same consonant in the adoptive word:

paper [p^heɪpə] > *iphepha* [ip^hep^ha]

[t^h] > [t^h] a voiceless aspirated alveolar plosive yields the same consonant in the adoptive word:

cigarette [sɪgəret^h] > *isigarethi* [isigare:t^hi]
fluit [flœyt] 'flute' > *ifleyithi* [ifleji:t^hi]

[tʰ] > [tʔ] a voiceless aspirated alveolar plosive is realized as a voiceless ejective alveolar plosive:

ticket [tʰɪkɪt] > *itikiti* [itʔikʔi:tʔi]
temple [tʰɛmpl] > *itempile* [itʔempʔile]

[kʰ] > [kʔ] a voiceless aspirated velar plosive is realized as a voiceless ejective velar plosive:

cat [kʰ æt] > *ikati* [ikʔa:tʔi]
calico [kʰælkəʊ] > *ikeleko* [ikʔɛl:kʔɔ]

[kʰ] > [kʰ] / __V a voiceless aspirated velar plosive yields the same consonant in the adoptive word:

cabbage [kʰæbɪdʒ] > *ikhaphetshu* [ikʰapʰe:tʃu]

[k] > [kʰw] a voiceless unaspirated velar plosive is realized as a Khoisan language consonant cluster:

Stock [stɒk] > *uStokhwe* [ustɔ:kʰwɛ]
Bok [bɒk] > *ibhokhwe* [ibɔ:kʰwɛ]

[k] > [cʔ] a voiceless unaspirated velar plosive is realized as a voiceless ejective palatal plosive (this could come from an Afrikaans dialect in which <ke> is pronounced [kj])

kerk [kɛrk] or [kjerk] ‘church’ > *ityalike* [icʔali:kʔɛ]

[k] > [kʰ] a voiceless unaspirated velar plosive is realized as a voiceless aspirated velar plosive:

logic [lɒdʒɪk] > *logic*⁴⁹ [lɒdʒi:kʰi]

[tʃ] > [tʃʰ] a voiceless alveo-palatal affricate is realized as a voiceless aspirated alveolar affricate:

archbishop [ɑ:tʃbɪʃɒp] > *atshibhishopu* [atʃʰibɪʃo:pʔu]

⁴⁹ in the text the orthography was not adapted to that of isiXhosa, but the pronunciation would have been as represented by the phonetics

5.8.2.2 Voiced plosives and affricates

[b] > **[b̥]** a voiced bilabial plosive is realized as a bilabial stop with delayed breathy voicing:

bank [bæŋk] > *ibhanki* [iḃankʔi]

bag [bæg] > *ibhegi* [iḃe:gi]

bottle [bɒtl] > *ibhotile* [iḃotʔi:lɛ]

[d] > **[d̥]** a voiced alveolar plosive is realized as an alveolar stop with delayed breathy voicing:

desk [dɛsk] > *idesika* [iḃesi:kʔa]

gold [gəʊld] > *igolide* [igoli:ḃɛ]

[g] > **[g̥]** a voiced velar plosive is realized as a velar stop with delayed breathy voicing:

gate [geɪt] > *igeyithi* [iḃejitʰi]

gas [gæs] > *igesi* [iḃe:si]

[dʒ] > **[d̥ʒ̥]** a voiced palato-alveolar affricate is realized as an alveolar affricate with delayed breathy voicing:

judge [dʒʌdʒ] > *ijaji* [iḃʒ̥a:d̥ʒ̥i]

engineer [ɛndʒɪnɪə] > *injineeli* [iḃd̥ʒ̥ine:li]

5.8.2.3 Nasal stops

[m] > **[m]** a bilabial nasal yields the same consonant in the adoptive word:

America [əmɛɹɪkə] > *iMelika* [imeli:kʔa]

mission [mɪʃən] > *imishini* [imiʃi:ni]

[n] > **[n]** a voiced alveolar nasal yield the same consonant:

Johnny [dʒɒni] > *ijoni* [iḃʒo:ni]

5.8.2.4 Voiceless fricatives

[f] > **[f]** a voiceless labiodental fricative yields the same consonant:

pharaoh [ɛɹəʊ] > *ufaro* [ufa:rɔ]

office [ɒfɪs] > *iofisi* [iofi:si]

[h] > [ħ] a voiceless glottal fricative is realized as a glottal fricative with breathy voice:
hall [hɑ:l] > *iholo* [ihɔlɔ]

[s] > [s̥] a voiceless alveolar fricative yields the same consonant:

circuit [sɜ:kɪt] > *isekethe* [isɛkʰetʰe]
suiker [sœykar] > *iswekile* [iswekʰi:lɛ]

[ʃ] > [ʃ̥] a voiceless alveolar palatal fricative yields the same consonant:

station [steɪʃən] > *isitishi* [isitʰiʃi]

[θ] > [tʰ] the voiceless dental fricative is realized as an ejective alveolar plosive:

Ethiopia [i:θɪəʊpiə] > *iTiyopiya* [itʰiyopʰi:ja]
Goliath [gəlaɪθ] > *uGoliyati* [ugɔlija:tʰi]

[x] > [x̥] a voiceless velar fricative yields the same consonant:

gemeente [xemi:entə] 'congregation' > *irhamente* [ixamɛ:ntʰɛ]

5.8.2.5 Voiced fricatives

[ʒ] > [dʒ̥] a voiced postalveolar fricative is realized as an alveolar palatal fricative with delayed breathy voice:

garage [gæ.ɹɑʒ] > *igaraji* [igara:dʒ̥i]

[dʒ] > [dʒ̥] a voiced alveolar palatal affricate is realized as an alveolar palatal fricative with delayed breathy voice:

college [kɒlɪdʒ] > *ikholeji* [ikʰole:dʒ̥i]
engineer [ɛndʒɪniə] > *injineli* [indʒ̥ine:li]

[v] > [v̥] a voiced labiodental fricative is realized as a slack-voiced labiodental fricative:

van [væn] > *iveni* [iv̥ɛni]
Jehovah [dʒəhəʊvə] > *uYehova* [ujɛhɔ:v̥ə]

[z] > [s̥] a voiced alveolar sibilant is realized as a voiceless alveolar fricative:

Israel [ɪzɪɪəl] > *iSirayeli* [isiraje:li]

Moses [məʊzɪz] > uMosisi [umosi:si]

[z] > [ʒ] a voiced alveolar sibilant is realized as a slack-voiced alveolar fricative:

jersey [dʒɜ:zi] > ijezi [idʒe:zi]

Zimbabwe [zɪm'bɑ:bwi] > iZimbabwe [izɪmbɑ:bʷɛ]

zeppelin [zɛpəlɪn] > uZephelin [uzɛp^heli:ni]

5.8.2.6 Consonant clusters

Drame (2000:239) notes that with regard to English and Afrikaans consonant clusters isiXhosa will normally insert a vowel between the consonants and gives as an example *broek* 'trouser' which is realized as *ibhulukhwe* in the isiXhosa. She does, however, concede that sometimes the consonant cluster is retained, and gives as examples *flag* which is realized as *ifleki* and *drink* which is pronounced and spelt *idrinki*. My data showed similar retentions of consonant clusters such as the <sl> of *Muslim* being retained in *ubuSlamsi*, the <str> of *street* being kept in the isiXhosa *istrata*, <fl> similarly in *iflannel* and <pr> in *iprinti*. Below other consonant clusters are exemplified with the data.

[bɹ] > [bh]

brug [brœ:x] 'bridge' > *ibhulorho* [iɓuloxɔ]

[fɹ] > [fr]

France [fɹans] > *Fransi* [ifra:nsi]

[kl] > [k^lʔ]

clinic [klɪnɪk] > *ikliniki* [ik^lʔini:k^ʔi]

class [kla:s] > *iklasi* [ik^lʔa:si]

[mb] > [mɓ]

ambulance [æmbjʊləns] > *iambulensi* [i^ʔambɓule:nsi]⁵⁰

Kimberley [kɪmbəli] > iKhimbili [ik^himɓi:li]

⁵⁰ Note the use of a glottal stop when a V-commencing noun in the donor language becomes the stem of the loanword.

[nd] > [nd̥]

Indian [ɪndiən] > *iNdiya* [inɖi:ja]

[nk] > [nkʰ]

income [ɪnkʌm] > *inkamkam* [ɪnkʰʌmkʌm]
bank [bænk] > *ibhanki* [iɓa:nkʰi]
winkel [vəŋkəl] > *ivenkile* [ivenkʰi:le]

[nt] > [ntʰ]

tent [tɛnt] > *intente* [intʰentʰ:e]

[pl] > [pʰi:lɛ] (see epenthetic vowel discussion below)

temple [tʰɛmpəl] > *itempile* [itʰempʰi:le]

[pɹ] > [pʰr]

print [pɹɪnt] > *iprinti* [ipʰri:ntʰ]
priest [pɹi:st] > *umpriste* [uɱpʰri:stʰɛ]

[pɹ] > [pʰ]

Pretoria [pɹɪtɔɹɪə] > *iPitoli* [ipʰitʰo:li]

[st] > [stʰ]

hostel [hɒstəl] > *ihostele* [i:hɒstʰɛ:le]
Worcester [wʊstə] > *iVostile* [ivostʰi:le]
venster [fɛnstər] > *ifestile* [ifestʰi:le]

5.8.2.7 Trills and approximants

[j] > [ɟ] a voiced palatal approximant is realized as a voiced palatal plosive:

Jan [jan] > *uDyan* [uɟa:n]

[l] > [l̥] an alveolar lateral approximant yields the same consonant:

lorry [lɔɹi] > *ilori* [ilɔ:ri]
lift [lɪft] > *ilift* [ili:ftʰ]
letter [lɛtə] > *ileta* [ile:tʰa]

[r] > [l] a voiced alveolar trill is realized as an alveolar lateral approximant:

brug [brœ:x] 'bridge' > *ibhulorho* [iɓuloxɔ]

Drame (2000:238) notes that "Especially in modern adoptive words, Zulu or isiXhosa use /r/ more and more as in the example of *dairy* > *ideri*".

[ɹ] > [r] a voiced postalveolar approximant is realized as voiced alveolar trill:

garage [gæɹɑ:ʒ] > *igaraji* [igara:ɖʒi];
camera [kʰæmɹə] > *ikhamera* [ikʰamɛ:ra]
rice [ɹaɪs] > *irayisi* [iɹaji:si]

[j] > [ɟ] a voiced palatal approximant yields the same consonant:

yellow [jɛləʊ] > *-yelo* [jɛ:lɔ]
yard [jɑ:d] > *iyadi* [ija:ɖi]

[w] > [ɰ] a labiovelar approximant yields the same consonant:

wireless [waɪəlɪs] > *iwayalesi* [iwajalɛ:si]

5.8.2.8 Vowels

Monophthongs

[æ] > [a] or [ɛ]

garage [gæɹɑ:ʒ] > *igaraji* [ɛgara:ɖʒi];
camera [kʰæmɹə] > *khamera* [ikʰamɛra]
Samuel [sæmjʊəl] > *Samuweli* [samuweli]
cabbage [kæbɪdʒ] > *khaphetshu* [kʰapʰe:tʃu]

[ə] > [a]

America [əmɛɹɪkə]⁵¹ > *iMelika* [imeli:kʰa]

Britain [brɪtən] > *iBhritani* [ɪbrɪtʰa:ni]
Messiah [mɛsaɪə] > *Mesiya* [mesi:ja]

⁵¹ It is the final schwa in [əmɛɹɪkə] that is being dealt with here

[ɛ] > [e]

America [əmeɪkə] > *iMelika* [imeli:kʰa]
Pentech [pɛntɛk] > *iPentekhi* [ipʰɛntʰe:kʰi]

[ə] > [e]

chemist [kɛməst] > *ikhemesti* [ikheme:stʰi]⁵²
pick [pɛk]⁵³ > *ipeki* [ipʰe:kʰi]

[ɪ] > [i]

America [əmeɪkə] > *iMelika* [imeli:kʰa]
Africa [æfɪkə] > *iAfrika* [iʰafri:kʰa]

5.8.2.9 Diphthongs

In his discussion of diphthongs in Kiswahili borrowed words, Batibo (1994:180) notes that as result of “heavy borrowing” there has been the adoption of diphthong-like sounds which have posed both descriptive and theoretical problems, given that traditionally the Kiswahili phoneme inventory has no complex vowels.

A similar issue is encountered by speakers of isiXhosa who employ the following strategies to circumvent diphthongs.

[aɪ] > [aji]

mile [maɪl] > *imayile* [imaji:lɛ]
Bible [baɪbəl] > *iBhayibhile* [iɓajibi:lɛ]

[aʊ] [o:]

pound [pʰaʊnd] > *iponti* [ipʰo:ntʰi]
compound [kʰɔmpaʊnd] > *inkomponi* [inkʰompʰo:ni].

[uə] > [uwe]

Samuel [sæmjʊəl] > *Samuweli* [samuweli]

⁵² There could be vowel harmony at play here

⁵³ The Afrikaans word for the noun *pick* being *pik*

[əʊ] > [ɔ:]

motor [məʊtə] > *imoto* [imɔ:tʔɔ]

sofa [səʊfə] > *isofa* [isɔ:fa]

post [pʰəʊst] > *iposi* [ipʔo:si]

[əʊ] > [ɔ]

pharaoh [fɛrəʊ] > *ufaro* [ufa:rɔ]

5.8.2.10 Influence of spelling

[an] and [əm] > [a:n] and [a:m]

Jan [jan] > *Dyan* [ɟa:n]

Miriam [mɪrɪ:jəm] > *Miriyam* [miri:ɟa:m]

[ɔ:] > [a]

store [stɔ:(ɹ)⁵⁴] > *isitora* [isitʔɔ:ra]

Saul [sɔ:l] > *uSawule* [usawu:lɛ]

[sʌm] and [mɪs] > [sɔm] and [mes]

Somerset [sʌmɪsɛt] > *iSomaseti* [sɔmase:tʔi]

Messiah [mɪsaɪə] > *Mesiya* [mesi:ɟa]

5.8.2.11 Epenthetic vowels

From the data, I have managed to ascertain some tendencies with regard to epenthetic vowels in borrowed words in isiXhosa. This discussion focuses on word-final epenthetic vowels. The word final /i/ is extremely common with borrowed nouns in isiXhosa but Uffmann (2006:1094) cautions against calling this vowel the default vowel and makes reference to his study of Shona:

the mere frequency of one specific vowel alone is not an indicator that it results from default epenthesis. Although the vast majority of epenthetic vowels in Shona are /i/,

⁵⁴ Note the :(ɹ) serves to indicate that the approximant [ɹ] will surface if there is a following vowel

this is not linked to the default status that /i/ enjoys in this language. Rather, the number of contexts and the frequency of borrowed words which match them ... inflate the number of epenthetic /i/.

Uffmann's data also revealed that "/u/ is the preferred epenthetic vowel after a labial consonant ... and that /i/ is preferred after coronals" (Uffmann, 1083). Kangwa (2012:99) appears to corroborate Uffman's findings in his study analysing final-vowel epenthesis in Bemba, a Bantu language spoken in Zambia in that he notes that /i/ is generally used after [ŋ] in word-final position. That that /i/ is preferred after coronals would appear to be the case for isiXhosa as well. My observations proceed by starting with /i/ the most preferred epenthetic vowel in word-final position to the vowel that was least observed in that position in my data set. The following borrowed words have /i/ after alveolar and palatal consonants.

After /s/ and /l/

bus [bʌs] > *ibhasi* [iɸa:si]
Israel [ɪzɪeɪəl] > *iSirayeli* [isiraje:li]
jas [ʃas] 'coat' > *idyasi* [iɸa:si]
saal [sa:l] > *isali* [isa:li]
taxi [thæksi] > *iteksi* [itʰe:kʰsi]

After /tʰi/ and /tʰ/

cat [kʰæt] > *ikati* [ikʰa:tʰi]
gate [geɪt] > *igeyithi* [igejithi]
goud [χɔʊt] > *irhawuti* [ixawutʰi]
packet [pækət] > *ipakethi* [ipʰakʰe:thi]

After /n/, /d/ and /ŋk/

bank [bæŋk] > *ibhanki* [iɸankʰi]
bed [bɛd] > *ibhedi* [iɸe:ɖi]
Britain [brɪtən] > *iBhrithani* [iɸritʰa:ni]
Colony [kɒləni] > *iKoloni* [ikʰolo:ni]
pony [pʰəʊni] > *iponi* [ipʰo:ni]
tank [tæŋk] > *itanki* [itʰa nkʰi]
yard [jɑ:d] > *iyadi* [ija:ɖi]

After /dʒ/

badge [bædʒ] > *ibheji* [iɸe:ɖʒi]
college [kɒlɪdʒ] > *ikholeji* [kʰole:ɖʒi]

After /tʃ/ and /ʃ/

kitchen [kʰɪtʃɪn] > *ikhitshi* [ikʰi:tʃi]
location [ləʊkeɪʃ] > *ilokishi* [kʰwɪlokʰi:ʃi]
mission [mɪʃən] > *imishini* [imɪʃi:ni]

After /j/

baai [ba:ɪ] > *iBhayi* [iɓa:ji]
slice [slaɪs] > *isilayi* [isila:ji]

Uffmann (2006:1086) also notes that /i/ will be in word-final position after any consonant preceded by /i/ as can be seen in the following examples:

Kimberley [kʰɪmbəli] > *iKhimbili* [ikʰimɓi:li]
plastic [plæstɪk] > *iplastiki* [ipʰlastʰi:kʰi]

My data reveals that /u/ occurs in word-final position after labials:

bishop [bɪʃəp] > *ubhishopu* [uɓɪʃo:pʰu]
dorp [dɔrp] > *idolophu* [idolopʰu]
Europe [jʊərəp] > *iYuropu* [ijurɔ:pʰu]
lap [lɔp] > *ilaphu* [ila:pʰu] [*lap* here is the Afrikaans word for *rag*]
Dutch *gave* [xa:və] > *irhafu* [ixa:fu]

The word-final epenthetic vowel-l-vowel realized as /i:lɛ/ is used to circumvent the schwa after /t/ and /k/ as well as after the schwa-consonant combination of /əl/ of the donor language. As has already been discussed in 5.1.10 and 5.2.14 Khumalo (1984:209) observed that the *-ile* ending in many borrowed words might be because speakers copy high frequency morphemes. The suffix *-ile* of the long form of the perfect tense would qualify as such a morpheme in isiXhosa.

bible [baɪbəl] > *ibhayibhile* [iɓajɪɓi:lɛ]
pencil [pʰɛnsəl] > *ipensile* [ipʰe:nsilɛ]
suiker [sœykər] > *iswekile* [iswekʰi:lɛ]
tafel [ta:fəl] > *itafile* [itʰafi:lɛ]
venster [fɛnstər] > *ifestile* [ifestʰi:lɛ]
winkel [vɛŋkəl] > *ivenkile* [[ivenkʰi:lɛ]

The word-final epenthetic vowel-l-vowel /i:lɛ/ is also used to circumvent the diphthong-l combination /aɪl/:

file [faɪl] > *ifayile* [ifaji:lɛ]

mile [maɪl] > *imayile* [imaji:lɛ]
tile [taɪl] > *ithayile* [itʰ aji:lɛ]

Epenthesis of the labiovelar glide /w/ and the palatal glide /j/ serve to break diphthongs. When the vowel combination is /a/ and /ɪ/ or /i:/ the glide is /y/ and when it is /u/ and /ə/ it is /w/:

February [fɛbruəri] > > *uFebruwari* [ufebruwa:ri]

file [faɪl] > *ifayile* [ifaji:lɛ]

mile [maɪl] > *imayile* [imaji:lɛ]

Samuel [sæmjuel] > *uSamuweli* [usamuwe:li]

The following final vowel changes were also observed:

/ɛ/ after /kʷ/

bok [bɔk] > *ibhokhwe* [ɪ̥ɔ:kʷɛ]
broek [bruk] > *ibhulukwe* [ɪ̥bulu:kʷɛ]
yoke [jəuk] > *idyokhwe* [ɪ̥ɔ:kʷɛ]

