

FANAKALO AS A TRADE LANGUAGE IN KWAZULU-NATAL

by
Heidi Newby-Rose

*Thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
degree MPhil in Intercultural Communication at the University of
Stellenbosch*



Supervisor: Dr. Kate Huddleston
Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences
Department of General Linguistics

December 2011

DECLARATION

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the sole author thereof (save to the extent explicitly otherwise stated), that reproduction and publication thereof by Stellenbosch University will not infringe any third party rights and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

Heidi Newby-Rose

November 2011

Copyright © 2011 Stellenbosch University

All rights reserved

ABSTRACT

This study investigates the use of the pidgin Fanakalo as a trade language in rural KwaZulu-Natal: its birth under certain historical circumstances; its spread; its apparent growth, post-1990, as new immigrants continue to enter the country and acquire and use Fanakalo out of expediency; and the reasons why Fanakalo continues to thrive in certain contexts. It focuses specifically on similarities between the relations between Gujarati traders and their customers in the 19th century and the relations that exist between Gujarati and Pakistani traders and their Zulu-speaking customers today. Data was collected primarily through semi-structured interviews with nine Gujarati traders – two born in South Africa and the others recent immigrants – five Pakistani traders and ten Zulu speakers, of which two were employees of traders while the others were customers. The results of the data analysis suggest the principles of expediency and non-intimacy may provide a space where Fanakalo can continue to flourish. Pidgins are a neglected element in the study of intercultural communication and the study endeavours to provide pointers for further research in this field.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie studie ondersoek die gebruik van die kontaktaal Fanakalo as 'n handelstaal in nie-stedelike KwaZulu-Natal: die ontstaan daarvan onder sekere historiese omstandighede; die verspreiding daarvan; die waarskynlike groei daarvan, na 1990 met die arrivering van nuwe immigrante wat Fanakalo aanleer en gebruik uit gerief; en die redes waarom Fanakalo voortbestaan en floreer in sekere kontekste. Die spesifieke fokus is die soortgelyke verhoudinge tussen Gujarati-handelaars en hulle klante in die negentiende eeu, en tussen Gujarati- en Pakistani-handelaars en hulle Zoeloesprekende klante vandag. Inligting is hoofsaaklik deur semi-gestruktureerde onderhoude ingewin met nege Gujarati-handelaars – twee in Suid-Afrika gebore en die ander onlangse immigrante – vyf Pakistani-handelaars en tien Zoeloesprekendes, waarvan twee werknemers van handelaars en agt klante was. 'n Analise van die gegewens dui daarop dat die beginsels van gerief of doelmatigheid, en ongemeensamheid 'n ruimte mag skep waarin Fanakalo sal voortbestaan. Die studie van kontaktaal behoort meer aandag te geniet in die veld van interkulturele kommunikasie, en hierdie tesis poog om 'n bydrae daartoe te lewer.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In order to transform half-formed suspicions, based on years of observation of a woolly and possibly controversial subject, into a coherent thesis that hopefully contributes to understanding of the various issues involved, the help, often under time pressure, of the following people was invaluable and I would like to thank:

Dudu Mpanza, for assisting with field work.

Mrs and Miss Patel for their insight into and assistance with the Gujarati community.

The interviewees, some of them known to me for a long time, for their tolerance in the face of a sudden invasion into their private and commercial lives.

Friends who put me up and assisted with logistics in KZN.

Nkosingiphile Nene for assisting with the transcriptions of Zulu interviews.

My husband Andrew and daughter Mila for putting up with stress, silences and strange mutterings.

Dr Kate Huddlestone for helping to shape my wild thoughts into something presentable.

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my mother

Cora Rose (14/12/1941-30/08/2007)

who would have been so proud.

“Die oft kuenstliche Unterscheidung in linguistische and ausserlinguistische Faktoren, die sich kontaklinguistisch nicht aufrecht erhalten laesst, da beide Sichtweisen in vielen Faellen interdependentiell miteinander verbunden sind, wird zugunsten einer Gesamtbetrachtung aufgegeben” (Nelde 1990: v)

The often artificial separation of linguistic and extra-linguistic factors, which is not viable in contact linguistics, as both points of view are inextricably entwined in many cases, is dropped here in favour of an overall assessment (translation mine).

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	i
ABSTRACT	ii
OPSOMMING	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iv
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1. The focus of the study	1
1.2. A historical and current sociolinguistic context and rationale for the study .	5
1.3. Research questions	7
1.4. Methodology and an outline of the thesis	10
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW	12
2.1. Fanakalo: a sociological description.....	12
2.2. Fanakalo on the mines	16
2.3. Fanakalo in KZN history: light on its origins and crystallisation	18
2.4. Brief history of Indians in KZN, with specific reference to the Gujarati community.....	21
2.5. The situation in KZN today as it relates to history: renewed influx from the Indian subcontinent.....	24
2.6. How do language, people and situation affect one another in a contact situation?.....	28
2.7. Concluding remarks.....	34
CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY	36
3.1. The research instrument.....	36
3.2. Methodological issues	37
3.3. The data collection process.....	39

CHAPTER 4: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS and DISCUSSION.....	43
4.1. Interviews with traders.....	43
4.2. Interviews with Zulu speakers	57
4.3. Other sources of data.....	64
4.4. Discussion of the data	67
4.5. Answering the research question/s	70
CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY.....	74
BIBLIOGRAPHY.....	78
APPENDIX A: Questionnaires.....	83
APPENDIX B: Interview Transcriptions.....	84

