FANAKALO IN SOUTH AFRICA: AN OVERVIEW

By

CHARLOTTE NONHLANHLA PEWA

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Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for
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in the Department of

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SUPERVISOR   :   PROFFESSOR L.Z.M. KHUMALO

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DECLARATION

I declare that FANAKALO IN SOUTH AFRICA: AN OVERVIEW is
my own work except where stated in the required manner.

CHARLOTTE NONHLANHLA PEWA

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to Vukayibambe and Bathobile Mbanjwa as well as MaNgobese Guma.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

(v)

SUMMARY

This document consists of five chapters which are as follows:

Chapter 1   is an introductory part where the primary concept "pidgin" will be defined. Other basic terms namely survey, target language, lingua franca, mother tongue and others are also defined. It will deal with a survey of pidgins of the world where trends of Fanakalo as a pidgin begin to appear.

Chapter 2   will deal with comparison of Fanakalo varieties to the standard form of isiZulu where linguistic aspects such as phonetics, phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics will be highlighted.

Chapter 3   will focus on the extent to which Fanakalo lexicon can be compared with that of isiZulu. This will necessitate the inclusion of sociolinguistic aspects such as borrowing, adaptation, coinage and interlarding.

Chapter 4   is concerned with the perceptions of Fanakalo by members of the community where the results of the interviews conducted will be given and analyzed accordingly.

Chapter 5   which is the final chapter will be the conclusion where the viability of Fanakalo in the "New" South Africa as well as general statements about Fanakalo will be given.

CHAPTER 1

1.0 INTRODUCTORY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Since the coming of the settlers to South Africa, different languages came into contact. This necessitated the creation of a makeshift language (Fanakalo) for purposes of communication. It should be noted that the belated introduction of sociolinguistics as a field of study let alone the sidestepping of pidgins and creoles by linguists before the 1930s greatly inhibited early research examinations on them. Some linguists were even advised to keep away from studying them lest they jeopardize their careers (Wardhaugh, 1998:54). This would automatically have an effect on Fanakalo as well.

Trapp, (1908) was one of the early researchers of Fanakalo. Other researchers based their work on his. One such dominant researcher was Cole, (1953) who came with a theory of origin of Fanakalo that was regarded as fair by the latest researcher such as Mesthrie, (1989). Mesthrie concentrates on the origin of Fanakalo and examines other existing theories of origin very carefully. He refutes some of these theories on certain grounds. Mesthrie tries to prove that Fanakalo was not created by the Indians in Natal.

Jugmohan, (1990) gives a sociolinguistic evaluation of isiNdiya spoken by Natal Indians. He rejects the term "IsiKula" and prefers the use of the term "IsiNdiya". He say isiNdiya is similar to Fanakalo.

Adendorff, (1995) one of the recent researchers on Fanakalo comes up with a theory of origin that suggest missionaries as originators of Fanakalo. Although missionaries did speak Fanakalo, the validity of this theory cannot be proved beyond reasonable doubt.

Other researchers who have contributed in the study of Fanakalo are Hopkin-Jenkins, (1947), Bold, (1951) whose dictionary is entitled "Phrase – Book Grammar and Dictionary," Hanekom, (1988) who wrote an article whose title suggests Fanakalo as a common language and Miners' Dictionary whose previous editions were entitled "Miners' Companion" which was issued by chamber of Mines Services.

The problem that this study addresses is the linguistic aspects of Fanakalo, its origins and connotations. The problem of the study might be clarified by asking questions such as:

a)   Does Fanakalo contribute in the development of isiZulu?

b)   Are some Fanakalo speakers aware that the "language they speak is not isiZulu?

2

c)   How do Fanakalo speakers develop their language?

d)   Does Fanakalo differ according to the place where it is used?

e)   What perceptions do different members of the community have towards Fanakalo?

f)   Is Fanakalo still viable in the "New South Africa"?

The problem this study examines is important for a number of reasons. First, the study will shed more light when it comes to theories of origin of Fanakalo. It will try to marry Cole's theory of origin with pars the other existing theories. Second, it will contribute towards the sociolinguistic aspects of Fanakalo. Third, it will provide some answers towards attitudes of different members of the community especially those whose mother tongue is target.

1.2   AIM OF STUDY

The aim of this research is to examine the extent to which Fanakalo makes use of other languages in its formation. This will be viewed from a number of places of work where this pidgin is used. Varieties of Fanakalo will also be looked into, namely, varieties spoken in rural as well as urban areas. This document will also consider the grammatical structure of Fanakalo words.

By examining the grammatical structure of Fanakalo, the researcher will be aiming at showing that unlike other pidgins, Fanakalo is not particularly guided

by any specific linguistic rules in its formation. Structure will be used as basis for argument. Syntax, semantics, Fanakalo lexicon, perceptions of Fanakalo by members of the community as well as the future of Fanakalo will also be looked into. This becomes vital in the wake of the revival of all languages by being given equal status as well as the necessary prestige. The way people perceive Fanakalo is necessary because those who look at it negatively although some speak it, abhor it. They find Fanakalo imposing itself on them. Those who have a positive attitude towards it look at Fanakalo as a saviour as far as communication is concerned.

The nature of lexical items used in Fanakalo will be closely looked at to see whether they are borrowed or coined. That is where adaptation comes in.

Various researchers have conducted research, written articles and dissertations on Fanakalo but none have gone beyond the structural features of the pidgin. This makes this research imperative. The role played by Fanakalo is examined by examining attitudes of the people who speak Fanakalo.

1.3   SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This document consists of five chapters which are as follows:

Chapter 1 is an introductory past where the primary concept "pidgin" will be defined. Other basic terms namely survey, target language, lexical item. It will deal with a survey of pidgins of the world where trends of Fanakalo as a pidgin will begin to appear.

Chapter 2 will deal with comparison of Fanakalo varieties to the standard of IsiZulu where linguistic aspects such as phonetics, phonology, morphology and semantics will be highlighted.

Chapter 3 will focus on the extent to which Fanakalo lexicon can be compared with that of isiZulu. This will necessitate the inclusion of sociolinguistic aspects such as borrowing, adaptation, coinage and interlarding.

Chapter 4 is concerned with the perceptions of Fanakalo by members of the community where results of the interviews conducted will be given and analyzed accordingly.

Chapter 5 which is the final chapter will be the conclusion where the viability of Fanakalo in the "New" South Africa as well as general statements about Fanakalo will be given.

1.4   RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Part of the investigation was done through fieldwork. This was conducted through observation and listening to conversations. Recordings by writing and by audio tapes were carried out by myself and my co-researchers Messrs Jabulani Mngomezulu and Xolani Mhlongo who were students at the University of Zululand from 1995. Besides this, a lot of information from my past experience as a girl visiting both the Indian and English markets almost every Saturday was also used.

1.4.1   Interviewees/Sources

I am particularly indebted to a number of people who helped me, particularly from the Stanger area. My sister Mrs Ntombizakhona Phakathi assisted me by making it much more easier to reach the people I interviewed. These were the business people. The first person whom I interviewed was Mr Tony Schreur also known as Nyon'iyandiza, a farmer at Doringkop. He converses easily with his employees. What he says is that he speaks pure isiZulu when in actual fact what he speaks is pure Fanakalo. Mr Zeelie known as Ntshebe by his employees who is from the same area also helped by providing me with more information.

Hafeezer and Fareether Ismail are both chemists in Stanger. They helped by providing me with Fanakalo terminology which they acquired during their stay with the Zulus since childhood.

I am also indebted to Mr Prakash Gona whom children called uncle Gona and the Indian children particularly called him Gona uncle. I knew Mr Gona from 1964. My mother used to buy groceries from him in the English market in Durban. He provided me with a lot of Fanakalo vocabulary used in various places as well as deep insight into Fanakalo.

Another person was Bonnie Maraj of the Maraj bus services from Durban in Chatsworth who interacted with his clientele, mostly black people, on a daily basis.

Professor Thembela always provided me with relevant information from various newspaper cuttings.

Mrs Mary Zondi who worked as a domestic worker in Durban, Kranskop and Greytown. She helped a lot when it comes to Fanakalo spoken in a domestic situation, her husband who worked in the mines for more than fifteen years.

7

1.4.2 Literature review

A number of books, journals and articles were consulted with the aim of getting a basis for argument. Information from such literature study was collected and collated and used as evidence to some extent.

1.5 DEFINITION OF TERMS

1.5.1 Pidgin

The methodologically sophisticated analysis of pidgins began to surface in the middle of the nineteenth century. According to Agheyisi, (1971:06), pidgins and creoles began to appear in print during this time. This is how the study of pidgins came into being. Various scholars have ever since looked closely at pidgins by conducting studies. We have scholars such as Baessler, Jespersen, Mühlhäusler, Hall and Trudgill to mention but a few. They have all contributed in trying to define a pidgin. Pidgins are but one aspect of the study of sociolinguistics, which has grown to be a viable scientific study of language.

Wardhaugh, (1998:57) defines a pidgin as:

> ... a reduced language that results from extended contact between groups of people with no language in common; it evolves when they need some means of verbal communication, perhaps for trade, but no group learns the native language of

any other group for social reasons that may include lack of trust or of close contact.

Like other scholars, Wardhaugh mentions the necessary ingredients in the formation of Fanakalo, namely, a reduced language, extended contact which shows that the creation of a pidgin is a process and that different languages have to come into closer proximity, means of verbal communication and that no group learns the language of any other group.

Trudgill, (1985:179) gives the following definition of a pidgin:

> ... a pidgin language is a lingua franca, which has no native speakers. Chronologically speaking, it is derived from a normal language through simplification: most often reduction in vocabulary and grammar, and elimination of complexities and irregularities.

Getis et al., (1994:235) is of the same opinion when it comes to the definition of a pidgin when he says:

> A pidgin is an amalgamation of languages, usually a simplified form of one, such as English or French, with borrowings from another, perhaps non-European, local language. In its original form, a pidgin is not the mother tongue of any of its speakers; ....., one generally restricted to such specific functions as commerce, administration or work supervision.

> Pidgins are characterised by a highly simplified grammatical structure and a sharply reduced vocabulary adequate to basic ideas but not complex concepts.

9

The oversimplification of the target language makes Fanakalo to have a disorderly complex construction. Some scholars regard a pidgin language as a hybrid non-standardized language. It is hybrid in the sense that it makes use of more than one language for its formation which is what Getis et al. refers to as the amalgamation of languages. It is non-standardized in the sense that rules that govern a normal standard language, for example, prefixing, suffixing, concordial agreement and others, do not govern it.

The question of language mixing comes to the fore with pidgins. Varieties get mixed up with each other but it does not end there. The process of creating a new variety from group varieties is witnessed. In this way, a pidgin is never used as a means of group identification. Items found in the vocabulary pertain to a specific situation for example, trade, industry, commerce and others.

This shows that in its early stages of development, pidgins are not socially founded. They may be creolized when there are speakers who use it as their first language:

Lo satan yena hhayi funa wena buka lo zulu.
(Satan does not want you to see heaven.)

The lexical items used in this sentence have got something to do with church, namely, satan and zulu.

Thatha zonke kalo five shelen. Mina hhay' funa lo hamba thengisa munye.

(Take all for five shillings (50c). I don't want to go on selling anymore.)

The lexical items namely five shelen and **thengisa** are specifically used for trade purposes.

There are various definitions of pidgin given by various people but what most definitions stress is the fact that they are not mother tongue to any of its speakers; various languages are used for its formation but one language spoken by the majority in contact situations is used as basis, that is, it is targeted; simplification in grammatical structure and reduction in vocabulary are characteristic of pidgins.

1.5.2 Target language

Target language is a language targeted to be used as basis in the formation of a pidgin language. It is usually the language of the majority in contact situations.

1.5.3 Fanakalo

Fanakalo is originally a South African pidgin language mainly used in places of work. Cole, (1953:01) defined Fanakalo as a lingua franca of Southern Africa.

1.5.4 Lingua Franca

Fromkin and Rodman, (1993:295) says:

> A lingua franca is typically a language with a broad base of native speakers, likely to be used and learned by persons whose native language is in the same language family.

1.5.5 Mother tongue

By mother tongue is meant one's native tongue, tongue from which others spring.

The Concise Oxford Dictionary, (1974:788).

1.5.6 Survey

According to Procter, (1978:1120) survey means:

> To look at or to examine the condition of and give a value for. A general view or considering.

Survey means a general view of something. Pidgins of the world will be viewed in a general way so as to get a general idea on them. This research will conduct an examination on the condition of Fanakalo in South Africa.

1.5.7 Overview

The Collins English Dictionary, (1985:1049) defines the word overview as a general survey. The researcher will do a general survey on Fanakalo as a pidgin.

1.5.8 Hybrid language

A language composed of different languages. Fanakalo as a pidgin is composed by mixing different varieties.

1.6 SURVEY OF PIDGINS OF THE WORLD

Pidgins are as a result of various situations, for example, slavery, immigration, trade. Wardhaugh, (1987:61) says that their distribution appears to be fairly closely related to longstanding patterns of trade, including trading in slaves. Pidgins are found throughout the world. The main reason for this is migrant labour. People move from place to place in search of work. They find themselves in the midst of people who speak a different language from theirs. They then try to learn the language that is dominant, mixing it with theirs and other languages as well. In this way a pidgin is formed because in the process, they do not move away from the linguistic roots of their mother tongue. The type of a pidgin formed depends entirely on the needs of the contact group at that particular time.

1.6.1 Afrikaans

Although Afrikaans is now a fully fledged language, it first developed as a pidgin. Sounds true because Wardhaugh, (1987:61) names Afrikaans as a pidgin which was creolized in the seventeenth century. Some people consider Afrikaans as a Dutch dialect (Worldbook Encyclopedia, 1992:181). This is based on the fact that people who speak Dutch can also understand Afrikaans. That Afrikaans started off as a pidgin based on Dutch, holds a grain of truth in it. This view is confirmed by the fact that when Dutch immigrants came to South Africa, they met with people from other language groups. Their languages came into contact. In this way, a pidgin came into being. Dutch was simplified in such a manner that everybody was accommodated. That did not occur spontaneously, it was a process. The vocabulary was drawn from languages in contact:

skool	from Latin
radio	from Greek
vriend	from Saxon
televisie	from Greek
kalf	from Saxon
papier	from Latin

As time went on, Afrikaans developed as a language on its own. It had undergone all the relevant stages of development. It became acceptable to the majority of its

speakers as a common language. In this way the culture of the "Afrikaans" people became embedded in their language. Mother tongue speakers are today known as Afrikaners. This language is commonly used in South Africa where its place of origin is. The development of Afrikaans was a conscious exercise by its speakers. Besides being a recognised language, it became a standard language. It became used in schools and by government. Afrikaans was also taught to non-mother tongue speakers as a second language.