/ɛ/ after /r/ if preceded by /ɛ:/

bear [beə] > *ibhere* [ɪ̥ɛ:rɛ]
Hebrews [hi:bru:] > *amaHebhere* [amahɛɓɛ:rɛ]

/ɔ/ after /x/ if preceded by /o/

brug [brœ:x] > *ibhulorho* [ɪ̥bulo:xɔ]

/ɔ/ after /l/ if preceded by /o/ or /u:/

skool [skuəl] > *isikolo* [isikolɔ]
stoel [stul] > *isitulo* [isitʰu:lɔ]

/ɔ/ after /t/ when /t/ preceded by /a/ or /ɔ/

pocket [pɔkɪt] > *ipokotho* [ɪpʰɔkʰɔ:tʰɔ]
straat [stra:t] > *isitrato* [isitʰratɔ]

/ɔ/ after /ng/ and preceded by /ɔ/

tronk [trɔnk] > *intolongo* [ntʰolongɔ]

/ɔ/ if the donor word has the word-final diphthong [əʊ]

calico [k^hælkəʊ] > *ikeleko* [ik^ʔɛɛ:k^ʔɔ]
pharaoh [fɛɹəʊ] > *uFaro* [ufa:rɔ]

/e/ after /nt/ when preceded by /e/

tent [t^hɛnt] > *intente* [int^ʔent^ʔe]

/a/ after /n/ if /n/ preceded by [ɛ:] or [a]

Jonathan [dʒɒnəθən] > *uJonatana* [udʒɔnat^ʔa:na]
steen [strən] > *isitena* [isit^ʔɛ:na]

/a/ after /k^ʔ/ if preceded by /i:/

desk [dɛsk] > *idesika* [idɛsi:k^ʔa]
perske [pɛrskə] > *ipesika* [ip^ʔɛsi:k^ʔa]

5.9 Conclusion

I hope in this chapter to have mapped out the domains most productive for borrowed words according to text and time of writing. The statistical analyses of the popular domains, the language most often used as the source for borrowed words and the parts of speech revealing the most borrowability together with a detailed discussion of the phonological correspondences should establish a useful start for furthermore detailed and nuanced analyses.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

6.1 Introduction

Before summarizing the key findings of this research study, I find it useful to view the isiXhosa loanwords collected in the light of Thomason and Kaufmann's (1988) seminal work on borrowing scales. I would argue that isiXhosa lexical borrowing from English could be considered, in the earlier texts referred to in this study, the result of only *Casual contact* (Scale 1) which the authors describe as populating the lexicon with content words and words for cultural and functional reasons only (Ibid.:75). This scale explains the proliferation of words to describe the new religion, commodities such as clothes, tools and domestic animals and educational systems introduced by the settlers and missionaries. Under *Slightly more intense contact* the authors include function words such as conjunctions and adverbial particles which can be found (but still in a limited sense) in modern, online contemporary texts (see 6.4 below). Under the scale of *More intense contact* the most salient item listed is that of the borrowing of numerals which has been a feature of isiXhosa lexical borrowing patterns from the earliest days but which could have been introduced by second-language speakers of the languages who were trying to sell their goods and services and needed to refer to prices, amounts etc and who avoided using isiXhosa's relatively complex counting system (see also Dowling, 2011).

Bearing these scales in mind I return to the primary aim of this study which was to examine how borrowed words from English and Afrikaans have been integrated and used by first-language speakers of isiXhosa, in written texts. This aim is related to Thomason and Kaufmann's work because it allows one to scrutinize exactly what borrowed words dominated texts and what insights they can give us regarding the strength and intensity of the contact situations at the time of writing. Unfortunately, we have no comparative written data involving the period before contact because isiXhosa only became a written language once contact with the colonizing powers had begun. We have no written record of isiXhosa usage free of the influences of those forces.

A key aim was to develop a database of borrowed words occurring in a selection written texts in isiXhosa from the late 1800s to the present time, and, in line with research into

borrowed words internationally, to tabulate the domains (e.g., religion, finance, education) which were most productive for loanwords and to examine how these loans were phonologically incorporated and orthographically represented in the language. In my MA research I only dealt with borrowed words in speech and also only focussed on noun classes. No in-depth study has been conducted on borrowed words in written isiXhosa literature and that is what led me to conduct my PhD study with its focus analysing loanwords in selected isiXhosa texts over distinct historical periods. In addition, in this study I examined how loanwords are orthographically represented in the texts and what this can hint at how the words were pronounced by isiXhosa speakers at the time of writing.

In *Aspects of Yeyi Diachronic Phonology*, Gowlett (1997:252), speaks about how the Yeyi language has been influenced by a “large number of languages”, that are “geographically contiguous” to its speakers, and to a certain extent this has been the case with isiXhosa, both historically and currently: the languages that are in close proximity to isiXhosa-speakers influence the way the language is spoken and written particularly via borrowed words. The results of the study indicate, however, that it is English and Afrikaans which have exerted the most influence on the isiXhosa lexicon, while other indigenous African languages have contributed relatively few words, considering the fact that speakers are “geographically contiguous”.

6.2 Findings

Source languages

As discussed in 5.7.2 Afrikaans and English were the main source languages for isiXhosa loanwords in the corpus collected for this study.

Arndt (2022:112; 114) writes that Xhosa chiefdoms in the Eastern Cape were already mixed with “Khoisan-speaking herders” and “Nguni-speaking mixed-farmers” when European farmers arrived and thus these already bilingual communities “added Dutch to their pre-existing language skills”.

It was English-speaking missionaries, however, who were responsible for the first schools in the Eastern Cape were predominantly English speaking and thus their extra influence on the isiXhosa lexicon. It is also important to make reference to Branford and Claughton’s

(2002) work *Mutual lexical borrowings among some languages of southern Africa: Xhosa, Afrikaans, and English*. The authors refer to Owen Lloyd's 1955 study of 300 isiXhosa words derived from Afrikaans and quote Lloyd's accounting for these words as showing that "it is in the spheres of church life, the law, the army, labour, trade, dress, building, farming, domestic service and fight conversation that Afrikaans has influenced the Xhosa language" (Branford and Claughton, 2002:203). Branford and Claughton (Ibid.) observe that some of the words (like *bhedesha* 'pray' and *isoldati* 'soldier') have lost popularity with contemporary isiXhosa-speakers, with English words replacing the Afrikaans ones, for example *ijoni* now being more popular for *soldier* than *isoldati*.

The texts written after 1950 and before 1970 generally had an equal number of English to Afrikaans words – with this data set (1950-1969) English had 28 borrowed words and Afrikaans almost the same number at 26. This can be explained by the fact that the laws of the time would have relegated many isiXhosa-speakers to manual labour jobs, which would have meant greater contact with Afrikaans speakers on farms. The Bantu Education Act also enforced the learning of Afrikaans at school and eventually the learning in the medium of Afrikaans, and although extremely unpopular might have led to greater mutual influence of the languages. Claughton and Brandford (2002:203) make reference to the dominant 'Western' language of any particular area as to whether the English or the Afrikaans provided the source word. They quote an isiXhosa speaking professor, Professor Peter Mtuze (also an author whose work is under analysed in this thesis) saying that because he grew up in the Afrikaans-speaking town of Middelburg, when "he visited Cradock, which used to be largely English speaking, he found a large number of differences in the words used by Xhosa speakers" (Ibid.:204) and the authors give the example of *iplasi* 'plaas' being used for *farm* in Middelburg while *ifama* was the word used in Cradock. Interestingly in my analysis of Mtuze's 1971 novel *uDingezweni* I only found three more words of Afrikaans origin than English ones, one of them being *uSoldati* (a title from the Afrikaans borrowing *isoldati* 'soldaat' for *soldier* (which has since become *ijoni* from *Johnny* – an English slang term for *soldier*).

The fact that after 1970 the texts had more loanwords with English as the source language than Afrikaans could be put down to the fact that language was becoming more intricately associated with politics in the 1970s culminating in the 1976 Soweto uprising when students

protested the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction at schools. English grew in popularity as a non-partisan language just as Afrikaans was more and more being associated with an illegitimate government and oppression. Afrikaans rulers prior to the uprising however, believed that their efforts to promote the language were bearing fruit. Ndlovu (2006: 324) refers to comments by Wilkins and Strydom in *The Super-Afrikaaners* (1978) who noted that:

that the policy of forcing more Africans to use Afrikaans was articulated in a secret policy document of September 1968 titled 'Afrikaans as a Second Language for the Bantu'. The Broederbond discussed the importance of imposing Afrikaans on Africans and noted considerable progress in this regard: 'Two years ago in our monthly circular we drew attention of members to the importance of using Afrikaans to Bantu. That idea and the hints given with it created widespread interest and have borne fruit. As a result, most right thinking Afrikaans speakers today address the Bantu in Afrikaans whenever they meet them.' (Wilkins and Strydom in Ndlovu, 2006:324).

The texts written in the 2000s had even more words borrowed from English (60% of the total) which can be explained by increasing globalization. After democracy South Africa became part of the international scene, and as English is a global language it became more attractive for South Africans to immerse themselves in its culture and vocabulary which are also highly accessible via the internet and television. Kamwangamalu (2003:225) observes that:

since South Africa liberated itself from apartheid and became a democracy in 1994, there has been a steady language shift, especially from the indigenous African languages to English in urban Black communities

In addition, learners who speak a South African language as a first language are no longer forced to learn Afrikaans as a second language at school and so increasingly mother-tongue speakers of isiXhosa are taking English as their second language and abandoning any attempt at learning Afrikaans.

Domains

When doing an analysis of borrowed words in isiXhosa texts written from 1893 to 2020, I established that the most popular domains for borrowed words were names and the environment. The proliferation of biblical names (e.g., *Mosisi* 'Moses', *Sawule* 'Saul', *Samuweli* 'Samuel') suggests the huge influence of the Bible (brought by the missionaries)

on early isiXhosa-writers who incorporated these names into their narratives. IsiXhosa-speakers were also interested in the world of world politics, as can be seen via words like *Kheyizare* 'Kaiser' and *urhulumente* 'government'.

As isiXhosa-speakers read and heard more about different continents and countries, met missionaries from Britain, America and Germany (amongst others) and indentured labourers from India and the rest of Africa entered the South African labour market, the domain of environment incorporated more place name loans such as *eFransi* 'in France', *yaseMelika* 'of America' ways of referring to people from different continents and countries, e.g., *amaAfrika* 'Africans', *namaIndiya* 'and Indians', *njengeBangladeshi* 'like Bangladeshi'.

These borrowings also suggest the extent to which isiXhosa-speaking South Africans (particularly in the elite class of writers) were involved in colonial education and debates influenced by world events and an increasingly urbanized economy. This international and urban economy focus changed after the 1913 Land Act when further discriminatory laws curtailed what would have been a growing middle class of affluent land-owners, professionals and intellectuals. This change in focus can be seen in the data that has more borrowed words focussed on a new apartheid order in which isiXhosa-speakers occupy mainly subaltern workforce positions and so we see more borrowed words for mines (*iimayini*), compounds (*iinkomponi*), shift work (*ishift*) and passes (*amapasi*).

Even though life was getting increasingly difficult it is clear from the second most popular domains for borrowed words - education and lifestyle - that western pedagogy was impacting the lives of isiXhosa-speakers. For these domains we encountered words such as *yititshala* 'is a teacher', *njengotitshala* 'as a teacher', *kholeji* 'college', *lasesikolweni* 'of the school', and *iipsychology* 'psychologies'. From lifestyle there were many borrowed words in early publications for materials and clothes which suggests that amaXhosa had entered the economy and had disposable income with which to buy these items, otherwise businesses would not have bothered advertising them in the vernacular. This upwardly mobile middle-class of educated isiXhosa-speakers who were entering well-paid professional positions and were receiving training as teachers and interpreters were to find their lives drastically affected by the 1913 Land Act which was the first stage of separating black and white lives and economies by handing over control of mineral wealth to the minority population.

The third most popular domain for borrowed words was religion (linked to names) where words such as *Atshibhishopu* 'Archbishop', *IweBhayibhile* 'of the Bible', *seKerike* 'of the Church', *ebuvangelini* 'in evangelism', and *ebutempileni* 'in the templehood' were encountered. The proliferation of borrowed words in this domain speaks to the success of the missionaries' project that saw many isiXhosa-speakers abandon their own religion and spirituality for an imported version, complete with a sacred text, religious offices, buildings and proselytizing endeavours all of which had to be translated into the vernacular with a lexicon straining to meet these new needs and thus open to expedient borrowing.

Other popular domains were health with words such as *iipilisi* 'pills', *kwiklinikhi* 'at the clinic' as well as government that saw lexical items such as *epalamente* 'at parliament', *wabavoti* 'of the voters', *amapasi* 'passes', *kwikomishini* 'in the commission'. Also productive as a domain for borrowing words was finance with words such as *ngemali* 'with money', *eeponti* 'of pounds', *wegolide* 'of gold', *nepetula* 'and petrol'. Transport was productive and in this domain we see *webhasi* 'of the bus', *weteksi* 'of the taxi', *emotweni* 'in the car', *itayala* 'tyre'. The domain of employment includes words such as *nenkampani* 'and company', *enkomponi* 'at the compound', *ikomiti* 'committee'.

Even in the less popular domains such as elements we encounter borrowed words such as *yegesi* 'of gas', *nesalfure* 'and sulphur' but the texts selected for this study did not bring up many borrowed words for professions and those that do exist tell one something of the history of limited employment opportunities for isiXhosa speakers which nevertheless included being a court interpreter (*itoliki* 'interpreter', *etolikelwa* 'being interpreted for'), a soldier or army official (*ubuMajor* 'the state of being a major') and *uColonel* 'Colonel', *amapolisa* 'police', *amajoni* 'soldiers' in the domain of uniformed services. It is important, however, that these words are viewed in the context in which they occur – were isiXhosa-speakers occupying these positions or were isiXhosa-speakers subservient to those enjoying these titles? What prompted the loan entering the isiXhosa lexicon? Scrutiny of the texts involved indicate that indeed isiXhosa-speakers were entering these positions of authority, particularly before Apartheid became fully entrenched from the 1950s onwards.

The fact that there were so few loanword exclamations would suggest that they are not as popular as their isiXhosa counterparts and feature fairly low down on the scale of borrowability. It stands to reason that isiXhosa terms for family members would on the whole form part of a core stable vocabulary in the language although common borrowings were

usisi ‘sister’ and *ubhuti* ‘brother’ (research into contemporary spoken isiXhosa should investigate the growing use of *usister* and *ubrother* for these lexical items). Measurements was also not a popular domain although terms referring to distance were found, e.g. *zimayile* [z̥imaji:lɛ] ‘they are miles’. These measurement terms continue to be borrowed by isiXhosa speakers, e.g., *iikhilomitha* ‘kilometres’. From time concepts there were words such as *iveki* ‘week’ from the Afrikaans *week* and *ngempela-veki* ‘during the weekend’, *kweyure* ‘of an hour’.

Most productive parts of speech for borrowing

For isiXhosa-speakers, as with speakers of most of the world’s languages, nouns are easier to borrow than verbs or other parts of speech (see Durkin, 2014:44; Muysken, 1999). This study has amply demonstrated this fact - of the 711 words only 15 were not nouns. This brings us to the issue of lexical borrowability.

Lexical borrowability

The fact that some categories of words (e.g., nouns) are more likely to be borrowed than others, speaks to the notion of “lexical borrowability” (Haspelmath, 2009:36). In this study, as already discussed, nouns were the most likely to be borrowed, but there were also a few words that were derived from verbs, showing that they, as content morphemes, were not as unborrowable as grammatical markers and system morphemes. Contemporary social media texts reflex the growing popularity of borrowed verbs, e.g. *-andastenda* ‘understand’, *-treyina* ‘train’, *-trenda* ‘trend’, *watsapa* ‘WhatsApp’ and *-feysbhuka* ‘Facebook’. The dearth of borrowed verbs in this study could be explained by the fact that my data set originated from formal written texts. Spoken isiXhosa reveals a far greater number of loanword verbs (see Thipa, 1992; Madubela, 2021). More recent studies have indicated that even closed-classes of words such as prepositions are now being borrowed by isiXhosa-speakers (see Simango, 2019) but these have not yet been observed in formal isiXhosa texts.

Words that are seldom or never borrowed – a core vocabulary

This theoretical aspect explores the notion of a “core vocabulary that is very rarely (or never) borrowed” (Haspelmath, 2009:36). It is clear from looking at the domain gaps in the data that certain items of isiXhosa vocabulary are infrequently loaned, one domain that contains much of this core unborrowed vocabulary is NATURE: the following words are seldom borrowed, even by bilinguals like myself: animals, bark, branch, bush, cave, clouds, desert,

dew, drought, dust, fire, flood, fog, forest, grass, hill, lakes, leaves, mist, moon, mountain, plants, rain, river, rocks, roots, sea, stars, stones, storm, sun, sunbeams, thorn, valley, water, waterfalls, waves, wind. In isiXhosa these words are: *izilwanyana, amaxolo, isebe, ityholo, umqolomba, amafu, intlango, umbethe, imbalela, uthuli, umlilo, isikhukula, inkungu, ihlathi, ingca, induli, amachibi, amagqabi, inkungu, inyanga, intaba, izityalo, imvula, umlambo, amatye, iingcambu, ulwandle, iinkwenkwezi, amatye, isaqhwithi, ilanga, imitha yelanga, ameva, intlambo, amanzi, iingxangxasi, amaza, umoya*.⁵⁵

Phonological adaptations

As far as phonological equivalences are concerned, this study demonstrated that early isiXhosa writers inclined to adapt loanwords to fit the phonology of isiXhosa, while modern writers do this less assiduously, and this is evident in the orthography. One thinks of the word *eFidalisdolophu* for *Villiersdorp* which is now just written as *eVilliersdorp* and borrowed such as *Jan* which in early texts was *Dyan* but in contemporary isiXhosa texts one would not find such changes in the orthographical representation of non-isiXhosa names. It would appear that it depends on the formality of the text whether or not any phonological adaptation of the loanword is represented orthographically. Communications for safety procedures during Covid included the word *tissue* as *ithishyu*⁵⁶ in one isiXhosa version and *ithishu*⁵⁷ in another which would suggest that although professional translators are still diligently attempting to integrate necessary loans to isiXhosa via orthographic and phonological adaptation these new loanwords have not had their orthography standardized and so variation in spelling is bound to occur.

Variation

With reference to the above observation as to variation, the study has also revealed that borrowed words in isiXhosa in isiXhosa are subject to variation both in terms of noun class (e.g., *utitshala* in Class 1a and *ititshala* in Class 9 both being acceptable translations of

⁵⁵ Mesthrie (2008) points out that Tsotsitaal lacks vocabulary in certain semantic fields “no words have been reported for ‘sun’, ‘moon’, ‘stars’, ‘fire’, ‘grass’ ...”. It is beyond the scope of this thesis to explore the connection between these phenomena (the core isiXhosa lexicon and its lack of borrowed words and Tsotsitaal and its lack of nature words) but it would be an area of interest for future research.

⁵⁶ <https://www.health.gov.za/covid19/assets/downloads/posters/Poster%20covid-19%20isiXhosa.pdf>

⁵⁷ <https://www.nacosa.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2020/03/isiXhosa-COVID-19-Information-for-Communities-Web.pdf>

teacher and both are found in the data) but also in phonology (e.g. *iyunivesithi* and *idyunivesithi* both being used to translate *university*) and operate as synonymous loanwords, i.e. they can be used interchangeably. Other examples of synonymous loanwords *ivenkile* from the Afrikaans *winkel* but which some people now refer to as *ishop*, or *istora*. Even with one synonymous loanword there can be variation in the pronunciation and spelling, for example: *istora* ‘shop’ which can also be written and pronounced as *istola* or *istolo* while ‘street’ is both *isitalato* and *istrato*. The same can happen with *school*, which is *isikolo* but is often pronounced and even written as *iskolo*; and *isitulo* becomes *istulo*. When it comes to *taxi* some insert an extra vowel and say *itekisi*, while others just say *iteksi*. This kind of variation is well-known among isiXhosa speakers, even with non-borrowed words, for example *salt* can be both *ityuwa* and/or *ityiwa*. One also thinks of words such as *-bhetele* ‘better’ from Afrikaans *beter* which can be either *-bhetele* or *-bheterere*; and Afrikaans *kerk* ‘church’ which when borrowed is written either *ityalike* or *ityarike*.