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1. The focus of the study

20 years ago Rajend Mesthrie (1989:216) asserted confidently that the use of the pidgin Fanakalo was on the decline in the province of KwaZulu-Natal(KZN) in South Africa, where it arose and was crystallized through use by European and Indian settlers in their dealings with the native Zulu-speaking population. A pidgin can be defined as a contact language serving a specific purpose in a limited social setting (*cf.* Adendorff 1995; Hall 1966; Mesthrie 1989; Sebba 1997; Trudgill 1983). It usually takes its vocabulary from a target, or superstrate, language – generally the language with the most social status at the time of its genesis – with grammatical structure provided by substratum languages spoken by other groups in the contact situation (*cf.* Hall 1966; Mesthrie 1989; Sebba 1997; Trudgill 1983). Fanakalo has been a notable exception to this pattern, as it takes its vocabulary from what was considered a social substratum language at the time, the Zulu language¹, while larger structures, including morphology and syntax, are based on an English template (Adendorff 1995). This is illustrated in the following example [1], overheard in a paint shop in Tongaat on the KZN North Coast, where the Indian shop owner’s daughter remonstrated with a Zulu employee about mixing paint. The Zulu version of this utterance is given in [2].

(1) *Mina siza wena** [Fanakalo]
I help you

Instead of

(2) *Ngi-ku-siza* [Zulu]
PRON.1S-PRON.2S-help
“I am helping/help you.”

¹The Zulu language is also referred to as “isiZulu”, but in this study the English usage for denoting languages will be followed.

Mesthrie (*cf.* Mesthrie 1989, 1992) provides reasons for his prediction of the demise of Fanakalo in KZN based on conventional pidgin theory, which predicts three possible futures for a pidgin: creolisation, when its original spheres of use expand to include acquisition as a mother-tongue; maintenance, where the original areas of, and reasons for use continue to exist; or death, when reasons or areas of use fall away².

However, independent, informed observation over the past seven years in rural areas of KZN suggests that this prediction, although reasonable under the political and social circumstances of the time, was inaccurate. Mesthrie himself qualified his earlier confidence in a revised version of the same paper, saying “[...]it *appears to be* [...] on the decline” (Mesthrie 1992:307, emphasis mine). Factors that could not at the time have been foreseen have since entered the fray, and these factors need to be taken into account when considering the future of Fanakalo.

The focus of this study is the use of Fanakalo as a trade language in rural KZN: its birth under certain historical circumstances, its spread, its apparent growth, post-1990, as new immigrants continue to enter the country and acquire and use Fanakalo out of expediency, and the reasons why Fanakalo continues to thrive in certain contexts when political correctness, decrying its insulting nature as a caricature or “parody” of the Zulu language (Ferraz 1984:109), and current national language policy, prescribe its decline and ideally, a prompt death.

For the purposes of this study it will be assumed that the phenomenon studied is indeed Fanakalo as it has been historically defined and described (see section 1.2 below). The researcher is familiar with Zulu grammar and vocabulary, and also with the characteristics of Fanakalo as studied in an undergraduate degree in linguistics, so, except for occasional examples to illustrate the geographical and social context of the study, no linguistic material will be provided to prove the identity of the

² See Mesthrie (1989), Hall (1966), Sebba (1997) and Trudgill (1983) for more on the genesis, maintenance and demise of pidgins.

contact language used between traders and customers. As the study will attempt to show a continuity and a tradition of use by Gujarati speakers from the earliest times of Indian settlement to the current influx of legal and illegal trading immigrants, it is also assumed that the contact language is *Fanakalo* as opposed to early interlanguage – the difference being, according to Mesthrie: “pidginisation is thus involved in the first stages of the successful creation of a new code; early interlanguage is an ‘imperfect’ first approximation of an old code”(Mesthrie 2007:76). Young Indian trading assistants do not, it seems, “try to speak Zulu but fail”, they are taught an existing code (at least in some cases!), in this case *Fanakalo*, by their predecessors and superiors.

The main users of *Fanakalo* in KZN are Indian traders and farmers, who use it to communicate with their predominantly Zulu-speaking clientele and staff. Farmers and other employers, predominantly of European descent, have also been traditional speakers of *Fanakalo*, but for the purpose of this sociolinguistic study, white speakers will be left out of consideration, given that the study aims to investigate

- (i) the relationship between the use of a language – of any status: official, regional, or pidgin – and the factors and circumstances that gave rise to its use, and
- (ii) the expression and projection of identity and social solidarity through the use of a particular code,

In order to focus specifically on identity and background issues, it is also necessary to restrict the study to a specific group of Indian-background speakers. Although South African Indians of Hindu background, in their various language and ritual groupings, form the largest religious community by far among Indians in KZN and would therefore reasonably be considered as more representative of South African and specifically KZN “Indianness”, the very diversity of the community complicates

the investigation of code-identity and social background- code links. The study will therefore consider only Indians – both born in and newly arrived in South Africa – of Muslim background, and specifically Gujarati-speakers. There are three main reasons for this.

Firstly, Gujarati-speakers formed the majority of “passenger” Indians, Muslim and Hindu – traders who migrated to the colony of Natal willingly and paid for their own passage for the purpose of trading among the newly-established communities of indentured Indians working in the KZN sugar plantations. Historically, in the caste system in India, and currently, in South Africa, Gujaratis have been associated with *trade* (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000:92) and are therefore ideal subjects for a study on the use of a language in the context of trade.

