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Indigenous and Afrikaans Borrowings in South African Writers: J.M. Coetzee and Zakes Mda

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Abstract

South Africa offers a great cultural diversity due to the huge amount of groups that gradually settled in the country throughout the centuries – from the Khoe-San people, the first settlers, to European immigrants. Hence, the nation's linguistic diversity is very rich: there are eleven official languages – being Zulu, Xhosa and Afrikaans the most spoken ones – and many non-official languages spoken in the whole country. Since the establishment of the English language during the settlement of British colonies in the region, South African English has been influenced by many languages which have had an impact on aspects such as vocabulary, pronunciation or grammar. The aim of this paper resides on creating a data of indigenous and Afrikaans borrowings in South African English to classify them into different categories and analyze them. In order to do this, the borrowings have been collected from three novels of two South African writers – *Life and Times of Michael K* (1983) by J.M. Coetzee and *Ways of Dying* (1995) and *The Heart of Redness* (2000) by Zakes Mda. This study proves how both authors use *cultural borrowings* but the quantity, the language of origin and their translation techniques differ from one another due to their different backgrounds.

Key words

South Africa, South African English, borrowings, indigenous languages, Afrikaans

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1. Introduction

Historically, South Africa, known as the “rainbow nation”, offers a wide range of diversity in terms of culture, race and languages (Noussi 2009, 291). This country, in which language is central in the life of its inhabitants, presents many national issues such as crime, unemployment or poverty which are somehow language-related (Webb 2002, 5-7). Despite the first post-apartheid elections in 1994 in which everyone could vote, South Africa still has division and tensions between social and ethnic groups and races (17). All this socio-cultural context is reflected in South African literature by using linguistic hybridity. In this paper, three novels from two South African writers have been chosen – *Life and Times of Michael K* (1983) by J.M. Coetzee and *Ways of Dying* (1995) and *The Heart of Redness* (2000) by Zakes Mda¹ – to study the Africanization of English in their works by analyzing the borrowings that come from languages spoken in South Africa. It is going to be examined how different these South African works are depending on the authors' backgrounds, their use of foreign borrowings and the degree of integration. Mda deals with multilingualism and linguistic hybridity in South Africa and proves that an enriching coexistence between English and African languages can occur (Noussi 2009, 291). In many African writers' works, we find a “plethora of languages mixes” like in Mda's novels where he uses indigenous terms to designate words for food, buildings, objects, fauna, flora... which are not translatable into English. Because of this, he creates a “new kind of South African English” which also has a cultural, political and ideological aim (Rønning 2016, 54). However, Coetzee does not include a great quantity of cultural and linguistic references of indigenous languages and the borrowings used are already part of the English lexicon proving that he does not show the same linguistic hybridity as Mda. He also seems to be more familiar with Afrikaans since he uses more Afrikaans terms which unlike the African languages, it has Germanic roots (Webb 2002, 68) and, therefore, a very different background which will also be explained. Because of these differences, I decided to explain separately the Afrikaans borrowings and the indigenous ones in order to compare the differences and the similarities.

This paper will begin by presenting the different languages spoken in South Africa, the borrowings in South African English and a summary of the biographies of the writers. It will then move on to explain the methodology used during the analysis of the borrowings. This is followed by the analysis of the borrowings which is divided in the language of origin of each borrowing and their category, the borrowings that are listed in the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) and their degree of integration. Finally, it will conclude with the results obtained and a final conclusion.

1. *LTMK* will stand for Coetzee's *Life and Times of Michael K* written in 1983. *WD* will stand for *Ways of Dying* and *THR* for *The Heart of Redness*, both written by Zakes Mda in 1995 and 2000, respectively. The complete reference of these works can be found in the works cited list.

2. Background

2.1. Languages in South Africa

In South Africa, there are eleven official languages: English, Afrikaans and nine indigenous languages – Ndebele, North Sotho, South Sotho, Swati, Tsonga, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu (Mesthrie 1995, xvii). These languages are part of two large language families: the nine indigenous languages belong to the Bantu languages which are part of the Niger-Kordofanian family and they are divided into the Nguni cluster (Ndebele, Swati, Xhosa and Zulu), the Sotho cluster (North Sotho, South Sotho and Tswana) and Tsonga and Venda (xv). These languages appear in the constitution written in Bantu – isiNdebele, Sepedi, Sesotho, siSwati, Xitsonga, Setswana, Tshivenda, isiXhosa and isiZulu (Webb 2002, 67). The most spoken languages are Zulu, Afrikaans, Xhosa, North Sotho, Tswana and South Sotho while Tsonga, Venda and Swati are the less common ones (19). Regarding the non-official languages, we can find around 70 languages such as Khoe and San languages – spoken by the first inhabitants of South Africa –, other Bantu languages, Indian and Chinese languages, Sign languages or European languages like Portuguese, German, Italian or Dutch (67-71).

English and Afrikaans come from the Indo-European family and the West Germanic group (Webb 2002, 68). The presence of English has its origins in 1795 when the British arrived at the Cape of Good Hope and then South Africa became a British colony in 1814 (75). In 1822, although the British were a minority in the country, they succeeded in imposing English as an official language (Lass 1995, 92). Regarding Afrikaans, it has its origins in the 17th century when the Dutch colonized and settled in present-day Cape Town. The language that the Dutch spoke at that time went through variation, primarily due to the influence of languages from three groups – the Khoe community, the slaves from West and East Africa and European immigrants. Afrikaans became the lingua franca in the Cape Colony for colored and white lower classes in the mid-19th century, whereas English and Dutch were used by the upper-class people. Nevertheless, from 1870 there was an Afrikaans language movement to give Afrikaans a higher position in the public sphere. English and Dutch were the official languages of the country, however, in 1925, Afrikaans was acknowledged as a variety of Dutch. White Afrikaans speakers obtained political power in the country, therefore, Afrikaans gained popularity and became as important as English. The Dutch language was considered an official language until 1983. Nowadays, Dutch is not recognized as a vernacular language anymore in the country, except for individuals coming from the Netherlands. Afrikaans is the first language that has the same quantity of white and mixed origin speakers, together with black and Asian people. It has different dialects and non-standard varieties like Orange River Afrikaans or Cape Afrikaans (Webb 2002, 74-75).

