

Language contact and linguistic change: The case of Afrikaans and English influence on isiNdebele

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Abstract

Adoption is an unavoidable type of linguistic behaviour that occurs when two or more languages are in a state of contact with each other. Adoption is the introduction of single words or short frozen phrases from one variety (i.e. language) into the other. Adoption goes together with adaptation. There are different levels of adaptation, but this article focuses on adoptives which are fully indigenized. As such they are incorporated into the grammatical system of the borrowing language, treated as part of its lexicon, assume its phonological and morphological characteristics and enter into its syntactic structures. Numerous studies in African languages have illustrated that lesser developed languages have benefitted from the adoption of items from other languages. IsiNdebele, as one of the lesser developed indigenous languages of South Africa, has been in close contact with Afrikaans and English for many years and has adopted and adapted items from a number of word categories, such as nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, relatives and conjunctions. This article investigates and discusses the adoption and adaptation of Afrikaans and English words by isiNdebele. The discussion focuses mainly on the various word categories in Afrikaans and English that isiNdebele has adopted items from, lexicalization of Afrikaans phrases and the syntactic influence of Afrikaans on isiNdebele.

Introduction

Socio-linguistic scholars such as Bloomfield (1950), Lyons (1981), Wilkes (1997), Moyo (1995) and others, maintain that when languages come into contact with other languages they are bound to change. However, the tempo and direction of language change is mainly determined and influenced by political preference and prestige as well as economic value of the languages concerned. With regard to the first, the language preferred by the government stands a better chance of being a donor than a receiver of lexical items whilst, in the case of prestige, the speakers of a lesser

developed language always strive to associate themselves with the more highly developed language through borrowing and sometimes the loan words supplant those of the original vocabulary. Bloomfield attributes language change to borrowing and analogic change.

Hock and Joseph (1996) limit their argument to two distinct factors that encourage and pressurize one language to borrow from the other, i.e. social and prestige factors, interpreting 'social' more broadly to encompass economic and political factors. Social factors, thus, entail the adoption and adaptation of new terms from a source language into the receiving language on the basis of political, cultural, economic and technological advancement. In general and in the context of isiNdebele, the contact and the interaction has evolved for socio-political, socio-economic, cultural and religious reasons that were spearheaded by early settlers, the Voortrekkers and missionaries from various European countries. On the one hand, words such as 'money', 'parliament' 'computer', 'sugar' etc. infiltrated into African languages' lexical stock as social factors. On the other hand, prestige also plays a vital role in the adoption process of one language from the other (Hock & Joseph, 1996: 271–272). A less prestigious language will always strive towards associating itself with a better recognized and more prestigious language, as already intimated. Prestigious adoption and adaptation is a non-pressurizing linguistic process unlike social adoption and adaptation. The speakers of one language adopt and adapt new terms freely from the prestigious one even when they have an equivalent or an appropriate term for the concept. Relationship terms such as 'sister', 'brother', 'my mother's elder sister' in English, for example, are rendered as *usisi*, *ubhuti* and *u-anti* in isiZulu, even though *udadewethu*, *umfowethu* and *umamkhulu* exist in isiZulu as equivalents. This is unlike adoption and adaptation through social factors, which usually result in dilution especially in the case of languages that are less technologically advanced or do not yet function as official languages (Mahlangu, 2014: 186).

African languages have increased their lexical stock following these trends. Nouns and verbs are the most common linguistic categories in Afrikaans and English from which items have been adopted (cf. Mathumba, 1993; Koopman, 1994; Madiba, 1994).

However, the aim of this article is to demonstrate how English and Afrikaans have been used as source for adoptives based on other word categories besides the two common word categories mentioned above. IsiNdebele exhibits no fewer than five word categories including nouns and verbs adopted and adapted from Afrikaans as well as nouns and verbs from English, as already stated and this is largely because of socio-political reasons. Despite syntactic differences, it has borrowed nouns, verbs, conjunctions, adverbs and adjectives.

Methodology

The data analysed and used for the discussion in this article is drawn from four sources: (a) the 1.2 million isiNdebele running corpus available in the isiNdebele Dictionary Unit also known as *iZiko lesiHlathululi-mezwi sesiNdebele* hosted by the Department of African Languages at the University of Pretoria; (b) isiNdebele Terminology Book No.1 (2001); (c) personal interviews with the speakers of the language; and (d) special phone-in programmes on iKwekwezi FM that caters for isiNdebele speakers. While the written corpus mainly assisted in confirming the written loaned vocabulary in circulation already, personal interviews with the native speakers and the Radio programmes have assisted with the frequently used adoptives, particularly from Afrikaans during informal conversations.