Secondly, of all the different Indian migrant communities, Gujaratis have maintained close contact with their villages of origin (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000:204) throughout the decades, bringing out brides and relatives and so consolidating a community identity to a greater degree than found in other, non-Gujarati-speaking, communities. This facilitates the comparison of (a) motives for leaving India, (b) *modus operandi* in setting up a business in another country, including the choice of language and (c) identity issues across time periods 150 years apart.

Thirdly, rural KZN is currently experiencing an influx of specifically Muslim traders (as opposed to Hindus) and their relatives, sometimes Urdu- but mostly Gujarati-speaking. Urdu speakers are mostly of Pakistani origin and as such have little bearing upon the investigation across time of the phenomenon of Fanakalo. The study will show that the historical ties to villages in Gujarat and the bringing over of relatives within one community seems to account for at least one reason for the survival and flourishing of a pidgin that is apportioned few chances or reasons to do so.

It should be noted, however, that Urdu-speaking immigrants DO also use Fanakalo widely and extensively, as do South African Muslim traders of both linguistic backgrounds. One South African trader of Urdu-speaking background, who had recently moved from the Eastern Cape to take over an existing concern in Kranskop, KZN was observed in 2010 applying his Xhosa-based Fanakalo in his new Zulu-speaking situation, where, predictably, it was understood and acted upon without comment.

Additionally, the Muslim community, in its various language groups (Urdu, Gujarati, Memon) exhibits greater cohesion and solidarity along religious and socioeconomic lines – *hawal* banking, informal credit networks³ - with practical implications for observation and study.

Fanakalo as used on farms and in households will also be disregarded, except as it contributes to context, for the same reasons that communities with non-Gujarati are not included, namely that motives are complicated unnecessarily, making it difficult to draw parallels, and jeopardising clarity.

Those who interact with Gujarati Muslim traders (henceforth “the traders” or “Indian traders”), namely their Zulu-speaking customers, have their own reasons for perpetuating the use of a code that has been accused of denigrating their language and identity (Ferraz 1984), and the study aims to show that in their case, expedience, and in-group/out-group relationship motivations continue to form a solid base for the use of the pidgin in the face of legislative attempts to suppress its use elsewhere, and in the context of linguistic reluctance to study it seriously, possibly because of its low political standing.

1.2. A historical and current sociolinguistic context and rationale for the study

Fanakalo is known, and evaluated, mostly as a language of the South African gold mines. It is certainly in that context that it has gained notoriety as a “master-

³ Jan Nederveen Pieterse explains these phenomena in more detail in Pieterse (2007).

servant” pidgin (Mesthrie 1992:305), heavy on the imperative (*cf.* Adendorff 2002:196), and basically useless for any purpose other than giving orders on a small scale of operation in a limited sphere of industry. It is also there where the name of the pidgin solidified:

Fana (looks like) - *ka* (of) - *lo* (this)

- indicating the use of the demonstrative article (*lo*) in conjunction with a limited vocabulary to express a wide range of actions in the mining and industrial context. Because of the over-use of the demonstrative article the pidgin is also known, pejoratively, as *isilolo* or “lo-lo language”.

However, the process of combining Zulu vocabulary and Indo-European sentence structure (Adendorff 1995:178-181) in an attempt to facilitate communication between cultural groupings separated by linguistic and social chasms started in the Eastern Cape colony and KZN at least two decades before diamonds were discovered in Kimberley and four decades before the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand. Theories about the genesis of the pidgin and the role that Indian migrants – arriving in the then Natal from 1860 onwards – played in its origin and spread have been bandied about, but a general consensus seems to be that “kitchen Zulu” existed before the arrival of the Indians, who consequently contributed tremendously to its crystallisation (Mesthrie 2006:413) during the last decades of the 19th century. The linguistic diversity of the Indian indentured workers and other settlers complicated the already fraught linguistic scene and contributed to the need for a single code to facilitate productivity in the sugar industry.

The exact mechanism by which the existing Natal pidgin was transferred to the Rand mines is somewhat obscure in the literature, but the steady migration of male Zulu labourers from Natal to the mines contributed to the statistical predominance of the Zulu language – apart from any perceived dominance traits in Zulu culture – among the workers from many cultures and backgrounds, including migrants from

as far away as Malawi (Mesthrie 1989:212). In a situation where those who gave orders were mostly White and ignorant of African languages, and those who took the orders came from many different linguistic backgrounds, it was almost inevitable that a workable code arose to the partial satisfaction of some and became entrenched as the “language of the mines”, with its own teaching materials, exponents and supporters and detractors.

In a high-profile situation like the mines, which contribute hugely to the national GDP, employ many thousands of workers in conditions that have attracted widespread criticism and have a serious impact on how South Africa is perceived internationally, the use of Fanakalo has long been a thorny issue and is at the time of writing actively being phased out on certain mines. Much has been written about the pidgin, and the wisdom of using it from the perspectives of safety, cultural inclusion, outmoded colonial practice and linguistic integrity⁴.

Meanwhile, its use in KwaZulu-Natal has largely been ignored, except for brief references, apart from an extensive investigation of its origins by Mesthrie. This study proposes to revisit the use of Fanakalo in KZN and to answer specific research questions about the continuity of use, reasons for this continuity and even apparent expansion, and factors of identity, code and intercultural communication relating to those reasons.