2.2. Borrowings in South African English

First of all, borrowing is defined as “the process by which a language (or variety) takes new linguistic material from another language (or variety), usually called the donor” (Durkin 2011, 132). One of the reasons for borrowing a word or phrase is prestige. This happens when “there is greater social cachet attached to a word from another language” (142). However, the most frequent intralinguistic factor for borrowing is “sheer necessity” which means that there is a gap in the lexicon of a language and speakers simply borrow a term from another language because they realize they do not have a word or phrase for a specific object or concept. These borrowings are used to define foreign and unknown biota (fauna and flora), food, culture, etc. This phenomenon is known as cultural borrowing (McMahon 1994, 201). The borrowings found in the three novels, which some of them have become part of the English lexicon, have been borrowed because of “sheer necessity” since most of them are cultural borrowings that designate animals, plants, rituals, tools, instruments... that do not have an equivalent in English. South African English contains many loan-words that derive directly from other indigenous languages spoken in South Africa. Nonetheless, according to the data of the Dictionary of South African English (DSAE) the number of borrowings from South African Dutch and Afrikaans is higher. The DSAE includes almost two thousand terms borrowed from them and many of them appear in the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) as part of the English lexicon. Nevertheless, the majority of them are exclusively used in South African English (Durkin 2014, xlv).

2.3. J. M. Coetzee and Zakes Mda's biographies

John Maxwell Coetzee was born in 1940 in Cape Town. He is a novelist, critic and translator and he won the Nobel Prize in Literature in 2003. Coetzee and his family spoke English at home, therefore, it is his first language, although he communicates in Afrikaans as well because of his father's family. His bilingualism helped him to depict his characters accurately. He spent his childhood in the *Karoo* – a semi-desert landscape – which influenced the setting of his novels, in particular of *LTMK* in which this Khoekhoe word appears 7 times. Regarding his studies, he began English and mathematics at the University of Cape Town but after that, he moved to England. In 1969, he travelled to the United States to work as a teacher, however, he decided to go back to South Africa in 1972 and continued to teach at the University of Cape Town. During his residence in America, he started writing his first novels. Some of his major works are *Waiting for the Barbarians* (1980), *Life and Times of Michael K* (1983) and *Disgrace* (1999) (South African History Online 2019). *LTMK*, the novel chosen to be analyzed, is about Michael K's suffering and survival during war in South Africa.

Zakes Mda was born in Eastern Cape in 1948. He has written a great number of works of

different genres including prose, plays and poetry. His plays have been translated into the eleven South Africa's official languages. Additionally, he is one of the most relevant authors in the post-apartheid era in South Africa. He is also a painter and a filmmaker since he was specialized in Visual Arts. Together with his family, he had to go into exile to Lesotho in which Sesotho, Zulu, Xhosa and English are spoken. He also lived briefly in the United States but he came back to Lesotho. He first-hand experienced the apartheid situation which totally influenced his writings especially *Ways of Dying* (1995) and *The Heart of Redness* (2000). Both novels portray the social problems black South Africans had to deal with after the traumatic apartheid system and they are narrated from the point of view of Black people (South African History Online 2011).

3. Methodology

In order to create a data of some of the Afrikaans and indigenous borrowings in South African English, I have chosen three novels of two South African writers – J.M. Coetzee and Zakes Mda. This choice was made because they were born in the same decade but they have different backgrounds, moreover, they both include in their works the same issues: the problems South Africans had to face during the apartheid regime. This made it easy to analyze and compare the quantity of borrowings used, their origin and their type.

For the corpus linguistics analysis I have used the program *AntConc*, created by Laurence Anthony, which is a corpus analysis program that deals with concordance and text analysis. It presents several options in order to analyze the words found in a text such as their concordance or collocations. I have used the Word List option in which the number of tokens of the corpus are counted and an alphabetic list of all the words is generated together with the number of hits of each word. This has facilitated the finding of the borrowings and their frequency. From the word list, I have selected the ones which have Afrikaans or indigenous origin, checking each etymology on the OED, the DSAE or on the Internet. Then, the borrowings have been classified into tables according to the language they belong and subdivided in different categories. Tables 1 to 3 project the borrowings in *LTMK*. There is a total of 14 borrowings — only 3 of indigenous origin and 7 words and 4 expressions from Afrikaans. Tables 4 to 13 catalog the 28 borrowings found in *WD* — 20 from indigenous languages and 8 from Afrikaans. Finally, tables 14 to 23 contain the 93 indigenous borrowings and the 11 Afrikaans ones in *THR*. The meanings of some words have been taken from the OED or the DSAE and it is specified next to each definition. Nonetheless, for the meaning of some terms, that are not listed in these dictionaries, I had to do some research on the internet to find their etymology and their meaning. However, some borrowings, most of them in Mda's novels,

include a paraphrase explaining the meaning of the native term. Unfortunately, the etymology and/or meaning of some indigenous terms was not found so I have classified them in the group *other*.