6.3 Limitations

As there is a scarcity of isiXhosa books and manuscripts digitally reproduced, I had to manually identify each borrowed word in the selected texts. This was a lengthy and difficult process and although I had a system for checking and rechecking, full accuracy cannot be guaranteed. In addition, the absence of online texts meant that I was not able to establish a large corpus. Future studies could possibly make use of written isiXhosa in social media as a way of trawling the internet for a corpus of borrowed words.

6.4 The way forward – contemporary online texts

Future research could focus on contemporary online texts in order to establish a wider, more representative corpus of how isiXhosa-writers incorporate borrowed words into the lexicon. Below are two texts that I accessed from social media, Facebook pages, and from a most recent newspaper article.

Kanti ubomi bunje⁵⁸ (Life's like that) (5th May 2015)⁵⁹ .

I first present this text as it occurred on a publically available Facebook page and then provide a discussion of the loanwords contained in it. The loanwords are underlined. Code-switches are given in italics but are not discussed. I present the extract in three parts, each part with a following English translation in order to ease the reading process for a wide range of readers.

Kanti ubomi bunje

5. Mai 2015 .

Part 1: Xhosa

Me: *Kulungile tata enkosi.*

Taka Odwa: *Uphi ngoku? Uphila njani? Uzokubanayo imali yokubuya?*

Me: *Hayi noko ubomi abukabikho nzima, ndizokubanayo nayo imali yokubuya. Ndiya renter kwaye imali endinayo izokundiqhuba nokuba zinyanga eziyi 4.*

Taka Odwa: *hayke kungcono mntanam bendizokufakela imali yokubuya ngomso.*

Me: *Hayi noko tata ungazikhathazi ngayo ndizokuba nayo.*

Taka Odwa: *Hayke mandibaleke Nkomo, sizokuthetha kakuhle xasele ulapha.*

Me: *Enkosi tata.*

We hung up.

Ndathi ndiyibeka ndabe ndibuyela ku Odwa ndifuna ukuva ukuba umxelele ntoni utatakhe wayeka ntoni, ngoba ngoku andimazi ukuba wazi kangakanani na.

Ya ringer kanye yabe seyibanjwa.

Odwa: *Mntase.*

Me: *Utatakho umxelele eyiphi wayeka eyiphi? Wahleka.*

Odwa: *Ndimxelele yonke into.*

Me: *Huh?*

Part 1: English

Me: It's okay, dad, thank you.

Odwa's dad: Where are you now? How are you living? Will you have money to return?

Me: Well, at least life is not yet difficult, I will have the money to return. I am renting and the money I have will last me at least 4 months.

Odwa's dad: Well, it's better, my child, I would send you the money to come back tomorrow.

Me: No, father, don't worry about it, I will have it.

Odwa's dad: Well, let me run Nkomo, we will have a good talk when you are here.

Me: Thank you, father.

⁵⁹ This Facebook extract was publically available in 2015 and was copied by my supervisor who subsequently made it available to me for the purposes of this study. It is no longer available on the internet.

We hung up. When I put it down, I went back to Odwa, I wanted to hear what he had had told his dad and what he had left out, because at that point I didn't know how much he knew. It rang once and was picked up.

Odwa: Home child.

Me: What did you tell your dad and what did you leave out?
He laughed.

Odwa: I told him everything.

Me: Huh?

Part 2: Xhosa

Odwa: *Ndithethe inyani kuye ngoba iyafana bayazana u tata nalab^huti and lab^huti ethanda angamxelela utata istory ngendlela eva yena notata asikholelwe akubone ungumntu o wrongo ngoba uzokube ungamxelelanga wena esakho istory. Awuyazi indlela ebecaphuka ngayo esithi ukuthatha i advantage kuba ekwazi...
Waqhawuka kwabe kuphele i airtime.
Waye wenza u Please call me caba akana airtime naye.
Ndaphindela ko Yolanda babe besela besitya no Chisa nyama.
Ndandibabona ukuba bathe vram xabebonke ndim ndodwa o sober.
Ndafika ndagalela utywala kwi glass ndabusela ngathi ndisela amanzi ndandingeva nokokutshiswa. Ndaphinda ndagalela eyesibini nayo ndayigongqoza kweyesithathu wandibamba u Asibonge.
Asibonge : Haybo Zinhle.
Watsho exutha iglass kum.*

Me: *Yintoni na? hayi khawundiyeke Asibonge.
Ndatsho ndifuna iglass yam apho ibikho.
Ndathi xandiqala ukuhamba yasuke yaqina imilenze yangathi ndiqhokriwe. Ndavele ndanesizephu zephu ndanari.
Kwabanzima kwa ukufika e bathroom ndagabhela emnyango.
Ndandingancangazela. Baye bandibamba bandisa e roomin ka Sasa.
Ndafika nje ndazijula ebhedini, ndandingasagabhi andizikhumbuli nokuba ndade ndalala nini.*

Part 2: English

Odwa: I told the truth to him because he is the same, father and brother know each other and if my brother wants to, he can tell my father the story the way he hears it, and my father will believe you are wrong because you will not have told him your own story. You don't know how angry he was saying you took advantage because he could...

He broke up because I was out of airtime.

He was doing Please call me, I think he also didn't have airtime.

I went back to Yolanda and they were drinking and eating roasted meat

I could see that they were all piss drunk and that I was the only sober one.

I arrived and poured alcohol into a glass and drank it like I was drinking water and I didn't even feel the burning. I poured the second one and knocked it down and was just about to down a third one when Asibonge caught me.

Asibonge: No way Zinhle.

He said snatching my glass away from me.

Me: What is it? No man, leave me Asibonge.

I said I wanted my glass where it had been.

When I started to walk, my legs became stiff as if I was being chained. I just became wobbly and weak and felt nauseous.

It was hard to get to the bathroom and I threw up at the door.

I was shaking. They caught me and took me to Sasa's room.
As soon as I arrived I threw myself on the bed, I was no longer vomiting and I don't even remember when I fell asleep.

Part 3: Xhosa

Ndothuka ngengomso phakabo 12:00 ndinentloko. Ndeye ndavuka ndaphunguza kwabe kukho u Yolanda no Sasa behleli kwi methi bencokola. "Mjonge uvukile". Watsho u Sasa sele ephakama esiza kum.

Yolanda: *Injani intloko.*

Me: *Ingathi ndiyibolekiwe iyasinda.*

Sasa: *Ndizokwenzela i coffe emnyama.*

Yolanda: *Hayi tshomi abukulungelanga tu utywala.*

Sasa: *Ingxaki uye waya ngamandla. Ndithi wabusela tshomi ngathi usela amanzi. Ndandingekho right tu, waye wandiphathela le coffe i strongo u Sasa ndayiphunga. Noko ndatsho ndaziva ngcono.*

Nge 18th waye wafika u Linda, sasifownelana oko ke no Odwa. U Zinathi wayendingqabele kakhulu oko ndandimngqibele ngelaxesha wayegqibokubhala egoduka. Ndandike ndimfownele ngelaxesha ndandisahlala kwa bhuti wakhe but iphone yakhe yayingaphumeli.

Part 3: English

I woke up the next day at 12:00 with a headache. I woke up and there was Yolanda and Sasa sitting on the carpet talking. "Look at her awake". Sasa said as he got up and came to me.

Yolanda: How is the head?

Me: It's like I borrowed it and it's heavy.

Sasa: I will make you some black coffee.

Yolanda: No, my friend, clearly alcohol is not good at all for you.

Sasa: The problem is that she went too hard. She drank alcohol like she was drinking water, my friend. I wasn't right at all, Sasa brought me this strong coffee and I drank it. At least I felt better.

On the 18th Linda arrived and there was constant telephonic communication us and Odwa. Zinathi had been quite scarce ever since I last saw her at that time, and she had finished writing and was on her way home. I phoned her when I was still living at my brother's place but her phone didn't appear to be working.

In this extract there is non-standard orthography with concords written separately and loanwords not adapted to isiXhosa phonology: *ndiya renter* 'I am renting' from *rent* [rɛnt]; *istory* from *story* [stɔ:ri]; *o wrongo* 'who is wrong' derived from *wrong* [rɒŋ] with just the dummy suffix /o/ [ɔ] creating the isiXhosa loan; *o sober* 'who is sober' from *sober* [səʊbə]; *kwi glass* 'in the glass'. There is also *ndanari* which means *I was nauseous* in which the root is the Afrikaans *naar* [na:r] while with *ndandingekho right* 'I was not right' the root is the English *right* [raɪt]. In *le coffee i strongo* 'this strong coffee' the root is *coffee* [kɒfi] which is qualified by the borrowed word *strong* [strɒŋ] once again with just the dummy suffix /o/ [ɔ]

creating the isiXhosa version. Dates keep the English form and merely have the adverbial *nga-* prefixed, e.g. *nge 18th* (*nga- i 18th* being *nga + i- → nge*) which means *on the 18th*.

The extract also contains the following borrowed words in which the prefix *i-* is inserted in front of each word with English roots used as they are: *iphone* 'a phone'; *i advantage* 'advantage'; *i airtime* 'airtime'; u *Please call me* 'Please call me'. The writer of this Facebook page uses her linguistic repertoire to produce a vivid account of anxiety, contemporary preoccupations with communication devices (particularly airtime running out) and relationships. The fact that the word *rum*, *bathroom* and *rumin* all appear to have the root 'room' is of no consequence to the narrative – they are not so much loans as evidence of "heterogenous languaging" (see Krause, 2022:135).

The next extract comes from Umhlobo Wenene (the isiXhosa national radio station) that posed the question "What do they say? What do you remember from the early days of radio, what do you now enjoy about the new ways of broadcasting?"

#uwfmbee: Bathini?: “Ingaba yintoni oyikhumbulayo kunomathotholo wangaphambili, iyintoni ngoku oyonwabelayo ngezindlela zintsha zolusasazo?”⁶⁰ (12th February 2023)

Below are some of the comments that the listeners wrote:

Mna ndikhumbula i radio isabizwa nge (wireless) idlala nge PM9 ... xa i flat siyigqatse elangeni sometimes uyilibale itsho imvula awubethwanga, abantu abadala bengazumamela imiphanga.

I remember the radio when it was still called wireless playing with PM9 ... when it's flat we put it in the sun sometimes you forget it there and the rain comes and you get a hiding, because old people won't be able to listen to obituaries.

Yho yho yho, ndavula isciko sebhethri ndifuna ubona umsasazi, tu umbona, ngoku ke Hai kukwamtebese, usasazi siyambukela, simfeysbhuke, simwatsape, yhu kumnandi nyani ngoku.

Gee! gee! gee! I opened the battery lid wanting to see the presenter, did not see him, now it's marvellous, we watch him, facebook, whatsapp him, it's really nice now.

Yhooo. Kudala kwaba mnandi kule wayalesi. Kwaku seji pm 10

Gee! It's always been nice with the wireless It was still pm 10.

Mna ndikhumbula ukungacimi kwayo i radio usamamele kamnandi.

I remember the radio playing continuously, you would be listening nicely all along.

Endiyikhumbulayo ngabasasazi ababe Passionate ngomsebenzi wabo ...

What I remember is how Passionate the presenters were about their work.

Kolutshintsho langoku hay andixolanga

I am not happy with the present changes.

In this text the borrowed words are also not adapted to isiXhosa orthography: *i radio* 'radio' and *nge wireless* 'with the wireless'. Most isiXhosa-speakers would have learnt that an

⁶⁰ Translation: What are they saying? "What do you miss about the radio of the past, what are you now enjoying about new ways of broadcasting?"

acceptable contemporary word for *wireless* (instead of *unomathotholo*⁶¹ which some purists cling to) is *wayalesi* but it would not be permissible to write the word without an adaptation.

We also see unadapted loanwords with isiXhosa tense markers like *ababe Passionate* ‘who were passionate’ which would be pronounced in the isiXhosa as [ababεp^h aʃi:nεjit] from the English borrowed word *passionate* [pæʃənɪt] and *kolutshintsho* [kɔlut ʃi:nt ʃɔ] ‘in this change’. The contributors to this Facebook post used the word *passionate* as it is in English, without any attempt to adapt it to the phonology or orthography of isiXhosa. The word *kolutshintsho* has an English root ‘*change* [tʃeɪndʒ] and the prefix *kolu* ‘in this’ (*ku-* + *olu* > *kolu*) is written conjunctively. This borrowed word has long been part of the isiXhosa language and is not a new loan.

Contributors to this page also used loans such as *ifouni* ‘phone’, (which was discussed earlier in this study), *simfeysbhuke* ‘we facebooked him/her’; *simwatsape* ‘we WhatsApped him/her’ and *wayalesi* ‘wireless’. These last loans are interesting in that the writer has clearly attempted to adapt the borrowed words to isiXhosa phonology as is evident in the orthography.

6.5 Lack of phonological integration of new loanwords

As discussed in 1.14 Nortier and Schatz’s research (1992.:191) discovered that the first stage of borrowing is when there is no phonological or morphological integration of loans, and that people who use these loans are bilinguals. From the above examples of very recent loanwords in isiXhosa it is clear that most have not been phonologically integrated, and it can thus be assumed that the people who penned these pieces are indeed bilinguals. As South African isiXhosa-speakers become more and more bilingual it can be predicted that these kinds of phonologically unadapted loans will become increasingly widespread. This does not mean that other bilinguals will not attempt to adapt the loan to the phonology of isiXhosa particularly when writing formal texts – new research projects will have to develop corpora with which to examine the adaptation process of these new borrowings.

⁶¹ The first gloss for *unomathotholo* in *The Greater Dictionary of isiXhosa* Vol.2 (2003:680) is *whistling spirits*.

6.6 Closing comments

It is my hope that in conducting this study I have been able to fulfill the aims laid out in Chapter 1, that is, to:

- establish a data base of borrowed words from isiXhosa texts over a 130 year period;
- provide a statistical analysis of domains most productive for borrowed words in such texts;
- suggest reasons for certain domains being more productive than others in terms of loanword creations;
- examine the orthography of the borrowed words as they appear in texts and produce a phonetic transcript of each word;
- discuss the phonological correspondences in loanwords.

In addition, I hope I have been able to show that isiXhosa-writers of novels and journalistic articles did not, and still do not, indiscriminately borrow words with little or no consideration of the phonology and orthography of isiXhosa. Rather they carefully adapt and integrate the loanword to the phonology of isiXhosa. The study of the domains most productive for loanwords also sheds light on practical, as well as spiritual and philosophical issues that isiXhosa-speakers would have been grappling with at different times in the history of South Africa. For example, the proliferation of loanwords in the religion domain speaks to a powerful outside influence, while the paucity of loanwords in the domain of nature would suggest that there is nothing in the natural universe that isiXhosa-speakers had not already discovered, identified, and named long before missionaries and settlers arrived. In addition, the fact that isiXhosa adjectives and adverbs are hardly represented in this corpus is testimony to the language's ability to adequately describe, without the help of borrowed words, what was required. The fact that today's isiXhosa-speakers might be borrowing more and more words from English (including adjectives like *sober* and *wrong*) does not mean that the language is getting weaker, but that its speakers are expanding their linguistic repertoires to encompass subtle differences in meaning (as has happened with most of the world's languages) and these words might become accepted in more formal, written contexts.

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190. *Imvo Zabantsundu* (1884) "Utengisa impahla yamadoda yonke Kwisitrata sikaMaclean".
191. *Imvo Zabantsuntu*, (1884) "Abathenga impahla kwamanye amazwe", (see Table 2)
192. *Imvo Zabantsundu* (1899) "Ifandes", (see Table 3)
193. *Umteteli wabantu* (1920) "Ilipilisi zakwa Freed Ezivusayo Nqi", (see Table 4)

APPENDICES

TABLES: Newspaper articles (1884-1920)

Table 1: *Imvo Zabantsundu*,⁶² (1 December 1884). “Utengisa impahla yamadoda yonke Kwistrata sikaMaclean”

	Borrowed words	Language of origin	Translation	Domain	Part of speech
1	kwistrata	Afrik – straat	in the street	Environment: place	noun
2	nge per cent	English	percentage	Finance	noun
3	yesheleni	English	of a shilling	Finance	noun
4	eyeponti	Afrik: pond	a pound's worth	Finance	noun
5	eyibhulukwe	Afrik: broek	which is trousers	Lifestyle: clothes	noun
6	nebhaty	Afrik: baadjie	and a jacket	Lifestyle: clothes	noun
7	ne ndulubhatyi	Afrik: onderbaadjie	waistcoat	Lifestyle: clothes	noun
8	amalaphu	Afrik: lap	rags	Lifestyle: clothes	noun
9	esilika	English	of silk	Lifestyle: clothes	noun
10	ihempe	Afrik: hemp	shirt	Lifestyle: clothes	noun
11	zeflannel	English	of flannel	Lifestyle: clothes	noun

Table 2: *Imvo Zabantsundu*,⁶³ (10 November 1884). “Abatenga impahla kwamanye amazwe nakweli”

	Borrowed words	Language of origin	Translation	Domain	Part of speech
1	bofani ngofani	Afrik: van	Different types of surnames	Names	noun
2	ivenkile	Afrik: winkel	Shop	Environment: place	noun
3	nezitora	English	and stores	Environment: place	noun
4	zitora	English	stores	Environment: place	noun

Table 3: *Imvo Zabantsundu*,⁶⁴ (30 October 1899). “Ifandes”

	Borrowed words	Language of origin	Translation	Domain	Part of speech
1	ifandes	Afrik: vendusie	auction	Finance	noun
2	iprinti	English	print	Lifestyle: clothes	noun
3	ikeleko	English	calico	Lifestyle: clothes	noun
4	ikolala	English	collar	Lifestyle: clothes	noun
5	iyadi	English	yard	Measurements	noun
6	isuti	English	suit	Lifestyle: clothes	noun
7	ibhatyi	Afrik: baadjie	jacket	Lifestyle: clothes	noun
8	nebhulukwe	Afrik: broek	trousers	Lifestyle: clothes	noun
9	ihempe	Afrik: hemp	shirt	Lifestyle: clothes	noun
10	ikausi	Afrik: kous	stockings	Lifestyle: clothes	noun
11	idyasi	Afrik: jas	coat	Lifestyle: clothes	noun

Table 4: *Umteteli wabantu*,⁶⁵ (1920). “lipilisi zakwa Freed Ezivusayo Nqi”

	Borrowed words	Language of origin	Translation	Domain	Part of speech
1	ezipilisi	English	these pills	Health	noun
2	ezipilisi	English	these pills	Health	noun
3	iibhotile	English	bottles	Environment: household items	noun
4	ngeposi	Afrik: pos	by post	Lifestyle: daily activities	noun

⁶² The Native Opinion of South Africa

⁶³ The Native Opinion of South Africa

⁶⁴ The Native Opinion of South Africa

⁶⁵ The mouthpiece of the Native People

TABLES: Newspaper articles (1893-1992)

Table 5: *Imvo zabantsundu*,⁶⁶ (1893). “UMr Effendi”.⁶⁷

	Borrowed Words	Language of origin	Translation	Domain	Part of speech
1	zaleveki	Afrik: week	of this week	Time concepts	noun
2	uMr	English	Mr	Titles	proper noun
3	iKapa	Afrik: Kaap	Cape	Environment: place	proper noun
4	kuka Mr	English	Mr	Titles	proper noun
5	ePalamente	English	at Parliament	Government	proper noun
6	wabavoti	English	of voters	Government	noun
7	engum Taki	English	being a Turkish	Nations	proper noun
8	uMr	English	Mr	Titles	proper noun
9	lobuSlamsi	English	of the Islam	Nations	abstract noun
10	yiPalamente	English	by the Parliament	Government	proper noun

Table 6: *Umteteli wabantu*,⁶⁸ (12 Jan 1924). “Pulapulani Makowethu”

	Borrowed word	Language of origin	Translation	Domain	Part of speech
1	Afrika	Afrik: Afrika	Africa	Environment: place	proper noun
2	eFidalisdolophu	Afrik	Villiersdorp	Environment: place	proper noun
3	ntolongweni	Afrik: tronk	in prison	Environment: place	noun
4	uFaro	English	Pharao	Bible names	proper noun
5	Mkrestu	English	Christian	Religion	proper noun
6	Apolyoni	English: Apollyon	Apollyon	Names from other languages	proper noun

Table 7: *Ikhwezi Lomso*,⁶⁹ (1958). “Umbutho weetitshala ze CATA uvuse abantu”

	Borrowed words	Language of origin	Translation	Domain	Part of speech
1	weetitshala	English	of teachers	Education	noun
2	amaphepha	English	Papers	Education	noun
3	iititshala	English	Teachers	Education	noun
4	iititshala	English	Teachers	Education	noun
5	wobutitshala	English	of being a teacher	Education	noun

Table 8: *Ikhwezi Lomso*,⁷⁰ (November 1958). “Yenyuk’ irhafu yenyanga”

	Borrowed word	Language of origin	Translation	Domain	Part of speech
1	irhafu ⁷¹	Afrik	Tax	Finance/Government	noun
2	iPoll Tax	English	Poll Tax	Finance	noun
3	ngemali	Arabic: mal	With money	Finance	noun
4	kunovenkile	Afrik – winkel	to the shopkeeper	Profession	noun
5	uRulumente	English	Government	Government	proper noun

⁶⁶ The Native Opinion of South Africa

⁶⁷ See Annexure XXX

⁶⁸ The mouthpiece of the Native People

⁶⁹ Morning Star

⁷⁰ Morning Star

⁷¹ It would appear that the etymology of *irhafu* is from the Afrikaans ‘opgaaf’ - S.P.E. Boshoff and G.S. Nienaber (1967), *Afrikaanse etimologieë*, Die Suid-Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns: **opgaaf**: vasgestelde hoofbelasting v. naturelle (fixed tax for natives). See also *A Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles*: 1. An annual return or account of livestock, produce, and land under cultivation, introduced at the Cape in 1796 for the purposes of taxation; the documents submitted for this return (<https://dsae.co.za/entry/opgaaf/e05377>).