1.3. Research questions

The central research question of the study is as follows:

- [1] Why does Fanakalo continue to operate and flourish as a trade language in rural KZN when recent political and social development in South Africa on the one hand, and informed linguistic opinion on the other, predict and dictate its demise?

⁴ Mesthrie (1989,1992, 2006), Hanekom (1984), Ferraz (1980,1984) and others comment exhaustively on these issues.

This research question can be broken up into a number of sub-questions, which can be grouped into two categories, representing the perspectives of **Gujarati Muslim speakers of Fanakalo** and their **Zulu-speaking but Fanakalo-using interlocutors** respectively. With regards to the first category, namely that of the Gujarati Muslim speakers of Fanakalo, we can ask the following questions:

- i Do the traders know that they are not speaking Zulu?
- ii If they know that what they are speaking is not Zulu, why do they prefer to persist in an attempt to speak it instead of speaking English, for example?
- iii Why do the traders not learn “proper” Zulu?
- iv Which elements in the history and current social situation of Gujarati Muslims have remained unchanged, contributing to an uninterrupted use of a pidgin fallen into disfavour?

Questions regarding the perspective of Zulu-speaking customers and staff, in the context of wholesale and retail Indian trade in rural KZN, are as follows:

- v How do Zulu-speakers perceive Gujarati Muslim traders socially and commercially?
- vi Do Zulu-speakers mind being spoken to in Fanakalo, and regardless of whether they do or not, why do they perpetuate its use instead of speaking either English or Zulu back to the Indian traders?

The following hypotheses, formulated during seven years of sociolinguistically informed casual observation, are tested by the data collected:

- [1] Indian traders learn enough “Zulu” (in their estimation) to endear themselves to their chosen customers, resulting in sustainable businesses.

They do not, however, regard these customers as equals, and have no desire to mix with them socially, which prevents them from learning “proper” Zulu.

- [2] Indian traders, especially Gujarati Muslims who come from a downtrodden social context in their country of origin, DO feel and wish to express solidarity with their Zulu customers, both groups considering themselves as victims of either colonial or communal oppression or both. Therefore they resist learning English or using it to communicate with their customers.
- [3] Zulu-speakers tolerate the use of Fanakalo, and even use it themselves, as an expression of their regard for Indian traders as distinctly OUT-GROUP, a necessary but resented foreign presence(*cf.* the controversial song *Amandia* by Mbongeni Ngema, which expresses the resentment of black South Africans toward the Indian group for clinging to their culture and ostensibly refusing to blend into the South African scene). For example, in the locality of Kranskop, where much Fanakalo has been observed used, one Zulu-speaking labourer, following local customs, referred to Hindu traders as “charos” – (a word of Indian origin now widely used by other Natalians to refer to Indians) whom he had no strong feelings about – and Muslim traders as “Indians”, whom he professed to hate for their tendency to exploit the local population without benefitting them.

In order to answer the research questions, and confirm or modify the proposed hypotheses, data was collected from two groups, representing the perspectives of Gujarati Muslim speakers of Fanakalo (and some Pakistani traders), and their Zulu-speaking but Fanakalo-using interlocutors, as discussed above. This data will also enable the researcher to venture a prediction about the future of the pidgin, justified on the bases of the identity and purpose of sojourn of the traders.

1.4. Methodology and an outline of the thesis

Data to inform this study was collected through individual, semi-structured, interviews, recorded and transcribed (*cf.* Appendix B), with both Indian traders and Zulu-speaking customers in selected villages in the Midlands region and one urban centre in KwaZulu-Natal. The questionnaire used to structure these interviews can be found in Appendix A. The process of data collection is described in Chapter 3, which deals with the research methodology and design. The results of the research are combined with observations from the literature and empirical observations collected informally over several years to provide conclusions about Fanakalo, and address the research questions stated above.

Description of data collection is preceded, in Chapter 2, by a literature review that attempts to draw together observations about pidgins in general and the birth and spread of Fanakalo specifically, combined with writings on the lives of Gujarati Indians, in Natal from 1860 onwards and the motivations of modern-day Gujarati and other Muslim immigrants to South Africa.

Recent sociolinguistic investigations into pidgins and the reasons for their use are consulted specifically to throw light on the possible reasons for the survival of Fanakalo as a pidgin, including its resistance to creolisation. Psychological treatises on identity issues and how they impact on intercultural communication are consulted to contribute to an understanding of the special social situation of Gujarati traders (as opposed to Gujarati-origin missionaries, for example) and the context in which they operate.

Chapter 4 reports on and analyses the responses to the questionnaires and other observations made by interviewees, and collates and discusses the data to provide a coherent basis for testing the hypotheses formulated in section 1.3 above.

Chapter 5 provides a conclusion that hopes to contribute to current research on pidgins, specifically how they are maintained by identity considerations, as well as

to intercultural understanding in the South African context. Suggestions for possible avenues for further research on the use of Fanakalo and other communication issues related to it are also provided in Chapter 5, and the chapter concludes with a new prediction about the future of Fanakalo in KZN and research approaches to it.