A higher percentage of Afrikaans borrowed words was shown to be used predominantly amongst the Nzunza speakers rather than the Manala speakers, because they were in closer contact with the Afrikaans people for many years. Afrikaans vocabulary adopted and adapted and frequently used amongst amaNdebele is also seen to supplant the indigenous vocabulary of this language. The Afrikaans and English influence in isiNdebele is discussed under the following sub-headings: nouns, verbs, conjunctions, adverbs and adjectives because borrowing in isiNdebele occurs mostly in these categories.

Nouns

Nouns are the most common word category susceptible to adoption into the lexical stock of African languages as a result of lack of terms for the new items that came through Western technology. However, adoption and adaptation of any noun into the receiving language is never done haphazardly. Meinhof and Van Warmelo (1932: 39) remark that any noun borrowed from Afrikaans or English into an indigenous African language is phonologically modified/adapted to suit one of its noun classes. The phonological adjustment primarily enables the receiving language to adjust the incoming foreign item to enable it to be pronounceable in accordance with its phonological structure, while morphological affixation enables the receiving language to appropriately fit the new item into one of its word categories. Through phonologization and morphologization isiNdebele has imported numerous nouns from Afrikaans and English into its lexical system that have spread through almost all classes. The following are examples of Afrikaans and English borrowed nouns that have infiltrated the isiNdebele noun class system by prefixing an appropriate gender marker.

Class 1: *um(u)-* and Class 2: *aba-*

Nouns in Classes 1 and 2 commonly denote human beings in isiNdebele (Jiyane, 1994: 7–31) and most of the adopted nouns in these classes are English human nouns related to Christianity. Compare the following examples in this regard.

(1) Cl. 1:	<i>umKhresto</i>	‘Christian’	Cl. 2:	<i>abaKhresto</i>	‘Christians’
	<i>umbhabhadisi</i>	‘baptizer’		<i>ababhabhadisi</i>	‘baptizers’
	<i>umdikhoni</i>	‘deacon’		<i>abadikhoni</i>	‘deacons’
	<i>umphristi</i>	‘priest’		<i>abaphristi</i>	‘priests’

The nouns in the above examples could most probably have infiltrated isiNdebele because of the fact that some of those missionaries were using the medium of English when the propagation of the Christianity concept was introduced to South Africans.

Class 1(a): *u-* and Class 2(a): *abo-*

Classes 1(a) and 2(a) are mainly classes of relationship terms in isiNdebele, but non-relationship terms such as surnames, proper nouns, types of animals, fruit and vegetables, are also found. Afrikaans and English nouns channelled to these classes are Western nouns that refer to public holidays, coins (mainly old currencies), professional positions, months of the year, animals, plants etc. Compare the following examples in (2a)-(2g) in this regard.

(2a) Public Holidays

Class 1a		Class 2a	
<i>uKhresimusi</i>	‘Christmas’	<i>aboKhresimusi</i>	‘Christmases’ (<Eng)
<i>uNebejara</i>	‘New Year’	<i>aboNebejara</i>	‘New Years’ (<Afr <i>nuwe jaar(sdag)/nuwe jaar(sdae)</i>)
<i>uSondarha</i>	‘Sunday’	<i>aboSondarha</i>	‘Sundays’ (<Afr <i>Sondag/Sondae</i>)

(2b) Coins

Class 1a		Class 2a	
<i>utiki</i>	‘tickey’	<i>abotiki</i>	‘tickeys’ (<Eng/Afr <i>tiekie/tiekies</i>)
<i>utjheleni</i>	‘shilling’	<i>abotjheleni</i>	‘shillings’ (<Eng/Afr <i>sjieling/sjielings</i>)
<i>upeni</i>	‘penny’	<i>abopeni</i>	‘pennies’ (<Eng/Afr <i>pennie/pennies</i>)

<i>ufagoroni</i>	‘half-crown’	<i>abofagoroni</i>	‘half-crowns’ (<Eng/Afr <i>halfkroon/halfkrone</i>)
<i>usende</i>	‘cent’	<i>abosende</i>	‘cents’ (<Eng/Afr <i>sent/sente</i>)

It should be noted that the above words might have been adopted from Afrikaans and/or English. Nouns such as *iponde* ‘pound’ and *iranda* ‘rand’ (<Afr: *pond* and *rand*) are two examples of adopted nouns in the category of ‘coins’ that do not fall under the above classes, but under Classes 9 and 5, respectively.