Table 9: NUM News,⁷² (1992). "Iindatyana Abasebenzi Mgodini Kwimayini Yegolide Iprimrose Bebenzenele Ugwayimbo"

	Borrowed words	Language of origin	Translation	Domain	Part of speech
1	kwimayini	English	in the mine	Employment	noun
2	yegolide	English	of gold	Environment: minerals	noun
3	wegolide	English	of gold	Environment: minerals	noun
5	nenkampani	English	and company	Employment	noun
6	nenkampani	English	and company	Employment	noun
7	enkomponi ⁷³	English	at the compound	Employment	noun
8	noDesemba	English	and December	Time concepts	proper noun
9	inkomponi	English	Compound	Employment	noun
10	ikomiti	English	Committee	Employment	noun
11	lwemashali	English	of the marshall	Uniformed services	noun
12	ishift	English	Shift	Employment	noun

TABLES: Novels (1914-1980)

Table 10: Ityala lamawele, Mqhayi SEK, (1914)

	Words	Language of origin	Translation	Domain	Part of speech	Page number
1.	uBhukwana	English	small book	Names	proper noun	13
2.	nguBotomani	English	Bottoman	Settler names	proper noun	50
3.	uStokhwe	English	Stock	Settler names	proper noun	Ibid
4.	nguDyan	Afrikaans	Jan	Settler names	proper noun	Ibid
5.	eFransi	English	in France	Environment: place	proper noun	54
6.	likaKristu	English	of Christ	Religion	proper noun	Ibid
7.	weBhritani	English	of Britain	Environment: place	proper noun	Ibid
8.	Yegesi	English	of gas	Element	noun	55
9.	Nesalfure	English	with sulphur	Element	noun	Ibid
10.	uKheyizare	English	Kaizer	Title/Government	proper noun	Ibid
11.	uZephelin	English	Zeppelin ⁷⁴	Names from other languages	proper noun	Ibid
12.	asinguHabheli	English	is it not Abel	Biblical names	proper noun	57
13.	asinguMesiya	English	is it not Messiah	Biblical names	proper noun	Ibid
14.	kaMosisi	English	of Moses	Biblical names	proper noun	59
15.	Idyokwe	English	yoke	Environment: tools & equipment	noun	60
16.	zikaRhulumente	Afrik: goewernment	of the government	Government	proper noun	61
17.	ngoSamuweli	English	by Samuel	Biblical names	proper noun	Ibid
18.	kwaSirayeli	English	in Israel	Religion/Environment: place	proper noun	Ibid
19.	njengoAhitofele	English	like Ahithophel	Biblical names	proper noun	Ibid
20.	noDavide	English	and David	Biblical names	proper noun	Ibid
21.	Atshibhishopu	English	Archbishop	Religion/Title	proper noun	Ibid
22.	baka-Aroni	English	of Aaron	Biblical names	proper noun	Ibid
23.	uMiryam	English	Miriam	Biblical names	proper noun	64
24.	uDebora	English	Deborah	Biblical names	proper noun	65
25.	kaYehova	English	of Jehovah	Biblical names	proper noun	Ibid
26.	zakwaSirayeli	English	of Israel	Religion/Environment: place	proper noun	Ibid

⁷² National Union of Mine Workers

⁷³ News 24 (Dec 2012) has this explanation of "inkomponi" (a word that does not appear in either a Xhosa or Zulu dictionary): Inhloko yezindaba kuSABC uJimi Matthews utshela iThe Star ukuthi igama elithi "inkomponi" yigama elisetshenziswa ngabantu bakuleli elibhekiswe kubasebenzi abamnyama abasuka emaphandleni, ikakhulukazi abasezimayini. Kuthiwa lisuka emlandweni wobandlululo. (SABC head of news Jimi Matthews told The Star that the word "compound" is a term used by South Africans to refer to black workers from rural areas, especially miners. It is said to be rooted in the history of apartheid.) <https://www.news24.com/news24/unswinyo-kwabesabc-ngolwasenkandla-20121107>

⁷⁴ A **Zeppelin** was an airship named after its inventor Count Ferdinand von Zeppelin.

27.	kaSawule	English	of Saul	Biblical names	proper noun	lbid
28.	uGoliyati	English	Goliath	Biblical names	proper noun	lbid
29.	amaFiliistiya	English	Philistines	Religion / Nations	proper noun	lbid
30.	kaSawule	English	of Saul	Biblical names	proper noun	lbid
31.	uDavide	English	David	Biblical names	proper noun	lbid
32.	uAsafu	English	Asaph	Biblical names	proper noun	lbid
33.	bakaKora	English	of Corah	Biblical names	proper noun	lbid
34.	weAfrika	Afrikaans: Afrika	of Africa	Environment: place	proper noun	66
35.	Debhora	English	Deborah	Biblical names	proper noun	lbid
36.	uAdam	English	Adam	Biblical names	proper noun	lbid
37.	umYuropu	English	European	Nations	proper noun	lbid
38.	eYuropu	English	at Europe	Environment: place	proper noun	67
39.	kaFaro	English	of Pharaoh	Religion// Names/Title	proper noun	lbid
40.	eLovedale	English	at Lovedale	Education	proper noun	68
41.	Isikolo	Afrikaans: skool	school	Education	noun	lbid
42.	Ibhanti	English	belt	Lifestyle: clothes	noun	lbid
43.	ngobutitshala	English	of teaching	Education	abstract noun	lbid
44.	eKhimbili	English	at Kimberley	Environment	proper noun	lbid
45.	njengotitshala	English	as a teacher	Education	noun	lbid
46.	kwaSomaseti	English	at Somerset	Environment: place	proper noun	lbid
47.	ephepheni	English	in the paper	Environment: tools & equip/Educ	noun	lbid
48.	Kholeji	English	College	Education	noun	71
49.	uBaliti	English	Birt	Missionary names	proper noun	lbid
50.	Yititshala	English	is a teacher	Education	noun	lbid
51.	IweBhayibhile	English	of the Bible	Religion	noun	lbid
52.	yaseMelika	English	of America	Environment: place	proper noun	lbid
53.	laseKoloni	Afrikaans: kolonie	of the colony/Province	Environment: place/Government	proper noun	72
54.	kwelaseTiyopiya	English	to the Ethiopian one	Environment: place	proper noun	lbid
55.	kumaWesile	English	Wesleyan / Wesley	Religion/ Missionary names	proper noun	73
56.	uBhishopu	English	Bishop	Religion/Title	noun	lbid
57.	yeeBhishopu	English	of Bishops	Religion/Title	noun	lbid
58.	seKerike	Afrikaans: kerk	of church/Anglican	Religion	proper noun	lbid
59.	neerhamente	Afrik – gemeente	of the congregations	Religion	noun	lbid
60.	lobutyalike	Afrikaans: kerk	of church/denomination	Religion	noun	lbid
61.	Nompriste	English	and the priest	Religion	noun	lbid
62.	weFritshatshi	English	of the Free Church	Religion	proper noun	lbid
63.	kwiJubhili	English	in the Jubilee	Government	noun	lbid
64.	eSkotilani	English	at Scotland	Environment: place	proper noun	lbid
65.	Imali	English (English (Arabic - mal) ⁷⁵)	money	Finance	noun	lbid
66.	koPresident	English	of President	Government/Title	proper noun	lbid
67.	eKapa	Afrikaans: Kaap	in the cape	Environment: place	proper noun	lbid
68.	eNatala	Afrikaans Natal	in Natal	Environment: place	proper noun	lbid
69.	uRhulumente	Afrik: goewerment	government	Government	proper noun	lbid
70.	uCaptain	English	Captain	Professions/Title	proper noun	lbid
71.	uVitoliya	Latin: Victoria	Victoria ⁷⁶	Government/Names from other languages	proper noun	lbid
72.	Bhokhwe	Afrikaans – bok	Goat	Settler names	noun/proper noun	76
73.	Eofisini	English	at the office	Environment: place/Employment	noun	lbid
74.	litafile	Afrikaans: tafel	tables	Environment: tools and equipment	noun	lbid
75.	iRhuluneli	Afrik: goewerneur	governor	Government/Title	noun	lbid
76.	Weposi	Afrikaans: pos	of the post	Government	noun	lbid
77.	yinkomponi	English	it is the compound	Employment	noun	lbid
78.	uBhokhwe	English	goat	Environment: person name from an animal	proper noun	lbid
79.	ebuvangelini	English	in evangelism	Religion	abstract noun	77
80.	ebutempileni	English	in the temple	Religion	abstract noun	lbid
81.	neeTitshala	English	and the teachers	Education	noun	lbid
82.	nomSkotshikazi	English	Scottish girl	Nations	proper noun	lbid

⁷⁵ See The Greater Dictionary of IsiXhosa, Vol.2, K-P (2003:272) “imali < Arabic mal, property”.

⁷⁶ Queen Victoria was **Queen** of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland from 1837 to 1901

Table 11: Ingqumbo yeminyanya, Jordan AC, (1940)

	Borrowed Words	Language of origin	Translation	Domain	Part of speech	Page number
1.	lisali	Afrik: saal	saddles	Environment: tools and equipment	noun	3
2.	iibhulukhwe	Afrik: broek	trousers	Lifestyle: clothes	noun	Ibid
3.	lasesikolweni	Afrik: skool	of school	Education	noun	Ibid
4.	Zegesi	English	of gas	Element	noun	5
5.	nedyasi	Afrik: jas	and coat	Lifestyle: clothes	noun	12
6.	Cousie	English	cousin	Family relations	noun	14
7.	Afrika	Afrik: Afrika	Africa	Environment: place	noun	17
8.	Holide	English	holiday	Lifestyle: entertainment	noun	18
9.	kwaNokholeji	English	at college	Education	noun	19
10.	iMatriculation	English	matriculation	Education	noun	20
11.	edolophini	Afrik: dorp	in town	Environment: place	noun	21
12.	Arha!	Afrik: ag!	Ah!/Gee!	Exclamation	exclamation	Ibid
13.	eholweni	English	at the hall	Environment: place	noun	Ibid
14.	Festile	Afri: venster	window	Environment: household items	noun	Ibid
15.	nebhola	English	and a ball	Lifestyle: sports	noun	23
16.	ibhishophu	English	bishop	Religion	noun	29
17.	ebhatyini	Afrik: baadjie	on the jacket	Lifestyle: clothes	noun	Ibid
18.	kwaNokholeji	English	at the College	Education	noun	30
19.	kwilori	English	in a truck	Transport	noun	Ibid
20.	ama-Afrika	Afrikaans: Afrikaner	Africans	Nations	proper noun	Ibid
21.	namaIndiya	English	and Indians	Nations	proper noun	Ibid
22.	ubu"Major"	English	being a Major > rank of major	Uniformed services	Abstract noun	35
23.	uBhishopu	English	Bishop	Title	proper noun	45
24.	iiPsychology	English	Psychologies	Education	noun	47
25.	neeEthics	English	and Ethics	Education	noun	Ibid
26.	neLogic	English	and Logic	Education	noun	Ibid
27.	etolikelwa	Afrik: tolk	being translated for	Profession	verb	51
28.	itishalana	English	young teachers	Education	noun	Ibid
29.	lisister	English	sisters/nuns	Religion	noun	52
30.	iAngelus	English	Angelus	Religion	noun	53
31.	Maan	Afrik: man	man	Exclamation	exclamation	54
32.	isigarethi	English	cigarette	Lifestyle: daily activities	noun	Ibid
33.	uRhulumente	Afrik: goewerment	government	Government	proper noun	Ibid
34.	Isikolo	Afrik: skool	school	Education	noun	Ibid
35.	notishalakazi	English	and a female teacher	Education	noun	Ibid
36.	etafileni	Afrik: tafel	on the table	Environment: household items	noun	Ibid
37.	ezo titshala zasemishini	English	those mission teachers	Religion	noun	60
38.	litishala	English	teachers	Education	noun	61
39.	iphepha	English	paper	Environment: household items	noun	62
40.	phepha-ndaba	English	newspaper	Lifestyle: news	noun	Ibid
41.	yebhatyi	Afrik: baadjie	of a jacket	Lifestyle: clothes	noun	64
42.	iisuit case	English	suitcases	Education	noun	Ibid
43.	Zeposi	Afrik: pos	post	Lifestyle: daily activities	noun	67
44.	ngeKilisimesi	English	at Christmas	Religion	proper noun	68
45.	ootitshala	English	teachers	Education	noun	83
46.	edolophini	Afrik: dorp	town	Environment: place	noun	96
47.	nguRhulumente	Afrik: goewerment	Government	Government	proper noun	97
48.	kwilokishi	English,	to the location	Environment: place	noun	98
49.	Imoto	Afrik: motor	car	Transport	noun	Ibid
50.	ebhulorhweni	Afrik: brug	bridge	Environment: place	noun	111
51.	noSister	English	with Sister	Titles	proper noun	119
52.	nekaSawuli	English	and Saul's	Religion	proper noun	123
53.	wakwaSirayeli	English	of Israel	Religion	noun	Ibid

54.	uJonatana	English	Jonathan	Names	noun	Ibid
55.	Lesister	English	of the sister	Religion	noun	126
56.	esitulweni	Afrik: stoel	in a chair	Environment: household items	noun	131
57.	neetoliki	Afrik: tolk	and interpreters	Profession	noun	144
58.	iibhokhwe	Afrik: bokke	goats	Environment: animals	noun	161
59.	sisitena	Afrik: steen	it is brick	Environment: tools and equipment	noun	Ibid
60.	neBhishopu	English	with Bishop	Religion	noun	Ibid
61.	nguBhishopu	English	is the Bishop	Title	noun	165
62.	ljezi	English	jersey	Lifestyle: clothes	noun	Ibid
63.	entolongweni	Afrik: tronk	in prison	Environment: place	noun	211
64.	uWilliams	English	Williams	Names	proper noun	Ibid
65.	Nesali	Afrik: saal	and the saddle	Transport	noun	216
66.	Kwisofa	English	on the sofa	Environment: household items	noun	Ibid
67.	kuNoposi	Afrik: pos	postman	Uniformed services	proper noun	237
68.	ebutitshaleni	English	in teaching	Education	Abstract noun	240

Table 12: Buzani kubawo, Tamsanqa WK, (1958)

	Borrowed words	Language of origin	Translation	Domain	Part of speech	Page number
1	edolophini	Afrik: dorp	town	Environment: place	noun	6
2	lelikabhuti	Afrik: boet	it is brother's one	Family relations	noun	Ibid
3	esikolweni	Afrik: skool	at school	Education	noun	16
4	nesigarethi	English	and cigarette	Lifestyle: daily activities	noun	17
5	will mean commitments and sacrifices	English	will mean commitments and sacrifices	Education	phrase	Ibid
6	ndiseparadesi	Afrik: paradys	I am in paradise	Religion	noun	28
7	idyasi	Afrik: jas	coat	Lifestyle: clothing	noun	33
8	nebhulukhwe	Afr: broek	and trousers	Lifestyle: clothing	noun	Ibid
9	"Pride before the fall"	English	"Pride before the fall"	Education	phrase	57
10	kwebhokhwe	Afrik – bok	of a goat	Environment: animals	noun	57
11	zemali	English (Arabic – mal)	of money	Finance	noun	62
12	samaHebhere	English	of Hebrews	Religion	proper noun	66
13	iti	English	tea	Lifestyle: food	noun	74
14	bamaAfrika	Afrik: Afrikaners	of Africans	Nations	proper noun	Ibid
15	tishalakazi	English	teacher	Education/Title	noun	75
16	edolophini	Afrik: dorp	in town	Environment: place	noun	78
17	amapolisa	Afrik: polisie	police officers	Uniformed Services	noun	Ibid
18	waseAfrika	Afrik: Afrika	from Africa	Environment: place	proper noun	80
19	ebhayiskopu	English	at the cinema	Lifestyle: entertainment	noun	90
20	ijaji	English	judge	Government	noun	96
21	ebhankini	Afrik: bank	at the bank	Environment: place/Finance	place	Ibid
22	eeponi	Afrik: pond	of pounds	Finance	noun	Ibid
23	kubhetele	English	it is better	Lifestyle: advancement	relative	103
24	ePitoli	English	in Pretoria	Environment: place	proper noun	Ibid

Table 13: Ukuba ndandazile, Tamsanqa WK, (1967)

	Borrowed words	Language of origin	Translation	Domain	Part of speech	Page number
1	nezikolo	English	and schools	Education	noun	4
2	Bhayibhile	English	Bible	Religion	noun	5
3	My case is a different one altogether	English	My case is a different one altogether	Education	phrase	29
4	ephepheni	English	in the paper	Lifestyle: news	noun	33
5	evenkileni	Afrik: winkel	at the shop	Environment: place	noun	<i>Ibid</i>
6	kwesikolo	Afrik: skool	of the school	Education	noun	<i>Ibid</i>
7	imvulophu	English	envelope	Environment: household item	noun	<i>Ibid</i>
8	ijezi	English	jersey	Lifestyle: clothes	noun	<i>Ibid</i>
9	evarandeni	English: veranda ⁷⁷	on the veranda	Environment: place	noun	<i>Ibid</i>
	yevenkile	Afrik: winkel	of the shop	Environment: place	noun	<i>Ibid</i>
10	tishala	English	teacher	Education/Titles	noun	<i>Ibid</i>
11	titshalakazi	English	female teacher	Education/Titles	noun	37
12	iveki	Afrik: week	week	Time concepts	noun	85
13	edolophini	Afrik – dorp	in town	Environment: place	noun	<i>Ibid</i>
14	zimayile	English	miles	Measurement	noun	<i>Ibid</i>
15	idyasi	Afrik: jas	jacket	Lifestyle: clothes	noun	87
16	emotweni	Afrik: motor	in the car	Transport	noun	<i>Ibid</i>
17	ilaphu	Afrik: lap	cloth	Environment: household items	noun	<i>Ibid</i>
18	lomdyaro	Afrik: jaag	of a race	Lifestyle: sport	noun	89
19	nezitalato	Afrik: strate	and streets	Environment: place	noun	90
20	uVitoliyai	Latin: Victoria	Victoria	Government	proper noun	<i>Ibid</i>
21	ngaseposini	Afrik: pos	near the post office	Environment: place	noun	<i>Ibid</i>
22	vesi	English	verse	Religion	noun	104
23	irhamente	Afrik – gemeente	congregation	Religion	noun	<i>Ibid</i>

Table 14: UDingezweni, Mtuze PT, (1971)

	Borrowed Words	Language of origin	Translation	Domain	Part of speech	Page Number
1	Bhokhwinetyala (*name)	Afrik: bok	guilty goat	Environment: first part of name from another language	proper noun	2
2	ikati	Afrik: kat	cat	Environment: animals	noun	5
3	noNoveki	Afrik: week	week	Family relations/Time concepts/Names	proper noun	<i>Ibid</i>
4	ooBhokhwinetyala (*name)	Afrik: bok	guilty goat and others	Environment first part of name from another language	proper noun	<i>Ibid</i>
5	imoto	Afrik: motor	car	Transport	noun	14
6	esikolweni	Afrik: skool	at school	Education	noun	15
7	utitshalakazi	English	female teacher	Education	noun	<i>Ibid</i>
8	iisali	Afrik: saal	saddle	Transport	noun	18
9	iidyokhwe	English	yoke	Environment: tools and equipment	noun	23
10	kaBhokhwe (*name)	Afrik: bok	of goat	Environment: person Names from other languages	proper noun	31

⁷⁷ Veranda comes to English via Portugese ‘varanda’ but its language of origin is actually Hindi ‘varanda’.