The genesis of a pidgin is seldom as simple as linguistic theory on its own reduces it to. In the multi-cultural contexts of both South Africa and India, and with the intersection of these contexts in KZN, many factors traditionally described and investigated in psychology, history and sociolinguistics come into play and interact in new combinations. This study draws from a wide range of historical, psychological and linguistic elements and brings them to bear on a very small, tightly-defined section of Fanakalo users. In the process it attempts to justify an alternative approach to the pidgin, a kinder and more scientifically respectful one than it may have enjoyed in recent years. Its survival, if nothing else, points to the important role expedience plays in language choice – “the rhetoric of utility underpins the metanarrative of race and empire” (Nair 2008:11).

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter could be more aptly named “resource review” or “background review” as it contains a substantial mass of personal observation, as well as the traditional overview of relevant existing literature. As a trainer of accredited tour guides in KwaZulu-Natal, the researcher was expected to gather and transfer knowledge of historic and current demographics and sociopolitical realities of the province for the seven years prior to writing the thesis. As an immigration practitioner intimately involved in the lives of many illegal Pakistani and Gujarati immigrants, I had the opportunity to observe and record the social phenomena described in this chapter.

2.1. Fanakalo: a sociological description

Descriptive literature on Fanakalo is scarce and limited to authors of Southern African origin (or long residence, as in the case of Ferraz), with much of substance dating back to the mid-to late 1980’s and revised for later publications (*cf.* Mesthrie 1989, 1992, 2007). Rajend Mesthrie, himself of South African Indian extraction and thus from a community that has traditionally been associated with the use of the pidgin in KZN, has produced various papers on the subject, dealing with a description of the structure of Fanakalo (Mesthrie 1989:213), the origins of Fanakalo and how the Indian linguistic scene in Natal in the latter half of the 19th century contributed to its development (Mesthrie 1989:215 onwards), and a description of, and justification for, its decline (*cf.* Mesthrie 1989, 1992).

In his paper *The origins of Fanakalo* Mesthrie (1989:211) describes Fanakalo as

the language used between employer and employee in some urban work places, on many farms and in homes, and in certain situations in the gold and diamond mines of the Witwatersrand.

He does mention examples of its use in non-master-servant context (1989:212), and refers to the fact that Zulu-speakers refer to Fanakalo as “isikula” – the language of the “coolies” or Indians - which “suggests that in the observation of Zulu speakers, Indians were the most common users of the language” (1989:216). He also makes the statement “The use of Fanakalo among Natal Indians is on the decline” (1989:216), which in a later paper he modifies to “Fanakalo [...] is – in my observation – slightly on the decline in Natal” (1992:307). The main contribution of the 1989 paper, however, was to provide fairly convincing evidence that Fanakalo was not an Indian creation, but that it existed, albeit possibly in jargon form, (*cf.* Mesthrie 1989:224) before the advent of the Indians, thus putting a definitive end to other hypotheses on the matter.

This study takes as its starting point Mesthrie’s findings on the origins and history of Fanakalo: that a Nguni-lexifier-based jargon, arising possibly in the Eastern Cape but taking definitive shape and solidifying in Natal pre-dated the arrival of the Indians, but that their advent in large numbers from 1860 onwards was a major crystallising event for the pidgin (Mesthrie 2006:430), the other being the discovery of gold in 1867 (Brown & Ogilvie 2009:412). Written proof of the widespread existence of “what can only be called Fanagalo, appearing in print far earlier than has hitherto been suspected” (Davey & Koopman 2000) in the mid-1840’s was found in the writings of Adulphe Delagorgue, French traveller and adventurer, specifically in his *Vocabulaire de la langue zoulouse*.

In his 1992 publication, Mesthrie states that the only available descriptions of the pidgin “are those based on master-servant discourse” (1992:305). Other descriptions and uses had been well documented by that time, however, such as described in Opperman, Ferreira and Senekal (1967). The paper ends with what can be viewed as an ideologically motivated value judgment about the expediency of use of Fanakalo, namely that short-term expediency has to be weighed against the long-term detrimental effects of its use; that a short-term bridge to communication would turn out to be a “double illusion negative” in the long term, “since it prevents

one side from learning the language of other co-existent groups” and deprives learners of natural input in the target language (Mesthrie 1992: 321), in this case Zulu. In 2006 Mesthrie seems to soften these previous statements considerably when he describes Fanakalo as used “prototypically in work situations”, “as well as in transactional communications as in gas stations, shops, markets and the like” and, quoting Adendorff (1995) “there are still ample situations in which it is used, including some non-labour contexts”(Mesthrie 2006:430).

Ralph Adendorff is another South African linguist who has contributed substantially to current knowledge about Fanakalo. In his paper the *Social Meaning of Fanakalo* he argues that Fanakalo is a widely used interactional resource with many shades of social meaning, and that it can be exploited in multiple ways (Adendorff 1993:194). In another paper he discusses the use of Fanakalo by Zulu-speakers as simplified foreigner talk (Adendorff 1995:189) and decries the lack of linguistic research into the pidgin, noting that: “pidgins (are) disregarded as topics worthy of serious consideration”(Adendorff 1995:196). Adendorff further describes Fanakalo as an intriguing pidgin, for various reasons, among them the fact that its origins are uncertain, that it has a number of features that pidgins do not typically possess, and that it has at least TWO social meanings, one pejorative (for which reason it will be replaced on the gold mines) and one positive, where it has become a resource to express solidarity and reinforce personal relationships (Adendorff 2002:196). In general Adendorff appears not to have ideological problems with the existence or use of the pidgin, but he does acknowledge a lack of linguistic investigation into its current status, which he seems to regard as unfortunate as an instinctive appreciation for the tenacity and versatility of Fanakalo is conveyed in his writing.