4. Analysis

4.1. Language of origin and categories

To start with the analysis, the borrowings have been classified according to the language they belong and they are shown in Table 1 to Table 23. In addition, they have been allocated in the following semantic classifications (Haugen 2009, 66): *cultural terms*, that is, terms linked to the culture of the original language that denote people (groups, professions or names to refer to individuals such as the pronoun *wena* 'you' or *amabhinqa* 'women'), traditions (dances, charms, customs, abstract nouns or adjectives), items (tools, clothes, complements, instruments, transport and other objects); *geographical terms* which deal with the land; *botanical and zoological terms*, including plants and animals; *culinary terms*, including food, traditional dishes and plants cultivated for human consumption; *expressions*, including idioms, interjections, songs and expressions; *ethnological terms* which include ethnic groups and finally, some terms have been categorized as *others* because the origin and/or meaning could not be found. It is important to highlight that the novels, especially Mda's, are full of Afrikaans and indigenous terms for proper names, place names or other indigenous concepts such as deity names which are not included in this study. The names of characters such as *Toloki* or *Nongqawuse* have not been translated into English because the authors' aim was to reflect the indigenous or Afrikaans background and culture in their stories and characters. Therefore, if they had been given an English proper name, it would have not been realistic. The tables present the frequency of the borrowings and their meaning and source.

Borrowings from Coetzee's *LTMK*

Table 1: Borrowings from Afrikaans

Cultural terms

<i>opgaarder</i>	5	'gatherer'
<i>gevaar</i>	1	'danger'

Culinary terms

<i>pap</i>	1	'mealiepap' or 'occasionally any porridge' (DSAE)
<i>mealie</i>	7	'maize', 'Indian corn' (OED)
- <i>mealie-cob</i>	1	- 'ear of maize' (OED)
- <i>mealie-meal</i>	1	- 'maize meal or flour' (OED)
- <i>mealie-porridge</i>	2	- 'maize meal porridge'

Expressions

<i>'n boer maak 'n plan</i>	1	'a farmer makes a plan'
<i>More is nog 'n dag</i>	1	'tomorrow is another day'
<i>Loof die Heer</i>	1	'praise the Lord' (a song)
<i>Uit die blou</i>	1	'out of the blue' (anthem)

Table 2: Borrowings from **Khoekhoe**

Cultural terms

<i>kierie</i>	1	'short club or knobbed stick used as a weapon by the indigenous peoples of South Africa' (OED)
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Geographical terms

<i>Karoo</i>	7	'semi-desert region of central South Africa, consisting of extensive elevated plateaus, with a clayey soil, which during the dry season are waterless and arid' (OED)
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Table 3: Borrowings from **Zulu**

Cultural terms

<i>muti</i>	1	'medicine as traditionally practiced among the black people of Africa, usually in the form of charms or other objects to which healing or magical powers are ascribed incorporating herbs and parts of animals and (occasionally) of human bodies' (OED)
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Borrowings in Zakes Mda's *WD*

Table 4: Borrowings from **Afrikaans**

Cultural terms

<i>boer</i>	2	'Dutch-speaking or (later) Afrikaans-speaking farmer in southern Africa' (OED)
<i>rondavel</i>	3	'traditional circular African dwelling, usually with a thatched, conical roof' (OED)
<i>voetsek</i>	1	'go away', 'get lost'

Culinary terms

<i>boerewors</i>	7	'type of traditional sausage originating in South Africa, typically containing coarsely ground beef and pork seasoned with various spices, and sold in a continuous length, typically shaped into a wheel or spiral' (OED)
<i>mealie-meal</i>	5	'maize meal or flour' (OED)
<i>pap</i>	6	'mealie-pap' or 'occasionally, any porridge' (DSAE)
<i>- mealie-pap</i>	1	'maize meal porridge' (OED)

Expressions

<i>ek is dors</i>	1	'I am thirsty'
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Table 5: Borrowings from **Xhosa**

Cultural terms

<i>izincwe</i>	1	'unintentional discharge of saliva from the mouth'
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Expressions

<i>Ndinxaniwe</i>	1	'I am thirsty'
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Table 6: Borrowings from **Zulu**

Cultural terms

<i>malayisha</i>	1	'profession'
<i>muti</i>	1	'medicine usually in the form of charms or other objects incorporating herbs and parts of animals and (occasionally) of human bodies' (OED)
<i>- muti killer</i>	4	'person who carries out a muti murder' (OED)
<i>ou toppie</i>	4	'old man'

Table 7: Borrowing from **Zulu** and **Xhosa****Cultural terms**

<i>amagoduka</i>	1	'a migrant worker'
<i>lobola</i>	2	'South African native custom of marriage by purchase' or 'price or present given for a bride according to this costum' (OED)

Geographical terms

<i>donga</i>	2	'channel or gully formed by the action of water' (OED)
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Table 8: Borrowings from **Sotho****Cultural terms**

<i>morabaraba</i>	1	'game played with stones, placed and moved on rows of smalls holes in the ground' (DSAE)
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Culinary terms

<i>mala mogodu</i>	1	'traditional South African dish consisting of <i>mala</i> intestines and <i>mogody</i> tripe' (DSAE)
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Expressions

<i>ke nyoriloe</i>	1	'I am thirsty'
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Table 9: Borrowings from **Khoekhoe****Botanical terms**

<i>dagga</i>	1	'hemp, <i>Cannabis sativa</i> , used as a narcotic' (OED)
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Table 10: Borrowings from **Setswana****Cultural terms**

<i>skorokoro</i>	3	'old car' (DSAE)
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Zoological terms

<i>thithiboya</i>	1	'centipede'
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Table 11: Borrowings from **Swahili****Cultural terms**