(2c) Professional positions

Class 1a		Class 2a	
<i>umarhastrada</i>	‘magistrate’	<i>abomarhastrada</i>	‘magistrates’ (<Afr <i>magistraat/magistrate</i>)
<i>udorhoder</i>	‘doctor’	<i>abodorhoder</i>	‘doctors’ (<Afr <i>dokter/dokters</i>)
<i>utitjhere</i>	‘teacher’	<i>abotitjhere</i>	‘teachers’ (<Eng)
<i>uphrinsipali</i>	‘principal’	<i>abophrinsipali</i>	‘principals’ (<Eng)

(2d) Months of the year

Although one does not usually use the names of months in the plural, these words technically have plurals in class 2(a).

Class 1a		Class 2a	
<i>uJanabari</i>	‘January’	<i>aboJanabari</i>	(<Eng/Afr <i>Januarie</i>)
<i>uFebherbari</i>	‘February’	<i>aboFebherbari</i>	(<Eng/Afr <i>Februarie</i>)
<i>u-Apreli</i>	‘April’	<i>abo-Apreli</i>	(<Eng/Afr <i>April</i>)
<i>uMeyi</i>	‘May’	<i>aboMeyi</i>	(<Eng/Afr <i>Mei</i>)

(2e) Animals

Class 1a		Class 2a	
<i>ujakalasi</i>	‘jackal’	<i>abojakalasi</i>	‘jackals’ (<Afr <i>jakkals/jakkalse</i>)
<i>ukatsu</i>	‘cat’	<i>abokatsu</i>	‘cats’ (<Afr <i>kat/katte</i>)
<i>ukolasi</i>	‘type of a hare’	<i>abokolasi</i>	‘type of hares’ (<Afr <i>kolhaas/kolhase</i>)

(2f) **Plants**

Class 1a

ubhlorhomu ‘blue gum tree’

usonobhlomu ‘sun flower’

upopuliri ‘poplar tree’

Class 2a

abobhlorhomu ‘blue gum trees’ (<Eng/Afr *bloekom(boom)/bloekom(bome)*)

abosonobhlomu ‘sun flowers’ (<Afr *sonneblom/sonneblomme*)

abopopuliri ‘poplar trees’ (<Afr *populier/populiere*)

(2g) **Miscellaneous**

Class 1a

utolitji ‘reel’

uhagana ‘safety pin’

utelebhula ‘teaspoon’

uvasi ‘washbasin’

Class 2a

abotolitji ‘reels’ (<Afr *tolletjie/tolletjies*)

abohagana ‘safety pins’ (<Afr *haak(speld)/haak(spelde)*)

abotelebhula ‘teaspoons’ (<Afr *teelepel/teelepels*)

abovasi ‘washbasins’ (<Afr *was(kom)/was(komme)*)

Class 3: um(u)- and Class 4: imi-

Very few loan nouns have been channelled to Classes 3 and 4. Compare the following examples in this regard.

	Class 3		Class 4	
(3)	<i>umtjhini</i>	‘machine’	<i>imitjhini</i>	‘machines’ (<Afr <i>masjien/masjiene</i>)
	<i>umdanso</i>	‘dance’	<i>imidanso</i>	‘dances’ (<Afr <i>dans/danse</i>)
	<i>umbhede</i>	‘bed’	<i>imibhede</i>	‘beds’ (<Afr <i>bed/beddens</i>)
	<i>umsorodo</i>	‘type/kind/sort’	<i>imisorodo</i>	‘types/kinds/sorts’ (<Afr <i>soort/soorte</i>)

It should be noted that there is an equal chance for the above words to have been adopted from Afrikaans or English.

Class 5: i(li)-/ilu- and Class 6: ama-/ame-

In isiNdebele nouns in Class 5 take their plural form in Class 6 and/or Class 10. These classes contain nouns denoting objects found in pairs or large numbers, e.g. fruits, names of mountains,

vegetables, parts of the body, birds, animals, insects, clothing, people with special characteristics as well as nations and regiments (Jiyane, 1994 and Skhosana, 2002). According to the investigation, there is a sizable number of adopted nouns that fall under Classes 5 and 6. Compare the following examples in this regard.

Class 5	Class 6
(4) <i>ikerese</i> ‘candle’	<i>amakerese</i> ‘candles’ (<Afr <i>kers/kerse</i>)
<i>ibhodlelo</i> ‘bottle’	<i>amabhodlelo</i> ‘bottles’ (<Eng/Afr <i>bottel/bottels</i>)
<i>ilebhula</i> ‘spoon’	<i>amalebhula</i> ‘spoons’ (<Afr <i>lepel/lepels</i>)
<i>ikwiye</i> ‘cow’	<i>amakwiye</i> ‘cows’ (<Afr <i>koei/koeie</i>)

Interestingly, all adopted nouns falling under Class 5 take their plural form in Class 6, unlike some original isiNdebele nouns that take their plural form in Class 6 or Class 10 or in both Classes 6 and 10. This tendency is called double pluralism.