L. Ivens Ferraz, writing about Fanakalo as well as its Zimbabwean and Zambian counterpart Chilapalapa (the name of this pidgin refers to the over-use of the Nguni locative *lapha*, also one of the four defining characteristics of Fanakalo) provides interesting insights into and interpretations of historical references and Indian use of the pidgin in particular, that “pidgins,[...] fulfil a need, otherwise they would not

exist”, that “Indians are regarded as being good at speaking Chilapalapa” (Ferraz 1980:210) and that while “the Indians continue to make extensive use of Fanakalo, Indian traders now using it far beyond the borders of Natal” (Ferraz 1993:107).

Ferraz, examining results from a 1978 survey sample of the Indian population in Zambia, which reported that 99,17% of the male population and 84.55% of women were familiar with Fanakalo, notes that “these figures say a good deal for the usefulness of Fanakalo as a means of communication between the Indian trader and his customers with many linguistic backgrounds” (Ferraz 1993:107). He goes on to point out that the Indian trader “has to resort to Fanakalo, and does so without the compunction that is found amongst the whites” as he “has no option, if he has no other language in common with his customer, and that of course is the proper useful role of a pidgin” (Ferraz 1993:107). Interestingly, Ferraz points out that “it is the whites who are criticised for using [Fanakalo-HNR], not the Indians” (Ferraz 1993:107).

Ferraz also discusses the pro’s and cons of Fanakalo on the mines, but for the purpose of this study his extensive treatment of its use by Indian traders makes it clear that there has long been a special relationship between Indian traders and Fanakalo, and that this tradition will probably not die out easily while similar circumstances to those that gave rise to it continue to exist. He makes another important, pointed remark that is also relevant to this thesis, namely:

Fanakalo is being examined by its detractors by criteria that are not appropriate, namely the criteria applicable to fully fledged languages or to languages of wider national or international communication. [...]it is not being examined on the issue of its suitability in the contexts in which it is used

(Ferraz 1993:111)

2.2. Fanakalo on the mines

Concurrent with the spread of the Indian traders to other parts of the South Africa of today, taking their wares and services to far-off villages, Zulu and other African men “were being thrown into a wage economy [as opposed to subsistence farming]” (Govinden 2008:59) and were migrating to the northern Cape and the Rand to be employed in the gold and diamond industries. The Zulu language had acquired almost mythical status by then in colonial circles, aided by the concepts American and other missionaries chose to embrace (*cf.* Gilmour 2006) as well as by the British defeat at Isandlwana and the reception of King Cetshwayo in the Court of Queen Victoria⁵. The Zulu language also had legendary status, among other South African tribes affected by the *mfecane* initiated by, among other factors, Shaka’s conquests; so adopting an existing pidgin lexified by Zulu on the mines would have seemed a natural thing to do in order to facilitate communication among foremen and labourers of widely differing backgrounds.

The subject of Fanakalo as an “Indian” phenomenon will be returned to shortly. However, for the sake of completeness and to provide as much as possible background on the usefulness (or not) of Fanakalo and reasons for its politically prescribed demise, two little-known publications, dealing specifically with Fanakalo as used on the mines, have been very useful.

The 1967 booklet *Fanakalo Textbook* (in English and Afrikaans) by JM Opperman, EF Ferreira, and TFH Senekal describes Fanakalo as “a lingua franca, a language for general use...which could be learnt easily and rapidly by Whites and non-Whites” (Opperman et al. 1967). In 1967 Fanakalo was “still growing” and it was “often necessary to find new words” and, according to the authors, its “necessity and usefulness...cannot be over-emphasised” (Opperman et al. 1967). The booklet provides a 2500 word dictionary, but also includes what can be described as stories,

⁵ Cetshwayo’s reception at the Court of Queen Victoria was glorified in praise songs in images that included Victoria’s pet lion (probably a symbol for the British Imperial Lion) lying down in submission before him. The contents of the praise songs were accepted as fact by many hearers and contributed to the mighty reputation of the Zulu kingdom.

providing entertaining reading about subjects as diverse as fishing, nice coffee, parties, tales from the Arabian nights, Bluebeard, bad quality meat, and the story of the tortoise and the hare from Aesops' Fables, all in Fanakalo. It cannot be described as edifying literature, but it does seriously challenge some of the more detracting remarks that have been lodged against the pidgin, an approach that has been described by Ferraz as "everybody seem[ing] intent on sending Fanakalo out into the wilderness like the proverbial scapegoat" (Ferraz 1993:107). While it is not, by any stretch of the imagination, the aim of this study to promote the use of Fanakalo, there does seem to have been a concerted, ideologically motivated and academically suspect move to discredit it. I hope, in this study, to indicate its usefulness, also as an object of serious study for its ability to throw light on wider issues surrounding pidgins.

The closest publication to a serious ethnography of Fanakalo – the lack of which has been commented on regretfully by Adendorff (1995:196) – that I came across was *Die Funksionele Waarde van Fanakalo* ("The functional value of Fanakalo") by Elma Hanekom, a study commissioned by the HSRC, apparently to provide material for decision-making on its continued use in the mines. This study by an honours graduate is the most complete description of the issues surrounding the pidgin in existence, but is not often cited by sociolinguists. Whether an English translation exists is not known at the time of writing, and much of the material discussed falls beyond the scope of this study, but Hanekom touches on some important and relevant points.