11	ipolisa	Afrik: polisie	police officer	Uniformed services	noun	35
12	iapile	English	apple	Environment: plants	noun	40
13	fleyithi	Afrik: fluit	flute	Lifestyle: entertainment	noun	41
14	uSoldati	Afrik: Soldaat	Soldier	Uniformed services/Titles	noun	44
15	inaliti	Afrik: naald	needle	Environment: household items	noun	46
16	edolophini	Afrik: dorp	in town	Environment: place	noun	53
17	ziitiki	English	tickey (small coin)	Finance	noun	58
18	ngemali	English (Arabic – mal)	with money	Finance	noun	63
19	kweJaji	English	judge	Government/Title	noun	65
20	Abhasalom	English	Absalom	Religion/Names	proper noun	66
21	lwesiphorho	Afrik: spook	of the ghost	Supernatural	noun	67
22	iiveki	Afrik: week	weeks	Time concepts	noun	68
23	esitishini	English	at the station	Transport	noun	76
24	elokishini	English	in the location	Environment: place	noun	77
25	itoliki	Afrik: tolk	Interpreter	Profession	noun	lbid
26	ngepeki	Afrik: pik	pick	Environment: tools	noun	80
27	itikiti	English	ticket	Transport	noun	lbid
28	abelijoyinele	English	that he joined	Employment	verb	lbid
29	ezintenteni	English	by the tents	Environment places	noun	lbid
30	iibhatyi	Afrik: baadjie	jacket	Lifestyle: clothes	noun	82
31	wegolide	English	of gold	Environment: minerals	noun	86
32	uYehova	English	Jehovah	Religion/Names	proper noun	87
33	zamaKrestu	English	of Christians	Religion	proper noun	88
34	utitshala	English	teacher	Education	noun	lbid
35	kaSathana	English	of Satan	Religion	proper noun	lbid
36	damanethi	English	dynamite	Environment: minerals	noun	92
37	kule veki	Afrik: week	this week	Time concepts	noun	93
38	entolongweni	Afrik: tronk	in prison	Government	noun	101
39	yebhulukhwe	Afrik: broek	of trousers	Lifestyle: clothes	noun	105
40	yebhere	English	of a bear	Environment animals	noun	106
41	iponi	English	pony	Environment: animals	noun	lbid
42	wesikolo	Afrik: skool	of school	Education	noun	lbid
43	ezitratweni	Afrik: straat	in the streets	Environment: place	noun	lbid
44	imali yam	English (Arabic - mal)	my money	Finance	noun	lbid
45	imali	English (Arabic - mal)	money	Finance	noun	lbid
46	kwisayidi	English	in the side	Environment: place	proper noun	lbid
47	Natala	Afrik: Natal	Natal	Environment: place	noun	110
48	amapolisa	Afrik: polisie	police officers	Uniformed services	noun	111
49	imali	English (Arabic - mal)	money	Finance	noun	lbid
50	ngemoto	Afrik: motor	with a car	Transport	noun	114
51	ikati	Afrik: kat	cat	Environment: animals	noun	lbid
52	ofisi	English	office	Environment: place/Employment	noun	121

53	nkampani	English	compound	Environment: place/Employment	noun	lbid
54	mlesi	Afrik: lees	reader	Lifestyle: entertainment	noun	123
55	uSathana	English	Satan	Religion	proper noun	lbid
56	eswekile	Afrik: suiker	of sugar	Lifestyle: cuisine	noun	124
57	eswekileni	Afrik: suiker	in the sugar	Lifestyle: cuisine	noun	lbid
58	kubhetele	English	it is better	Lifestyle: advancement	noun	126
59	uSathana	English	Satan	Religion	proper noun	129
60	isiphorho	Afrik: spook	ghost	Supernatural	noun	133
61	eNatala	Afrik Natal	in Natal	Environment: place	proper noun	134
62	mlesi	Afrik: lees	reader	Lifestyle: entertainment	noun	lbid
63	mlesi	Afrik: lees	reader	Lifestyle: entertainment	noun	137

TABLES: Novels (2003-2017)

Table 15: Iziqendu zobom, Dyosi OJ, (2003)

	Borrowed Words	Language of origin	Translation	Domain	Part of speech	Page Number
1	bra	English and Afrik	brother	Titles	noun	2
2	itikiti	English	ticket	Transport	noun	lbid
3	egaraji	English	at the garage	Environment: place/Transport	noun	lbid
4	ama-apile	English	apples	Lifestyle: cuisine/Environment: plants	noun	3
5	ngempela-veki	English	during the weekend	Time concepts	noun	4
6	nofele	Afrik: vel	and skin	Environment: animals	noun	11
7	yabapolitiki	English	of the politicians	Government	noun	lbid
8	urhulumente	Afrik: goewerment	government	Government	noun	lbid
9	Liberation first, education last.	English	Liberation first, education last.	Education/Lifestyle: advancement	phrase	lbid
10	kwikontraka	English	in the contract	Employment	noun	12
11	kwilokishi	English	in the location	Environment: place	noun	14
12	kwilokishi	English	in the location	Environment: place	noun	lbid
13	nenkomponi	English	compound	Employment	noun	lbid
14	oonontente	English	tent men	Employment	noun	lbid
15	kwaneelokhwe	English	and also, dresses	Lifestyle: clothing	noun	lbid
16	webhasi	English	of the bus	Transport	noun	18
17	ePitoli	English	to Pretoria	SA place name	proper noun	lbid
18	ebhedini	English	in bed	Environment: household items	noun	lbid
19	weteksi	English	of the taxi	Transport	noun	19
20	kweyure	Afrik: uur	of an hour	Time concepts	noun	lbid
21	sasehotele	English	of the hotel	Environment: place	noun	lbid
22	ezifestileni	Afrik: vensters	at the windows	Environment: household	noun	lbid
23	emishini	English	at Mission	Environment: place	noun	48
24	eseketheni	English	in the circuit	Religion		lbid
25	izitalato	Afrik: strate	Streets	Environment: place/Transport	noun	59
26	iholo yedolophu	English	town hall	Environment: place	noun	lbid
27	iimoto	Afrik: motor	inside the car	Transport	noun	lbid
28	eholweni	English	in the hall	Environment: place	noun	lbid

29	ilaphu	Afrikaas: lap	Cloth	Environment: household items	noun	lbid
30	ziititshala	English	they are teachers	Education	noun	71
31	ngemali	English (Arabic - mal)	with money	Finance	noun	lbid
32	kwizitalato	Afrik – strate	in the streets	Environment: place/Transport	noun	lbid
33	zeKapa	Afrik - Kaap	of Cape Town	Environment: place	proper noun	lbid
34	itikiti	English	ticket	Transport	noun	85
35	ngemoto	Afrik: motor	by the car	Transport	noun	lbid

Table 16: Kwisizwe esitsha, Mlandu MS, (2003)

	Borrowed Words	Language of origin	Translation	Domain	Part of speech	Page number
1	yamaTshetshi	English	of the Anglican Church	Religion	proper noun	2
2	yedolophu	Afrikaans: dorp	of the towns	Environment: place	noun	lbid
3	iKhimballi	English	Kimberley	Environment: place	proper noun	lbid
4	neNyukhasile	English	and Newcastle	SA place name	proper noun	lbid
5	unovenkile	Afrikaans: winkel	shop owner	Profession	noun	3
6	ekwaziibanki	English	which was also the banks	Environment: place/Finance	noun	lbid
7	lebhola	English	of the football	Lifestyle: sports	noun	lbid
8	iibheji	English	badges	Lifestyle: advancement	noun	8
9	neyaseRuwanda	English	and that one of Ruanda	Environment: place	proper noun	9
10	ezihostele	English	at the hostels	Environment: place/Employment	noun	lbid
11	elokishini	English	in the location	Environment: place	noun	lbid
12	ii-inshorensi	English	insurances	Finance	noun	40
13	nemali	English (Arabic - mal)	and money	Finance	noun	lbid
14	yinkampani	English	it is a company	Employment	noun	lbid
15	imashini	English	machine	Environment: household items	noun	lbid
16	ofisi	English	office	Environment: place/Employment	noun	lbid
17	ngevesi	English	by verse	Religion	noun	lbid
18	ipokotho,	English	pocket	Lifestyle: clothes	noun	42
19	yemali	Arabic: mal	money	Finance	noun	lbid
20	ngamavili	Afrikaans: wiel	with the wheels	Transport	noun	lbid
21	i-oli	English	oil	Environment: minerals/Transport	noun	lbid
22	nepetula	English	petrol	Transport	noun	lbid

Table 17: limbuso zikaGawulayo, Bangani S, (2006)

	Borrowed Words	Language of origin	Translation	Domain	Part of speech	Page number
1	kwasetweni	Afrik: motor	in the car	Transport	noun	2
2	Ngefestile	Afrik: venster	through the window	Environment: household	noun	lbid
3	Mapolisa	Afrik: polisie	police officers	Uniformed services	noun	lbid
4	le tekisi	English	this taxi	Transport	noun	3
5	Imoto	Afrik: motor	Car	Transport	noun	6
6	Katishala	English	teacher's	Education	noun	lbid
7	liveki	Afrik: week	Weeks	Time concepts	noun	7
8	lbhulukhwe	Afrik: broek	Trousers	Lifestyle: clothes	noun	8

9	Ubhataliswa	Afrik: betaal	s/he is [made to] pay	Finance	verb	10
10	seebhokhwe	Afrik: bok	of the goats	Environment: animals	noun	12
11	Kwiveki	Afrik: week	in a week	Time concepts		13
12	ooTomasi	English	Thomas and co.	Biblical names	noun	14
13	Evenkileni	Afrik: winkel	at the shop	Environment: place	noun	16
14	ngalo veni yakhe	English	with his van	Transport	noun	Ibid
15	imavili made	Afrik – wiel	that had long wheels	Transport	noun	Ibid
16	ngalo veni	English	in that van	Transport	noun	Ibid
17	okuzikliniki	English	which are clinics	Environment: place/Health		17
18	ebhedini	English	on the bed	Environment: household items	noun	Ibid
19	emotweni	Afrik: motor	in the car	Transport	noun	Ibid
20	Ityeli	Afrik: keer	Time	Time concepts		18
21	ziinjini	English	they are engineers	Employment	noun	19
22	kurhulumente	Afrik: goewerment	to government	Government	noun	Ibid
23	yayinosingarhulumente	Afrik: goewerment	it had fake government	Government	noun	Ibid
24	sikamasipala	Afrik -munisipaliteit	of the municipality	Government	noun	20
25	Afrika	Afrik: Afrika	Africa	Environment: place	proper noun	Ibid
26	lwesabhokhwe	Afrik: sambok	of a whip	Environment: tools and equipment	noun	21
27	Dyunivesithi	English	University	Education	noun	Ibid
28	neepesika	Afrik: perske	and the peaches	Environment: plants	noun	25
29	yasepalamente	English	of parliament	Government	noun	Ibid
30	yayingoJuni	English	it was in June	Time concepts	proper noun	Ibid
31	palamente	English	Parliament	Government	noun	30
32	Afrika	Afrik: Afrika	Africa	Environment: place	proper noun	Ibid
33	ngemali	English (Arabic - mal)	with money	Finance	noun	Ibid
34	ezikolweni	Afrik – skool	at schools	Education	noun	31
35	kwiiklinikhi	English	at clinics	Health	noun	Ibid
36	ilokhwana	Afrik: rok	small dress	Lifestyle: clothes	noun	Ibid
37	ibhatyi	Afrik: baadjie	Jacket	Lifestyle: clothes	noun	Ibid
38	kwisikolo	Afrik – skool	to school	Education	noun	Ibid
39	ufele lwegusha	Afrik: vel	sheep skin	Environment: animals	noun	Ibid
40	kwimpela veki	English	Weekend	Time concepts	noun	32
41	kwifayile	English	in the file	Employment	noun	Ibid
42	Imeya	English	Mayor	Government	noun	Ibid
43	Imoto	Afrik: motor	Car	Transport	noun	33
44	yeebhokhwe	Afrik: bok	of goats	Environment: animals	noun	Ibid
45	Moto	Afrik: motor	Car	Transport	noun	Ibid
46	ngefestile	Afrik: venster	through the window	Environment: household	noun	Ibid
47	yeebhokhwe	Afrik: bokke	of goats	Environment: animals	noun	Ibid
48	kwezo zikolo	Afrik: skool	at those schools	Education	noun	Ibid
49	Koloni	Afrik: kolonie	colony	Environment: place	noun	34
50	evenkileni	Afrik: winkel	at the shop	Environment: place	noun	Ibid
51	kweso sikolo	Afrik: skool	at that school	Education	noun	Ibid
52	sasePentekhi	English	of Pentech	Education	proper noun	Ibid
53	iPentekhi neTekinikhoni	English	Pentech and Technicon	Education	Proper noun	Ibid

54	koko kusayina	English	in that signing	Lifestyle: daily activities	verb	Ibid
55	weveki	Afrik: week	of the week	Time concepts	noun	35
56	ibhasari	English	Bursary	Education	noun	Ibid
57	izikeyiti	English	Skirts	Lifestyle: clothes	noun	Ibid
58	ibhegi	English	Bag	Lifestyle: clothes	noun	Ibid
59	unodolana	English	a little doll	Lifestyle: entertainment	noun	Ibid
60	ipalamente	English	parliament	Government	noun	40
61	wasehotele	English	of the Hotel	Environment: place	noun	Ibid
62	lwepalamente	English	of parliament	Government	noun	Ibid
63	yemali yepalamente	Arabic – mal/English	parliament's money	Finance/Government	noun	Ibid
64	eofisini	English	at the office	Environment: place/Employment	noun	41
65	kwakwiveki	Afrik: week	in the week	Time concepts	noun	Ibid
66	neebhulukhwe	Afrik: broek	and pants	Lifestyle: clothes	noun	Ibid
67	wayefowunile	English	he had phoned	Lifestyle: daily activities	verb	Ibid
68	esikolweni	Afrik: skool	at the school	Education	noun	Ibid
69	esikolweni	Afrik: skool	at the school	Education	noun	42
70	ootishala	English	teachers	Education	noun	Ibid
71	nezo tishala	English	and those teachers	Education	noun	Ibid
72	Iklassi	English	class	Education	noun	Ibid
73	ayifowunele	English	to phone him/her	Lifestyle: daily activities	verb	43
74	seyisekilasini	English	was in class already	Education	noun	Ibid
75	ifowuni	English	phone	Technology	noun	Ibid
76	nalo tishalakazi	English	with that female teacher	Education	noun	Ibid
77	Iveki	Afrik: week	week	Time Concepts	noun	Ibid
78	zobunjinele	English	of engineering	Employment	abstract noun	Ibid
79	ePentekhi	English	Pentech	Education	Proper noun	44
80	kulo diploma yobunjinele	English	in that Engineering Diploma	Education	noun/abstract noun	Ibid
81	ibhasi	English	bus	Transport	noun	48
82	evenkileni	Afrik: winkel	at the shop	Environment: place	noun	Ibid
83	ifowuni	English	phone	Technology	noun	49
84	eVostile	English	in Worcester	Environment: place	proper noun	Ibid
85	itekisi	English	taxi	Transport	noun	Ibid
86	itekisi	English	taxi	Transport	noun	50
87	ekoneni	English	on the corner	Environment: place	noun	Ibid
88	elokishini	English	in the location	Environment: place	noun	51
89	ziibhulukhwe	Afrik: broeke	they are trousers	Lifestyle: clothes	noun	Ibid
90	eVostile	English	in Worcester	SA place name	proper noun	Ibid
91	kwivenkile	Afrik: winkel	in the shop	Environment: place	noun	Ibid
92	kwifowuni	English	on the phone	Technology	noun	Ibid
93	ifowunelwe	English	s/he it was phoned	Lifestyle: daily activities	noun	Ibid
94	ngu "lavi"	English	s/he is lovey	Family relations	noun	Ibid
95	ezibhasini	English	in the busses	Transport	noun	55
96	ngemoto	Afrik: motor	by the car	Transport	noun	Ibid
97	ikhetshi	English	cash	Finance	noun	Ibid
98	ihotele	English	hotel	Environment: place	noun	Ibid
99	imali yepalamente	Arabic (mal) + English	parliament's money	Finance/Government	noun	Ibid
100	kwitenda	English	in the tender	Government/Employment	noun	Ibid
101	ikhampani	English	the compound	Employment	noun	Ibid

102	ezihotele	English	at the hotels	Environment: place	noun	Ibid
103	kwicala leetekisi	English	on the taxis' side	Transport	noun	66
104	iphepha	English	paper	Environment: household items	noun	Ibid
105	epokothweni	English	in the pocket	Lifestyle: clothing	noun	Ibid
106	wekati	English	of the cat	Environment: animals	noun	67
107	itekisi	English	taxi	Transport	noun	Ibid

Table 18: Ungowam, Gcwadi M, (2014)