Class 7: is(i)- and Class 8: iz(i)-, iin-, ii-, iim-

Classes 7 and Class 8 contain nouns signifying instruments, languages, culture, parts of the body, foodstuff, insects, diseases, ordinal numbers, miscellaneous and personal as well as impersonal nouns in Bantu languages (Jiyane, 1994: 19). A large number of Afrikaans and English adopted nouns have been channelled to Classes 7 and 8 respectively; most are from Afrikaans rather than English. These adopted nouns denote inanimate objects. Compare the following examples in this regard.

Class 7	Class 8
(5) <i>isikere</i> ‘pair of scissors’	<i>iinkere</i> ‘pairs of scissors’ (<Afr <i>skêr/skêre</i>)
<i>isikolo</i> ‘school’	<i>iinkolo</i> ‘schools’ (<Afr <i>skool/skole</i>)
<i>isipikiri</i> ‘nail’	<i>iimpikiri</i> ‘nails’ (<Afr <i>spyker/spykers</i>)
<i>isitulo</i> ‘chair’	<i>iintulo</i> ‘chairs’ (<Afr <i>stoel/stoele</i>)

Morphologically, Class 8 has five variant forms of noun class prefixes in isiNdebele, (i.e. *izi-/iz-/iin-/iim-/ii-*), however none of the Afrikaans and English adopted nouns takes the plural noun class prefix *izi-/iz-* or *ii-* in Class 8, that is, they all take the class prefix *iin-* and *iim-* (cf. examples above).

Class 9: i[N] and Class 10: ii-/iin-, iim-

Classes 9 and 10 are the hub of foreign adopted nouns in isiNdebele. Although they are principally animal classes, miscellaneous nouns are also found. Some traditional isiNdebele nouns falling under Class 9 take their plural form in Class 10 or 6 or both. It is, therefore, interesting to note that even nouns borrowed from Afrikaans and English do also behave like traditional isiNdebele words by taking their plural form in Class 10 or 6 or both. This is a pure example of adaptation as can be seen below. Compare the examples in (6a) and (6b) in this regard.

Class 9		Class 10	
(6a) <i>iplurhu</i>	‘plough’	<i>iimplurhu</i>	‘ploughs’ (<Afr <i>ploeg/ploeë</i>)
<i>iplantere</i>	‘planter’	<i>iimplantere</i>	‘planters’ (<Eng/Afr <i>planter/planters</i>)
<i>i-eyi</i>	‘onion’	<i>iin-eyi</i>	‘onions’ (<Afr <i>ui/uie</i>)
<i>i-ondo</i>	‘oven’	<i>iin-ondo</i>	‘ovens’ (<Afr <i>oond/oonde</i>)

Class 9		Class 10 and Class 6	
(6b) <i>itiye</i>	‘tea’	<i>iintiyе/amatiye</i>	‘kinds of tea’ (<Eng/Afr <i>tee/soorte tee</i>)
<i>itamati</i>	‘tomato’	<i>iintamati/amatamati</i>	‘tomatoes’ (<Afr <i>tamatie/tamaties</i>)
<i>ibhigiri</i>	‘cup’	<i>iimbhigiri/amabhigiri</i>	‘cups’ (<Afr <i>beker/bekers</i>)
<i>ibhanga</i>	‘bank’	<i>iimbhanga/amabhanga</i>	‘banks’ (<Afr <i>bank/banke</i>)
<i>itromula</i>	‘trunk’	<i>iintromula/amatromula</i>	‘trunks’ (<Afr <i>trommel/trommels</i>)

Class 14: ub(u)-

Class 14 denotes ‘the state of being...’ and is marked with *ubu-* as the noun class prefix in isiNdebele. Afrikaans and English adopted nouns falling under Class 14 also have adoptive counterparts in Classes 1 and 1a (i.e., professional names). In Class 14 they denote ‘the state of being...’. Compare the following examples in (7a) and (7b):

(From Class 1)

(7a) <i>ubuphristi</i>	‘the state of being a priest’	(< <i>umphristi</i> ‘priests’)
<i>ubudikhoni</i>	‘the state of being a deacon’	(< <i>umdikhoni</i> ‘deacon’)
<i>ubuKhrestu</i>	‘the state of being a Christian’	(< <i>umKhrestu</i> ‘a Christian’)

(From Class 1a)

(7b) <i>ubuphrinsipali</i>	‘the state of being a principal’	(< <i>uphrinsipali</i> ‘principal’)
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<i>ubuphrofesa</i>	‘the state of being a professor’	(< <i>uphrofesa</i> ‘professor’)
<i>ubunesi</i>	‘the state of being a nurse’	(< <i>unesi</i> ‘nurse’)

The noun *uburotho* (<Afr *brood*) ‘bread’ has been observed to be the only adoption in Class 14 that takes its plural in Class 6 (i.e. *amarotho* ‘kinds of bread’), which is not the case with the other Class 14 adopted nouns that do not have plural forms. The reason why it can take a plural form is because it is a concrete, countable item. Its accommodation in this class can be ascribed to its initial consonant *b-* which led speakers to associate it with the class 14 basic prefix *-bu-*.