<i>panga</i>	2	'large knife with a long, broad blade, used for cutting undergrowth and firewood or as a weapon' (OED)
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Table 12: Borrowings from **Nguni****Cultural terms**

<i>wena</i>	3	'second person singular pronoun'
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Table 13: Other African languages

<i>Amathumbo</i>	1	-
<i>Thutha mabhakethe</i>	1	-
<i>Tshotsha mapakethe</i>	1	-

Borrowings in *THR*Table 14: Borrowings from **Afrikaans****Zoological terms**

<i>aardvark</i>	1	'medium-sized, nocturnal African mammal, <i>Orycteropus afer</i> , which has sparse hair, long ears, an elongated snout, strong burrowing limbs, and a thick tail, feeding solely on ants and termites. Also called <i>antbear</i> , <i>earth-pig</i> ' (OED)
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<i>swarttobie</i>	1	'bird which catches black oysters'
Botanical terms		
<i>kaffirboom</i>	1	'coral tree' (OED)
Culinary terms		
<i>mielie</i>	3	'mealie'
Cultural terms		
<i>Afrikaner</i> / <i>afrikaners</i>	6	'Dutch-speaking or (later) Afrikaans-speaking white inhabitant of South Africa, usually of Dutch, German, or Huguenot descent; also occasionally applied to any white citizen of South Africa' (OED)
<i>Apartheid</i>	1	'name given in South Africa to the segregation of the inhabitants of European descent from the non-European (Coloured or mixed, Bantu, Indian, etc.); (OED)
<i>bakkie</i>	12	'small van or pick-up truck' (OED)
<i>braai (v)</i>	1	'to grill (meat) over a fire, usually in the open air' (SAE)
<i>doek</i>	2	'cloth, especially a head-cloth' (OED)
<i>hammerkop</i>	1	'hammer-head' (OED)
<i>rondavel</i>	26	'traditional circular African dwelling, usually with a thatched, conical roof' (OED)

Table 15: Borrowings from **Xhosa**

Zoological terms

<i>amahobohobo</i>	8	'weaverbird that has spots on its back'
<i>amaqonga</i>	2	'type of shellfish' (paraphrase)
<i>gqoloma</i>	3	'snake' (paraphrase)
<i>imbhatyisa</i>	18	'oyster' (paraphrase)
<i>imbhaza</i>	10	'mussel' (paraphrase)
<i>ingqawa</i>	1	'caracal'
<i>isomi</i>	7	'red-winged starling'
<i>uxomoyi</i>	3	'bird' (paraphrase)

Botanical terms

<i>ikhamanga</i>	5	'banana tree' (paraphrase)
<i>umga</i>	4	'mimosa tree' (paraphrase)
<i>umsintsi</i>	6	'coral tree' (paraphrase)
<i>usundu</i>	8	'palm' (paraphrase)

Culinary terms

<i>amarhewu</i>	1	'fermented maize soft porridge' (paraphrase)
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Cultural terms

<i>abakhwetha</i>	6	'young Xhosa men who are undergoing ritual initiation into manhood at a traditional school' (OED)
<i>amabhinqa</i>	1	'women'
<i>amagqiyazana</i>	3	'young girls' (paraphrase)
<i>amagqobhoka</i>	7	'enlightened people' (paraphrase)
<i>amahomba</i>	8	'people who dress very well and like fashion'
<i>amakhankatha</i>	1	'men who teach the initiates how to become men' (paraphrase)
<i>amaqaba</i>	3	'person who adheres to traditional customs and beliefs' (DSAE)
<i>amaQheya</i>	1	'farm workers that have been displaced from the farms'
<i>amaThamba</i>	5	'soft ones or believers' (paraphrase)

<i>amatikiti</i>	1	'beadwork' (paraphrase)
<i>icangci</i>	1	'beadwork, cymbal'
<i>igqirha</i>	16	'diviner' (DSAE)
<i>igqwirha</i>	1	'evil' (DSAE)
<i>imiphefumlo</i>	1	'souls' (paraphrase)
<i>ingcibi</i>	1	'doctor' (OED)
<i>iqhiya</i>	1	'turban'
<i>iqungu</i>	6	'vengeful force generated by war medicines' (paraphrase)
<i>isidanga</i>	2	'bead' (paraphrase)
<i>isikhakha</i>	16	'dress'
<i>isiqweqwe</i>	1	'headband'
<i>isiXhosa</i>	36	'language spoken by Xhosa people'
<i>ityala</i>	10	'money' (paraphrase)
<i>kwedini</i>	1	'young African boy' (OED)
<i>tata</i>	7	'father, daddy' (DSAE)
<i>tyityimba</i>	2	'dance'
<i>ubugqobhoka</i>	1	'civilisation'
<i>ubuthi</i>	9	'charm or bewitching matter believed to exert an evil influence' (DSAE)
<i>ukunqanqatheka</i>	1	'desire for tobacco' (paraphrase)
<i>ulugxa</i>	3	'tool of metal' (paraphrase)
<i>umbhaco</i>	2	'type of decoration on clothes' (paraphrase)
<i>umbhororho</i>	1	'song' (paraphrase)
<i>umxhentso</i>	1	'dance' (paraphrase)
<i>uphalaza</i>	1	'bead'