Some scholars regard Afrikaans as a Dutch dialect. Afrikaans can be a Dutch dialect because it was created in South Africa. The settlers who spoke various languages especially English, French and Germany could not automatically speak a Dutch dialect when they came into contact. It may be possible that the language they came up with for communication purposes (Afrikaans) was based on a Dutch dialect.

1.6.2   Cameroon Pidgin English

Cameroon is primarily an agricultural country. This is as a result of fertile lands in the region. There are plantations near the sea in Victoria. The strategic position of Cameroon allowed for slave trade in the 16th and 17th centuries. Britain tried to put an end to the slave trade in this region in the first half of the 19th century. In this way, it gained popularity among the people of Cameroon. It is during this time that the British had gained increased influence in this area.

15

A British missionary settlement, the first permanent settlement in the area, was established at Victoria, at the foot of Mt Cameroon in 1858. It is in this way that the indigenous people of Cameroon came into contact with the British people. A Cameroon English based pidgin was formed. It developed and became creolized in some urban areas and used in Cameroon as a second language.

Cameroon is a country in Northern Africa. Cameroon pidgin English uses English as target although it is used in an African country which means that the majority of the speakers of this pidgin are Africans.

1.6.3   Hiri Motu / Police Motu

Hiri Motu which is also known as Police Motu or Motu (Collins English Dictionary, 1985:695), is much influenced by English vocabulary and is widely used as a trade language. It is the pidgin-based official language of Papua New Guinea. For it to be used as an official language, is an indication that it has undergone some stages of development. Motu is a member of an aboriginal people of Southern Papua. The language of these people belongs to the Malayo-Polynesian family. Many people there take pride in using Hiri Motu, the descendant of Police Motu, a native based pidgin language of the area rather than Neo-Melanesian. They do this to show local loyalties.

16

1.6.4   Krio

Krio is a West African English pidgin. According to Wardaugh, (1987:63), Krio originated among slaves who returned to Africa from Jamaica and Britain. It is spoken in various parts of Africa especially in Sierra Leone where it has been creolized. The Cameroons, Gambia, Ghana and Nigeria also have this Western African pidgin English. In these places, it is in the state of dialects. Krio's principal language of admixture is Yoruba which belongs to the Kwa branch of the Niger Congo family. Yoruba is spoken by the Negroid people of West Africa, living mainly in the coastal regions of South Western Nigeria.

Krio was created by the indigenous people of West Africa when they came back to their different countries after slavery. It is very rare that a pidgin is created by the indigenous people but one ingredient left is that these people were originally from various countries.

1.6.5   Sabir

Sabir is regarded as the main source of all European-language-based pidgins and creoles. It was used in the Middle East during the Crusades. Sabir was influenced by the vocabulary of other languages in the area. Todd (1974) is one of the scholars who believe that some European-language-based pidgins originate

from Sabir. Although Sabir survived into the twentieth century, it is now extint like some parent languages (Wardhaugh, 1998:55).

1.6.6 Sango

Sango is a pidgin spoken by a small community in the Central African Republic, Northern Zaire and Congo which is today known as the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). It is a pidginized variety of Ngbadi with French vocabulary influence. It is also used in Chad. It was used as a lingua franca in the 1890's. Sango has expanded greatly ever since because of the growth of the European community in these areas. Its vocabulary has also grown greatly because it is widely used. It belongs to the Adamawa belonging to the Niger-Congo family. Some books have been written through its medium. Sango is regarded as a dialect of vernacular Sango. This means that there are two Sangos. The vernacular Sango is used as a principal language of admixture.

The pidgin Sango has been simplified by the loss of most of its morphology. Sango got developed to such an extent that by 1953, Samarin's pedagogical grammar was published by the Mission Evangelical de Oubangui-Chari. There are scriptures also written in Sango. Today Sango is the most important language of its speakers. In Sango, the vast majority of the words are African (Muhlhausler, 1986:30).

1.6.7 Swahili

Swahili originated as a pidgin used by the coastal population of East Africa (Trudgill, 1985:178), from southern Somalia to Mozambique. It was as a result of trade between the people of East Africa and the Arabs. The Arabs sailing down the coast of the Indian Ocean, developed close commercial relations with eastern Africa. As Arab caravan routes and settlements penetrated deeper inland, Swahili spread as a lingua franca. In the second half of the 19th century, Swahili was used by missionaries and colonial administrators among people who had diversified vernaculars. Swahili was thus used as a common means of communication.

Swahili has developed to such an extent that it is used by different tribes. This has caused it to have differentiated dialects some of which mutually unintelligible. Swahili's vocabulary is based on indigenous languages but contains many Arabic loanwords. There are also numerous words from Indian and Portuguese languages. English has now become the main source of loanwords although a deliberate effort is made to coin specifically Swahili words. This is done to cover the fields of modern technical knowledge.

Swahili has its best writers of literature, one of whom was Shabaan Robert, (1909-1962) of Tanzania who played a prominent part in the renewal of Swahili writing. It is a widely used language to such an extent that it has its own linguistic rules. In 1974 President Kenyatta of Kenya decreed that Swahili was to

become the language of the country, the language of national unity (Wardhaugh, 1998:356).

1.6.8 Tok Pisin / Neo Melanesian

Tok Pisin is a New Guinea pidgin English whose origins are Western Samoa. It is a fast-growing language. It existed for several generations alongside the indigenous language before it acquired native speakers. It has borrowed largely from English. It is used in the plantations as well as in places of employment. Tok Pisin expanded gradually through normal use (Bickerton, 1981:03).

The pidgin has a variety which is used in urban areas as a primary language. This variety is more highly developed and more complex than the Tok Pisin used as a lingua franca in remote areas. Concerning the development of Tok Pisin, Fromkin and Rodman, (1993:295-6) has this to say:

> Papers in Tok Pisin have been presented at linguistic conferences in Papua New Guinea and it is commonly used for debates in the parliament of the country.
>
> Tok Pisin has its own writing system, its own literature, and its own newspapers and radio programs, and it has even been used to address a United Nations meeting.

Aspects mentioned in the above quotation are characteristic of a developed language. The fast growing nature of this pidgin is endorsed by the youth

especially those living in urban areas. Such youth bring about quick dynamism in language. The only problem encountered is lack of uniformity.

1.6.9   Fanakalo

Fanakalo is originally a South African pidgin language mainly used to trade purposes. It is also used in the mines and other various places of work. Its vocabulary is roughly 70 per cent nguni (mainly Zulu), 24 per cent English and 6 per cent Afrikaans, in origin (Cole, 1953:01). Like other pidgins, it is also referred to as hybrid because it is as a result of the mixture of those languages in contact.

Trudgill, (1983:181) defines Fanakalo as a pidgin spoken in South Africa and adjoining countries, particularly in the mines. According to this definition, Fanakalo does not confine itself in its place of origin but is spread to the neighbouring countries by its speakers who are migrant workers.

Fanakalo is regarded as a pidgin because it has most characteristics of a pidgin, namely, it is as a result of contact of two or more languages. It does not belong to any of its speakers. It does away with any grammatical complexities by being simplified and it is mainly used for trade purposes.

1.7 THE ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF FANAKALO

There is no scientific proof concerning the origin of Fanakalo. Various scholars have given differing views on this matter. Information given is according to the results of research conducted. What is common in these findings is that Fanakalo originated along the coastline of KwaZulu-Natal and moved inlands after its inception. The following are some of the theories of origin which emanated from these findings:

a) It originated in the Eastern Cape and Natal where it was used by the English speaking settlers and the Nguni tribes. This theory suggests its origins between 1820 and 1850 (Hopkin-Jenkins, 1947).

b) Fanakalo came into being in the diamond and gold fields of Kimberly and Witwatersrand as a result of interaction between people from various language groups who came to work in these fields. This suggests the origin of this pidgin to be after the 1870s.

c) Fanakalo developed in KwaZulu-Natal as a result of contact between indentured and trade Indians and speakers of isiZulu and English. According to this theory, Fanakalo may have originated around the 1860s (Cole, 1953) based on (Trapp, 1908).

On evaluating these theories, one comes up with the following:

The idea that Fanakalo originated in the Cape and Natal is not the most probable one given the fact that there may be little or no contribution of Xhosa vocabulary in Fanakalo. The question raised then is, "What did the settlers and Xhosa people used for communication when they came into contact?"

The theory that Fanakalo originated in the diamond and gold mines at Kimberly and Witwatersrand does not hold substance because there is no trace of seSotho words in Fanakalo. It is thought that, as settlers from KwaZulu-Natal started to move inlands, they took along with them this pidgin. This is presumably how Fanakalo reached the mines.

That Fanakalo arose in Natal between indentured and trader Indians and speakers of isiZulu and English is a fair possibility (Mesthrie, 1989:214). The question raised about this theory is, "What about isiZulu and English which had already come into contact with each other which means that there was some Fanakalo already in existence?" One may come out of this dilemma by suggesting that perhaps the Indian people might have come with more impetus in the development of Fanakalo. One of the reasons for this might be that they were more close to the Zulu people more than they were to the English thus they interacted on a regular basis. The idea that Fanakalo originated as a result of the Indians trying to learn both isiZulu and English simultaneously is a

misapprehension. Furthermore there are no traces of any Indian language words in Fanakalo. This makes the Indian origin hypothesis.

Adendorff, (1995:185-7) came up with the view that missionaries were responsible for the creation of Fanakalo. The missionaries did speak some Fanakalo but their main aim was to learn proper isiZulu. That is why they were able to standardize it (isiZulu) by reducing it into writing.

Different places where Fanakalo is used:

Fanakalo is prevalent in places of employment or wherever trade takes place. It is in trading that goods are exchanged and there has to be some degree of communication. Employers in various places have little or no knowledge of isiZulu on the main. They thus speak Fanakalo. Most of them are not prepared to learn the proper language because of a negative attitude or because they think it is difficult.

Place where Fanakalo is spoken is important because it goes hand in hand with the needs in that place hence it determines and shapes the vocabulary that will be used accordingly. Places identified here are the most common where a lot of Fanakalo is spoken.

1.7.1 Kitchen Kafir

This is the type of Fanakalo spoken by the so-called "madams" and their domestic servants. It is solely for giving and taking orders between the two parties. In most cases it is a top down kind of communication where the servant takes orders from the madam, does not question and does as she is told. Words and phrases for such an environment are as follows:

Words

(F)   mazamban'

(Z)   amazambane

(E)   potatoes

(F)   dombolo

(Z)   idombolo

(E)   dumpling

(F)   nyama

(Z)   inyama

(E)   meat

Phrases and sentences

(F)   mushle/nayis'

(Z) kuhle

(E) good /nice

(F) Sabona

(Z) Sawubona

(E) Good morning / good afternoon

(F) Geza / washa

(Z) Geza

(E) Wash

(F) Sebenza

(Z) Sebenza

(E) Work

(F) Lola

(Z) Lola

(E) Sharpen

(F) Gena

(Z) Ngena

(E) Enter

(F)   Wena yazi?

(Z)   Uyazi?

(E)   Do you know?

(F)   Wena yizwa?

(Z)   Uyezwa?

(E)   Do you hear?

(F)   Washa lo

(Z)   Ziwashe / yiwashe

(E)   Wash these / wash it.

(F)   Wena buka los'gebengu hhayi/gena lapha ndlini.

(Z)   Qaphela ukuthi izigebengu zingangeni lapha endlini.

(E)   See to it that criminals do not enter the house.

(F)   Yipha longane lokudla.

(Z)   Yipha ingane ukudla.

(E)   Give food to the child.

(F)   Geza lozandla gawena.

(Z)   Geza / hlamba izandla zakho.

(E)   Wash your hands.

(F)   Hhayi khona wena buka lobaas'.

(Z)   Musa ukubuka ubasi.

(E)   Do not look at the boss.

(F)   Sebenza sterek zonke lonsuku.

(Z)   Sebenza kakhulu zonke izinsuku.

(E)   Work hard every day.

(F)   Wena zolala lo s'khathi thina zonke dlile.

(Z)   Uzolala uma sesidle sonke.

(E)   You'll sleep after we've all eaten.

(F)   Hhayi sebenzisa lowashing meshin'.

(Z)   Ungawusebenzisi umshini wokuwasha.

(E)   Do not use the washing machine.

(F)   Fetch lo ngane lapha s'kolen'.

(Z)   Landa ingane esikoleni.

(E)   Fetch the child from school.

(F)   Lo s'khathi wena funa washa, bona kuthi lozulu hhayi yena zo ina.

(Z)   Uma ufuna ukuwasha, bheka ukuthi izulu alizukuna.

(E)   If you want to do the washing, check that it is not going to rain.

28

1.7.2 Fanakalo in the mines

The mines cover a very large area when it comes to Fanakalo. The mining industry was one of the breeding grounds for Fanakalo. It is where people with different languages come together. An engineer in charge of training on the Rand Mines, as quoted by David Brown, (1988) in his paper, "The Rise and Fall of Fanakalo: language and literacy policies of the South African gold mines," gives the following process for the teaching of Fanakalo:

- The first lesson consisted of naming objects they encountered on the mine.

- A second series of lessons included the Fanakalo the miner would use from the time he awoke until he went underground.

- A third series concerned surface procedure, which started from the end of the shift to the time the miner went to bed and included health issues.

- A fourth series dealt with specific job training, for example language used and understood by the "tshisa boy" (Fuseman).

The following are some of the words, phrases and sentences used in the mining industry.

Words

(F)   mankalanyan'

(Z)   umankalanyane

(E)   locomotive

(F)   mabalan'

(Z)   umabhalane

(E)   Bantu clerk

(F)   madumelan'

(Z)   umadumelana

(E)   stop machine

(F)   ngolovan'   .

(Z)   ingolovane

(E)   ore car

(F)   jombolo

(Z)   ijombolo

(E)   jumper

(F) malayisha

(Z) umalayisha

(E) shovelling boy

(F) basboy

(Z) ubas'bhoyi

(E) bossboy

(F) hhamela

(Z) isando

(E) hammer

(F) skotchkar

(Z) isikotshikari

(E) carriage 2

(F) jimkrou

(Z) umgxala

(E) crowbar

(F) ngwenyen'

(Z) ingwenya

(E) crusher

(F)   dayiman' mashin' / shosholoza mashin'

(Z)   umshini wedayimane

(E)   diamond drill

Phrases and sentences

(F)   Hhayi khona gena kulo mgodi lo s'khathi wena dakiwe.

(Z)   Ungangeni emgodini uma udakiwe.

(E)   Do not go into the mine if you are drunk.

(F)   Hhayi thinta lo into hhayi yena yazi.

(Z)   Ungayithinti into ongayazi.

(E)   Do not touch something you don't know.

(F)   Wena zophuma kulo mgodi lo s'khathi wena izwa lo mshini yena hayiza.