Class 15: *uk(u)-*

In the Nguni languages, Class 15 is generally a class of nouns derived from the verbal stem (v) (or infinitive class). Most isiNdebele adopted nouns falling in this class are constructed by prefixing *uku-* of Class 15 to the new adopted noun to denote ‘a process (doing something)’. Compare the following examples in this regard.

(8) <i>ukusamenda</i>	‘to cement’	(< <i>-samenda</i> ‘cement’ (v))	(<Eng/Afr <i>sement</i>)
<i>ukuferefa</i>	‘to paint’	(< <i>-ferefa</i> ‘paint’ (v))	(<Afr <i>verf</i>)
<i>uku-ayina</i>	‘to iron’	(< <i>-ayina</i> ‘iron’ (v))	(<Eng)
<i>uku-ola</i>	‘to oil’	(< <i>-ola</i> ‘oil’ (v))	(<Eng/Afr <i>olie</i>)

From the above discussion and the examples given, it becomes evident that Afrikaans and English adopted nouns have spread throughout the isiNdebele noun class system.

Verbs

Two strategies usually apply in the indigenous African languages in the case of the adoption and adaptation of foreign verbs from Afrikaans and English; viz. (a) the transformational process whereby an already adopted and adapted noun is morphologically affixed to become a verb (e.g. *i-oli* ‘oil’ (n) > *-ola* ‘oil’ (v) < Afr/Eng) and (b) adoption and adaptation of a verb as a new concept in the receiving language (e.g. *-kela* ‘peel’ (v) < Afr *skil*). However, the former is the more common strategy; hence nouns already adopted into isiNdebele, can in turn serve as the source for the formation of a verb. Phonological and morphological adaptation is required as illustrated in (9), unlike in the case of Afrikaans and English, where there are instances of words

which can be used as nouns as well as verbs, for example, *verf* and ‘paint’ in Afrikaans and English, respectively.

A number of verbs adopted from Afrikaans and English are phonologically and morphologically adapted into isiNdebele by suffixing the positive terminative vowel *-a* to the newly formed root. Compare the following examples in this regard.

(9)	<i>-hariga</i> (v)	‘rake’	< <i>ihariga</i> (n)	(<Afr <i>hark</i> (n) ‘rake’)
	<i>-kama</i> (v)	‘comb’	< <i>ikama</i> (n)	(<Afr <i>kam</i> (n) ‘comb’)
	<i>-ayina</i> (v)	‘iron’	< <i>i-ayini</i> (n)	(<Eng ‘iron’ (n))
	<i>-khrayona</i> (v)	‘crayon’	< <i>ikhrayoni</i> (n)	(<Eng ‘crayon’ (n))

Another prevailing tendency is the adoption and adaptation of new verbs from Afrikaans and English, even though there is an equivalent in isiNdebele. This tendency derives from language shift and prestige reasons. In this instance, the original isiNdebele verbal stems fall into disuse and the new adopted and adapted foreign verbs appear to be preferred in their place. Compare the following examples in this regard.

	Adopted verbal stems	instead of	Original verbal stem	
(10)	<i>-jarha</i>	(<Afr. <i>jaag</i>)	<i>-rhaba</i>	‘haste/hurry’
	<i>-kweriya</i>	(<Afr <i>kuier</i>)	<i>-vakatjha</i>	‘visit’
	<i>-morosa</i>	(<Afr <i>mors</i>)	<i>-dlabhazela</i>	‘waste’
	<i>-simera</i>	(<Afr <i>smeer</i>)	<i>-ninda</i>	‘smear’
	<i>-draya</i>	(<Afr <i>draai</i>)	<i>-jika</i>	‘turn’

Note that in order to ascertain and maintain language purism, the adopted and adapted verbal stems such as the ones in example (10) above are regarded as non-standard lexemes in isiNdebele, despite their frequent use in formal writing and speaking, especially amongst elderly isiNdebele speakers.