Ethnological terms

<i>abaThembu</i>	1	'part of the Xhosa people'
<i>amaGcaleka</i>	9	'member of a people forming one of the major divisions of the Xhosa' (DSAE)
<i>amaGogotya</i>	8	'minority of Xhosa people'
<i>amaLawu</i>	1	'Khoi people who through marriage were absorbed into the Xhosa group'
<i>amaMfengu</i>	13	'member of a Xhosa-speaking group descended from the remnants of several refugee groups' (DSAE)
<i>amamPondo</i>	2	'member of a Xhosa-speaking people of the Nguni group, from the northern half of the former Transkei' (DSAE)
<i>amaMpondomise</i>	7	'people who reside presently in the districts of Qumbu'
<i>amaNgqika</i>	1	'one of the major branches of the Rharhabe division of the Xhosa people, centred mainly in the Eastern Cape province' (OED)
<i>amaXhosa</i>	132	'Xhosa people'
<i>Kosa</i>	1	'amaXhosa'
<i>umXhosa</i>	12	'Xhosa person'

Expressions

<i>hayi</i>	4	'no' (DSAE)
<i>umzi uyatsha</i>	1	'a homestead is burning' (paraphrase)

Table 16: Borrowings from **Zulu****Zoological terms**

<i>uthekwane</i>	3	'brown hammer-head bird' (paraphrase)
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Culinary terms

<i>umngqusho</i>	1	'traditional African dish consisting of maize samp with beans' (paraphrase)
<i>umphokoqo</i>	3	'South African traditional dish consisting of maize porridge with sour milk' (paraphrase)

Cultural terms**Ethnological terms**

<i>abaThwa</i>	26	'San people'
<i>amaKhosa</i>	1	'amaKhosa people'

Expressions

<i>hawu</i>	1	'exclamation expressing any of a range of feelings' (DSAE)
<i>Noyana noyana</i> <i>phezulu</i>	1	'are you going to heaven?'
<i>uzidla ngemali</i>	1	'money has made you proud' (translation)

Table 17: Borrowings from **Xhosa** and **Zulu****Culinary terms**

<i>amasi</i>	2	'thickened curdled milk'
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Geographical terms

<i>donga</i>	3	'channel or gully formed by the action of water' (OED)
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Cultural terms

<i>inkundla</i>	9	'meeting of the people of a village or area, held in the public courtyard at the gate of the cattle enclosure' (DSAE)
<i>intombi</i>	6	'young woman' (OED)
<i>lobola</i>	4	'South African native custom of marriage by purchase' or 'price or present given for a bride according to this custom' (OED)
<i>makhulu</i>	1	'grandmother, old woman' (OED)
<i>umrhubhe</i>	6	'musical instrument' (paraphrase)
<i>umtshotsho</i>	2	'dance' (paraphrase)

Table 18: Borrowings from **Sotho****Ethnological terms**

<i>Basotho</i>	8	'member of a Bantu people of central southern Africa' (OED)
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Table 19: Borrowings from **Ndebele****Cultural terms**

<i>toyi-toyi</i>	2	'dance' (OED)
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Table 20: Borrowings from **Swahili****Cultural terms**

<i>panga</i>	5	'large knife with a long, broad blade, used for cutting undergrowth and firewood or as a weapon' (OED)
<i>safari</i>	2	'sandy brown or beige colour, the colour of clothes typically worn on safari' (OED)

Table 21: Borrowings from **Setswana****Zoological terms**

<i>thithiboya</i>	1	'centipede'
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Table 22: Borrowings from **Khoekhoe****Botanical terms**

<i>buchu</i>	2	'chromatic plant native to the Cape of Good Hope, used in the past for cosmetic purposes by the Khoekhoe, and now medically' (OED)
<i>dagga</i>	3	'hemp, <i>Cannabis sativa</i> , used as a narcotic' (OED)

Geographical terms

<i>Karoo</i>	1	'semi-desert region of central South Africa, consisting of extensive elevated plateaus, with a clayey soil, which during the dry season are waterless and arid' (OED)
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Ethnological terms

<i>Khoikhoi</i>	41	'member of a southern African people distinguished by short stature, yellow-brown skin, and tightly-curved hair, and speaking a language characterized by click sounds' (OED)
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Table 23: **Other**

<i>abaTbwa</i>	1	'youngster'
<i>amafaca</i>	2	'emaciated' (paraphrase)
<i>buka</i>	1	'tree'
<i>ikoyi</i>	1	'room' (paraphrase)
<i>ingodi</i>	1	'fermented sorghum soft-porridge' (paraphrase)
<i>ixande</i>	6	'type of building' (paraphrase)
<i>izitibiri</i>	10	'sounds'
<i>nkamnkam</i>	22	'old-age pension' (paraphrase)
<i>tsiki</i>	1	'goat' (paraphrase)

The tables show that there are important differences in the quantity of borrowings that have been found in the different novels. Coetzee's *LTMK* presents fewer borrowings from indigenous languages — only two terms from Khoekhoe and one of Zulu origin — than Mda's *WD*, which contains loan words and expressions from Zulu, Xhosa, Khoekhoe, Sotho, Setswana, Swahili and Nguni and *THR* which collects borrowings from Xhosa, Zulu, Khoekhoe, Swahili, Sotho, Setswana, Ndebele and other African languages. This difference is largely due to the background of the authors. As expected, the vast majority of borrowings from the three works belong to the category of cultural terms because most of them do not have an equivalent in English, for example, *ukunqanqatheka* 'desire for tobacco'. These cultural terms are particularly used in an indigenous context, therefore, English readers that have no knowledge of these languages would need an explanation to understand the meaning of the native words. The authors, being aware of that, have included an explanation or paraphrase of their meaning for the majority of the indigenous terms and expressions. The number of Afrikaans borrowings is similar in all the novels both in quantity and type and the three of them have in common the categories of cultural and culinary terms. Additionally, Afrikaans borrowings belonging to the zoological and botanical categories have also been identified in *THR* whereas in the other two we find some Afrikaans expressions instead. Significantly, in Coetzee's *LTMK*, Afrikaans borrowings outnumber the indigenous ones but in Mda's works it is the other way around. It is also interesting to point out that the vast majority of Afrikaans borrowings are left untranslated.