(Z)   Uzophuma emaÿini ngesikhathi uzwa umshini ukhala.

(E)   You'll knock off from the mine when you hear the siren ringing.

(F)   Mina zoncinza wena galo bobojan' los'khathi wena hhayi funa izwa.

(Z)   Ngizokuncinza ngempintshisi uma ungafuni ukuzwa.

(E)   I'll pinch you with a wrench if you do not want to listen.

(F)   Lo s'khathi wena hhayi funa sebenza, mina zotshela lo bas' gawena.

(Z)   Uma ungafuni ukusebenza ngizotshela ubasi wakho.

(E)   I'll tell your boss if you do not want to work.

(F)   Juba

(Z)   Sika

(E)   Cut

(F)   Hamba phansi.

(Z)   Yehla.

(E)   Go down / descend.

(F)   Shayisa.

(Z)   Goduka.

(E)   Go home.

1.7.3 Farming and Fanakalo

As in domestic work situations and the mining industry, Fanakalo is also

prevalent where farming takes place. Words suitable for farming as used:

Words

(F)   mazamban'

(Z)   amazambane

(E)   potatoes

33

(F)   manyoro

(Z)   umquba

(E)   manure

(F)   melek'

(Z)   umeleko

(E)   milk

(F)   treka

(Z)   ugandaganda

(E)   tractor

(F)   geja

(Z)   igeja

(E)   hoe

(F)   khabish'

(Z)   iklabishi

(E)   cabbage

Phrases and sentences

(F)   Tela manzi.

(Z)   Chelela.

(E) Water.

(F) Shlagula.

(Z) Hlakula.

(E) Harrow.

(F) Kipa zonke kula.

(Z) Siphula.

(E) Weed.

(F) Lomshlabathi yena hhayi mushle.

(Z) Umhlabathi awumuhle.

(E) The soil is not good.

(F) Yimba lomgodi duze kalo khabish'

(Z) Yimba umgodi eduze kweklabishi.

(E) Dig a hole next to the cabbage.

(F) Tshala lomadumbi duze kalo mgula.

(Z) Tshala amadumbe eduze komfula.

(E) Plant madumbis next to the river.

(F) Lombila yena mushle sterek.

35

(Z)   Ummbila muhle kakhulu.

(E)   The maize is too beautiful.

(F)   Bhasobha lomankonyan' yena hhayi ncela zonke melek.

(Z)   Qaphela amankonyane angalunceli lonke ubisi.

(E)   Be careful that the calves do not suck all the milk.

(F)   Mina zodayisa zonke lomahhash' kusasa.

(Z)   Ngizowadayisa onke amahhashi kusasa.

(E)   I'll sell all the horses tomorrow.

These are some of the areas where Fanakalo is spoken. These areas act as determinants to types of Fanakalo. One cannot discuss an area without mentioning the type. The needs of one area are not similar to the needs of the other area.

1.8   CONCLUSION

Various items have been defined in this chapter inter alia a pidgin. Pidgins have been looked at in a wider sense by making a survey of pidgins of the world, the sense in which they differ, their form and usage. This has lead to looking at Fanakalo as a pidgin where it has been examined as to whether it does have some characteristics of a pidgin.

The main area of examination in this chapter lies with the history and origin of Fanakalo where various views of different scholars are weighed. Places where Fanakalo is used play an important role in this research because they lead us to different lexical items that prevail in Fanakalo. This forms the basic idea of this research because from whichever angle Fanakalo is observed, it is so done on the basis of its words. Therefore the next chapter will look at Fanakalo lexical items from different linguistic aspects to see how it differs from its target language.

CHAPTER 2

2.0 VARIETIES OF FANAKALO COMPARED TO THE STANDARD FORM OF ISIZULU

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the comparison of Fanakalo to the standard form of isiZulu. Fanakalo spoken in different places is automatically incorporated in the examples of urban and rural Fanakalo. These varieties of Fanakalo are then compared phonetically and phonologically where articulation of sounds as well as their systematization are looked at. Morphological comparison will also be examined where special attention is paid to the form of words.

Syntax will be dealt with. When it comes to it, the arrangement of words in sentences is crucial. Inflexion plays a pivotal role in syntax because no relationship between words can exist without morphemes such as prefixes on which concordial agreement is based. This will lead to semantics which is another important aspect of language. It deals with meaning. When the original meaning of a word is not understood, it becomes difficult for a person to use it correctly in other given situation. Lack of understanding of words results in their distortion and confusion. This can also be accounted to phonetics where at times words are wrongly articulated and in this way give an altogether new meaning.

Fanakalo has its own varieties in the sense that it is spoken differently in different areas. This is due to acculturating communities. This opens avenues for the study of stylistic diversification of urban and rural varieties of Fanakalo. It is in the varieties of Fanakalo that one is able to see the ever changing stylistic needs of both the stable rural and unstable urban communities. Fanakalo varieties are mainly based on the mother tongue of the main language used as its basis. The main language here is isiZulu:

Rural Fanakalo   :   Thela kancan'

                               Thela ngcosan'

Urban Fanakalo   :   Thela kancan'

                               Thela ngcosan

                               Thela mbijan'

                               Thela pikinin'

Varieties of Fanakalo cannot be divorced from varieties of the target language. This can be seen in the above examples where some of the examples are basically that of isiZulu except for the words **mbijan'** and **pikinin'** which are borrowed terms. Differences of varieties in this case (urban and rural) means difference in lexical items while meaning remains the same. On this, Calteaux (1996:199) says that it is in the lexicon that some considerable differences exist between rural and urban varieties of language.

Differences are not absolute. They depend on the extent to which one lexical item is used in both urban and rural areas as in **kancane** and **ngcosan'**.

2.1.1 Fanakalo spoken in rural areas

Fanakalo spoken in rural areas depends much on the type of isiZulu spoken there. People living in these areas speak differently from those living in urban areas. It is very rare to find rural people borrowing words unnecessarily from other languages as the case is with those living in urban areas. This is not characteristic of rural varieties. Otherwise there is not much difference in Fanakalo spoken in rural and urban areas except that rural variety uses pure isiZulu words most of the time:

(F)   lotambo

(Z)   intambo

(E)   rope

(F)   logogodla

(Z)   umgogodla

(E)   spine

(F)   lokezo

(Z)   ukhezo

(E)   spoon

(F)   nyanis'

(Z)   inyaniso

(E)   truth

(F)   kama

(Z)   -galela/thela

(E)   pour

Galela zonke lomafutha.

Galela wonke amafutha.

Pour the whole oil/fat.

(F)   -hlanza

(Z)   -hlanza

(E)   wash

Hlanza zonke longubo.

Hlanza zonke izingubo.

Wash all the clothes.

(F)   -kubaza

(Z)   -khubaza

(E)   cripple

Shaya longane nokho hhayi kubaza yena.

Yishaye ingane kodwa ungayikhubazi.

Hit the child but do not cripple her.

(F)   hliswa

(Z)   kusihlwa

(E)   in the evening

Hhayi fika lapha hliswa.

Ungafiki lapha kusihlwa.

Do not come here in the evening.

(F)   -etha

(Z)   -yetha/etha

(E)   pour

Etha lomaas' kulos'gubh'.

Thela amasi okhambeni/eguleni.

Pour maas in the calabash.

(F)   -hlwayela

(Z)   -hlwanyela

(E)   sow

        Mina zoshlwayela lo mbewu mbay'mbay'.

        Ngizobuye ngiyihlwanyele imbewu.

        I will sow the seed later on.

2.1.2   Fanakalo spoken in urban areas

Fanakalo spoken in urban areas tends to follow the type of isiZulu spoken there. IsiZulu spoken in urban areas is not as "pure" as the one spoken in rural areas. Apart from this, isiZulu spoken in urban areas is characterised by a lot of borrowing. Otherwise people staying in urban areas somewhat speak the same isiZulu as that spoken in rural areas. Calteaux, (1996:199) give the following characteristics on urban language varieties:

- Lexical borrowing or the use of adoptives,

- Semantic changes, and

- Coinages and neologisms.

Rural varieties may also be affected by some of those characteristics to a small scale. One picks up a lot of borrowed words from the following examples:

(F)   spayin'

(Z)   umgogodla

(E)   spine

(F)   pikinin ngozi

(Z)   umhuzuko

(E)   scratch

(F)   sayid'

(Z)   uhlangothi

(E)   side

(F)   mbijan'

(Z)   kancane/ingcosana

(E)   a little bit

(F)   'n bitjie

IsiZulu spoken in rural and urban areas is the determining factor on the varieties of Fanakalo. There is not much difference between isiZulu and Fanakalo varieties. In some cases one finds that varieties are as a result synonyms. At times Fanakalo varieties are due to borrowings where isiZulu does not borrow especially with Fanakalo spoken in urban areas. Fanakalo spoken in rural areas tries to do away with synthetic words as much as possible.

2.2 FANAKALO COMPARED TO ISIZULU

2.2.1 Phonetic comparison

Phonetics deals primarily with the prescribed way of the articulation of sounds. Rules regarding the articulation of sounds are prescribed differently for different languages. Foreign sounds become problematic to a non-mother tongue speaker. That is why most Fanakalo speakers do not adhere to the correct way of articulation sounds. Some of these sounds are foreign to their mother tongues. It would be proper at this point to concentrate on the most problematic sounds.

2.2.1.1 Click sounds

Click sounds have got the dental click c [/], the palato-alveolar click q [!] and the lateral consonant x [˙//]. These sounds are the most avoided because they belong to a particular language group. When Fanakalo speakers manage to learn to articulate some of these speech sounds, they use them interchangeably which is incorrect. For instance, the dental click consonant c is interchanged with the palato-alveolar click consonant q. To make matters worse, c is sometimes interchanged with the velar sound k. This can be seen in the examples below:

(Z)   -qala

(F)   -cala/-kala

(E)   start/commence

(Z)   -qoqa

(F)   -coca/-koka

(E)   tidy

(Z)   -qaqa

(F)   -caca/-kaka

(E)   undo

The lateral click consonant also is substituted by the velar sound **k** by Fanakalo speakers.

(Z)   -xaxa

(F)   -kaka

(E)   hit

(Z)   -xosha

(F)   -kosha

(E)   chase

(Z)   -xina

(F)   -kina

(E)   pester

Although some Fanakalo speakers find it easier to use the dental click consonant **c** [/] as an alternative sound for other click consonants, they find it too difficult to use the very same sound where it is supposed to be used, that is, in its rightful position. Again they find it easier to use the velar sound **k** [k] instead of the dental click **c** [/]. Perhaps this might need a psycholinguistic solution:

(Z)   -cabanga

(F)   -kabanga

(E)   think

(Z)   -cela

(F)   -kela

(E)   ask

(Z)   -cupha

(F)   -kupa

(E)   set

(Z)   -cula

(F)   -kula

(E)   sing

(Z)   -ceba

(F)   -keba

(E)   get rich

(Z)   -cima

(F)   -kima

(E)   blow out

Fanakalo finds it easy to use the velar **k** [k] as substitution to click consonants. Where they are able to use the correct click sound they keep on using the velar sound alternatively and where they are unable, the velar sound alone is used.

2.2.1.2 Velar sounds

The velar sounds **k** [k] and **g** [g] are the most common among Fanakalo speakers. They are easily articulated because they are available also in most mother tongues. The place of articulation is also not a problem. Although these sounds do not create much problems, they are not used correctly by Fanakalo speakers. In most cases the **g** sound substitutes the **k** sound as in:

(Z)   fanakalo

(F)   fanakalo/fanagalo

(Z)   phakathi

(G)   pagathi

(E)   inside

(Z)   -faka

(F)   -faga

(E)   insert

(Z)   -hleka

(F)   -shlega

(E)   laugh

(Z)   -phuka

(F)   -puga

(E)   get broken

These sounds are related in the sense that their place of articulation is similar and both are velar sounds. The difference lies with their manner of articulation where there is more lifting of the tongue to touch the velum for the k [k] sound than when articulating the g [g] sound. The g is + voice while the k is – voice.

2.2.1.3 The lateral alveolar fricative

The lateral alveolar fricative sound **hl** [ɬ] is pronounced by the speakers of isiZulu as a single sound. Fanakalo speakers pronounce the same sound differently as separate sounds:

(Z)   -hlehla

(F)   -shleshla

(E)   go back

(Z)   -hlina

(F)   -shlina

(E)   grin with pain

(Z)   -hluba

(F)   -shluba

(Z)   –hlala

(F)   -shlala

                                                                    :

(Z)   –hlokoza

(F)   -shlogoza

(Z)   kahle

(F)   gashle

(E)   well

Sounds which have been discussed here seem to give Fanakalo non-mother tongue speakers a problem. Some speakers may learn to articulate some of these sounds after some time. This may need a long time of practice more especially when it comes to click sounds.

2.2.2 Phonological comparison

Phonology plays a crucial role when it comes to the systematization of sounds in a language. Every language assumes certain sounds or sound clusters which are referred to as syllables. Three syllables vary when it comes to different languages. The same applies to their prosodic features. When one looks at prosodies, emphasis will be on syllable prosodies.

2.2.2.1 Syllabication

Syllabication will be looked at as it affects isiZulu and Fanakalo. The behaviour of syllables will be examined.

IsiZulu has open syllables that is, all syllables end in vowels with the exception of some ideophones like bham! qham! where the ultimate syllables become closed out of choice. Fanakalo uses both open and closed syllables. The example where Fanakalo has open syllables is with the perfect stem:

Lo ndoda yena <u>hambile</u>.

Lo ngan' yena <u>dlile</u>.

Mina <u>yenzile</u> lo yinto.

Fanakalo uses closed syllables in most cases. This means that Fanakalo uses the syllabic structure of both isiZulu and English.

(Z)   /la/ma/nto/mba/za/ne

(F)   /ma/tho/mb/za/n

The area which is mostly affected by the closeness of syllables is the ultimate syllable in some words. Closeness of syllables in this manner occurs mostly with borrowed words. It becomes a rule that when words are borrowed, their syllabic structure be adjusted to suit that of the borrowing language. Fanakalo does not have its own syllabic structure. That it why it uses on top of the structure of isiZulu, that of English and Afrikaans:

(Z)   /i/si/to/fu/

(F)   /lo/s/to/f/

(E)   stove

(Z)   /i/yu/ni/fo/mu/

(F)   /lo/yu/ni/fo/m/

(E)   uniform

(Z)   /i/si/to/bhu/

(F)   /lo/s/to/p/

(E)   stop

Fanakalo adjusts to the prefix system of isiZulu:

(Z)   u-anyanisi / uhhanyanisi / uhhanyani

(F)   lo oriyon

(E)   onion

(Z)   u-inki / uyinki

(F)   lo ink

(E)   ink

(Z)   I-aphula / ihhabhula

(F)   lo apul

(E)   apple

Fanakalo separates the prefix from the borrowed noun if the borrowed noun commences with a vowel. There is no hyphen between the two juxtaposed vowels. No consonant is inserted between the two vowels for that matter as it happens with isiZulu.