Adverbs and adjectives

Langacker (1967: 180) correctly remarks that languages differ radically with respect to the proportion of lexical items in their vocabularies that can be attributed to borrowing. In addition, Hock and Joseph (1996: 272) propound that prestige plays a significant role in determining the degree and extent of borrowing as well as what kinds of words are likely to

be borrowed. This implies, in the context of South Africa, that indigenous African languages, for instance, may differ in terms of their adopted lexical stock. Therefore, it does not come as a surprise that isiNdebele is not different from other indigenous languages in terms of word categories it has adopted and adapted from Afrikaans and English. However, this language has gone beyond the common boundaries of the borrowing trends in African languages, where only nouns and verbs are the commonly borrowed categories. IsiNdebele has gone even further to adopt numerous Afrikaans adverbs and adjectives as can be seen in the following examples.

Adjectives

(11a)	<i>-mbijana</i>	(<Afr <i>bietjie</i>)	‘slightly’ (instead of <i>kancani</i>)
	<i>rhanorho</i>	(<Afr <i>genoeg</i>)	‘enough’ (instead of <i>-anele</i>)
	<i>-rhasondo</i>	(<Afr <i>gesond</i>)	‘healthy’ (instead of <i>-philile(ko)</i>)
	<i>-bhedere</i>	(<Afr <i>beter</i>)	‘better’ (instead of <i>-ngcono</i>)

Adverbs

(11b)	<i>-jeyisi</i>	(<Afr <i>juis</i>)	‘exactly’ (instead of <i>-mbala</i>)
	<i>-frurhu</i>	(<Afr <i>vroeg</i>)	‘early’ (instead of <i>kusesenesikhathi</i>)
	<i>-stararha</i>	(<Afr <i>stadig</i>)	‘slowly’ (instead of <i>kabuthaka</i>)
	<i>-fenarha</i>	(<Afr <i>vinnig</i>)	‘quick’ (instead of <i>msinya</i>)

These adjectives and adverbs are also used as verbs in day-to-day conversations. Compare the following examples in this regard.

(12a) **-rhanorho** (< Afr *genoeg*) ‘enough’
 e.g. *Ungasangipha amanzi, ngirhanorhile*
 ‘Don’t give me water, I have had **enough**.’

(12b) **-lada** (<Afr *laat*) ‘late’
 e.g. *Lamalanga siyaladelwa emsebenzini*
 ‘These days we are **late** for work.’

(12c) **-federisa** (< Afr *verder*) ‘worsen/further’
 e.g. *Lababantu bafederisa izinto.*

‘These people make matters **worse**.’

(12d) *libesdere* (< Afr. *liewerste*) ‘rather’ (instead of *-ngcono*)

e.g. *Kunalokhu, libesdere ngivuke ngibuyele ekhaya.*

‘Instead of this, I **rather** wake up and go back home.’

In the Nguni languages like isiZulu for instance, word order or syntax is a common strategy applied to express emphasis (Doke, 1927: 89; Van Eeden, 1956: 134). In isiNdebele, some of the Afrikaans adopted and adapted adjectives are commonly used as an alternative form of expressing emphasis in discourse. The use of *jeyisi* ‘exact/correct/precise’ and *entlege* ‘in fact /real/ actual/ proper’ from Afrikaans *juis* and *eintlik* respectively, is the prevalent strategy used to double the degree of emphasis and these forms are usually used when a speaker is in an emotional state, despite the existence of isiNdebele equivalents *vele* for *juis* and *eqinisweni/kuhlekuhle* for *eintlik*. Compare the following examples in this regard.

(13a) *Ubaba ubiza wena jeyisi.* ‘The father happens to be calling you **right now**.’

(cf.: *Ubaba ubiza wena vele*)

Ngimzwile jeyisi nakamemezako ‘I **exactly** heard him when screaming.’

(cf.: *Ngimzwe mbala nakamemezako*)

Jeyisi bafuna wena. ‘They are **precisely** looking for you.’

(cf.: *Vele bafuna wena*)

(13b) *Entlege ufunani la?* ‘What **exactly** do you want here?’

(cf.: *Eqinisweni ufunani la?*)

Uyazi entlege angifuna ukukhuluma ‘You know, I **actually** don’t want to talk.’

(cf.: *Kuhlekuhle angifuni ukukhuluma*)

USipho mnakwethu entlege. ‘Sipho is **in fact** my brother.’

(cf.: *Eqinisweni uSipho mnakwethu*)

Conjunctions

IsiNdebele has also imported conjunctions, from Afrikaans. The Afrikaans conjunctions, *gamare* and *dereveyi*, are popular conjunctions used in day-to-day conversations in isiNdebele in substitute of the original ‘conjunctions’ *kodwana* and *ngesimanga sokuthi.../ ngesikhathi... /nagade* respectively. Compare the following examples in this regard.