This is apparently connected, as said, to the authors' backgrounds and their different

knowledge of languages. Coetzee is clearly more familiar with Afrikaans – it was his second language – than with indigenous languages since he uses Afrikaans borrowings and expressions such as “More is nog 'n dag” or “'n boer maak 'n plan” – which he left untranslated – and the only three indigenous words that he wrote are *kierie*, *Karoo* and *muti* which are already part of the English language and he only translated *kierie* 'iron bar'. However, Mda, being knowledgeable in African languages, presents a great number of indigenous borrowings – not only those belonging to the English lexicon but also those which are only used in indigenous contexts. Some appear in the SAED because they are common among South Africans such as *skorokoro* 'old car' or *tata* 'father'. However, other terms are only used by speakers of these indigenous languages, that is why the author needed to include an explanation or translation in English (Noussi 2009, 295) so readers could understand the meaning:

(1) “[...] and had called for an *imbhizo* – a public meeting [...]”

(2) “[...] the fermented maize soft-porridge called *amarhewu*.”

In *THR*, one interesting case would be the borrowing *uthekwane* from Zulu, meaning 'hammer-head' which is also used in the novel together with *hammerkop* from Afrikaans. The first time the indigenous word is mentioned, Mda uses the English referent:

(3) “It is rumored that Bhonco is about to enlist the assistance of the *uthekwane*, the brown hammerhead bird.”

However, in the second appearance of the borrowing, he uses the semi-anglicized term from Afrikaans instead:

(4) “That is *uthekwane*, the hammerkop [...]”

Unlike the Zulu borrowing, the Afrikaans term *hammerkop* is listed in the OED – as *hamerkop* –, that is why the author uses both *hammerhead* and *hammerkop* to define *uthekwane* because both are already part of the English lexicon, and, therefore, readers familiar with South African English are expected to know the meaning. In addition, many other indigenous words are not translated because Mda's aim was to make the readers “dig deep into Xhosa culture” (Noussi 2009, 295) so they have to deduce the meaning from the context as in the following examples in which the meaning of the borrowings can be inferred while reading the novel. In example 5 the meaning of *tata* can be deduced to be 'father' or in example 6 where *lawukazi* refers to 'woman'.

(5) “You embarrassed me, *tata*.”

(6) “What do you see in this *lawukazi*?”

Or readers, if they are not native speakers of these African languages, need to search the word in order to fully understand the meaning like in the following example in which *ingqawa* means 'caracal'.

(7) “He is resplendent in his white *ingqawa* blanket [...]”

As said, in Coetzee's novel only Afrikaans expressions have been found whereas in Mda's works there is just one Afrikaans expression and several indigenous ones:

(8) “He shouted, '*Ndinxaniwe! Ek is dors! Ke nyoriloe!* So said the Lord Christ, hanging on the cross! I am thirsty! I am thirsty!’”

In this sentence, the author has included the same expression in different languages – *Ndinxaniwe* from Xhosa, *Ek is dors* from Afrikaans and *Ke nyoriloe* from Sotho. Then, Mda has also added the expression in English so the meaning of the expressions could be inferred from it. Nevertheless, there are other cases in which the meaning of the African expressions is not directly translated with the English expression but explained:

(9) “Some children, whose mothers had not taught them any manners, sometimes shouted at the holy man, '*Thutha mabhakethe! Tshotsha mapakethe!*' What they were saying was that the Archbishop was a carrier of buckets.”

(10) “He rode from one homestead to another through the village, shouting, '*Mala mogodu! Amathumbo!*' [...]. This simply meant that he was touting his offal, encouraging the people to buy.”

However, Coetzee's Afrikaans expressions appear on their own, without a paraphrase or English translation but since Afrikaans has Germanic roots (Mesthrie 1995, xv), it is easier for English speakers to deduce its meaning:

(11) “Every stone casts a shadow. Good luck. Remember, '*n boer maak 'n plan*'.”

(12) “He shrugged. *More is nog 'n dag*. What's the hurry?”

Notably, most of Afrikaans borrowings from all novels do not include a paraphrase:

(13) “[...] a respectful *doek* on her head [...]”

(14) “Most of the houses are *rondavels*.”

4.2. Borrowings that belong to the English lexicon

The following section focuses on the borrowings currently listed in the OED, therefore, belonging to the English lexicon. From all the borrowings found in the novels, only 35 are part of the English language: 15 from Afrikaans, 3 from Zulu, 4 from Xhosa, 4 from Zulu and Xhosa, 1 from Sotho, 1 from Ndebele, 5 from Khoekhoe and 2 from Swahili. The following table summarizes the categories they belong and their language of origin:

Cultural terms	<i>Afrikaner, apartheid, bakkie, boer, braai, doek, rondavel</i> (from Afrikaans) <i>muti, makoti, umfana</i> (from Zulu) <i>abakhwetha, ingcibi, kwedini</i> (from Xhosa) <i>intombi, lobola, makhulu</i> (from Xulu and Xhosa) <i>dagga, kerie</i> (from Khoekhoe) <i>panga, safari</i> (from Swahili) <i>toyi-toyi</i> (from Ndebele)
Culinary terms	<i>Boerewors, mealie, mealie-cob, mealie meal, mealie-pap</i> (from Afrikaans)
Ethnological terms	<i>AmaNgqika</i> (from Xhosa), <i>Basotho</i> (from Sotho), <i>Khoikhoi</i> (from Khoekhoe)
Zoological terms	<i>Aardvark, hammerkop</i> (from Afrikaans)
Botanical terms	<i>Buchu</i> (from Khoekhoe), <i>kaffirboom</i> (from Afrikaans)
Geographical terms	<i>Donga</i> (from Zulu and Xhosa), <i>Karoo</i> (from Khoekhoe)

More than a half are cultural terms and most of them come from the most spoken languages in the country (Afrikaans, Xhosa and Zulu). Regarding the culinary, zoological and botanical terms, all of them – except for *buchu* – have Afrikaans origin. In the novels, many words for food, meals and biota of African origin have been found but they are not listed in the OED.