2.2.2.2 Length

Length is the least complicated aspect of prosodics because it is not relative. It can be determined on the articulatory as well as the acoustic level, unlike tone and stress which are relative. They are relative in the sense that they depend on the person who does the talking. Length is defined as length of time given to the articulation of a speech sound (Hartmann & Stork,1972:73). All speech sounds have length. Vowel lengths are said to be longer than that of consonants. The reason for their difference in lengths lies solely with their manner of articulation.

If length is measured in absolute terms, it can vary from person to person, from occasion to occasion. What remains, is the relations between the measures. In other words, what is important is not the absolute length but the relation. The speech tempo of an individual determines the length of length. The falling tone goes hand in hand with length:

(Z)   enku : lu

(F)   makhulu

(Z)   umu : thi

(G)   lomuthi

(Z)   izinga : ne

(G)   longan'

(Z)   endli : ni

(H)   lapha lo inshlu

(Z)   umu : zi

(H)   lomuzi

(Z)   isa : ka

(G)   losaka

(Z)   aba : ntu

(H)   lobantu

In the above examples, the falling tone is on the penultimate syllable. This

happens when the word is pronounced in isolation or when it is at the end of a

sentence or phrase. Fanakalo does not have a falling tone on the penultimate syllable. Fanakalo examples are pronounced as if they are in the midst of other words in a sentence. This makes them not to have length as it occurs with examples of isiZulu.

Length has grades such as full length and half length but the length on the penultimate syllable is full length.

2.2.3 Morphological comparison

2.2.3.1 Prefixing

Almost all scholars who have conducted research on Fanakalo as a pidgin say unlike other pidgins, Fanakalo hardly abides by grammatical and syntactical rules. What makes African languages unique from other languages, is their system of prefixes which helps in the creation of concords. Certain grammatical features of the base language are done away with. This holds true because pidgins are oversimplified forms of existing languages. The system of concords is the creation of noun class prefixes. IsiZulu has fifteen regular noun class prefixes. Some cater for the singular and some for the plural aspects of the noun:

	Nouns	Prefixes	
1.	umuntu	um(u)-	(singular)

2.	abantu	aba-	(plural)
3.	umuzi	um(u)-	(singular)
4.	imizi	imi-	(plural)
7.	isicathulo	isi-	(singular)
8.	izicathulo	izi-	(plural)
14.	ubuso	ubu-	(singular & plural)

Fanakalo does away with prefixes. Part of the prefix which is affected mostly is the pre-prefix. Fanakalo replaces the pre-prefix of isiZulu noun with lo-, for example, the noun **umuntu** has its pre-prefix as u- which represents the singular form of noun. In Fanakalo the noun becomes **lomuntu**. When it comes to some class seven nouns, there is total absence of the prefix, for example, **skatul** in Fanakalo which is **isicathulo** in isiZulu. It becomes **maskatul** in the plural form which is **izicathulo** in isiZulu (shoe > shoes). The following table shows nouns and prefixes of isiZulu and Fanakalo:

		Nouns	Prefixes
1.	(Z)	umuntu	umu-
	(F)	lomuntu	lomu-
2.	(Z)	abantu	aba-
	(F)	lobantu	loba
3.	(Z)	umuzi	umu-
	(F)	lomuzi	lomu-

4.	(Z)	imizi	imi-
	(F)	lomizi	lomi-
3.	(Z)	umkhulungwane	um-
	(F)	kulungwan'	---
4.	(Z)	imikhulungwane	imi-
	(F)	makulungwan'	ma-
9.	(Z)	inkukhu	in-
	(F)	kuku	---
10.	(Z)	izinkukhu	izin-
	(F)	makuku	ma-

One notices that with nouns which do not use lo- as a pre-prefix, ma- is used as a plural prefix for Fanakalo. Where lo- is used as a pre-prefix, it is used for both singular and plural forms of Fanakalo nouns.

2.2.3.2 The system of concords

Fanakalo lacks when it comes to the system of concords which is a major characteristic of African languages. Every word which is grammatically related to a noun or verb must show that relationship by assuming a prefixal formative which agrees accordingly with a particular noun or verb. Concords are derived from class prefixes. That is why there is a degree of similarity between the two:

58

Izingane ezinhle uma zithunywa.

Abafana bakhe abancane bayacula babuye bagiye.

All the succeeding concords emanate from the prefixes **izi-** and **aba-** respectively.
One does not find the same concordial agreement with such rhythm and
alliterative effect in Fanakalo.

The use of pronouns in the place of concords. The absolute pronoun **yena** for
class one nouns is used in the place of concords. It precedes the verb:

(Z)   Ingane ilambe kakhulu.

(G)   Lo ngan' yena lambile sterek.

(E)   The child is very hungry.

(Z)   Imfolomane ifunda iphepha.

(F)   Lo foloman' yena funda nyuz'.

(E)   The foreman is reading a newspaper.

(Z)   Umshini ukhalile.

(F)   Lo siren yena hayizile.

(E)   The siren has rung.

Although **yena** acts as a concord in Fanakalo. It stands on its own as a part of speech unlike concords of isiZulu which are part and parcel of the verb. This is indicative of the fact that the absolute pronoun is normally not a concord. Sometimes the **y-** of **yena** is elided by Fanakalo speakers and it becomes **ena**. It is worth mentioning that most nouns preceding yena / ena have their final vowel elided. This occurs especially with nouns which have –e as a terminative and those which are borrowed from other languages:

(F)   Lo mathomb'zan' yena sebenza.

(Z)   Amantombazane ayasebenza.

(E)   The girls are working.

(F)   Lo foloman' yena funda nyuz'.

(Z)   Imfolomane ifunda iphepha.

(E)   The foreman is reading a newspaper.

(F)   Lo ngan' yen lambile sterek.

(Z)   Ingane ilambe kakhulu.

(E)   The child is very hungry.

(F)   Lo mes' yena pugile.

(Z)   Ummese uphukile.

(E)   Die mes is gebreek.

2.2.3.3 Morphological formation of the possessive

Morphologically, the possessive in isiZulu is formed by preplacing the possessive concord agreeing with the thing possessed (possessee) to that particular part of speech which will be used in the formation of the possessive. One should remember that the possessive is not an independent part of speech. It depends on other parts of speech for its existence:

Possessives formed from nouns:

Izingane za- + umuntu > zomuntu

         -o-

Umuthi wa- + ingane > wengane

         -e-

Zomuntu and wengane are possessives formed from nouns. Vowel coalescence takes place between the two vowels,, which are juxtaposed.

When Fanakalo forms possessives from nouns, ka- / ga- is preplaced to the noun concerned. Umuntu in Fanakalo is lomuntu. So, ga- is placed before the noun lomuntu which becomes ga- + lomuntu > ga lomuntu. No phonological process occurs with Fanakalo because there are no vowels which are juxtaposed:

61

(Z)   Ukudla komfana.

(F)   Los'khaf'ga lomfan'.

(Z)   Imoto kabasi yinhle kakhulu.

(F)   Lo motokar ga lobas' yena mushle sterek.

(Z)   Ngizothunga izingubo zamantombazane.

(F)   Mina zothunga longubo ga lomathomb'zan.

Possessives with pronominal stems:

Pronominal stems may also be used in the construction of possessives. Again the

possessive concord is pre-placed to the pronominal stem:

Izicathulo zami (za- + mi-) zinhle

Azitholakali izipanela zabo (za- + bo-)

Fanakalo does away with all the complexities when it comes to these types of

possessives. It bases its possessive on the absolute pronoun of the first person

singular and plural, second person singular and third person singular. Ga- / ka-

which is used as a possessive concord is pre-placed to the respective pronouns.

Fanakalo makes use of the full pronoun unlike isiZulu which uses only the first

part of the pronoun (stem). Probably the ga- / ka- used by Fanakalo, is the same

ka- used by isiZulu when possessives are formed from nouns of class 1a:

Ingane <u>kamalume</u> inomkhuhlane.

Umshuqulo <u>kagogo</u> awugugi.

Where ka- is found to be occupying the initial position, happens only where the

concord of the thing possessed is a vowel only.

(Z)	Absolute pronoun	Singular	Plural
	1st person	mina	thina
	2nd person	wena	nina
	3rd person	yena	bona

(Z)	Possessive		
	1st person	wami	wethu
	2nd person	wakho	wenu
	3rd person	wakhe	wabo

(F)	Possessive		
	1st person	ka-gamina	ka-/gathina
	2nd person	ka-/gawena	ka-/gawena
	3rd person	ka-/gayena	ka-/gayena

When it comes to the second person plural, Fanakalo possessive is similar to the second person singular. The same applies to the third person plural which is similar to the third person singular, that is, **gawena** and **gayena** respectively.

This is a typical example of an instance where a rule in a language is broken. Fanakalo is unable to follow the given rules because it has already done away with concords which partly help in the formation of various parts of speech.

2.2.3.4 Demonstrative

IsiZulu has three positional types of the demonstrative. These positions are relative to the speaker. The positions are this, that and yonder in the singular and these, those and those yonder is the plural:

First position		Second position	Third position
1	lo	lowo	lowaya
7	lesi	leso	lesiya
11	lolu	lolo	loluya
14	lobu	lobo	lobuya

Fanakalo uses a totally different type of demonstratives. Apart from being used as a prefix by Fanakalo, <u>lo</u> is also used as a demonstrative for all positions and for

both singular and plural. In other words, <u>lo</u> is the only existing demonstrative for Fanakalo.

(Z)   Izingane lezi ziyasebenza.

(F)   Longane lo yena sebenza.

(E)   These children are working.

(Z)   Inkosi le izokubona.

(F)   Lokos' lo yena zobona wena.

(E)   This God will see you.

(Z)   Lesiya sigebengu sithathe yonke imali yami.

(F)   Los'gebengu' lo yena thathile zonke lomali gamina.

(E)   That criminal took all my money.

Class prefixes are used in the formation of demonstratives. That is why all classes have their own unique demonstratives for all positions in isiZulu. With Fanakalo, there is no morphological formation for them.

Fanakalo:

First position		Second position	Third position
1	lo	lo	lo
7	lo	lo	lo

| 11 | lo | lo | lo |
| 14 | lo | lo | lo |

When an isiZulu sentence starts with a demonstrative which is followed by a noun, it becomes problematic for Fanakalo because of this prefix lo-. To solve this problem, Fanakalo sentence commences with a noun which is immedidately followed by a demonstrative:

(Z)   Lezi zingane ziyasebenza.

(F)   Longane lo yena sebenza.

(E)   These children are working.

(Z)   Lesiya sigebengu sithathe yonke imali yami.

(F)   Los'gebeng' lo yena thathile zonke lomali gamina.

(E)   That criminal tool all my money.

(Z)   Lesi salukazi asiphilile.

(F)   Losalukaz' lo yena hhay' philile.

(E)   This old woman is not well.

IsiZulu demonstrative may stand in the place of a noun. It may also be used together with the noun for which it stands. This is done purely for purposes of

emphasis. Fanakalo has no alternative when it comes to this. It has to use demonstratives with their nouns. It cannot use demonstratives alone in sentences.

2.2.3.5 Conjugation of the verb

The predicate has both the positive and negative conjugation in isiZulu. Fanakalo also applies this although in a different manner. IsiZulu has different forms when it comes to the negative conjugation but the most basic one is to pre-place the S/C to the negative formation –nga- plus the verb stem which is followed by the negative terminative –i:

-hamba > u- + -nga- + -hamba + -i = Ungahambi.

-khuluma > u- + nga- + -khuluma + -i = Ungakhulumi.

Fanakalo forms the negative conjugation by pre-placing **hhay'** to the verb stem. The terminative remains unchanged. **Yena** always comes before the Fanakalo negative **hhay'** as a concord:

Positive conjugation	Negative conjugation
(Z) Ngiyazi.	(Z) Angazi.
(F) Mina yazi.	(F) Mina hhay' yazi.
(E) I know.	(E) I do not know.

(Z)	Indoda igezile.	(Z)	Indoda ayigezile.
(F)	Londoda yena gezile.	(F)	Londoda yena hhayi gezile.
(E)	The man has bathed.	(E)	The man has not bathed.

(Z)	Inkosikazi ipheka ukudla.	(Z)	Inkosikazi ayipheki ukudla.
(F)	Lokoskas' yena phega kushla.	(F)	Lokoskas' yena hhay' phega kushla.
(E)	The woman cooks food.	(E)	The woman does not cook food.

The basic rule then is the pre-place **yena** which acts as a concord to the negative formative **hhay'** then follows the verb stem without any change in the terminative. (yena + hhayi + verb stem). At times Fanakalo negative may be formed by placing **khona** after **hhay'** which is followed by the verb in the future tense (hhay' + khona + verb stem):

(Z)	Ngizoyenza le nto.	(Z)	Angizuyenza le nto.
(F)	Mina zoyenza lo into.	(F)	Mina hhahyi khona zoyenza lo into.
(E)	I'll do that.	(E)	I'll not do that.

(Z)	Ngizobuye ngihambe.	(Z)	Angizubuye ngihambe.
(F)	Mina zohamba mbaimbai.	(F)	Mina hhay' khona zohamb mbaimbai.
(E)	I'll go later.	(E)	I'll not go later.

(Z)	Amadumbe azovuthwa.	(Z)	Amadumbe akezuvuthwa.
(F)	Lo madumbi yena zovuthwa.	(F)	Lo madumbi yena hhayi khona zovuthwa.
(E)	The madumbes will get cooked.	(E)	The madumbes will not get cooked

2.2.4 Syntactic comparison

Syntax has a very wide scope as a study. Here it will be tailored to suit topic for discussion. Our main concern is the sequence of words used in the formation of sentences. Hartmann and Stork, (1972:231) defines syntax as:

> The branch of grammar which is concerned with the study of the arrangement of words in sentences and the means by which such relationships are shown, e.g. word order or inflexion.

The definition is a reminder that there are rules governing the combination of words to form sentences in any language. Crystal, (1987:300). Words cannot be put in any random order in the formation of sentences. The basic order of words in a sentence is S.V.O. which is subject, verb and object. IsiZulu is one of the languages which is said to have free word order. This does not mean that words are jumbled anyhow in a sentence. What makes this possible is the system of concords found in isiZulu and other African languages. Fanakalo can hardly cope with the word order of isiZulu because of lack of concordial agreement. It tends

to stick more to word order as it applies in English and other related languages which have a more or less rigid type of word order.