(14) *mara* (<Afr *maar*) ‘but’ (instead of *kodwana*)

e.g. *Uyalila mara awutjho bonyana yini?*

‘You are crying, **but** you don’t say why?’

Dereveyi (<Afr *terwyl*) ‘because /meanwhile’ (instead of *ngesimanga sokuthi.../ ngesikhathi... /nagade...*)

e.g. *Dereveyi uphumelele sewuyasihleka.*

‘You are laughing at us **because** you have now succeeded.’

It should be noted that adverbs, adjectives and conjunctions are only borrowed from Afrikaans unlike nouns that are from both English and Afrikaans.

Lexicalization of Afrikaans phrases

In isiNdebele, lexicalization of phrases occurs in Afrikaans, while no lexicalized phrases from English could be found. Compounding is not an uncommon strategy of word formation in African languages, particularly in the formation of nouns, place names, special terms etc. An interesting and remarkable influence that isiNdebele has had from Afrikaans is its tendency to compound some Afrikaans phrases into single lexical items. Afrikaans phrases such as *moet julle* (or *julle moet*) ‘you must’, *kan maar...* ‘you can’, in the imperative mood, and *so lank...* ‘as long as...’, were adopted and adapted and rendered as *jemudele/jemdele/jemde/mdele*, *gamare* and *solanga(na)* respectively. Compare the following examples in this regard.

(15a) *mudele* or *jemdele* or *jemude* (< Afr *Jy/julle/hulle/sy/jy moet*) ‘you must’

e.g. IsiNd: *M(u)dele /jemdele/jemde ningibize Piet nanikhambako.*

Afr: *Julle moet Piet vir my roep as julle loop.*

‘**You must** call Piet for me when you leave.’

IsiNd: *Namhlanje ntambama m(u)dele/jemdele/jemde ngiye ekhaya.*

Afr: *Vanaand moet ek huistoe gaan.*

‘I must go home tonight’.

(15b) **gamare** (< Afr *kan maar*) ‘even if/though’

e.g. IsiNd: *Gamare kube makhaza, sizakwembatha iinjeresi neembaji zethu.*

Afr: *Dit kan maar koud wees, ons sal ons truie en jasse aantrek.*

‘It doesn’t matter if it gets cold, we will wear our jerseys and jackets’.

IsiNd: *Gamare bakhambe, anginandaba.*

Afr: *Hulle kan maar loop, ek gee nie om nie.*

‘Even if they go, I don’t care.’

(15c) **solanga(na)** (< Afr *so lank*) ‘as long as.../while’

e.g. IsiNd: *Solanga(na) ujame la angikazokubhadala.*

Afr: *So lank jy hier staan gaan ek jou nie betaal nie.*

‘As long as you are standing here I’m not going to pay you’.

IsiNd: *Solanga(na) ngisebenza ngifuna ukuyidla imalami*

Afr: *So lank ek werk wil ek my geld eet.*

‘As long as I have got job I want to eat my money.’

Structurally, it becomes observable that Afrikaans absolute pronouns *jy/julle/sy/hulle* have been compounded with the auxiliary verb *moet* to form *(je)m(u)de(le)*, while *gamare* results from the compounding of the Afrikaans phrase *kan maar* (i.e. *ga-* < *kan* and *mare* < *maar*). This is similar to the single lexical item *solanga(na)* which results from the compounding of the Afrikaans adverb *so lank* (i.e. *so* < Afr *so* and *-langa(na)* < Afr *lank*). In today’s daily discourse among isiNdebele speakers, and especially among elders, the three variant forms of the auxiliary verbs *jemudele*, *jemdele* and *mudele* are interchangeably used in the imperative mood.

It is perhaps because isiNdebele has been so closely in contact with Afrikaans, that Afrikaans has influenced isiNdebele syntactically particularly in the negation of the indicative mood. In isiNdebele, as in other Nguni languages, the indicative mood is negated by more than one marker, i.e. by means of a negative vowel *a-* that precedes the subject concord and

the negative terminative vowel **-i** of the verb (i.e., *a* + subj. concord + root + negative vowel -**i**). Compare the following isiNdebele examples in this regard.

- (16) *Ubaba akasebenzi.* 'The father does not work'.
Isikolo asikaphumi nanje. 'The school is not yet out'.
Abantwana abakahlambi. 'The children have not bathed'.

The indicative mood in Afrikaans is negated by the employment of a double negative formative *nie*. The first *nie* precedes the predicate and the second comes at the end of the sentence. Compare the following Afrikaans examples in this regard.

- (17) *Ek gaan nie huis toe nie* 'I'm not going home'.
Hulle is nie bang vir 'n slang nie 'They are not afraid of a snake'.
Het jy nie seer gekry nie? 'Did you not get injured?'