Hanekom (1985) examines the origin and nature of Fanakalo and its functions in the context of the functional dimensions of language as defined by Hymes (1981) and Okonkwo (1978). As far as participative and expressive functions are concerned, Hanekom's conclusions are that Fanakalo is a work language without its own geographical area, limited to simple contact situations. It does not lend itself to expressing speakers' own culture, values or religion, and there are certain things that it simply cannot express (Hanekom 1985: 69). Fanakalo cannot fulfil a unifying

function, and its separation function is negative. Its communicative function is limited because of a pared-down grammar and small vocabulary, but it is adequate for the functions of performing tasks, management, questioning, training and orientation. In general it is not as effective as normally accepted in the mines, but it should continue to be used at the level of unskilled workers - as an intermediate measure - where it is indispensable.

In examining the status of Fanakalo, Hanekom's conclusion is not surprising: the continuation of a multilingual contact situation will mean the survival of Fanakalo. The point of repeating the findings of her study, which is very thorough and elegant, is that it is BECAUSE of the pidgin's limitations that it is perfect for a situation where people have no desire to learn about each other, where they prefer to be separate, where there are no values or religious roots in common, and where only the bare basics need to be communicated, repeatedly.

The above type of situation describes the relationship between Zulu customers and Indian traders perfectly, as the following section will show.

2.3. Fanakalo in KZN history: light on its origins and crystallisation

In a recent fascinating study of how indigenous languages in colonial South Africa were represented, Rachael Gilmour describes the social situation in Zululand around the time of arrival of American Board missionaries (who stayed from 1834 until 1838) in the following way:

[...]although this early period of missionary activity in Zulu territory was short-lived, it was productive of attitudes to language which were to have long-lasting effects [...]the American missionaries had arrived in the aftermath of a period of enormous and violent upheaval in the region. The disturbances took place under the influence of a complex range of social and political factors, against a background of unprecedented population growth

and climate change, which brought about new conflict and resources.

(Gilmour 2006:118-119)

One can be forgiven for initially thinking that Gilmour is writing about the situation in KZN from the late 1980's onwards! But it was during the time that Gilmour describes that Fanakalo had its genesis, possibly in a jargon brought over from the Eastern Cape (Mesthrie 1989:229) and adapted for use between British colonists and the original inhabitants of the region, who spoke various dialects cognate with the varieties of what is today known as Xhosa. It is a misconception that a unified Zulu language was spoken by all. Even linguists fall into the trap of the perception created by the missionaries, who were happy to promote the "*prestige* form of language, already associated with social and political status" (Gilmour 2006:122, italics in original) for the purposes of preaching the gospel.

"There is very little dialectical variation in Zulu and the written language is fully standardised" say Lanham and Prinsloo (1978:33). This common misconception is still around, as it was in the 1800's. A wide variety of dialects were spoken by black people in what is today KZN at the time, but the "Zulu state was regarded as the arbiter of correct language" (Gilmour 2006: 123) by the American missionaries at a time when there existed "a policy of *nkukulumanje*, or the powerful 'slaughter' by the Zulu language of surrounding linguistic forms" (Harries 1993:107, in Gilmour 2006:122). Today, as I have witnessed during seven years of training "Zulus" in remote areas of KZN, many forms of the language survive and are actively spoken by the people, including Thonga, Bhaca, and the variety spoken by the Amahlubi. These forms "were stigmatized as corrupt and impure versions of the Zulu ideal" (Gilmour 2006:121). The effect that various existing forms of "Zulu" had on a tardy acquisition of the language by colonial "incomers" and thus the persistence of a jargon form like incipient Fanakalo was never and can never be measured, but certainly confusion upon encountering ANOTHER form of the language just when you thought you had mastered it must have contributed to a feeling of needing to

know just enough “to get by” and learning only the words and structures that worked in all situations.

Trudgill explains the formation of a pidgin as follows:

A pidgin language, then, is a lingua franca which has not 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

(Trudgill 1983:178)

This does seem to describe the process leading to the creation of Fanakalo very well, and makes it a typical pidgin, even though it is considered atypical for other reasons⁶. This definition also makes room for a non-political interpretation of the existence of the language – it “happened” like many other pidgins “happened” all over the world, for many of the same reasons, and shouldn’t be an object of academic (or non-academic) scorn.

Trudgill further states that “the most likely setting for the crystallisation of a true pidgin language is probably a contact situation of this limited type involving three or more language groups...”(1983:178). He continues “where contacts are more permanent, fuller second-language learning is more likely to result” (1983:178). A long-standing relationship between former British property owners and their Zulu employees may eventually have led to more intensive and accurate acquisition of “Zulu” to a greater and more widespread extent, had it not been for the arrival of the Indians. Much has been written and re-written about the contribution of missionaries such as Callaway (*cf.* Mesthrie 1989) to the formation of Fanakalo BEFORE the Indians arrived, contradicting the theory that Fanakalo was an Indian creation, as previously noted.

⁶ Cf. Adendorff 1995 for a discussion on the atypicality of Fanakalo.

The arrival of the Indians, therefore, provided an impetus for the crystallisation, and through their entrepreneurial activity the spread of Fanakalo far into Africa, just as the new wave of arrivals from India and Pakistan over the past 11 years in KZN (and other parts of South Africa and further afield) will provide grounds for the survival and adaptation of Fanakalo long after linguists and politicians have attempted to exterminate its use.