2.2.4.1 The importance of position occupied by words in a sentence

Words occupy particular positions in a sentence. The most important word basically occupies the initial position in a sentence. There is a tendency to think that the subject is the most important word in a sentence then comes the object as far as the noun is concerned. The two are made to stay apart by means of the predicate. According to this notion, the subject is pre-predicate and the object is post-predicate. This is not true because the object as well may occupy the initial position in a sentence as long as it forms the focal point. The predicate may be the main focus. In this case, both the subject and object become post predicate:

(Z)   Uyazigeza izingane umama.

(F)   Yena geza longane lomama.

(E)   The mother is still bathing the children.

(Z)   Umama usazigeza izingane.

(F)   Lomama yena geza longane.

(E)   The mother is still bathing the children.

(Z)   Izingane umama usazigeza.

(F)   Lomama longane yena geza.

(E)   The mother is still washing the children.

(Z)   Umama izingane usazigeza.

(F)   Lomama longane yena geza.

(E)   The mother is still washing the children.

(Z)   Usazozigeza umama izingane.

(F)   Yena geza longane lomama.

(E)   The mother is still washing the children.

(Z)   Izingane usazigeza umama.

(F)   Lomama yena geza longane.

(E)   The mother is still washing the children.

                          .

Usazigeza is the predicate and umama is the subject. The subject has been used
together with the object concord for purposes of emphasis. The predicate is what
is important in this sentence. That is why it occupies the initial position. The
subject and object are post-predicates. The same applies with Fanakalo whose
example is yena geza longane lomama. There is no evidence of the object
concord though.

When it comes to the second set of examples, the subject forms the focal point. That is why it is pre-predicate. The same applies with Fanakalo example. With the third set of examples, focus is on the object. Here, Fanakalo has not succeeded in monoevouring the words in the sentence to suit the free word order of isiZulu. This is caused by the fact that there are no grammatical differences between the lo of longane and that of lomama. In IsiZulu each formative contains some semantic content. Different semantic content is brought about by difference in formatives. It become difficult to tell which one of them is the subject or object. The same applies to the fourth set of examples.

In the fifth set of examples, the subject comes immediately after the predicate. This cannot be the case with Fanakalo because it may give a totally different meaning. In Fanakalo the sentence would be: The children are still bathing the mother. For the sentence to carry the correct meaning in Fanakalo, the object must come immediately after the predicate. The same thing happens with the last set of examples.

One may say that it becomes easier with Fanakalo to get the correct meaning when the subject and object are separated by a predicate or if the object comes immediately after the predicate regardless of the position of the predicate in a sentence.

2.2.4.2 Syntax of the qualificative

The qualificative basically follows the noun it qualifies. Here again Fanakalo assumes the syntactical structure of European languages as well as that of Afrikaans. Usually the qualificative follows the noun it qualifies in isiZulu:

(Z)   Amantombazane amahle ahambile.

(F)   Mushle lomathomb'zan' yena hambile.

(E)   The beautiful girls have left.

(Z)   Ubasi omkhulu akangithandi.

(F)   Lo makhulu bas' hhay' yena thanda mina.

(E)   The big boss does not like me.

(Z)   Imoto entsha ayihluphi.

(F)   Nyuwan' motokali hhay' yena shlupha.

(E)   The new car is not troublesome.

The qualificative enlarges the noun concerned and thus denotes structural dependence. In isiZulu, the position of the qualificative becomes flexible as in most cases of the syntax of isiZulu.

Amantombazane <u>amahle</u> ahambile.

<u>Amahle</u> amantombazane ahambile.

In Fanakalo the qualificative may be used also as a noun:

(Z)   Omfishane ungishayile.

(F)   Loshoti yena shayile mina.

(E)   The short one hit me.

These comparisons highlight the fact that Fanakalo does away with all the linguistic complexities of the target languages be they phonological, morphological, syntactical or semantical. It is in these comparisons that one sees isiZulu being mostly used as a target language. This does not mean that Fanakalo is part of isiZulu as a language.

2.2.5 Semantic comparison

Semantic plays a very important role in any language. Semantics also deals with the meaning of words, which constitute a language. There can be no language without meaningful words. Generally, semantics is referred to as the science of meaning. Palmer, (1977:01) defines semantics as the technical term used to refer to the study of meaning.

Since language is used for communication purposes, words which form a language should carry the correct meaning to the person to whom the message is related to. This means that there should be no confusion, no distortion when it

comes to the meaning of words. The main focus will thus be on lexical meaning more than other forms of meaning.

At times Fanakalo does not become semantically viable. This is evidenced by mother tongue speakers of the target language. Meaning gets distorted by non-mother tongue speakers which leads to lack of understanding to the party concerned:

(F)   Lo bululu kawena yena zofika.

(Z)   Ubhululu wakho uzofika.

(A)   Your broer sal kom.

Once the mother tongue speaker of isiZulu hears the word **bululu**, what comes to his mind is a vernomous snake, the python. **Lo bululu** to the non-mother tongue speaker means **brother** which is an adopted word from Afrikaans broer. IsiZulu has the word **ubhululu** and not **bululu**.

(G)   Wena zopheka zonke lomakanda kulo stof.

(Z)   Uzopheka wonke amaqanda eziko.

(E)   You will cook all eggs on the stove.

The mother tongue speaker of isiZulu gets confused when she hears the word **lomakanda**. What comes to her mind are the **heads** instead of **eggs** which is **amaqanda** in isiZulu.

Once language does not fulfil the task of giving the required meaning, it is seen as serving no purpose to the community. In Fanakalo, meaning is changed from the basic one to suit the understanding of the speaker of Fanakalo who is a non-mother tongue speaker of isiZulu. He is accommodated to the detriment of isiZulu by the mother tongue speakers:

(F)   -hamba

(Z)   -woza

(E)   come

(F)   -hamba lapa

(Z)   -woza lapha

(E)   come here

Words which are direct opposites are use synonymously by Fanakalo speakers. **Woza** means come and **Hamba** means go in isiZulu. Fanakalo uses **Hamba** instead of **Woza**.

(F)   -bhema

(Z)   ugwayi

(E)   cigarettes / tobacco

(F)   Hamba lahla lobhema.

(Z)   Hamba uyolahla ugwayi.

(E)   Go and throw away cigarettes.

Ugwayi is an isiZulu noun which means **cigarette** and **bhema** is a verb which means <u>smoke</u>. Fanakalo uses the verb **bhema** to mean cigarettes. This is distortion of meaning in the true sense of the word.

(F)   losilevu

(Z)   intshebe

(E)   beard

In Ngubane, (1972:10) we find the employer asking Zulumacansi the following question:

Uphi lo silevu kawena?

The equivalent of isiZulu is: **Siphi isilevu sakho?** (Where is your chin?) The correct version is: **Iphi intshebe yakho?** (Where is your beard?) **Isilevu** is the

place where the beard grows. The two nouns **isilevu** and **intshebe** do not share the same meaning.

(F)   -fika / -figa

(Z)   -fika

(E)   arrive

Fika is isiZulu word which means arrive. Fanakalo uses the word **-figa** differently when asking the following question:

(F)   Uphi wena figa?

(Z)   Uphumaphi? / Uvelaphi?

(E)   Where do you come from?

(F)   -hayiza

(Z)   -khala

(E)   ring

Hayiza and **khala** are both isiZulu words. Both words are applied to human beings. They carry the same meaning, that of cry.

These words may be referred to as synonyms in a way although "they differ with respect to the collocational restrictions which govern their usage". Palmer,

(1977:62). **Khala** means to cry in an ordinary or usual way but **hayiza** means to cry very loudly (on top of your voice in an unusual manner) as a result of **ukuphoswa** which was practised mostly by African men on women whom they love. In the mines, the siren is linked to the cry of such women by Fanakalo speakers. It is important that words are used with the correct dosage of meaning depending on the environment in which they are used.

2.3   CONCLUSION

There is not much difference between Fanakalo spoken in rural and urban areas. It is the same people from the rural areas who move to the urban areas. People from urban areas visit the rural areas on a regular basis. They bring along with them their respective varieties. This bridges the gap between the two varieties on which Fanakalo is based. One may categorically say that not all is new when it comes to these varieties.

Looking at the comparison of the two, it becomes apparent that Fanakalo does away with all the linguistic complexities. The biggest problem with Fanakalo is semantics which becomes the culmination of the other linguistic aspects namely phonetics, phonology, morphology and syntax. Once the latter group of linguistic aspects is linguistically in disarray, there comes disorder also in the meaning of words.

CHAPTER 3

3.0 THE EXTENT TO WHICH FANAKALO LEXICON CAN BE COMPARED WITH THAT OF ISIZULU

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with some sociolinguistic aspects of Fanakalo such as borrowing (adoption), adaptation, coinage and interlarding. The nature of Fanakalo lexicon will be examined. The word borrowing, will be used carefully because Fanakalo does not have its native words for the mere fact that it is a pidgin and not a fully fledged language. Pidgin languages are built entirely and survive on the existence of other languages. Borrowing will concentrate mostly on lexical items.

After borrowing, it becomes imperative and adopted words adapt to the structure of the receiving language. Adaptation and its types will be closely examined as a result. For any language to survive, it needs to be developed time and again. Besides borrowing, which is a less strenuous exercise, coinage will also be looked at to see whether Fanakalo does coin any words in one or the other form.

The last socio-linguistic aspects to be dealt with in this chapter will be interlading which means the mixing of words from different languages in a conversation.

This is characteristic of Fanakalo since it uses a number of languages in its formation. Fanakalo mixes to a great extent, words from its contact languages. Fanakalo vocabulary is mainly drawn from isiZulu, English and Afrikaans.

3.2 BORROWING

New innovations mean new vocabulary being introduced into a language. Whenever there is change in culture, there is change in language. Change in society takes place when the values and norms of a particular sub-group become values and norms of the whole society. These changes may be as a result of economic, technological as well as political pressures. As a result, language will automatically adapt accordingly to reflect these changes. This so happens because language is the most affected area in society as far as change is concerned.

When the wave of change comes, it affects the people's cultural behaviour (the way they think, do things, dress, as well as the way they talk). Technological changes are imperative, they cut across any form of culture. New words attached to any form of change from a source language, are introduced into the recipient language.

There are various methods for implementing such additions. One of the most popular and less time consuming ones is borrowing or preferably called adoption

where the recipient language adopts a word from a source language. One borrows that which lacks from one's language. Adoption is defined in various ways by different scholars. Robins, (1975:309) defines the word borrowing as the taking over of words from foreign languages into a language as the result of contacts with their speakers. According to this definition, borrowing is as a result of language contact. When languages are in contact, they do not become sealed in watertight compartments. They try to reach out to one another through the process of borrowing. This is easily done by members of society. Language contact means contact of cultures as well. When languages acculturate, lexical gaps open up. It is up to each and every one of them to close those gaps in a required manner which becomes borrowing in this case. Basically, languages that are geographically in contact borrow words from one another, "for words tend to travel across geographical and linguistic boundaries together with the object or custom to which they refer," Lyons, (1987:25).

The recipient language is the one that falls short of lexical items that come with the object idea or culture of the source language. Through borrowing, the recipient language is developed, expanded and nourished in a way. When words are borrowed, they become the property of the recipient language. The closure of lexical gaps relatively resuscitates the recipient language, which would otherwise be a "LANGUAGE, FULL OF GAPS". Such a language would collapse and experience a sudden death.

The existence and survival of Fanakalo is based mainly on borrowing since Fanakalo does not have its own resources.

3.3 FANAKALO BORROWED LEXICON ACCORDING TO PLACE WHERE SPOKEN/USED

Fanakalo borrowed lexicon will be categorized according to place where it is spoken. Borrowing of Fanakalo lexical items gives rise to types of Fanakalo. Borrowing of lexical items varies according to languages in contact. IsiZulu will be viewed as a basis for Fanakalo. Where isiZulu borrows, Fanakalo also borrows but this does not occur regularly.

As there are different ethnic groups in work places, Fanakalo borrows accordingly depending on work environment in such places where we may have Mining Fanakalo, Farming Fanakalo and Kitchen Fanakalo. Some borrowed Fanakalo lexicon will not fall under any of these categories. They will be placed under their own category which will be called miscellaneous borrowed terms of Fanakalo. This suggests that all borrowed Fanakalo lexicon will be filled in the already mentioned categories.

3.3.1 Mine Fanakalo

As in all work places where languages come into contact, the mining industry is the breeding ground for Fanakalo. Fanakalo borrows lexicon pertaining in the situation prevailing in the mines. This occurs mainly where isiZulu does not have the necessary terms.

Source language and term

English	IsiZulu	Fanakalo
bonus	ibhonasi	bonas
cheasel	ishizolo	tshizel
coal tar	ukolitayi	koltay
concrete	ukhonkolo	konkrit
diamond	idayimane	dayman
foreman	imfolomane	foloman
hammer	ihhamula	hhamela
jumper	ijombolo	jompor
late	lethi	leyit
laai	umalayisha	malaysha
mine	imayini	mayin
sample	isampula	sampul
sharpen	lola	make tshap

		tshif bas
shiftbos		tshif bas
union	inyunyana	yunyon

Source Language and Term		IsiZulu	Fanakalo
Afrikaans	baas	ubasi	bas
Afrikaans/Engl	baasboy	ubas'bhoy	basboy
	bobejaan		boboyan
	bobejaan sleutel		bobojaan spanela
	ketting	iketanga	katang
	sif	isisefo	sefo
	skaal	isikali	skal
	sterk	stelek	sterek

Source Language and Term	IsiZulu	Fanakalo
Southern Sesotho mmakalanyane	umankalanyane	mankalanyan

3.3.2 Farming Fanakalo

Most Fanakalo spoken in places where farming takes place cannot be similar to Fanakalo spoken in other places of employment. Borrowed Fanakalo terms will only pertain to the needs of the farming community. They will also vary according to the type of farming concerned.