It is interesting to note that the second negation morpheme of Afrikaans (*nie* > isiNd. *ni*) which usually comes at the end of the sentence has been adopted in isiNdebele, causing the negative form to be marked up to three times. Compare the following isiNdebele examples in this regard.

Negative form	Affirmative form
(18) <i>Ubaba akasebenzi ni.</i> 'My father does not work.'	(cf. <i>Ubaba uyasebenza</i>)
<i>Aba^{ka}lali ni</i> 'They are not asleep.'	(cf. <i>Balele</i>)
<i>Asilitholi iqiniso ni.</i> 'We do not get the truth.'	(cf. <i>Siyalithola iqiniso</i>)
<i>Ngizwe bathi awukho ni.</i> 'I heard that you are not there.'	(cf. <i>Ngizwe bathi ukhona</i>)

The morpheme **ka-** in *abakalali* is an additional negation marker which is required in the perfect tense. In the case, where an object is used in speech, it rarely occurs that the Afrikaans adopted *ni* precedes the object. Compare the following ungrammatical examples in this regard.

- (19) **Asizitholi ni iinkomo* 'We cannot find the beast.'
 **Abasithandi ni abobaba* 'Our fathers do not like us.'
 **Asiyithandi ni imali* 'We do not like money.'

IsiNdebele idioms and proverbs with Afrikaans and English vocabulary

The literal and figurative meanings follow each example:

- (20) *Ukuba yirhara nomncamo* (**irhara** < Afr. *garing*)
Lit: to be a thread and a bead.
Fig: to be close friends
e.g. *UThoko banoBangani bayirhara nomncamo.*
'Thoko and Bangani are close friends.'
- (21) *Ukuba burotho nejemu/netiye* (**uburotho, itiye** < Afr. brood, tee; **ijemu** < Eng. jam)
Lit: to be bread and jam/tea.
Fig: (things are) good, fine
e.g. *Ngifunyene izinto ziburotho nejemu/ziburotho netiye ekhaya.*
'I found things being good/fine at home.'
- (22) *Ukudla izambana leponde* (**iponde** < Afr. *pond*)
Lit: to eat that costs a pound.
Fig: to be rich/wealthy
e.g. *UMahlangu udelela abanye abantu ngombana udla izamabana leponde.*
'Mahlangu undermines other people because he is rich.'
- (23) *Ukuba yinja nokatsu* (**ukatsu** < Afr. *kat*)
Lit: to be dog and cat
Fig: to hate each other.
e.g. *Lamalanga sebayinja nokatsu.*
'These days they hate each other.'

According to Calteaux (1996:23), languages adopt words from other languages in order to fill communication gaps which are created mainly through acculturation and technological advancement due to language contact. However, what is notable in the examples above is that the adopted words borrowed from Afrikaans and English such as *irhara*, *uburotho*, *itiye*, *ijemu*, *iponde* and *ukatsu* are congruent with the word forming principles of isiNdebele and they form part of the isiNdebele lexicon.

Conclusion

The need for and degree of adoption and adaptation of Afrikaans and English into indigenous African languages is not as similar as it may seem. The above discussion has illustrated how different African languages can be or are influenced by European languages such as English and Afrikaans.

The paper has revealed how isiNdebele has adopted and adapted items from Afrikaans and English and has been influenced particularly by Afrikaans when it comes to borrowings from word categories other than the commonly used nominal and verbal categories. The discussion has also illustrated that prestige and recognition of the other language(s) as powerful and authoritative are also influential phenomena in language borrowing and language influence. Due to the fact that the amaNdebele were less in contact with English than with Afrikaans speaking communities, a large percentage of its borrowed vocabulary reflects strange replacements of their own primitive lexical stock with that of Afrikaans. The study has also revealed that borrowing not only contributes towards language growth, as perceived by many scholars, but to some extent, in some indigenous African languages, also to language diminution or decay, especially when considering how isiNdebele has dropped some of its own vocabulary to accommodate borrowed Afrikaans vocabulary. This testifies to the dynamic nature of living languages and can also be perceived as an aspect of growth.

However, from a socio-linguistic point of view, what could have motivated isiNdebele speakers, particularly the Nzunza sub-group to adopt and adapt such an overwhelming stock of vocabulary, especially from Afrikaans, is probably the fact that they were in close contact and regular interaction with the Afrikaner farmers as farm labourers (i.e. after Nyabela's wars in 1883 with the ZAR at Roosenekal) for many years. Contrary to the Nzunza sub-division, for instance, the Manala sub-group, which has been in intimate contact with the Setswana speaking communities, has far fewer adopted lexical terms from Afrikaans.

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