	Borrowed Words	Language of origin	Translation	Domain	Part of speech	Page number
1	yeelokishi	English	of locations	Environment: place	noun	2
2	linoveli	English	novel	Lifestyle: entertainment	noun	5
3	Lokishi	English	location	Environment: place	noun	Ibid
4	utitshalakazi	English	female teacher	Education	noun	Ibid
5	Februwari	English	February	Time concepts	proper noun	Ibid
6	idesika	English	desk	Education	noun	Ibid
7	Khaphetshu (name)	English	cabbage	Names	proper noun	10
8	Selula	English	cellular	Technology	noun	15
9	zinoo-Whatsapp	English	with WhatsApp	Technology	noun	Ibid
10	lfowuni	English	phone	Technology	noun	Ibid
11	epokothweni	English	in the pocket	Environment: place	noun	Ibid
12	Izitoki	Afrikaans: stokkie lekker	sweets that are in a stick	Lifestyle: cuisine	noun	24
13	Tshipisi	English	chips	Lifestyle: cuisine	proper noun	Ibid
14	zamaSomali	English	of Somalians	Nations	proper noun	Ibid
15	Wesikolo	Afrikaans: skool	of school	Education	noun	29
16	kwipijama	English	pyjamas	Lifestyle: clothes	noun	Ibid
17	lfestile	Afrikaans: venster	window	Environment: household	noun	Ibid
18	i-fifty cents	English	fifty cents	Finance	noun	30
19	Ejimini	English	at the gym	Lifestyle: sports	noun	Ibid
20	khabhathi	English	cupboard	Environment: household furniture	noun	Ibid
21	lisenti	English	cents	Finance	noun	Ibid
22	lfaskoti	Afrikaans: voorskoot	apron	Lifestyle: clothes	noun	31
23	Nemali	English (Arabic - mal)	and money	Finance	noun	Ibid
24	kwelo khitshi	English	in that kitchen	Environment: place	noun	Ibid
25	lpelepele	Zulu	pepper	Lifestyle: cuisine	noun	33
26	Ejimini	English	at the gym	Environment: place/ Lifestyle: sport	noun	Ibid
27	Wesikolo	Afrikaans: skool	of the school	Education	noun	34
28	Esofeni	English	on the sofa	Environment: household item	noun	Ibid
29	lbhegi	English	bag	Lifestyle: accessory	noun	38
30	Besikolo	English	of school	Education	noun	39
31	esikolweni	English	at the school	Education	noun	41
32	wesikolo	Afrikaans: skool	of school	Education	noun	Ibid
33	Eklasini	Afrikaans – klas	in class	Education	noun	Ibid
34	esikolweni	Afrikaans: skool	at school	Education	noun	Ibid
35	utitshala	English	teacher	Education	noun	Ibid
36	esikolweni	Afrikaans: skool	at school	Environment: place	noun	Ibid
37	amaNdiya	English	Indians	Nations	proper noun	45
38	Utitshala	English	teacher	Education	noun	46
39	ekhemesti	English	at the chemist	Environment: place/Health	noun	Ibid
40	Ukupasa	English	to pass	Education	verb	Ibid
41	Bapase	English	they must pass	Education	verb	47
42	kutitshala	English	to the teacher	Education	noun	Ibid
43	ljezi	English	jersey	Lifestyle: clothes	noun	51
44	Ebhegini	English	in the bag	Lifestyle: accessory	noun	Ibid
45	edolophini	Afrikaans: dorp	in town	Environment: place	noun	Ibid
46	emotweni	English	by the car	Transport	noun	52
47	Ziiteksi	English	they are taxis	Transport	noun	Ibid
48	Kwiiteksi	English	in taxis	Transport	noun	Ibid
49	ezilokishini	English	in the locations	Environment: place	noun	Ibid
50	kwiidolophu	Afrikaans: dorp	in the towns	Environment: place	noun	Ibid
51	lbhegi	English	bag	Lifestyle: clothes		53

52	Ikhamera	English	camera	Lifestyle/Technology	noun	55
53	esasikwisitulo	Afrikaans: stoel	which was on the chair	Environment: household furniture	noun	lbid
54	egeyithini	English	by the gate	Environment: place	noun	lbid
55	Abafote	English	s/he takes a photo of them	Lifestyle: entertainment	verb	lbid
56	Lokufota	English	to take a photo	Lifestyle: entertainment	verb	56
57	ukupakisha	English	packing	Lifestyle: clothes	verb	lbid
58	we-okhestra	English	of the orchestra	Lifestyle: entertainment	noun	lbid
59	Efota	English	taking a photo	Lifestyle: entertainment	verb	lbid
60	e-selula	English	of the cellphone	Technology	noun	lbid
61	Kwevili	Afrikaans: wiel	of the wheel	Transport	noun	lbid
62	Lemoto	Afrikaans: motor	of the car	Transport	noun	lbid
63	kwegeyithi	English	of the gate	Environment: place	noun	lbid
64	Ukufota	English	taking photos	Lifestyle: entertainment		57
65	emotweni	Afrikaans: motor	in the car	Transport	noun	lbid
66	ikhamera	English	camera	Lifestyle/Technology	noun	lbid
67	we-okhestra	English	orchestra	Lifestyle - entertainment	noun	58
68	elokishini	English	by the location	Environment: place	noun	lbid
69	ikhamera	English	camera	Lifestyle/Technology	noun	lbid
70	kwiidolophu	Afrikaans: dorp	in town	Environment: place	noun	lbid
71	ipakethi	English	packet	Environment: household item	noun	59
72	Imoto	Afrikaans: motor	car	Transport	noun	lbid
73	Itayala	English	tyre	Transport	noun	lbid
74	Lemoto	Afrikaans: motor	of the car	Transport	noun	lbid
75	kwiselula	English	on the cell phone	Technology	noun	60
76	Ipolisa	Afrikaans: polisie	police officer	Uniformed services		lbid
77	Imoto	Afrikaans: motor	car	Transport	noun	lbid
78	etitshalakazi	English	of the female teacher	Education	noun	lbid
79	besikolo	Afrikaans: skool	of school	Education	noun	lbid
80	Lipolisa	Afrikaans: polisie	the police officer	Uniformed services	noun	lbid
81	Ipolisa	Afrikaans: polisie	the police officer	Uniformed services	noun	61
82	Ifowuni	English	phone	Technology	noun	lbid
83	efestileni	Afrikaans: venster	by the window	Environment: household	noun	63
84	Festile	Afrikaans: venster	window	Environment: household	noun	lbid
85	Iwotshi	English	watch	Lifestyle: accessory	noun	lbid
86	Izilayi	English	slices	Lifestyle: cuisine	noun	65
87	lilekese	Afrikaans: lekkers	sweets	Lifestyle: cuisine	noun	lbid
88	ngeplastiki	English	with plastic	Environment: household item	noun	67
89	ekhitshini	English	in the kitchen	Environment: place	noun	lbid
90	Irote	Afrikaans: rot	rat	Environment: animal	noun	lbid
91	ekhabhathini	English	in the cupboard	Environment: household item	noun	lbid
92	eplastikini	English	in the plastic	Environment: household item	noun	67
93	Kwisofa	English	on the sofa	Environment: household item	noun	lbid
94	Yirote	Afrikaans: rot	rat	Environment: animals	noun	lbid
95	litafile	Afrikaans: tafel	table	Environment: household item	noun	lbid
96	esofeni	English	by the sofa	Environment: household item	noun	lbid
97	ngasegeyithini	English	near the gate	Environment: place	noun	69
98	yesikolo	Afrikaans: skool	of school	Education	noun	lbid
99	ekhitshini	English	in the kitchen	Environment: place	noun	70
100	Lifoto	English	photos	Lifestyle: entertainment	noun	71
101	ngepensile	English	with pencil	Education	noun	lbid
102	Ifoto	English	photo	Lifestyle: entertainment	noun	lbid
103	kule sofa	English	on this sofa	Environment: household item	noun	lbid
104	edolophini	Afrikaans: dorp	in town	Environment: place	noun	lbid
105	Nefoto	English	and photo	Lifestyle: entertainment	noun	72
106	esikolweni	Afrikaans: skool	at school	Education	noun	lbid

10 7	amapasi	English	passes	Government	noun	73
10 8	ngefestile	Afrikaans: venster	through the window	Environment: household	noun	Ibid
10 9	lfoto	English	photo	Lifestyle: entertainment	noun	Ibid

Table 19: Izigqibo esizenzayo, Jita Z, (2017)

	Borrowed Words	Language of origin	Translation	Domain	Part of speech	Page number
1	Imali	English (Arabic - mal)	money	Finance	noun	10
2	kwaSpar	English	by Spar	Environment: place	proper noun	Ibid
3	ezo moto	Afrik: motor	those cars	Transport	noun	Ibid
4	ngeemoto	Afrik: motor	by cars	Transport	noun	Ibid
5	edolophini	Afrik: dorp	town	Environment: place	noun	11
6	ngaseposini	Afrik: pos	near the post office	Environment: place	noun	Ibid
7	zobutitshala	English	of teaching	Education	abstract noun	Ibid
8	edolophini	Afrik: dorp	in town	Environment: place	noun	12
9	zasesikolweni	Afrik: skool	of school	Environment: place	noun	Ibid
10	sezikolo	Afrik: skool	in another school	Environment: place	noun	Ibid
11	impelaveki	English	weekend	Time concepts	noun	Ibid
12	ngutitshalakazi	English	female teacher	Education	noun	13
13	lfouni	English	phone	Technology	noun	20
14	edolophini	Afrik: dorp	in town	Environment: place	noun	21
15	inemali	Arabic: mal	it has money	Finance	noun	Ibid
16	faskoti	Afrik: voorskoot	apron	Lifestyle: clothes	noun	Ibid
17	Ikati	Afrik: kat	cat	Natural environment: animals	noun	22
18	lpapa	Afrik: pap	porridge	Lifestyle: cuisine	noun	Ibid
19	Imali	Arabic: mal	money	Finance	noun	Ibid
20	zalo papa	Afrik: pap	of that porridge	Lifestyle: cuisine	noun	23
21	yipapa	Afrik: pap	it is porridge	Lifestyle: cuisine	noun	Ibid
22	Neti	English	and tea	Lifestyle: cuisine	noun	Ibid
23	Isitulo	Afrik: stoel	chair	Environment: household item	noun	36
24	ngepurity	English	with purity	Lifestyle: cuisine	noun	Ibid
25	esikolweni	Afrik: skool	at school	Education	noun	Ibid
26	yesikolo	Afrik: skool	of school	Education	noun	66
27	Ikofu	Afrik: koffie	coffee	Lifestyle: cuisine	noun	Ibid
28	Kofini	Afrik: koffie	in the coffee	Lifestyle: cuisine	noun	Ibid
29	Ikofu	Afrik: koffie	coffee	Lifestyle: cuisine	noun	67
30	Irayisi	English	rice	Lifestyle: cuisine	noun	68
31	Iiti	English	tea	Lifestyle: cuisine	noun	Ibid
32	esikolweni	Afrik: skool	at school	Education	noun	72
33	nepeni	English	and a penny	Finance	noun	73
34	kwebedi	English	of the bed	Environment: household furniture	noun	Ibid
35	lo ti	English	that tea	Lifestyle: cuisine	noun	Ibid
36	Ngeti	English	with tea	Lifestyle: cuisine	noun	74
37	Iiti	English	tea	Lifestyle: cuisine	noun	Ibid
38	Imali	English (Arabic - mal)	money	Finance	noun	Ibid

40	Iti	English	tea	Lifestyle: cuisine	noun	75
41	Imali	Arabic: mal	money	Finance	noun	Ibid
42	Iti	English	tea	Lifestyle: cuisine	noun	Ibid
43	kwesikolo	English	of school	Education	noun	77
44	iswekile	Afrik: suiker	sugar	Lifestyle: cuisine	noun	Ibid
45	Iti	English	tea	Lifestyle: cuisine	noun	Ibid

TABLES: Newspaper articles (2012-2020)

Table 20: *Isigidimi SamaXhosa*,⁷⁸ (November 2012). "Umashkenkethe ikhaya lam!"

	Borrowed words	Language of origin	Translation	Domain	Part of speech
1	bhegi	English	Bag	Lifestyle: accessory	noun
3	bhegi	English	Bag	Lifestyle: accessory	noun
4	eNgilane	English	in England	Environment: place	proper noun
5	njengeBangladeshi	English	like Bangladesh	Environment: place	proper noun
6	eMelika	English	America	Environment: place	proper noun
7	bhegi	English	Bag	Lifestyle: accessory	noun

Table 21: *Isigidimi SamaXhosa*,⁷⁹ (Eyesilimela neyeKhala 2014). "Sabonyulela ukuba babe ngamahomba kulaPalamente?"

	Borrowed words	Language of origin	Translation	Domain	Part of speech
1	urhulumente	Afrik: goewerment	government	Government	noun
2	eAfrika	Afrik: Afrika	Africa	Environment: place	proper noun
3	iinkampani	English	companies	Employment	noun
4	iiHostel	English	hostels	Employment	noun
5	ngurhulumente	Afrik: goewerment	it is the government	Government	noun
6	urhulumente	Afrik: goewerment	government	Government	noun
7	iinjinieli	English	engineers	Employment	noun
8	ootitshala	English	teachers	Education	noun
9	zikaRhulumente	Afrik: goewerment	of the government	Government	noun
10	urhulumente	Afrik: goewerment	government	Government	noun

Table 22: *Isolezwe lesiXhosa*,⁸⁰ (2014). "Zinyembezi Zodwa eNigeria"

	Borrowed words	Language of origin	Translation	Domain	Part of speech
1	kwisikolo	Afrik: skool	at school	Education	noun
2	eliphephandaba	English	this newspaper	Lifestyle: Entertainment: news	noun
3	bakomasite B	English	of Site B	Environment: place	proper noun
4	aseAfrika	Afrik: Afrika	African countries	Environment: place	proper noun
5	laseAfrika	Afrik: Afrika	of Africa	Environment: place	proper noun
6	singamaAfrika	English	we are Africans	Nations	proper noun
7	kwisikolo	Afrik: skool	at school	Education	noun
8	kwibhedi	English	bed	Environment: household furniture	noun
9	esikolweni	Afrik: skool	at school	Education	noun
10	kwiilori	English	In lorries	Transport	noun
11	gama lesiArabhu	English	Arabic name	Nations	proper noun
12	ngamaSlamsi	Afrik: Slams	a Cape Muslim person	Nations	proper noun
13	Demokhrasi	English	Democracy	Government	noun

⁷⁸ The Xhosa Messenger

⁷⁹ The Xhosa Messenger

⁸⁰ Eye of the Xosa Nation

14	buKrestu	English	Christianity	Religion	abstract noun
15	amaKrestu	English	Christians	Religion	proper noun
16	izikolo	Afrik: skool	schools	Education	noun
17	nezitishi	English: station	station	Environment: place	noun
18	zamapolisa	Afrik: polisie	police	Uniformed services	noun
19	yamaSlamsi	Afrik: Slams	Cape Muslim people	Religion	proper noun
20	ayingomaSlamsi	Afrik: Slams	are they not Islam	Religion	proper noun
21	neDemokhrasi	English	and Democracy	Government	noun

Table 23: *Isolezwe lesiXhosa*,⁸¹ (29 Aug 2019). “Wabhubha uWatson eshiya imibuzo”

	Borrowed words	Language of origin	Translation	Domain	Part of speech
1	yemoto	Afrik – motor	of a car	Transport	noun
2	wale veki	Afrik – week	of this week	Time Concepts	noun
3	kwiKomishini	English	in the Commission	Government	noun
4	eRhawutini	Afrik – goud	in Johannesburg	Environment: Place	proper noun
5	Jaji	English	judge	Titles	proper noun
6	nkampani	English	company	Employment	noun
7	zicarhulumente	Afrik: goewerment	of government	Government	noun
8	eBhayi	Afrik: baai	Port Elizabeth	Environment: Place	proper noun
9	imoto	Afrik – motor	car	Transport	noun
10	imfonomfono	English	phone	Technology	noun
11	eRhawutini	Afrik: goud	In Johannesburg	Environment: Place	proper noun
12	eBhayi	Afrik: die baai	Port Elizabeth	Environment: Place	proper noun

Table 24: *Isolezwe lesiXhosa*,⁸² (26 Matshi 2020). “Hlalani ngeendawo zenu”

	Borrowed words	Language of origin	Translation	Domain	Part of speech
1	yeKhorona	English	Crown/Corona	Health	proper noun
2	Afrika	Afrik: Afrika	Africa	Environment: place	proper noun
3	zicarhulumente	Afrik: goewerment	of government	Government	noun
4	yeKhorona	English	Crown/Corona	Health	proper noun
5	abakarhulumente	Afrik: goewerment	of the government	Government	noun
6	amajoni	English - Johnny ⁸³	soldiers	Uniformed services	noun
7	iiAmbulensi	English	Ambulances	Health	noun
8	amapolisa	Afrik: polisie	police officers	Uniformed services	noun
9	kwiibhanki	Afrik: bank	at banks	Finance	noun
10	zelabhorathri	English	of laboratories	Environment: place	noun
11	imali	English (Arabic - mal)	money	Finance	noun
12	Koloni	Afrik: kolonie	colony	Environment: place	proper noun
13	imali	English (Arabic - mal)	money	Finance	noun
14	ngurhulumente	Afrik: goewerment	it is the government	Government	noun
15	seKhorona	English	of Corona	Health	proper noun
16	ngeKhorona	English	by Corona	Health	proper noun

⁸¹ The Eye of the Xosa Nation

⁸² The Eye of the Xosa Nation

⁸³ See *Dictionary of South African English: Xhosa and Zulu*, 'soldiers', plural prefix **AMA-** + *joni* adaptation of English *Johnny* (<https://dsae.co.za/entry/amajoni/e00235?q=joni>). Also note `Johnny' was applied as a nickname for Confederate soldiers by the Federal soldiers in the American Civil War; `greyback' derived from their grey Confederate uniforms (<https://www.vocabulary.com/dictionary/Johnny>)

17	neKhorona	English	with Corona	Health	proper noun
18	ngurhulumente	Afrik: goewerment	it is the government	Government	noun

TABLES OF PHONETIC TRANSCRIPTIONS

TABLES: Newspaper adverts (1884-1920)

Table 1: *Imvo Zabantsundu*,⁸⁴ (1 December 1884). “Utengisa impahla yamadoda yonke Kwisitрата sikaMaclean”

1. kwistrata	[kʰwistʰra:tʰa]
2. nge per cent	[ngɛpʰesentʰi]
3. yesheleni	[jɛʃele:ni]
4. eyeponti	[ɛjɛpʰo:ntʰi]
5. eyibhulukwe	[ɛjibʱulu:kʰwɛ]
6. nebhatyi	[nɛbʱacʰi]
7. ne ndulubhatyi	[nɛndʱuluɓa:cʰi]
8. amalaphu	[amala:pʰu]
9. esilika	[ɛsili:kʰa]
10. ihempe	[ihɛ:mpʰɛ]
11. zeflannel	[zɛflanel]

Table 2: *Imvo Zabantsundu*,⁸⁵ (10 November 1884). “Abatenga impahla kwamanye amazwe nakweli”

1. bofani ngofani	[bo:fani ngo:fa:ni]
2. ivenkile	[ivɛnkʰi:lɛ]
3. nezitora	[nɛzʱitʰɔ:ra]
4. zitora	[zʱitʰɔ:ra]

Table 3: *Imvo Zabantsundu*⁸⁶ (30 October 1899). “Ifandesesi”

1. ifandesesi	[ifandʱi:si]
2. iprinti	[ipʰri:ntʰi]
3. ikeleko	[ikʰɛlɛ:kʰɔ]
4. ikolala	[ikʰɔla:la]
5. iyadi	[ija:ɗi]
6. isuti	[isu:tʰi]
7. ibhatyi	[ibʱacʰi]
8. nebhlukwe	[nɛbʱulu:kʰwɛ]
9. ihempe	[ihɛ:mpʰɛ]
10. ikausi	[ikʰau:si]
11. idyasi	[ija:si]

⁸⁴ The Native Opinion of South Africa

⁸⁵ The Native Opinion of South Africa

⁸⁶ The Native Opinion of South Africa

Table 4: *Umteteli wabantu*,⁸⁷ (1920). “lipilisi zakwa Freed Ezivusayo Nqi”

1. ezipilisi	[ɛzɪpʰili:si]
2. zakwaFreed	[zəkʰwafri:d]
3. iibhotile	[i:ɓotʰi:lɛ]
4. ngeposi	[ngepʰo:si]

TABLES: Newspaper articles (1884-1920)

Table 5: *Imvo zabantsundu*,⁸⁸ (1893). “UMr Effendi”

1. zaleveki	[zələve:kʰi]
2. iKapa	[ikʰa:pʰa]
3. kuka Mr	[kʰukʰamistʰɛ]
4. ePalamente	[ɛpʰalamɛ:ntʰɛ]
5. wabavoti	[wabavɔ:tʰi]
6. e ngum Taki	[ɛngumtʰa:kʰi]
7. uMr	[umistʰɛ]
8. lobuSlamsi	[lobuslam:si]
9. yiPalamente	[jipalamʰɛ:ntʰɛ]

Table 6: *Umteteli wabantu*,⁸⁹ (12 Jan 1924). “Pulapulani Makowethu”

1. Afrika	[ʰafri:kʰa]
2. eFidalisdolophu	[ɛfidalisɔlo:pʰu]
3. Ntolongweni	[ɛntʰolongʰwe:ni]
4. uFaro	[ufa:rɔ]

Table 7: *Ikhwezi Lomso*,⁹⁰ (1958). “Umbutho weetitshala ze CATA uvuse abantu”

1. weetitshala	[wɛ:tʰitʰa:la]
2. amaphepha	[amapʰɛ:pʰa]
3. iititshala	[i:tʰitʰa:la]
4. iititshala	[i:tʰitʰa:la]
5. wobutitshala	[wɔbutʰitʰa:la]
6. zeCATA	[zɛkʰa:tʰa]

Table 8: *Ikhwezi Lomso*,⁹¹ November (1958). “Yenyuk’ irhafu yenyanga”

1. rhafu	[ixa:fu]
2. iPoll Tax	[ipʰoltekʰsi]
3. ngemali	[ngɛma:li]

⁸⁷ The mouthpiece of the Native People

⁸⁸ The Native Opinion of South Africa

⁸⁹ The mouthpiece of the Native People

⁹⁰ Morning Star

⁹¹ Morning Star

4. kunovenkile [kunoʔenkʔilɛ]
 5. uRulumente [uxulumɛ:ntʔɛ] [sic]

Table 9: NUM News⁹² (1992). “Iindatyana Abasebenzi Mgodini Kwimayini Yegolide Iprimrose Bebengenele Ugwayimbo”

1. kwimayini [kʔwimaji:ni]
 2. yegolide [jɛgoli:dɛ]
 3. wegolide [wɛgoli:dɛ]
 4. ePrimrose [epʔri:ɾrowu:zi]
 5. nenkampani [nɛnkʔampʔa:ni]
 6. enkomponi [ɛnkʔompʔo:ni]
 7. noDesemba [nɔdɛsɛ:mɓa]
 8. ikomiti [ikʔomi:tʔi]
 9. lwemashali [lʔwɛmaʃa:li]
 10. ishift [iʃi:ftʔi]

TABLES: Novels (1914-1980)

Table 10: Ityala lamawele, (1914).