85

Source Language and Term		IsiZulu	Fanakalo
English	cabbage	iklabishi	khabish
	banana	ubhanana	banana
	fresh		fulesh
	garden	ingadi	gadin
	manure	umanyolo	manyoro
	timber		lotimba
	wheelbarrow	ibhala	wilba
	orange	iwolintshi	wolintsh

Source Language and Term		IsiZulu	Fanakalo
Afrikaans	melk	umeleko	melek
	pampoen	ithanga	pampin
	skaal	isikali	skal
	stoel	isitulo	stul
	suiker	ushukela	shukel
	trekker	ugandaganda	treka

3.3.3 Kitchen Fanakalo

Kitchen Fanakalo pertains to what happens in the kitchen and the house at large. It touches upon utensils/objects used in the kitchen, foods and

methods for their preparation, furniture and any other work which is done here. The following are some of the borrowed terms used here:

Sources Language and Term		IsiZulu	Fanakalo
English	beaker	ibhikili	bikil
	cheese	ushizi	tshiz
	chimney	ushemula	shemul'
	dirt	udoti	doti
	fetch	landa	fetsh
	fresh		fulesh
	folk	imfoloko	folok
	house	indlu	hawus
	nice	mnandi	nayis
	sharp	imbazo	tshap
	sharpen	lola	yenza tshap
	sift	isisefo	sefo
	spice	isipayisi	spun
	sugar	ushukela	shukel
	tea	itiye	ti
	uniform	iyunifomu	yuniform
	wash	washa	washa
washing machine		umshini wokuwasha	washin meshin

Source Language and Term		IsiZulu	Fanakalo
Afrikaans	bak	ukubhaka	baka
	baas	ubasi	bas
	dek	deka	deka
	hulp	hhelebha	hhelepa
	miesies	umesisi	misis
	seep	insipho	sepu
	skaal	isikali	skal
	stoel	isitulo	stul
	stof	isitofu	stof
	tafel	itafula	taful
	tamaties	utamatisi	tamat
	venster	ifasitela	festel

3.3.4 Miscellaneous borrowed terms of Fanakalo

Borrowed terms of Fanakalo which do not qualify to form categories of their own because of their lesser members, have been put under miscellaneous. They have been mixed under this topic.

Source Language and Term		IsiZulu	Fanakalo
English	book	ibhuku	buk
	box	ibhokisi	bokis

	certificate	isitifiketi	stifikeyid
	cheap	shibhile	tship
	fetch	landa	fetsh
	motor-car	imotokali	motokar
	new one	unyuwani	nyuwan
	round	ulawondi	rawund
	school	isikole	skolo
	side	isayidi	sayid
	short one	ushoti	shotwan
	spade	uchatho	speyit
	spine	umgogodla	spayin
	stop	isitobhu	stop
	try	zama	trayisha
	tube	ishubhu	tshub

Source Language and Term		IsiZulu	Fanakalo
Afrikaans	amper	cishe	ampur
	bed	umbhede	bede
	broek	ibhulukwe	burugwe
	bietjie	imbijana	mbijan
	broer	ubhululu	bululu
	skuld	isikweletu	skwelet
	mors	mosha	mosha

89

	skelm	isikelemu	skelem
	sterk	stelek	sterek

Source Language and Term		IsiZulu	Fanakalo
Hawaii Pidgin	baimbai	mbay'mbayi	mbaymbay
Latin	piccanin	upikinini	pikinin

From the given examples, it is evident that where isiZulu borrows words from other languages, Fanakalo also does likewise, with a few exceptions. It may borrow even in the presence of the existing words of isiZulu. Although isiZulu is used as a basis for Fanakalo, other languages are also used in its formation. Borrowing has been treated on this ground.

About the extent of isiZulu being used as a basis for Fanakalo, Cole, (1953:4) says that the lexicon of Fanakalo consists of about 70% isiZulu vocabulary. What remains is borrowed from English and Afrikaans.

Other language groups may also view some lexical items of Fanakalo as being borrowed from isiZulu. In other words, Fanakalo may be viewed as a "language" made up of borrowed words only.

3.4   ADAPTATION

What is adopted to fall in line with the new situation so that it does not become rejected by what already exists.   When words are adopted from the source language into the adopting language, their make-up is not similar to that of words in the adopting language.   For their survival in the new environment, they have to adapt accordingly.   Borrowed words are modified to suit the morphological, phonological and syntactical features of the adopting language, which is the recipient language.

Adaptation may be either complete or partial.   Complete adaptation is when a borrowed word is adapted completely to the linguistic system of the recipient language.   Partial adaptation is when an adoptive is not completely adapted to the linguistic system of the adopting language.

Sometimes an adoptive may remain unadapted especially in Fanakalo, for example, stof remains stof in Fanakalo and isitofu in isiZulu.

3.4.1   Phonological adaptation

Sounds of borrowed words are adjusted to suit the phonological structure of the recipient language. It does not matter how the sound is articulated by its mother-tongue speakers.   The internalization of the sound of the word depends on how

the speakers from the borrowing language perceive it. Internalization of sounds

in one's mind is an individual matter but it is guided by the system of sounds

one's language has. That is why we find that the way people from the same

language pronounce borrowed words, tends to be uniform. One acquires sounds

available in one's language. About the alteration of sounds in borrowed words,

Robins, (1975:324) says:

> Some of the foreign words so used by individual
> speakers pass into general currency in the
> language, being altered in pronunciation in the
> process in the direction of sounds and
> phonological patterns of the language acquiring
> them.

Adopted words are assimilated to the linguistic patterns of the recipient language

so as to maintain harmony between the adopted and its new home. This has to

occur because the two are unrelated to some degree.

Open syllables are a common feature in isiZulu. This means that there is no

syllable without a vowel. If the vowel is not there, it means it has been elided for

various reasons. This may happen at the end of a word especially in a sentence.

Such elision is indicated by means of an apostrophe. The phonetic structure is

thus CVCV combination of phones. Although Fanakalo syllables also become

open after adoption, the tendency is that the ultimate syllable remains closed

except for a few cases.

SOURCE LANGUAGE	ISIZULU	FANAKALO
union	inyunyana	yunyon
mine	imayini	mayin
sample	isampula	sampul
foreman	imfolomane	foloman
melk	umeleko	melek
cabbage	iklabishi/ikhabishi	khabish

The source language vowels are accommodated in the vowel system of the adopting language. They resort to their nearest equivalents in the borrowing language. Such a phonological process is known as vowel substitution:

E   piccanin

Z   upikinini   (a > I)

F   pikinin   (a > I)

A   ketting

Z   iketanga   (i > a)

F   katang   (i > a)

E   orange

Z   iwolintshi   (a > i)

F   wolintshi   (a > i)

E concrete

Z ukhonkolo (e > o)

F konkrit (e > i)

This happens because isiZulu has only a few vowels compared to English and Afrikaans.

Source languages have consonants that are foreign to adopting languages. This happens with English and Afrikaans as source languages and isiZulu and Fanakalo which are adopting languages. Consonants and vowels which are foreign to isiZulu are adapted according to what is available in the system of consonants of isiZulu. On this matter, Robins, (1975:325) has the following to say:

> Normally loan words are assimilated to the phonetic sound classes and the phonological patterns of the borrowing language, the original consonants and vowels being replaced by consonants and vowels as close to them as are available; thereafter, synchronically as opposed to historically, they are no longer recognizable by their form as loans.

This information holds true because if this were not the case, languages would not be in a position to borrow from each other because of linguistic differences among them. Let us observe the following examples:

E   cheasel

Z   ishizolo   (ch > sh)

F   tshizel   (ch > tsh)

E   coal tar

Z   ukolitayi   (c > k)

F   koltay   (c > k)

E   cabbage

Z   iklabishi/ikhabishi   (c > kl.kh)

F   khabish   (c > kh)

A   venster

Z   ifasitela   (v > f)

F   festel   (v > f)

E   foreman

Z   imfolomane   (r > l)

F   foloman   (r > l)

E   jumper

Z   ijombolo   (mp > mb)

F   jompor   (mp > mp)

At times consonants are not substituted because of lack of corresponding sounds in the recipient language. Consonants may also be substituted as a result of how people perceive them.

Where compounded words are borrowed, loss of part of such words is experienced, for example, IsiZulu has the word **ibhala** adopted from the English word **wheelbarrow**. It only uses the second part of the English compound noun namely – **barrow**. Fanakalo has **wilba** as an adoptive from the same compound noun. It has used the first part of the compound noun namely **wheel** and part of the second part of the noun –**ba**-. Such an omission is known as **haplology**. This does not mean that all words adopted from the compound nouns of the source language behave in this manner in their new environment.

3.4.2 Morphological adaptation

IsiZulu is a prefixal language. That is why all nouns of isiZulu are classified according to their prefixes. This is what makes isiZulu stand out from the languages from which it borrows. When words are adopted by isiZulu, they are given prefixes as part of adaptation. In defining the noun of isiZulu, the morphological aspect is one of the most important ones. According to it, the noun consists of a prefix and a stem. This shows that there is no noun without a prefix. Fanakalo becomes deficient when it comes to prefixes. It uses **lo** instead of a preprefix which is followed by a basic prefix and a stem in all noun classes except

for those belonging to class 2 where **lo** stands for the prefix u- which is then

followed by the noun stem, for example,

SOURCE LANGUAGE	ISIZULU	FANAKALO
pencil	ipensela	lo pensil
skaal	isikali	lo skal
tamatie	utamatisi	lo tamati
baas	ubasi	lo bas
certificate	isitifiketi	lo stifikeyid

To show that Fanakalo is not used to the issue of prefixes, it does not use **lo** when

the noun stands in isolation but uses it in sentences, that is, when the noun is

among other words.

When words from the source language are given prefixes, their structured status

changes from being a word into being a stem in the recipient language. From the

word **diamond** we get **idayimane** in isiZulu where –**dayimane** is a nominal stem.

Fanakalo has **dayman**. The structure in **dayman** is not interfered with because of

the lack of a prefix. The same applies to English **fork**, Zulu **imfoloko** and

Fanakalo **folok**.

In isiZulu, borrowed words are given prefixes which are used in the generation of

concords necessary for agreement in sentences.

Z   Iwolintshi libolile.

F   Lo wolintsh yena bolile.

Z   Isikele siyasika.

F   Lo sker yena sika.

Z   Iketango liyasinda

F   Lo ketang yena sinda.

Z   Ukhonkolo awukomi.

F   Lo konkrit yena hhayi omile.

Fanakalo uses <u>lo</u> for prefixes and yena/ena for any type of concords. Fanakalo is

not in a position to generate concords because basically it does not possess any

prefixes. <u>Yena</u> which is an absolute pronoun does not emanate from <u>lo</u> which is a

demonstrative, first position singular.

3.5   **COINAGE**

The introduction of new innovations means growth within culture which calls for

new lexicon. Language and culture are interrelated. Any new cultural

developments influence language development as well. One of the methods used

in the growth of language is **coinage**. Coinage concerns innovation of new words

in a language. It forms part of language development. It is as a result of the

introduction of any new objects and concepts. Cultural growth calls for new

lexicon, for example, for the English word **reflector**, isiZulu has a coined word

isiketekete which is **sketeket** for Fanakalo. Such a word is coined because of the noise it makes when it is carried around which is **kete, kete**!

Coinage is done in order to fill the need where and when necessary to do so. Some new words are created from the existing ones, some from the initials of several words, for example, the word AIDS is made up of acquired immune deficiency syndrome. The initials of these words have been used. This is what is referred to as <u>acronym</u>. Compounding of existing words to form new words may also be done. About compounding of words to form new ones, Fromkin and Rodman, (1993:55) say that compounding is therefore a common and frequent process for enlarging the vocabulary of all languages. The following are examples of compound coinages:

E . ball pen

Z ipeni lika-inki

F inkpensela

E stokings

Z amasokisi amade

F sokismude

E big boss

Z ubas' omkhulu

F   makhulubas

E   scratch

Z   umklwebho

F   pikinin ngozi

In the first example, isiZulu has a possessive which is descriptive in nature. With the second and third examples, the noun is followed by an adjective (adnoun). The last example consists of a noun. When it comes to Fanakalo, one observes that all examples are compound nouns which are made up as follows:

ink + pensela   (noun + noun)

sokis + mude   (noun + adjective)

makhulu + bas   (adjective + noun)

pikinin + ngozi   (adjective + noun)

Fanakalo does not possess a lot of coinages compared to isiZulu. The reason may be that coinage is not an easy way of the invention of words in a language. Borrowing plays a pivotal role in the coining of new words. It acts as passport to word coinage. Once a word is borrowed for purposes of immediate usage, people get time to play upon before they can coin a new one. This is termed secondary coinage by Xala, (1978:06) where he says that such a type of coinage is the one that has first undergone a transphonological process and thereafter a coined word

emerges. Borrowed and coined words may be used simultaneously or the borrowed one may be dropped as time goes by. In this way, borrowing is not the end result but is momentary.

IsiZulu and Fanakalo has the following coined words:

E   wrench

Z

F   bobojan

E   matches

Z   umentshisi

F   tshisa stick

E   jack hammer

Z   umadumelana

F   madumelan

A   blinde flens

Z

F   spukupuk

E   concrete fence

Z   stop nonsense

F   stop nonsense

E   material trolley

Z   *isikoshikali*

F   skotshkar

E   peg

Z   isikhonkwane

F   skonkwan

E   watchman

Z   umantshingeyana

F   mtshingilan

When new words are created from the existing ones, there is shift of meaning in

the process: The Zulu word **umantshingeyana** for the English word watchman,

is taken from a species of night-adder. The meaning then shifts to mean a person

who watches over some property at night. That is why this person is also called a

night's watchman. Fanakalo calls this person **mtshingilan**. The Fanakalo word

mehlo for English **goggles** is taken from the Zulu word **amehlo**, which are organs

of sight. The meaning of amehlo then shifts to mean an object used to improve

sight or to protect the eyes against something. In Fanakalo, a crushing station is

called **ngwenyen**. This word is created from the Zulu noun **ingwenya**, which

means **crocodile** in English. When a crocodile gets hold of its prey, it crushes it

with its strong set of teeth. The meaning of the word **ingwenya** shifts to mean the

crushing station in the mines where rocks are crushed before gold is selected

from waste.

3.6   INTERLARDING

Interlarding, whch is also known as language mixing, is a process whereby words

from different languages are mixed in a conversation. It is the use of foreign

words within an indigenous utterance, for example, mixture of isiZulu with

English or Afrikaans in a speech. About language mixing, Wardhaugh,

(1998:103) says:

> Code mixing occurs when conversants use both
> languages together to the extent that they change
> from one language to the other in the course of a
> single utterance.

Code mixing is a common exercise to people who are bilingual. It becomes more

pronounced to those people who are multilingual. The more languages a speaker

knows, the more he/she mixes them. Even the uneducated people assimilate

foreign words and incorporate them in their daily speech at work. A sentence

may begin in one language and finish in another. At times sentences in different

languages may alternate in a speech.

IsiZulu may mix words for a number of reasons, namely, for clarification, specificity, accomodation of other people, especially those who do not know the language of the speaker or for the mere knowledge of many languages. Fanakalo by its nature is a language made up of a mixture of various languages in contact. This means that it is always in a mixed state.

Besides the fact that isiZulu is used as a basis in the formation of Fanakalo, Fanakalo speakers try to mix codes depending on who they are talking to. For example, when talking to a person who has the knowledge of isiZulu, their Fanakalo becomes full of isiZulu words and when they speak to the English speakers, they try to have more English words in their Fanakalo. This does not apply to all languages because they are not dominant in the contact situation. Let us look at the following example:

F   Nice banana

     Nice oranges

     Lo mali yena maningi

     Shumi kashilling

     Mina hhay funa lo hamba tengisa munye

E   Nice banana

     Nice oranges

The money is plenty

Ten shillings

I don't want to go on selling others

Z   Umnandi ubhanana

Amnandi amawolintshi

Imali yiningi

Yishumi losheleni

Angithandi ukuhamba ngidayisa abanye.