Furthermore, the table below presents the borrowings that are repeated in more than one novel and appear quite frequently which shows how well-integrated these foreign words are in South African English.

Afrikaans	<i>mealie or mielie, pap, rondavel</i>
Zulu	<i>muti</i>
Zulu and Xhosa	<i>donga, lobola</i>
Khoekhoe	<i>Karoo, dagga</i>
Swahili	<i>panga</i>
Setswana	<i>thithiboya</i>

Regarding the indigenous borrowings, according to the OED, the earliest borrowings are the ones coming from Khoekhoe since the Khoe-San people, who were hunter-gatherers, were the first inhabitants of this area (Webb 2002, 71). They were introduced between 1668 and 1801 – the first one being *dagga* which comes from *dachab* and the last one *Khoikhoi* – and they all make reference to the Khoekhoe culture. The latest terms introduced to English are dated during the 20th century – between 1912 and 1985 – and they come from different indigenous languages: *toyi-toyi* from Ndebele, *makhulu*, *makoti* and *kwedini* from Zulu and Xhosa and *panga* and *safari* from Swahili. Again, they designate people, cultural practices or tools from African communities.

Afrikaans, as explained before, has its origins in the late 17th century when the Dutch arrived to Cape Town (Webb 2002, 74). The Afrikaans terms analyzed were borrowed in the recipient language during the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. The first borrowing incorporated was *boer* 'Dutch or Afrikaans speaking farmer' dated from 1776, according to the OED. During the 18th century, we also find *aardvark* 'antbear' and *doek* 'head-cloth'. In the 19th century words denoting food such as *mealie* and its compounds *mealie-cob*, *mealie-meal* and *mealie-pap*. According to the OED, *mealie* is very common in South African English and it comes from modern Dutch *milie* — which became obsolete due to the establishment of the word *maïs* in the late 17th century. The form *mielie* also appears in *THR* and it is also used among South Africans. Moreover, words denoting people (*Afrikaner*), trees (*kaffirboom*), buildings (*rondavel*) and animals (*hammerkop*) were borrowed. The same happened in the 20th century where we also find terms for food and cooking (*boerewors* and *braai*), politics (*apartheid*) and transport (*bakkie*). Therefore, throughout the centuries, many words from Afrikaans have been integrated in order to give a name to daily life items and concepts.

4.3. Degree of integration

The historical documents and the methods of comparative-historical linguistics are key to interpreting which terms had been borrowed and, in addition, the language of origin and the approximate date (Poplack and Sankoff 1984, 99). The full integration and assimilation of loan-words take time, even generations, and it is not always clear what criteria have taken place first or last, or the stages in between this achievement (101). This section will focus on the adaptation of the borrowings into English regarding morphology, in particular, inflections, their appearance in the OED and regarding semantics, the presence of their meaning in the novels.

Taking into account morphology, phonology and syntactics, a borrowed item can be considered well-established in a language if it acquires grammatical properties typical of the recipient language, it becomes pronounceable and it functions in sentences as if it was a word from the recipient language (Poplack and Sankoff 1984, 104). One factor that indicates that a term has been integrated into the language is the adaptation of “foreign items of any linguistic level to the pattern of the recipient language”, for instance, the addition of inflections such as verbal and nominal suffixes or regarding gender (100). For example, most of the borrowings found in the novels use the English inflection -s for the plural such as *Afrikaners* or *Kosas*. However, many indigenous borrowings use the plural form of their native origin, for example, the prefix *ama-* in Xhosa, Zulu and Ndebele (DSAE 2020) such as in *amaNgqika* (plural of *Ngqika*), *amaqaba*, (plural of *qaba*) or *amaXhosa* (plural of *Xhosa*). However, in some cases the plural of these words can also be formed by the English prefix -s, for instance, according to the SAED, the plural of *Xhosa* can be both *amaXhosa* or *Xhosas*. This indicates that this Xhosa word is adapting to English but it has not been yet adopted in the language. In the same light, the prefixes *um-* and *im-* indicate the singular (DSAE 2020) such as in *umXhosa* 'Xhosa person'. Another example would be the inflection -ing in *braaing* or the prefix *anti-* in *antiapartheid* which indicate that these Afrikaans words are well-established in the English language since they present English inflections. Additionally, another example of the nativization of the borrowings is that compound terms have been found in the novels which are formed by a foreign word and an English one such as *muti killer* which is listed in the DSAE but not in the OED, however, in the latter it appears as *muti murderer* which also means 'person who carries out a muti murder'.

Regarding the frequency of use, when a foreign item is used frequently and by more and more people, it is likely that it will become part of the recipient language (Poplack and Sankoff 1984, 103). Therefore, the loan words listed in the OED have been used by an increased number of English speakers. Although most of them are specifically from South African English, some are used more than others among speakers. This can also be revealed in the novels: most of the borrowings which are repeated in all works or in two are listed in the OED which means they are used frequently enough by speakers, especially in South Africa, to become part of the English lexicon. The frequency of use in the works is quite high for some of them, for instance, *rondavel* and its plural *rondavels* appear 26 times in *THR* or *Karoo* which is present 7 times in *LTMK*.