1. ubhukwana [uɓukʔwɑ:na]
 2. nguBottomani [nguɓɔtʔɔma:ni]
 3. uStokhwe [ustɔ:kʰwɛ]
 4. nguDyan [nguɟɑ:n]
 5. eFransi [ɛfra:nsi]
 6. likaKristu [likʔakʔre:stʔu]
 7. weBhritani [wɛɓritʔa:ni]
 8. yegesi [jɛge:si]
 9. nesalfure [nɛsalfu:rɛ]
 10. uKheyizara [ukʰɛjizɑ:ra]
 11. uZephelin [uzɛpʰɛli:ni]
 12. asinguHabheli [asiŋguhaɓɛ:li]
 13. asinguMesiya [asiŋgumɛsi:ja]
 14. kaMosisi [kʔamosi:si]
 15. idyokwe [iɟɔ:kʔwɛ]
 16. zikaRhulumente [zikʔaxulumɛ:ntʔɛ]
 17. ngoSamuweli [ŋgɔsamuweli]
 18. kwaSirayeli [kʔwɑsiraje:li]
 19. njengoAhitofele [ndʒɛŋgɔʔahitʔɔfɛ:lɛ]
 20. noDavide [nɔdavi:dɛ]

⁹² National Union of Mine Workers

21. Atshibhishopu [atʰiʔiʃo:pʰu]
22. baka-Aroni [bakʰaʰaro:ni]
23. uMiryam [umiriʃa:m]
24. uDebora [uʔeʃo:ra]
25. kaYehova [kʰajeʃo:va]
26. zakwaSirayeli [zakʰwasiraje:li]
27. kaSawule [kʰasawu:lɛ]
28. uGoliyati [ugoliʃa:tʰi]
29. amaFilistiya [amafilistʰi:ja]
30. kaSawule [kʰasawu:lɛ]
31. uDavide [uʔavi:ʔɛ]
32. uAsafu [uʰasa:fu]
33. bakaKora [bakʰakʰo:ra]
34. weAfrika [weʰafri:kʰa]
35. Debhora [ʔeʃo:ra]
36. uAdam [uʰaʔa:m]
37. umYuropu [umjuro:pʰo]
38. eYuropu [ɛjuro:pʰo]
39. kaFaro [kʰafa:ro]
40. eLovedale [ɛlaydeji:li]
41. sikolo [sikʰo:lɔ]
42. ibhanti [iʃa:ntʰi]
43. ngobutitshala [ngʊbutʰitʰa:la]
44. eKhimbili [ɛkʰimbi:li]
45. ngengotitshala [ngʌngʊtʰitʰa:la]
46. kwaSomaseti [kʰwasomase:tʰi]
47. ephepheni [ɛpʰepʰe:ni]
48. Kholeji [kʰole:ʔʒi]
49. uBaliti [uʔali:tʰi]
50. yititshala [jitʰitʰa:la]
51. IweBhayibhile [Iweʔajibi:lɛ]
52. yaseMelika [jasɛmeli:kʰa]
53. laseKoloni [lasekʰolo:ni]
54. kwelaseTiyopiya [kʰwelasetʰiyopʰi:ja]
55. kumaWesile [kʰumawesi:lɛ]
56. uBhishopu [uʔisho:pʰu]
57. yeeBhishopu [je:ʔisho:pʰu]
58. seKerike [sɛkʰeri:kʰɛ]
59. neerhamente [nɛ:xame:ntʰɛ]
60. lobutyalike [lobucali:kʰɛ]
61. nompriste [nompʰristʰɛ]
62. weFritshatshi [wɛfritʰa:tʰi]
63. kwiJubhili [kʰwiʔʒubi:li]
64. eSkotilani [ɛskʰotʰila:ni]

65. imali	[ima:li]
66. koPresident	[kʰɔpʰresidɛ:ntʰi]
67. eKapa	[ɛkʰa:pʰa]
68. eNatala	[ɛnatʰa:la]
69. uJonathan	[udʒɔnatʰa:ni]
70. uRhulumente	[uxulumɛ:ntʰɛ]
71. uCaptain	[ukʰaptɛjni]
72. uVitoliya	[uɔitʰoli:ja]
73. Bhokwe	[bɔ:kʰwɛ]
74. eofisini	[ɛʰofisi:ni]
75. iitafile	[i:tʰafi:lɛ]
76. iRhuluneli	[ixulune:li]
77. weposi	[wɛpʰo:si]
78. yinkomponi	[jinkʰompʰo:ni]
79. uBhokwe	[ubɔ:kʰwɛ]
80. ebuvangeli	[ɛbuvangeli:ni]
81. ebutempileni	[ɛbutʰempʰile:ni]
82. neeTitshala	[nɛ:tʰitʰa:la]
83. nomSkotshikazi	[nɔmskʰotʰikʰa:zi]

Table 11: Inggumbo yeminyanya, Jordan AC, (1940)

1. iisali	[i:sa:li]
2. iibhulukwe	[i:ɓulu:kʰwɛ]
3. lasesikolweni	[lasɛsikʰolwe:ni]
4. zegesi	[zɛgɛ:si]
5. nedyasi	[nɛja:si]
6. cousie	[kʰazi]
7. Afrika	[ʰafri:kʰa]
8. holide	[holi:dɛ]
9. kwaNokholeji	[kʰwanɔkʰole:dʒi]
10. iMatriculation	[imatrikuleiji:ni]
11. edolophini	[ɛdɔlopʰi:ni]
12. Arha!	[axa]
13. eholweni	[eholwe:ni]
14. festile	[festʰi:lɛ]
15. nebhola	[nɛbɔ:la]
16. ibhishophu	[ibʰiʃo:pʰu]
17. ebhatyini	[ɛbʰacʰi:ni]
18. kwaNokholeji	[kʰwanɔkʰole:dʒi]
19. kwilori	[kʰwilo:ri]
20. ama-Afrika	[ama-ʰafri:kʰa]
21. namaIndiya	[namaʰindʰi:ja]
22. ubu"Major"	[ubumeji:dʒa]

23. uBhishopu [uβiʃo:pu]
 24. iiPsychology [i:sajik^holo:dʒi]
 25. neeEthics [nε[?]ethik^hsi]
 26. neLogic [neloɖʒi:k^hi]
 27. etolikelwa [εt[?]olik[?]ε:l^wa]
 28. iitishalana [i:t[?]ifala:na]
 29. iisister [i:sist[?]a]
 30. iAngelus [iandʒɛlas]
 31. maan [ma:n]
 32. isigarethi [isigare:t^hi]
 33. uRhulumente [uxulumε:nt[?]ε]
 34. isikolo [isik[?]ɔ:lɔ]
 35. notishalakazi [nɔt[?]ifalak[?]a:zɪ]
 36. etafileni [εt[?]afile:ni]
 37. ezo titshala zasemishini [εzo t[?]ifala zasemifi:ni]
 38. iitishala [i:t[?]ifa:la]
 39. iphepha [ip^hε:p^ha]
 40. phepha-ndaba [p^hε:p^handa:ba]
 41. yebhatyi [jεβa:c[?]i]
 42. iisuit case [i:sut[?]k^heji:si]
 43. zeposi [zεp[?]o:si]
 44. ngeKilisimesi [ngek[?]ilisime:si]
 45. ootitshala [ɔ:t[?]if^ha:la]
 46. edolophini [εɖolop^hi:ni]
 47. nguRhulumente [nguxulumε:nt[?]ε]
 48. kwilokishi [k[?]wilok[?]i:fi]
 49. imoto [imɔ:t[?]ɔ]
 50. ebhulorhweni [εβulohwe:ni]
 51. noSister [nɔsi:st[?]a]
 52. nekaSawuli [nek[?]asawu:li]
 53. wakwaSirayeli [wak[?]wasiraje:li]
 54. uJonatana [uɖʒɔnat[?]a:na]
 55. lesister [lesi:st[?]a]
 56. esitulweni [εsit[?]ul^we:ni]
 57. neetoliki [nε:t[?]oli:k[?]i]
 58. iibhokhwe [i:βɔ:k[?]wε]
 59. sisitena [sisit[?]ε:na]
 60. neBhishopu [nεβiʃo:p[?]u]
 61. nguBhishopu [ngub[?]iʃo:p[?]u]
 62. ijezi [idʒe:zɪ]
 63. entolongweni [εnt[?]olong^we:ni]
 64. nesali [nesa:li]
 65. kwisofa [k[?]wisɔ:fa]
 66. kuNoposi [kunɔp[?]o:si]

67. ebutitshaleni [ɛbutʰiʰale:ni]

Table 12: Buzani Kubawo, Tamsanqa WK (1958)

1. edolophini	[ɛdɔlophʰi:ni]
2. lelikabhuti	[lɛlikʰəbu:tʰi]
3. esikolweni	[ɛsikʰolʷe:ni]
4. ndiseparadesi	[ndisɛpʰarəde:si]
5. idyasi	[ija:si]
6. nebhlukhwe	[nɛbʰulu:kʷɛ]
7. kwebhokhwe	[bʰo:kʷɛ]
8. zemali	[zɛma:li]
9. samaHebhere	[samahɛbɛ:rɛ]
10. iti	[itʰi]
11. bamaAfrika	[bamaʰafri:kʰa]
12. tishalakazi	[tʰiʰalakʰa:zi]
13. amapolisa	[amapʰoli:sa]
14. waseAfrika	[ʰafri:kʰa]
15. ebhayiskopu	[ɛbajiskʰo:pʰu]
16. ijaji	[idʒa:dʒi]
17. ebhankini	[ɛbʰankʰi:ni]
18. eeponti	[ɛpʰo:ntʰi]
19. kubhetele	[kʰubɛtʰɛlɛ]
20. ePitoli	[ɛpʰitʰo:li]

Table 13: Ukuba ndandazile, Tamsanqa WK, (1967)

1. nezikolo	[nɛzɪkʰɔ:lɔ]
2. Bhayibhile	[bajibi:lɛ]
3. ephepheni	[ɛpʰɛpʰe:ni]
4. evenkileni	[ɛvenkʰile:ni]
5. kwesikolo	[kʷɛsikʰɔ:lɔ]
6. imvulophu	[imvulo:pʰu]
7. ijezi	[dʒɛ:zi]
8. evarandeni yevenkile	[ɛvʰarandɛni jɛvenkʰi:lɛ]
9. titshala	[tʰitʰʰala]
10. titshalakazi	[tʰitʰʰalaka:zi]
11. iveki	[ivɛkʰi]
12. edolophini	[ɛdɔlophʰi:ni]
13. zimayile	[zimaji:lɛ]
14. idyasi	[ija:si]
15. emotweni	[ɛmotʰwe:ni]
16. ilaphu	[ila:pʰu]
17. lomdyaro	[lɔmja:xɔ]

18. nezitalato [neʒitʰala:tʰɔ]
 19. uVitoliya [uʒitʰolija]
 20. ngaseposini [ngasepʰosi:ni]
 21. vesi [ʒe:si]
 22. Irhamente [ixame:ntʰɛ]

Table 14: UDingezweni, Mtuze P, (1971)

1. Bhokhwinetyala [bɔkʰwɪnɛcʰa:la]
 2. ikati [ikʰa:tʰi]
 3. noNoveki [nɔnɔvɛkʰi]
 4. ooBhokhwinetyala [ɔ:bɔkʰwɪnɛcʰa:la]
 5. imoto [imɔ:tʰɔ]
 6. esikolweni [ɛsikʰolwe:ni]
 7. utitshalakazi [utʰitʰʰalakazi]
 8. iisali [i:sa:li]
 9. iidyokhwe [i:ʒɔ:kʰwɛ]
 10. kaBhokhwe [bɔ:kʰwɛ]
 11. ipolisa [ipʰoli:sa]
 12. iapile [iʰapʰi:lɛ]
 13. fleyithi [fleji:tʰi]
 14. uSoldati [usɔlda:tʰi]
 15. inaliti [inali:tʰi]
 16. edolophini [ɛdɔlopʰi:ni]
 17. ziitiki [zi:tʰi:kʰi]
 18. ngemali [ngɛma:li]
 19. kweJaji [kwɛdʒa: dʒi]
 20. Abhasalom [ʰaɓasalɔ:m]
 21. lwesiphorho [lwɛsipʰɔ:xɔ]
 22. iiveki [i:ve:kʰi]
 23. esitishini [ɛsitʰiʃi:ni]
 24. elokishini [ɛlokifi:ni]
 25. itoliki [itʰolikʰi]
 26. ngepeki [ngɛpʰe:kʰi]
 27. itikiti [itʰikʰi:ʰti]
 28. abelijoyinele [aɓelidʒojine:lɛ]
 29. ezintenteni [ɛʒintʰentʰe:ni]
 30. iibhatyi [i:bacʰi]
 31. wegolide [wɛgolidɛ]
 32. uYehova [ujɛhɔ:vɔ]
 33. zamaKrestu [zamakʰre:stʰu]
 34. utitshala [utʰitʰʰa:la]
 35. kaSathana [kʰasatʰa:na]
 36. damanethi [ɔdamane:tʰi]

37. kule veki	[kʰule vɛ:kʰi]
38. entolongweni	[entʰolongʷe:ni]
39. yebhulukhwe	[jɛbʱulu:kʰwɛ]
40. yebhere	[jɛbɛ:rɛ]
41. iponi	[ipʰo:ni]
42. wesikolo	[wɛsikʰɔ:lɔ]
43. ezitratweni	[ɛzɪtʰratʰwe:ni]
44. imali yam	[imali ja:m]
45. imali	[ima:li]
46. kwisayidi	[kʰwɪsajɪ:dɪ]
47. Natala	[natʰa:la]
48. amapolisa	[pʰoli:sa]
49. imali	[ima:li]
50. ngemoto	[ngɛmɔ:tʰɔ]
51. ikati	[ikʰa:tʰi]
52. ofisi	[ofi:si]
53. nkampani	[nkʰampʰa:ni]
54. mlesi	[mɫe:si]
55. uSathana	[usatʰa:na]
56. eswekile	[ɛswɛkʰi:lɛ]
57. eswekileni	[ɛswɛkʰile:ni]
58. kubhetele	[kʰubɛtʰɛlɛ]
59. uSathana	[usatʰa:na]
60. isiphorho	[isiphʰɔ:xɔ]
61. eNatala	[ɛnatʰa:la]
62. mlesi	[mɫe:si]
63. mlesi	[mɫe:si]

TABLES: Novels (2003-2017)

Table 15: Iziqendu Zobom, Dyosi OJ, (2003)

1. bra	[bɾa]
2. itikiti	[itʰikʰi:tʰi]
3. egaraji	[ɛgɾa:dʒɪ]
4. ama-apile	[amaʰapʰi:lɛ]
5. ngempela-veki	[ngɛmpʰɛlayɛ:kʰi]
6. nofele	[nɔfɛ:lɛ]
7. yabapolitiki	[jabapolitʰi:kʰi]
8. urhulumente	[uxulumɛ:ntʰɛ]
9. kwikontraka	[kʰwɪkʰɔntʰra:kʰa]

10. kwilokishi ⁹³	[k ^w ilok ^ʔ i:fi]
11. nenkomponi	[nɛnk ^ʔ omp ^ʔ o:ni]
12. oonontente	[ɔ:nɔnt ^ʔ ɛ:nt ^ʔ ɛ]
13. kwaneelokhwe	[k ^w anɛ:lɔk ^{hw} ɛ]
14. webhasi	[wɛb̥a:si]
15. ePitoli	[ɛp ^ʔ it ^ʔ oli]
16. ebhedini	[ɛb̥ɛdi:ni]
17. weteksi	[wɛt ^ʔ e:k ^ʔ si]
18. kweyure	[k ^w ɛju:rɛ]
19. sasehotele	[sasɛhɔt ^ʔ ɛ:lɛ]
20. ezifestileni	[ɛz̥ifest ^ʔ ile:ni]
21. emishini	[ɛmɪʃi:ni]
22. eseketheni	[ɛsek ^ʔ et ^h e:ni]
23. izitalato	[iz̥it ^ʔ ala:t ^ʔ ɔ]
24. iholo yedolophu	[ihɔlɔ jɛdɔlo:p ^h u]
25. iimoto	[i:mɔ:t ^ʔ ɔ]
26. eholweni	[ɛhol ^w e:ni]
27. ilaphu	[ila:p ^h u]
28. ziitishala	[zi:t ^ʔ it ^ʰ a:la]
29. ngemali	[ngɛma:li]
30. kwizitalato kweKapa	[k ^w iz̥it ^ʔ alat ^ʔ ɔ k ^w ɛk ^ʔ a:p ^ʔ a]
31. itikiti	[it ^ʔ ik ^ʔ i:t ^ʔ i]
32. ngemoto	[ngɛmɔ:t ^ʔ ɔ]
33. nguNinja	[nguni:nd̥ʒ̥a]

Table 16: Kwisizwe esitsha, Mlandu MS (2003)

2. yamaTshetshi	[jamat ^ʰ e:t ^ʰ i]
3. yeedolophu	[jɛ:dɔlo:p ^h u]
4. iKhimbali	[ik ^h imb̥a:li]
5. neNyukhasile	[nɛɲuk ^h asi:lɛ]
6. unovenkile	[unɔvɛnk ^ʔ i:lɛ]
7. ekwaziibanki	[ɛk ^w azi:b̥a:nk ^ʔ i]
8. lebhola	[lɛb̥ɔ:la]
9. iibheji	[i:b̥e:d̥ʒ̥i]
10. neyaseRuwanda	[nejasɛruwa:nd̥a]
11. ezihostele	[ɛz̥ihɔst ^ʔ ɛ:lɛ]
12. elokishini	[ɛlok ^ʔ ɪʃi:ni]
13. ii-inshorensi	[i:ʔinʃore:nsi]
14. nemali	[nɛma:li]

⁹³ A Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles (1996:425) glosses 'location' (ilokishi in isiXhosa) as 'Occas. used of a residential area for any group which was not white.'