These words are from a hawker who goes up and down selling bananas. Pretending that he is tired and has enough money for the day, he persuades his clients to buy the last ones, knowing very well that he will fetch some more for selling should they buy the last ones.

In the above example, isiZulu has been mixed with English words, namely, nice, banana, oranges, shilling. The way codes have been mixed in the example is intra sentential. Words from the two languages are found within sentences. Here are more examples of language mixing:

F   Lo motokali yena sebenzisa lo petrol.

Z   Imoto isebenzisa uphethiloli.

E   The car uses petrol.

F   Lo mountain yena too high.

Z   Intaba iphakeme kakhulu.

E   The mountain is too high.

F   Lo wiel kalo motokali yena pantshile.

Z   Isondo lemoto liphantshile.

E   The wheel of a motorcar has a puncture.

Generally speaking, interlarding in Fanakalo is a one way process. It is isiZulu which is always mixed with other languages (English and rarely with Afrikaans). We do not get various types of language mixing with Fanakalo because it is only used for communication purposes and not for the establishment and maintanance of relationships since it is not socially founded.

3.7   CONCLUSION

From this discussion, it is evident that no language can survive without experiencing some degree of linguistic interference in one way or another. Change of time means change in every aspect of life. What is important is that change must be for the good. Language is one of those aspects that are affected by change. New words penetrate language as new ideas, objects and concepts come to the fore.

New words that are introduced into a language whether borrowed or coined, need

to be adapted so that they become acclimatized to their new environment. That is

done by means of existing linguistic rules pertaining to that particular recipient

language, namely, morphological, phonetical, phonological, syntactical and

semantical rules. In that way, the new word does not look like one in its new

form.

When languages come into contact, they are bound to mix. People are forced by

the situation they find themselves in to mix words. The language that is used for

language mixture is usually used very sparingly. There are people who do not

feel at home with the mixing of languages and thus regard the use of foreign

words in their language as language infiltration. About such resistance,

Aitchison, (1995:111) says:

> The Kupwar situation is strange in that, due to social
> pressures, borrowing of vocabulary has been rare.
> This is unusual, because vocabulary items normally
> spread easily. The inhabitants seem to have felt the
> need to maintain her ethnic identity by keeping
> separate words for things in different languages.

This is how resistant some people can be when it comes to language interference.

They wish that their language stays as intact and pure as it can for as long as it

could. At times this may hinder language progress.

CHAPTER 4

4.0 PERCEPTIONS OF FANAKALO BY MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the way different people view Fanakalo. Since this research deals with language which is acquired through learning, people in the communities have been divided into different strata according to the levels of education they have. Interviews have been conducted within these communities accordingly. These communities are from both urban and rural areas. Communities have been divided into three categories, namely, educated members of community, semi-educated members of community and Fanakalo speakers. Generally speaking, the majority of people in the last category represents uneducated members of the community. It is mostly those people who use Fanakalo more than any other groups because of lack of education. Some members in the last category are educated but use Fanakalo when communicating with the uneducated.

A written survey was also done on thirty respondents. Respondents were given assurance that their identities and all information provided would be treated as strictly confidential. This would make them respond freely and spontaneously especially when it comes to the last group where oral interviews were conducted.

4.2   PERCEPTIONS BY AN EDUCATED COMMUNITY

These are the members of the community who understood the questions well and therefore responded accordingly. This group consisted of lecturers, university students, teachers, nurses and other professionals. Some people gave positive responses and some gave negative ones. The following responses to the questions were given:

QUESTION 1

Does Fanakalo contribute to the development of isiZulu?

(POSITIVE)

a)   I think Fanakalo contributes to the development of isiZulu in a way because it contains some of its words and it borrows from other languages where there are no words of isiZulu.

b)   A person who speaks Fanakalo ends up having impact on the growth and development of isiZulu because he coins and borrows when necessary or when situations to do so arise.

(NEGATIVE)

a) For a language to develop, it needs to be used as widely as possible. Fanakalo does not qualify because it is restricted to places where it is needed, for example, in the mines and on farms.

b) Fanakalo does not contribute in the development of isiZulu because it uses it in a very bad way.

c) Fanakalo cannot help in the development of isiZulu because it has itself failed to develop as a pidgin.

d) The pidgin Fanakalo, just like other pidgins, uses other languages as basis, that is, those in contract for its existence and survival. It therefore cannot be in a position of developing such languages as a result.

e) Fanakalo runs away from all the peculiarities of isiZulu. This makes it too junior to develop another language.

f) The negative attitude which goes with traumatic experiences some speakers of isiZulu have on Fanakalo, make it impossible for it to develop this language. For any language to develop depends on conducive conditions of inside and outside forces.

g)   Fanakalo has been in existence for a long time now. At no given time and

      situation has it shown any prospects of growth and development, let alone

      that of developing a language such as isiZulu which it uses so vastly.

QUESTION 2 (POSITIVE)

Does Fanakalo appeal to mother tongue speakers of the target language (isiZulu)

who speak it?

a)   Speaking Fanakalo is not a matter of whether it does appeal or not because

      in most cases speakers of Fanakalo who are uneducated have no other

      alternative. For them it is a matter of bread and butter and they should

      conform. Those who make monetary gain out of it may be able to see it as

      appealing.

b)   People who speak Fanakalo, do so out of need to do so and not because it

      appeals to them.

c)   Fanakalo cannot be said to be appealing to mother tongue speakers of

      isiZulu because such speakers know the correct form of their language.

d)   Obviously, a person who is fluent in his or her own language has no

      reason to speak Fanakalo even when he speaks to a person who speaks

      Fanakalo.

QUESTION 3

Does Fanakalo appeal to mother tongue speakers of the target language (isiZulu) who do not speak it?

(POSITIVE)

a)   Fanakalo does appeal to some of its speakers because it is easier to learn than other languages.

b)   Yes, it does because it facilitates communication among groups who speak different languages.

c)   It does if it is used as some form of joke.

(NEGATIVE)

a)   Fanakalo does not appeal to mother tongue speakers because people even hate to understand it.

b)   It does not because it spoils the correct form of their language.

c)   Some mother tongue speakers see learning Fanakalo as being difficult compared to learning the correct language and therefore the idea of Fanakalo does not appeal to them.

QUESTION 4

Does Fanakalo appeal to non-mother tongue speakers of the target language who speak it?

(POSITIVE)

a) Fanakalo does appeal to non-mother tongue speakers of the target language because it is easy to master than proper isiZulu and people who speak it understand each other very well.

b) Fanakalo appeals because it makes different languages to mix and blend well.

c) It ends up appealing to its speakers because it promotes harmonious relationship between workers in a workplace.

d) It does because once orders are understood and duties executed correctly, it means growth of economy.

e) Fanakalo becomes a stepping stone for those who want to learn other languages especially those spoken by Africans.

No respondent responded negatively to this question because all of them were non-mother tongue speakers of isiZulu, the language which is thought of as being difficult to learn by them.

QUESTION 5

Is there urban and rural Fanakalo?

(POSITIVE)

It is very difficult to respond to such a question because Fanakalo uses a bit from each language used in its creation.

(NEGATIVE)

a)   No, Fanakalo uses words of isiZulu regardless of where they are used.

b)   Fanakalo uses mainly words of isiZulu as found in urban areas. It goes for what sounds simpler. It is not easy to recognize what is urban or rural in terms of language because the very same people who work in urban areas are from the rural areas.

QUESTION 6

Do you think Fanakalo has any psychological effects on its speakers?

(NEGATIVE)

a)   It does affect those speakers of Fanakalo who are forced by circumstances
       to do so because most such speakers are not economically empowered,
       that is, they do not own any trade or business in which they work. As a
       result they find themselves downtrodden by those who are owners because
       they do not loose anything even if they use other people's languages
       anyhow.

b)   Speakers of Fanakalo whose language is used in the formation of Fanakalo
       feel inferior when their language is used in this way.

c)   Yes, because speakers of Fanakalo who hold high positions think that it is
       the only superior language in the workplace.

(POSITIVE)

a)   It does not have any psychological effects on its speakers since it is like
       any other language, let alone that it is not recognized as a language by the
       South African Constitution.

b)   No, because it gives the speakers of Fanakalo confidence to be able to
       communicate with people from other language groups.

c)   On the opposite, people who speak Fanakalo become more secure and more friendlier because of their ability to communicate with others.   In this way, Fanakalo acts as a psychological booster.

d)   People who speak Fanakalo feel free because they do not guard against any sets of linguistic rules that govern a language.

QUESTION 7

Does Fanakalo have any growth potential?

(POSITIVE)

a)   Fanakalo has a potential to grow because it is used largely by communities in big cities at places of work.

b)   What will make Fanakalo grow is the increase in number of illiterate people which is caused among other things by a wave of job losses.

c)   Fanakalo will grow if people are not taught the correct language.

(NEGATIVE)

a)   Fanakalo will die a natural death as more and more citizens of South Africa become educated.

b)   No, because every language is a symbol of culture which represents the people to which it belongs. Fanakalo is nowhere near there.

c)   Todays people study and understand other languages. They do not use Fanakalo to communicate even in places of employment.

QUESTION 8

Will Fanakalo retain its present status in the next decade?

(POSITIVE)

a)   Yes, it will because it acts as a basis for interaction between non-speakers and speakers of isiZulu.

b)   It will retain its present status because it will be forever the easiest means of communication especially for the uneducated and those who do not know the main languages.

(NEGATIVE)

a)   Many languages have acquired the status of being official and as a result they are used as widely as possible. Language contact this time promotes the learnability of other languages without any linguistic distortions.

b)   With so many changes taking place in the country, it is probable that Fanakalo would have fallen away only to be replaced by proper language in places of work.

c)   The more people study other languages, the more Fanakalo will be done away with.

d)   The majority of the people will be educated by then.

QUESTION 9

Give any Fanakalo words that you know and their meanings.

Hamba khaya   (Go home)

komo   (cow)

mes   (knife)

Buya lo side.   (come this side)

amfan   (boy)

Yini wena funa?   (What do you want?)

Hamba lo posie.   (Go home)

Mina funa lo mali.   (I want money)

Wena lo bas kamina   (You are my boss)

Yena hambile   (She is gone)

Mina hhay khokela wena (I will not pay you)

QUESTION 10

Give your general views about Fanakalo.

a) I think Fanakalo must be added to other languages as an official language because it helps people to understand other languages more easily.

b) Fanakalo has grown in the past years thus enabling non-speakers of isiZulu to communicate with each other.

c) This is a silly language because it encourages our youth not to learn the proper language.

d) Fanakalo was implemented long time ago for the mere benefit of Whites. This language also accommodated Blacks who were illiterate. From my point of view, this was developed for purposes of communication between Whites and Blacks who were unskilled so that they could work for them. In this way Blacks were only used as tools.

e) My general view about Fanakalo is that it is not good at all as a language. Those people who enjoyed Fanakalo have to learn to speak isiZulu because we also learnt English and speak it fluently.

f)   Fanakalo should be discouraged in all possible ways and people should be
        encouraged to learn proper languages.

g)   Fanakalo has been used segregatively in what was historically known as
        the government of the old regime for the oppression of the minds of the
        Black people. Nowadays, we have no place for Fanakalo.

47% of the interviewees in this category gave positive answers and 53% gave

negative answers about this pidgin. This shows that the majority of the people do

not want anything to do with Fanakalo. There are those of course who still hold

onto it for various reasons. Others do not want to part with it because they are

used to it. Others tolerate it because they pity especially the African people who

use it because among other things, they have survived a lot of hardships including

having no access to a basic need like education.

4.3   PERCEPTIONS BY A SEMI-EDUCATED COMMUNITY

By a semi-educated community is meant that community which received some

formal; education to some extent. They have some knowledge of foreign

languages. Most of them are unskilled labourers. The same set of questions was

posed to them and these were the responses:

QUESTION 1

Does Fanakalo contribute to the development of isiZulu?

(POSITIVE)

a)   Yes, it does because it increases the vocabulary.

b)   Yes because it helps in community information.

(NEGATIVE)

a)   *It does not help in the development of isiZulu because it is not a self sufficient language itself.*

b)   No, because it uses other languages for survival. This means that it is not a language on its own. It sucks from other languages.

QUESTION 2

Does Fanakalo appeal to mother tongue speakers of the target language (isiZulu) who speak it?

(POSITIVE)

a)   It does because we are able to pick some foreign words here and there.

b)   It promotes interaction among people from different language groups.

c)   No, because it does not treat my language very well. There is no way out

of this situation.

d)   This is not a good question to a mother tongue speaker whose language

has been used anyhow in the creation of Fanakalo.

e)   I do not like the use of Fanakalo because it does not give people

opportunity to learn other languages.

QUESTION 3

Does Fanakalo appeal to mother tongue speakers of the target language (isiZulu)

who do not speak it?

(POSITIVE)

It helps those people who cannot do otherwise.

(NEGATIVE)

The mere fact that they do not speak it means that it does not appeal. They try

their utmost best to learn the other languages the proper way.

QUESTION 4

Does Fanakalo appeal to non-mother tongue speakers of the target language who

speak it?

(POSITIVE)

a)   It does because it brings them nearer to learning other languages.

b)   It is nice to listen to other people speaking Fanakalo especially those who know it well.

c)   Fanakalo makes a collection of the vocabulary from other languages used for its formation.

(NEGATIVE)

Non-mother tongue speakers of isiZulu envy the people who speak their language well. They also like to learn the proper language.

QUESTION 5

Is there urban and rural Fanakalo?

No, because isiZulu is the same.

QUESTION 6

Do you think Fanakalo has any psychological effects on its speakers?

There were no positive answers to this question.

(NEGATIVE)

a) Yes, because it looks down upon isiZulu which is my mother tongue, the only thing that cannot be taken away from me.

b) It does because it makes us feel small and compromised.

c) It makes us feel that we are at the mercy of our employers.

d) It makes us feel bad especially if it is forced down on our throats. This happens when we speak in English and our bosses make it a point to reply in Fanakalo.

QUESTION 7

Does Fanakalo have any growth potential?

(POSITIVE)

It has because many people speak it.

(NEGATIVE)

a) Fanakalo does not have any growth potential because it is not a planned language.

b)   Only the languages that are used by Fanakalo as bases have a growth

potential.

c)   Fanakalo will grow if there is economic growth in the country.

QUESTION 8

Will Fanakalo retain its present status in the next decade?

(POSITIVE)

a)   It will if the number of its speakers does not dwindle.

b)   This may happen if the youth leave schooling before time.

c)   It will if Whites resist to learn isiZulu the proper way.