Also mentioned in section 4.1., another criterion to ascertain the degree of integration of a loan-word would be semantics: whether the meaning of the borrowing is explained in the context or not is key to ascertain the degree of nativization. If the borrowing appears without a paraphrase, it is

more likely that readers are aware of its meaning, so it is a well-integrated word, and it will probably be listed in the OED, for instance:

- (15) “[...] he was looking over the vast plain of the *Karoo*.”
- (16) “I asked him whether it contained his *muti*.”
- (17) “Only the head of the baby had appeared, when it was hacked off with a *panga* by yet another warrior.”
- (18) “Monkeys will eat those *mielies*!”

Nonetheless, there are some borrowings which present a paraphrase despite of being part of the English lexicon. The explanation for this could be that they might not be common in the other English varieties, only in South African English. For instance:

- (19) “They threw all the weapons they found in a pile: a *kierie*, an iron bar [...]”
- (20) “[...] grilling the sausages that are known as *boerewors*.”
- (21) “[...] the coral tree that used to be called *kaffirboom* during the Middle Generations [...]”
- (22) “Xikixa was the *ingcibi* – the doctor who cut the foreskin.”

For the rest of the borrowings, in general the authors include a paraphrase which means that this word is not fully integrated in the language since people need an explanation because the vast majority are cultural terms only used by speakers of African languages. For example:

- (23) “[...] and *amaqonka*, the varieties of abalone that look like big snails.”
- (24) “[...] *imbhaza* and *imbhatyisa* – as mussels and oysters are called.”
- (25) “Loose strands of beads known as *isidanga* hang around his neck.”

Some others are untranslated because they are frequently used by South Africans since the majority are listed in the SAED and, as seen in 4.2 their meaning could be inferred from the context:

- (26) “Vutha and his friend had meanwhile gone to their hostel friends, who gave them plenty of meat and *pap*.”

5. Conclusion

In this paper it has been analyzed the borrowings that have Afrikaans and indigenous origin in the novels of two South African writers. The supposition was that they would be cultural borrowings that designate concepts that are new to the English language, and, indeed, all of them were introduced to the recipient language to give a name to terms related to the native culture and most of them do not have an equivalent in English. The vast majority come from the most spoken official languages in the country: Zulu, Xhosa and Afrikaans. However, borrowings from other South Africa's official languages have been found such as Sotho, Setswana and Ndebele. Furthermore, loan-words from other African languages spoken in the country are also present like Swahili and Khoekhoe. Most of them are cultural terms that denote people, professions, traditions or items such as tools, instruments, clothes, transport or other objects. Then, we find approximately the same amount of borrowings for ethnological, culinary, zoological terms and expressions.

Finally, there are also botanical and geographical terms.

Regarding the South African authors and their use of the borrowings, both of them use cultural borrowings but Mda presents more variety in terms of type and quantity. As commented before, Coetzee is more familiar with Afrikaans so he uses more borrowings and expressions from this language and he leaves them untranslated. He only wrote three indigenous loan-words which are actually listed in the OED, therefore, belonging to the English lexicon. Mda's borrowings come from different African languages and, unlike Coetzee, he introduces native terms that are only used by indigenous communities and that are unknown for English speakers. In order to help the readers with the meaning of these borrowings, he usually writes a paraphrase or their English equivalent. This is connected with the degree of integration of the borrowings: those who are left untranslated are more likely to be well-integrated and, hence, to be part of the English language. After analyzing each borrowing and a contextualized example of each one of them, it can be concluded that more than a half of Afrikaans terms appear without a paraphrase or a translation while most of the indigenous borrowings are followed by an explanation. This might be due to the fact that in South African English Afrikaans loan-words outnumber the indigenous ones, therefore, Afrikaans terms might be more well-known for South African English speakers. All these differences regarding the use of borrowings in the novels are explained by the authors' different backgrounds, their education and their different knowledge they have of African languages.

In regards to the borrowings belonging to the English lexicon, only 35 are listed in the OED. As expected, the majority are cultural terms but we also find culinary, ethnological, zoological, botanical and geographical terms. The Afrikaans borrowings outnumber the indigenous ones – which come from a wide range of African languages: Zulu, Xhosa, Sotho, Ndebele, Khoekhoe and

Swahili. According to the OED, the earliest borrowing analyzed in this study have a Khoekhoe origin dated in the 17th century. Then, throughout the centuries, Afrikaans and indigenous terms denoting different cultural concepts, traditions, items, food or biota were integrated in the English language. As far as the degree of integration is concerned, it has been examined some grammatical properties that the borrowings have acquired from the recipient language such as the inflection for the plural -s, the verbal suffix -ing or compound terms. Moreover, the higher the frequency of use is, the more likely it is that a borrowing is well-integrated in South African English. Lastly, in relation to semantics and the appearance of the borrowings' meanings in the context, this study has allowed us to classify the borrowings in four main groups. Firstly, there are those who are part of the English lexicon and are found without a paraphrase/translation such as *muti*. Then, there are those who belong to the English vocabulary and also have a paraphrase/translation like *ingcibi*. Additionally, there are borrowings which have not been integrated in the English language – some include an explanation of their meaning like *amaqonka* and some others appear on their own such as *tata*. Overall, Mda tends to use English equivalents and more paraphrases than Coetzee but it needs to be considered that the number of borrowings found in their works differs from one another.

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