15. yinkampani	[jinkʔampʔa:ni]
16. imashini	[imafi:ni]
17. ofisi	[ofi:si]
18. ngevesi	[ngevɛ:si]
19. ipokotho	[ipʔɔkʔɔ:tʰɔ]
20. yemali	[jɛma:li]
21. ngamavili	[ngamayɪ:li]
22. i-oli	[iʔo:li]
23. nepetula	[nɛpʔetʔu:la]

Table 17: limbuso ZikaGawulayo, Bangani S, (2008)

1. kwasemotweni	[kʔwaseɱotʔwe:ni]
2. ngefestile	[ngefestʔi:lɛ]
3. mapolisa	[pʔoli:sa]
4. le tekisi	[lɛ tʔekʔi:si]
5. imoto	[imɔ:tʔɔ]
6. katishala	[kʔatʔitʰa:la]
7. iiveki	[i:ɤekʔi]
8. ibhulukhwe	[i:ɓulu:kʰwɛ]
9. ubhataliswa	[uɓatʔali:sʰwa]
10. seebhokhwe	[se:ɓɔ:kʰwɛ]
11. kwiveki	[kʔwiɤekʔi]
12. ooTomasi	[ɔ:tʔɔma:si]
13. evenkileni	[ɛvenkʔile:ni]
14. ngalo veni yakhe	[ngalɔ ɤɛni jakʰɛ]
15. imavili made	[imavili ma:ɖɛ]
16. ngalo veni	[ngalɔ ɤɛ:ni]
17. okuzikliniki	[ɔkʔuzikʰini:kʔi]
18. ebhedini	[ɛɓɛɖi:ni]
19. emotweni	[ɛmotʔwe:ni]
20. ityeli	[icʔe:li]
21. ziinjini	[zi:ndʒine:li]
22. kurhulumente	[kuxulumɛ:ntʔɛ]
23. yayinosingarhulumente	[ja:jinɔsingaxulumɛ:ntʔɛ]
24. sikamasipala	[sikʔamasipʔa:la]
25. Afrika	[ʔafri:kʔa]
26. lwesabhokhwe	[ɓɔ:kʰwɛ]
27. Dyunivesithi	[juniɤesi:tʰi]
28. neepesika	[nɛ:pʔesi:kʔa]
29. yasepalamente	[jasepʔalamʔɛ:ntʔɛ]
30. yayingoJuni	[ja:jingodʒu:ni]
31. palamente	[pʔalamʔɛ:ntʔɛ]
32. Afrika	[ʔafri:kʔa]
33. ngemali	[ngema:li]
34. ezikolweni	[ɛzikʔolwe:ni]
35. kwiiklinikhi	[kʔwi:kʰini:kʔi]

36. ilokhwana	[ilɔk ^{hw} a:na]
37. ibhatyi	[iɓa:c ^ʔ i]
38. kwisikolo	[k ^{ʔw} i sik ^ʔ ɔ:lɔ]
39. ufele lwegusha	[ufɛɛ l ^w egu:ʃa]
40. kwimpela veki	[k ^{ʔw} imp ^ʔ ɛla vɛ:k ^ʔ i]
41. kwifayile	[k ^{ʔw} ifaji:lɛ]
42. imeya	[imɛ:ja]
43. imoto	[imɔ:t ^ʔ ɔ]
44. yeebhokhwe	[ɓɔ:k ^{hw} ɛ]
45. moto	[mɔ:t ^ʔ ɔ]
46. ngefestile	[ngefest ^ʔ i:lɛ]
47. yeebhokhwe	[ɓɔ:k ^{hw} ɛ]
48. kwezo zikolo	[k ^{ʔw} ɛzɔ zik ^ʔ ɔ:lɔ]
49. koloni	[k ^ʔ oloni]
50. evenkileni	[ɛvɛnk ^ʔ ile:ni]
51. sasePentekhi	[sasɛp ^ʔ ent ^ʔ e:k ^h i]
52. iPentekhi neTekinikhoni	[ip ^ʔ ent ^ʔ e:k ^h i net ^ʔ ek ^ʔ inik ^h o:ni]
53. koko kusayina	[k ^ʔ ɔk ^ʔ ɔ k ^ʔ usaji:na]
54. weveki	[wɛvɛ:k ^ʔ i]
55. ibhasari	[iɓasa:ri]
56. izikeyiti	[izik ^ʔ ɛji:t ^ʔ i]
57. ibhegi	[iɓɛ:gɪ]
58. ipalamente	[ip ^ʔ alam ^ʔ ɛ:nt ^ʔ ɛ]
59. lwepalamente	[lwɛpalam ^ʔ ɛ:nt ^ʔ ɛ]
60. yemali yepalamente	[jɛmali jɛp ^ʔ alamɛ:nt ^ʔ ɛ]
61. eofisini	[ɛ ^ʔ ofisi:ni]
62. kwakwiveki	[k ^{ʔw} ak ^{ʔw} ivɛ:k ^ʔ i]
63. neebhulukhwe	[nɛ:ɓulu:k ^{ʔw} ɛ]
64. wayefowunile	[wa:jɛfowuni:lɛ]
65. esikolweni	[ɛsik ^ʔ olwe:ni]
66. ootishala	[ɔ:t ^ʔ iʃa:la]
67. nezo tishala	[nɛzɔ t ^ʔ iʃa:la]
68. iklassi	[ik ^l a:si]
69. ayifowunele	[ajifowunɛ:lɛ] ?
70. seyisekilasini	[sejisɛk ^l asi:ni]
71. ifowuni	[ifowu:ni]
72. nalo tishalakazi	[nalɔ t ^ʔ iʃalak ^ʔ a:zɪ]
73. iveki	[ivɛk ^ʔ i]
74. zobunjineli	[zɔbundʒine:li]
75. ePentekhi	[ɛp ^ʔ ent ^ʔ e:k ^h i]
76. kulo diploma yobunjineli	[kulɔ ɖip ^ʔ loma jɔbundʒine:li]
77. ibhasi	[iɓa:si]
78. evenkileni	[ɛvɛnk ^ʔ ile:ni]
79. ifowuni	[ifowu:ni]
80. eVostile	[ɛvost ^ʔ i:lɛ]
81. itekisi	[it ^ʔ ek ^ʔ i:si]
82. ekoneni	[ɛk ^ʔ one:ni]

83. elokishini	[ɛlokʰi:fini]
84. zibhulukhwe	[zi:ɓulu:kʷɛ]
85. kwivenkile	[kʷwiʏenkʰile]
86. kwifowuni	[kʷwiʏenkʰile]
87. ifowunelwe	[ifowunɛ:lʷɛ]
88. ngu "lavi"	[ngula:vi]
89. ezibhasini	[ɛziɓa:sini]
90. ngemoto	[ngɛmɔ:tʰɔ]
91. ikhetshi	[ikʰe:tʃi]
92. ihotele	[ihɔtʰɛ:lɛ]
93. imali yepalamente	[imali jɛpʰalamɛntʰɛ]
94. kwitenda	[kʷwiʔtʰɛ:nɔ]
95. ikhampani	[ikʰampʰa:ni]
96. ezihotele	[ɛziɓɔtʰɛ:lɛ]
97. kwicala leetekisi	[kʷwi a:la lɛ:tʰekʰi:si]
98. iphepha	[ipʰɛ:pʰa]
99. wekati	[wɛkʰa:tʰi]
100.	itekisi [itʰekʰi:si]

Table 18: Ungowam, Gcwadi M, (2014)

1. yeelokishi	[jɛ:lokʰi:fɪ]
2. iinovel	[i:nove:li]
3. lokishi	[lokʰi:fɪ]
4. utitshalakazi	[utʰitʰalaka:zi]
5. Februwari	[feɓruwa:ri]
6. idesika	[iɔesi:kʰa]
7. Khaphetshu	[kʰapʰe:tʃu]
8. Selula	[selu:la]
9. zinoo-Whatsap	[ziɔ:watʰsapʰ]
10. ifowuni	[ifowu:ni]
11. epokothweni	[ɛpʰokʰotʰwe:ni]
12. izitoki	[izitʰo:kʰi]
13. tshipi	[tʃi:psi]
14. zamaSomali	[zamasɔma:li]
15. wesikolo	[wesikʰɔ:lɔ]
16. kwipijama	[kʷwiɓiɓa:ma]
17. ifestile	[ifestʰi:lɛ]
18. i-fifty cents	[iftʰisents]
19. ejimini	[ɛɔzi:mi:ni]
20. khabhathi	[kʰaɓa:tʰi]
21. iisenti	[i:se:ntʰi]
22. Ifaskoti	[ifaskʰo:tʰi]
23. Nemali	[nɛma:li]
24. kwelo khithi	[kʷwɛlɔ kʰi:tʃi]

25.	ipelepele	[ip [?] εlep [?] ε:lε]
26.	ejimini	[εdʒimi:ni]
27.	wesikolo	[wεsik [?] ɔ:lɔ]
28.	esofeni	[εsofe:ni]
29.	ibhegi	[iɓe:gi]
30.	besikolo	[bεsik [?] ɔ:lɔ]
31.	esikolweni	[εsik [?] olwe:ni]
32.	wesikolo	[wεsik [?] ɔ:lɔ]
33.	eklasini	[εk ^l a:sini]
34.	esikolweni	[εsik [?] olwe:ni]
35.	utitshala	[ut [?] it ^h a:la]
36.	amaNdiya	[amanɗi:ja]
37.	utitshala	[ut [?] it ^h a:la]
38.	ekhemesti	[εkheme:st [?] i]
39.	ukupasa	[uk [?] up [?] asa]
40.	bapase	[bap [?] a:sε]
41.	kutitshala	[kut [?] it ^h a:la]
42.	ijezi	[iɗʒe:zi]
43.	ebhegini	[εɓe:gini]
44.	edolophini	[εɗolop ^h i:ni]
45.	emotweni	[εmot [?] we:ni]
46.	kwiiteksi	[k [?] wi:t [?] ek [?] i:si]
47.	ezilokishini	[εzilok [?] ifi:ni]
48.	kwiidolophu	[k [?] wi:ɗolo:p ^h u]
49.	ibhegi	[iɓe:gi]
50.	ikhamera	[ik ^h amera]
51.	esasikwisitulo	[esa:sik [?] wisit [?] u:lɔ]
52.	egeyithini	[εgejit ^h i:ni]
53.	abafote	[abafɔ:t [?] ε]
54.	lokufota	[lɔk [?] ufɔ:t [?] a]
55.	ukupakisha	[uk [?] up [?] ak [?] i:fa]
56.	we-okhestra	[wε [?] ɔk ^h ε:st [?] ra]
57.	efota	[εfɔ:t [?] a]
58.	e-selula	[εselu:la]
59.	kwevili	[k [?] wεvili]
60.	lemoto	[lεmɔ:t [?] ɔ]
61.	kwegeyithi	[k [?] wεgeji:t ^h i]
62.	ukufota	[uk [?] ufɔ:t [?] a]
63.	emotweni	[εmot [?] we:ni]
64.	ikhamera	[ik ^h amera]
65.	we-okhestra	[wε [?] ɔk ^h ε:st [?] ra]
66.	elokishini	[εlok [?] ifi:ni]
67.	ikhamera	[ik ^h amε:ra]
68.	kwiidolophu	[k [?] wiɗolo:p ^h u]
69.	ipakethi	[ip [?] ak [?] e:t ^h i]
70.	imoto	[imɔ:t [?] ɔ]
71.	lemoto	[lεmɔ:t [?] ɔ]

72.	kwiselula	[k ^w iselu:la]
73.	ipolisa	[ip ^o oli:sa]
74.	imoto	[imɔ:t ^o]
75.	etitshalakazi	[et ^o it ^h alaka:zi]
76.	besikolo	[besik ^o :lo]
77.	lipolisa	[lip ^o oli:sa]
78.	ipolisa	[ip ^o oli:sa]
79.	ifowuni	[ifowu:ni]
80.	efestileni	[efest ^o ile:ni]
81.	festile	[fest ^o i:lɛ]
82.	iwotshi	[iwo:t ^h i]
83.	izilayi	[izila:ji]
84.	iilekese	[i:lɛk ^o ɛ:sɛ]
85.	ngeplastiki	[ngɛp ^o last ^o i:k ^o i]
86.	ekhitshini	[ɛk ^h it ^h i:ni]
87.	irote	[iro:t ^o ɛ]
88.	ekhabhathini	[ɛk ^h ab ^h at ^h i:ni]
89.	eplastikini	[ɛp ^o last ^o i:k ^o ini]
90.	kwisofa	[kwiso:fa]
91.	yirote	[jiro:t ^o ɛ]
92.	iitafile	[i:t ^o afi:lɛ]
93.	esofeni	[ɛsofe:ni]
94.	ngasegeyithini	[ngasegejit ^h i:ni]
95.	yesikolo	[jesik ^o :lo]
96.	ekhitshini	[ɛk ^h i:t ^h ini]
97.	lifoto	[lifɔ:t ^o]
98.	ngepensile	[ngɛp ^o e:nsilɛ]
99.	ifoto	[ifɔ:t ^o]
100.	kule sofa	[kulɛso:fa]
101.	edolophini	[ɛdɔlop ^h i:ni]
102.	nefoto	[nɛfɔ:t ^o]
103.	esikolweni	[ɛsik ^o olwe:ni]
104.	amapasi	[amap ^o a:si]
105.	ngefestile	[ngɛfest ^o i:lɛ]
106.	ifoto	[ifɔ:t ^o]

Table 19: Izigqibo esizenzayo, Jita Z, (2017)

1.	imali	[ima:li]
2.	kwaSpar	[k ^o waspa:]
3.	ezo moto	[ɛzomɔ:t ^o]
4.	ngeemoto	[ngɛ:mɔ:t ^o]
5.	edolophini	[ɛdɔlop ^h i:ni]
6.	ngaseposini	[ngasep ^o osi:ni]
7.	zobutitshala	[zɔbut ^o it ^h a:la]
8.	edolophini	[ɛdɔlop ^h i:ni]
9.	zasesikolweni	[ɛsik ^o olwe:ni]

10. kwesinye sezikolo	[kʷɛsinjɛ sɛzɪkʷɔ:lɔ]
11. impelaveki	[impʷɛlayɛ:kʷi]
12. ngutitshalakazi	[ngutʷitʰalaka:zi]
13. ifouni	[ifowu:ni]
14. edolophini	[ɛdɔlopʰi:ni]
15. inemali	[inɛma:li]
16. faskoti	[faskʷo:tʷi]
17. ikati	[ikʷa:tʷi]
18. ipapa	[ipʷa:pʷa]
19. imali	[ima:li]
20. zalo papa	[zɔlɔ pʷa:pʷa]
21. yipapa	[jipʷa:pʷa]
22. neti	[ne:tʷi]
23. isitulo	[isitʷu:lo]
24. ngepurity	[ngɛpʰjuri:tʷi]
25. esikolweni	[ɛsikʷolwe:ni]
26. yesikolo	[sikʷɔ:lɔ]
27. ikofu	[ikʷo:fu]
28. kofini	[ɛkʷofi:ni]
29. ikofu	[ikʷo:fu]
30. irayisi	[iraji:si]
31. iti	[i:tʷi]
32. esikolweni	[ɛsikʷolwe:ni]
33. nepeni	[nɛpʷɛ:ni]
34. kwebedi	[kwɛbɛdi]
35. lo ti	[lɔ tʷi]
36. ngeti	[ngɛ:tʷi]
37. iti	[i:tʷi]
38. imali	[ima:li]
39. libengamasi	[libɛngɑ:mɑsi]
40. imali	[ima:li]
41. iti	[i:tʷi]
42. kwesikolo	[kwɛsikʷɔ:lɔ]
43. iswekile	[iswekʷi:lɛ]

TABLES Newspaper articles (2012-2020)

Table 20: *Isigidimi SamaXhosa*, (November 2012). “Umaskhenkethe ikhaya lam!

1. bhegi	[bɛ:gi]
2. njengeZimbabwe	[ndʒɛngɛzɪmbɑ:bʷɛ]
3. bhegi	[bɛ:gi]
4. eNgilane	[ɛngɪla:nɛ]
5. njengeBangladeshi	[ndʒɛngɛbɑŋglɑdɛ:ʃi]
6. eMelika	[ɛmeli:kʷa]
7. bhegi	[bɛ:gi]

Table 21: *Isigidimi SamaXhosa*, (Eyesilimela neyeKhala 2014). “Sabonyulela ukuba babe ngamahomba kulaPalamente?”

1. Urhulumente	[uxulumε:ntʰε]
2. eAfrika	[εʰafri:kʰa]
3. iinkampani	[i:nkʰampʰa:ni]
4. iiHostel	[i:hɔstʰε:l]
5. ngurhulumente	[nguxulumε:ntʰε]
6. urhulumente	[xulumε:ntʰε]
7. iinjini	[indʒine:li]
8. ootitshala	[ɔ:tʰitʰhala]
9. zikarhulumente	[zikaxulumε:ntʰε]
10. rhurhulumente	[xulumε:ntʰε]

Table 22: *Isolezwe lesiXhosa*, (2014). “Zinyembezi Zodwa eNigeria”

1. kwisikolo saseChibok	[kwisikʰɔ:lɔ sasetʰiɔkʰ]
2. eliphephandaba	[elipʰε:pʰanda:ba]
3. bakomasite B	[bakʰɔmasajtʰ ɓi:]
4. amazwe aseAfrika	[am:aʒwε aseʰafri:kʰa]
5. kwisikolo saseNigeria	[kwisikʰɔ:lɔ sasenajidʒeri:ja]
6. laseAfrika	[laseʰafri:kʰa]
7. singamaAfrika	[singamaʰafri:kʰa]
8. kwisikolo	[kwisikʰɔ:lɔ]
9. kwibhedi	[kwibʰe:di]
10. esikolweni	[εsikʰolwe:ni]
11. kwiilori	[kʰwi:lo:ri]
12. lesiArabhu	[lesiʰara:ɓu]
13. ngamaSlamsi	[ngamaslam:si]
14. Demokhrasi	[dɛmɔkʰra:si]
15. buKrestu	[bukʰre:stʰu]
16. amaKrestu	[kʰre:stʰu]
17. izikolo	[izikʰɔ:lɔ]
18. nezitishi zamapolisa	[nezitʰifi zamapʰoli:sa]
19. yamaSlamsi	[jamaslam:si]
20. ayingomaSlamsi	[ajingɔmaslam:si]
21. neDemokhrasi	[nedɛmɔkʰra:si]
22. Demokhrasi	[dɛmɔkʰra:si]
23. buKrestu	[bukʰre:stʰu]
24. amaKrestu	[amakʰre:stʰu]
25. izikolo	[izikʰɔ:lɔ]
26. nezitishi zamapolisa	[nezitʰifi zamapʰoli:sa]
27. yamaSlamsi	[jamaslam:si]
28. ayingomaSlamsi	[ajingɔmaslam:si]
29. neDemokhrasi	[nedɛmɔkʰra:si]

Table 23: *Isolezwe lesiXhosa, (29 Aug 2019). “Wabhubha uWatson eshiya imibuzo”*

1. yemoto	[jɛmɔ:tʰɔ]
2. wale veki	[walɛ vɛkʰi]
3. kwiKomishini	[kʰwɪkʰomɪʃi:ni]
4. eRhawutini	[ɛxawutʰi:ni]
5. Jaji	[dʒa:dʒi]
6. nkampani	[nkʰampʰa:ni]
7. zikarhulumente	[zikʰaxulumɛ:ntʰɛ]
8. eBhayi	[ɛɓaji]
9. imoto	[imɔ:tʰɔ]
10. imfonomfono	[imʰfʰɔnɔmʰfʰɔ:nɔ]
11. amapolisa	[amapʰoli:sa]
12. eRhawutini	[ɛxawutʰi:ni]
13. eRhawutini	[ɛxawutʰi:ni]
14. eBhayi	[ɛɓaji]

Table 24: *Isolezwe lesiXhosa, (26 Matshi 2020). “Hlalani ngeendawo zenu”*

1. yeKhorona	[jɛkʰɔrɔ:na]
2. Afrika	[ʰafri:kʰa]
3. zikarhulumente	[zikʰaxulumɛ:ntʰɛ]
4. abakarhulumente	[abakʰaxulumɛ:ntʰɛ]
5. amajoni	[amadʒo:ni]
6. iiAmbulensi	[i:ʰambʉle:nsi]
7. amapolisa	[amapʰoli:sa]
8. kwiibhanki	[kʰwi:ɓa:nkʰi]