(NEGATIVE)

a)   It will not because more and more people realize the need for education.

b)   When people are educated, they will not stand communicating in

Fanakalo.

c)   No, because more and more people learn each others language.

d)   All languages in South Africa have been elevated to an equal status in

government.

QUESTION 9

Give any Fanakalo words that you know and their meanings.

Hamba thenga.   (Go and buy)

Yena malini?   (How much is it?)

Ziphi lo munye?   (Where are the others?)

Yini wena phekile?   (What have you cooked?)

Shout lo skati yena thandaza (Shout while you pray)

Mina zobopa wena.   (I will arrest you)

QUESTION 10

Give your general views about Fanakalo.

a)   There is no need for Fanakalo nowadays because as there is freedom of

      movement, people learn more languages than before at their own will.

b)   Fanakalo cannot be earmarked for growth as it happens with fully fledged

      languages because it is not regarded as such. Fanakalo has not stood the

      test of time. If it had, it would have improved by now.

c)   Mother tongue speakers' (isiZulu) conscience does not allow them to

      consciously learn the wrong language when they know the proper thing.

Fanakalo puts us in a very difficult position because it breaks the rules of our language.

d)   Fanakalo is very useful to those people who have no other language to use in a work situation.

36% of the people from the semi-educated community gave positive responses and 64% answered negatively towards Fanakalo. This means that a large percentage is against the use of Fanakalo. This shows that these people feel very strongly about their mother tongue partly because it is the language that they know very well as have a good demand of. They care much about what belongs to them.

4.4   PERCEPTIONS BY FANAKALO SPEAKERS

Fanakalo speakers consist of the educated, semi-educated and the uneducated members of the community according to Western standards. Although this is the case, Fanakalo speakers are formed by the majority of the uneducated people. Most of the people are unskilled. These people do not have any knowledge of other languages except for those who have the experience of working as domestic servants. Such people usually speak good English or Afrikaans if the situation permits. On interviewing them, the following responses were given:

QUESTION 1

Does Fanakalo contribute to the development of isiZulu?

(POSITIVE)

It does because it introduces new words to isiZulu.

(NEGATIVE)

a)   It does not because it uses isiZulu in a shabby manner.

b)   It is isiZulu which helps in the development of Fanakalo.

c)   Fanakalo is not a language that can be said to be developing other languages because it is not catered for even by government. Instead, it is the real languages that are being developed with the help of the government.

d)   Fanakalo is not growing as a language and as a result cannot develop a fully fledged language like isiZulu which is so widely spoken.

QUESTION 2

Does Fanakalo appeal to mother tongue speakers of the target language (isiZulu) who speak it?

(POSITIVE)

a)   It does appeal because we are able to get employment through its use.

b)   We like Fanakalo because there is a bit of English in it.

c)   Fanakalo enables us to work for our children.

NEGATIVE

a)   Fanakalo does not improve out knowledge of other language.

b)   It does not appeal to us because it breaks our language anyhow.

c)   I do not want anything to do with Fanakalo but I am forced by the situation to speak it.

d)   Although I use Fanakalo where I work, it is enemy to my mother tongue.

QUESTION 3

Does Fanakalo appeal to non-mother tongue speakers of the target language (isiZulu) who speak it?

(POSITIVE)

a)   Fanakalo does appeal to us because it opens inroads which lead to learning

     languages involved in the creation of Fanakalo.

b)   Fanakalo is good for us because we feel that we are speaking isiZulu when

     we interact.

c)   Fanakalo enables us to interact with people from other language groups.

QUESTION 4

Is there urban and rural Fanakalo?

a)   It is difficult for us to answer that question because we are not used to

     isiZulu which is a dominant language used in the formation of Fanakalo.

b)   When we learn Fanakalo, we do not differentiate between urban and rural.

QUESTION 5

Do you think Fanakalo has any psychological effects on its speakers?

(POSITIVE)

No, because it does away with the problem of communication.

(NEGATIVE)

a)   Fanakalo may have a negative effect on its speakers depending on the
     attitude of the employer.

b)   Fanakalo makes mother tongue speakers of isiZulu feel small because they
     know their language well to be used so carelessly.

c)   In most cases, Fanakalo is used for purposes of opening the gap between
     the employer and the employee. The kind of relationship that exists there
     is not a healthy one.

QUESTION 6

Does Fanakalo have any growth potential?

(NEGATIVE)

No, because the majority of its speakers do not like it.

QUESTION 7

Give your general views about Fanakalo.

*It is so pathetic that in other places of employment people are given formal
lessons of Fanakalo instead of being taught the correct language. I do not know*

when such places will realize that even adults can be taught a new language and not a pidgin like Fanakalo.

I do not want to hear about Fanakalo because I also want an opportunity to go to school even if it means during my lunch hour or after work.

Fanakalo has helped a lot of people get and retain their employment. These people are supporting their families in all respects as a result of their knowledge of Fanakalo.

4.5   CONCLUSION

These responses show that there is an overall affirmation that Fanakalo must go because in most instances it is used to look down upon Black communities. (It is them who are employees). It takes away their dignity, something which is highly recognisable in such communities.

Some interviewees have a problem with the attitude of the employers. They say that if the attitude was the right one, one would easily learn the language of the other person without formalizing anything. They feel that Fanakalo robs their mother tongue of its prestige and dignity.

The majority of these people detest the use of Fanakalo but admit that it is through it that they have a few cents in their pockets. They say that they are prepared to learn a language like English as long as it would free them from speaking Fanakalo. Some interviewees feel that they are too old to learn an altogether new language. They maintain that it is equally important for the White employees to learn the relevant African language. They think they would be accommodated that way.

CHAPTER 5

5.0 CONCLUSION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the closing remarks on the question of Fanakalo as a pidgin. It looks at the work that has been covered by the research. The question of the viability of Fanakalo will be considered whereby Fanakalo will be weighed according to its strengths and weaknesses. This will be done for purposes of examining whether Fanakalo fulfills its duties as a language responsible for people's social needs. Fanakalo will also be looked at in mixed schools situation as to whether it promotes or hinders progress in the acquisition of language by the learners. General views about Fanakalo will also be given here.

5.2 THE VIABILITY OF FANAKALO

A pidgin is a created new variety which makes use of existing varieties for its formation. Such variety is created for very practical and immediate purposes of communication between people from various language groups who do not have a common language. Pidgins remain in existence for as long as the problem of communication is there. Once the need is no longer there, the pidgin also disappears. About the disappearance of pidgins, Wallwork, (1971:171) says that a

pidgin may disappear if social conditions render it unnecessary or undesirable, or it may develop into a creole.

From the aforementioned definitions, one can draw some characteristics of pidgin languages namely:

a)   A pidgin language is a language used for contant purposes among people who find themselves in the predicament of not having a common means of communication.   It is a language used for practical purposes of communication.   Such a language emanates from a multilingual situation which calls for a common solution.

b)   A pidgin language is a simplified language that does away with grammatical complexities especially in the fields of morphology and phonetics.

c)   The vocabulary of a pidgin language is drawn from contact languages but a large percentage is drawn from a target language.

d)   A pidgin language does not belong to any of its speakers, that is, it is not a mother tongue to any of its speakers.

e) Fanakalo differs from other pidgins in that most of its lexicon is drawn
    from isiZulu and other related languages. It has a fairly sophisticated
    grammatical structure; the simple grammar is from English rather than
    from isiZulu.

f) Fanakalo uses isiZulu as its basis as well as other languages which are not
    from the same language family as isiZulu.

5.2.1 Language Death

Language is looked at as a living entity. It lives while it is used by human beings

and dies away when its community no longer uses it because of various reasons

the most important of which is <u>lack of need</u> for it to be used. Once the need for

which the language was used is over, the language disappears as if it never

existed. Among such languages is Latin and Esperanto which was an artificial

language created by Zemenhof, a Polish, in 1887. About lack of need, Aitchison,

(1995:209) states the following:

> In brief, language death is a social phenomenon,
> and triggered by social needs. There is no
> evidence that there was anything wrong with the
> dead language itself: its essential structure was no
> better and no worse than that of any other
> language. It faded away because it did not fulfill
> the social needs of the community who spoke it.

Aitchison may be referring to fully fledged languages which have definite linguistic forms. Unlike other pidgins, Fanakalo does not have definite linguistic laws. Therefore it cannot be trusted in terms of durability and longevity. Fanakalo is becoming less and less viable in places of employment since most employers are trying their level best to improve on the literacy of their employees. ABET classes which are responsible for adult learner education have been introduced even in the mines where the heart of Fanakalo lies. Among the lessons that are offered, is communicative English which forms the core of their subjects. Those who cannot read or write are given special classes on that. Employees are even taught how to fill in forms. This falls under basic skills development. Such programmes held in decreasing illiteracy.

On the basis of the above discussion, Fanakalo cannot be said to be viable. It will never fulfill the role played by a real language. In the article entitled, "The Rise and Fall of Fanakalo: language and literacy policies of the South African gold mines," Brown, (1991:77) tells us about the views on Fanakalo by one of his interviewees where we get the following:

> Hazzy Sibanyoni said that union members regarded Fanakalo as an authoritarian and demeaning language used to facilitate control rather than communication. He argued further that Fanakalo did not help to develop people's skills and did not assist the workers to become literate or educate themselves.

The educated youth have a strong feeling about the whole situation. They say that a language is not necessarily for communication purposes only. Language is also about power and power relations. They say that most employers use a non-consultative approach in as far as language preferance is concerned because there was a time when their parents were compelled to use Fanakalo although they could understand and speak English well. To seal their feelings, they asked the following questions which sounded like statements:

a)   Who told the employers that Fanakalo is legitimate to such an extent that it can be officially taught in places of employment like in the mines?

b)   That Black people do not have a brain capacity which allows them to learn a foreign language especially English?

c)   That it is only language of the minority which must be used in work situations?

d)   That learning the language of the employees by employers would take away their dignity?

It is a known fact that imposition leads to struggling whereas people feel free when they are left with open choices. Where there is no room for choices, such a situation may give rise to conflicts which might have a negative effect on

production. A common language must then act as a unifying force so as to strengthen the necessary work relationship. Fanakalo does not fulfil such expectations and thus renders itself not viable. Fanakalo does not serve any communication need because it is a one way instructional tool. It behaves as if employees are simply machines. It therefore plays no meaningful communicative role.

In some places people do all in their power to do away with pidgins whether such pidgins are good or bad. They do not consider whether a pidgin plays a meaningful role or not. About the eradication of pidgins, Fromkin and Rodman, (1993:297) say:

> A pidgin spoken on New Zealand by the Maoris was replaced, through massive education, by Standard English, and the use of Chinese Pidgin English was forbidden by the government of China. Its use had died out by the end of the nineteenth century because the Chinese gained access to learning standard English which proved to be more useful in communicating with non-Chinese speakers.

This statement shows that education is the most useful tool in the eradication of a pidgin. It also makes us aware that when people are taught a new language, they are in a position to learn it. The same thing may also be applied to all the employees.

5.3   FANAKALO IN MIXED SCHOOLS

By mixed schools is meant schools whose enrolment is made up of pupils from different cultural backgrounds hence different language groups. When children come to school, they are exposed to a totally new world from the one they are used to. They are mingled with children from different language groups. The teacher is the only person who is in a position to help them out by making them acquainted to this new situation. In the classroom situation, only one language is used as a medium of instruction. Some of them are not used to this language. Some cannot communicate fluently using it. There are others who are affected by this situation to such an extent that it has a negative effect on their performance as far as school work is concerned. This is caused by the unsatisfactory base of their linguistic skills, not because they do not know their content. This means that the child's linguistic ability has a bearing on their success when learning other subjects.

Generally, children are fast learners when it comes to language acquisition. They may start with disjointed and erratic conversations but will end up understanding each other. Children are also good at using common sign language. That is why they show a good reading skill when it comes to the reading of signs and pictures.

Some teachers find it hard to cope with people who have never been exposed to the language used by the school. Some, because of unhealthy attitudes, are not

aware that there are quite a number of methods at their disposal that they can use in such a situation. The most common one is that of mixing these different groups of pupils. In this way they catch up very quickly, rids the teacher of unnecessary extra classes with the purpose of enabling those who fall behind to catch up.

Some teachers even go to the extent of dividing the class according to different language groups because they strongly believe that such pupils make the learning progress slow for those pupils who are mother tongue speakers of the language used as medium of instruction. Such divisions do not serve a good purpose. At times the situation turns so bad as these pupil's classes are given nasty names. What goes on in the classroom is even worse. Pupils are taught what is supposed to be English through the use of Fanakalo. These schools are supposedly mixed but internally separate. When the teachers speak Fanakalo, they think that they are communicating in isiZulu.

When my nephew started attending pre-school, he used a lot of Fanakalo which, as time went on, became evident that it was the medium through which the teacher interacted with them. I once heard him say, "**Come la!**" which means, "**Woza lapha!**" in isiZulu and, "**Come here!**" in English. "**Where is lo baba?**" in Fanakalo which means, "**Uphi ubaba?**" in isiZulu and, "**Where is the father?**" in English. Some teachers in these schools say that isiZulu, meaning Fanakalo, helps them when they try to introduce children to English.

My daughter, who is years older than my nephew, never allowed to be spoken to in Fanakalo when she started attending a mixed school. She says that she did not understand a word in English. When they were instructed to do something, she would look around at what her counterparts were doing, then follow suit. It took her the shortest space of time you could ever imagine to be able to communicate. No extra lessons were given for that. They were really mixed.

It takes a teacher to be able to play around with various methods to help the disadvantaged pupil to catch up as fast as possible as far as the acquisition of language by the learner is concerned.

5.4 CONCLUSION

As it happens with fully fledged languages, pidgins also need to show potential for and enjoy growth and development which may lead them into becoming creoles. The nature of political climate surrounding the pidgin suggests whether a pidgin will develop into an advanced stage or remain a dwarf which will eventually disappear unnoticed.

From the research conducted, it is evident that with some things put right, Fanakalo will not survive for a long time. One of such things is economic empowerment which comes as a result of education. When people are educated, they are able to make an impact on the economy of the country. Such an

empowerment is felt even more greatly with the relaxation of trading laws. When such laws are relaxed, people shy away from being employed by others. They make use of their skills to become self-employed.

The limited boundaries of Fanakalo give rise to limitations to the scope of Fanakalo in as far as places where it is used are concerned. With the other pidgins which started as trade languages, their use over extend periods of time goes beyond the set trade boundaries. This allows such pidgins to be used even in social spheres of life. In this way, pidgins grow and become accepted as advanced pidgins. That is when they really start to serve a social need in the community where they are used. Fanakalo as it stands now cannot withstand such a challenge. The use of Fanakalo in places of employment is dwindling. The state of all languages being given an equal status in South Africa has an effect on such a situation.

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