2.4. Brief history of Indians in KZN, with specific reference to the Gujarati community

Most schoolchildren in South Africa learn, at some stage or another, about the “indentured Indians” who came to work on the sugar cane plantations in “Natal” during the latter half of the nineteenth century. Focussing on the majority of the Indians, who were indeed indentured labourers, has perhaps created a skewed and one-sided view of the South African Indian community in the minds of other communities, and cognisance of the fact that many “passenger” Indians also came by their own means and for different purposes is often lost. As this study focuses on the Gujarati community, a few references to their background, worldview and situation in Natal are necessary to build a case for transfer of linguistic resources, and also of attitudes.

Dhupelia-Mesthrie (2000:92) sets the stage: “The Gujeratis were primarily associated with the trading class and came as ordinary immigrants from the west coast of India.” Further on in the same publication, dealing with the situation today, the following comes to light: “Many Gujerati, Memon and Kokani speakers know their villages of origin on the west coast of India and maintain contact with extended families” (Dhupelia-Mesthrie 2000:104). The same cannot be said of the majority Tamil speakers, for instance, who formed part of the indentured group. This contact, over 150 years, with villages of origin makes the Gujeratis an ideal study subject for the purpose of establishing that transfer takes place between one generation and the next. The whole village of Kranskop, on the eastern side of the KZN Midlands, is dominated by traders from ONE village in Gujarat. Family feuds in the original

village are transferred to Kranskop, and gossip gets passed on over the ocean regularly.

In a study of the Women's Cultural Group of Durban, originators of the very popular cookbook *Indian Delights* and also predominantly made up of Gujarati Muslims, Vahed and Waetjen (2010:186) state that "English, Zulu (or rather Funagalo)[...]were common additional languages for many Group members whose mother tongues were Gujarati or Urdu or Memonese". They also refer to the "creole" Indian cultural identity in South Africa (Vahed and Waetjen 2010:16) and that English was adopted for the creole expression of South African Indian culture (Vahed and Waetjen 2010:188). South African Indian English is a recognised variety of English with its own expressions and structure; the fact that an available version of Zulu was put to similar use, to express another side of the creole identity, should not come as a surprise.

Price (2007:18) defines the broader concept 'creole' here as "the process by which people, animals, ideas, and institutions with roots in the Old World are born, grow and prosper in the New". This definition is universal in its application, even though it originated in a description of African American culture. Price goes on to say the following, and I would venture that this, too can be applied to the cultural adaptation of Indians in South Africa:

[...]creolisation involves rupture and loss, creativity and transformation; and celebration as well as silencing of cultural continuities and discontinuities

(Price 2007:18)

The passenger Indians were not confined to Natal for long, and had the opportunity and made the choice to move into other areas of the British colonies and also into the then Transvaal (Bhana and Pachai 1984:30). They were particularly successful at business in far-off places and under difficult circumstances,

omdat hy die taal en behoeftes van sy klante ken, nie haastig is om krediet wat hy gegee het te in nie, 'n laer lewenspeil as die gemiddelde blanke handelaar handhaaf, tevrede is met 'n laer winsgrens en ook sy besigheid met algehele gesinshulp bedryf, sodat hy daarom nie uitgawes t.o.v salarisse hoef aan te gaan nie

(Bredenkamp 1971:109)

(because he knows the language and needs of his customers, is not anxious to recover credit given, maintains a lower standard of living than the average white trader, is satisfied with a lower profit margin and also runs his business employing family, so that he does not have overheads relating to salaries⁷)

This made the Indian traders into a threat for others, not only white traders⁸. A rosy picture is often painted of relations between all non-white communities, and obviously they had much in common: “There was a common history of discrimination and oppression shared among Indian, African and Coloured, and within that there were different experiences” (Govinden 2008:60), but equally significant, for this researcher, are the chasms of perception and experience that separated Indian and Black communities then and which continue to do so today.

This separation can be illustrated by extracts from the literature:

Relations, of course, between the Indian and African were not always cordial and cooperative and show in ensuing decades the usual tension common in a colonial society. There was resentment against the Indian business group in particular, who were seen as a threat to African attempts at entrepreneurship .

(Govinden 2008:60)

⁷ Translation my own.

⁸ See Bhana & Pachai (1984) for more documents and anecdotal evidence on white attitudes towards Indian traders.

Specifically, the Gujarati Muslims were not happy to be grouped with native blacks, as is shown in this excerpt from a document (dated 1885, emphasis my own) addressed by Gujarati Muslims (known then as Arabs) to the authorities on reasons why they should have the same privileges as white colonial subjects:

That the undersigned in this State furthermore represent the traders class, and that they favour the inhabitants greatly by the reasonable prices at which they sell their goods [...] That it is therefore *most humiliating for their dignity to be classified and as it were to be equalled with the coloureds.*⁹

(Bhana and Pachai 1984:31-32)

2.5. The situation in KZN today as it relates to history: renewed influx from the Indian subcontinent

From 1990 onwards South Africa became a desirable destination for economic migrants (a term suggested to me by Terence Manthe, immigration supervisor at Department of Home Affairs, Pietermaritzburg and referring to male individuals from economically deprived backgrounds, who migrate in search of better economic opportunities) who because of their race or background would have felt uncomfortable here before then. The 1994 Cricket World Cup provided an opportunity for thousands of Pakistanis to obtain visitor's visas to South Africa, and then to disappear into the informal economy and poorly policed areas of KZN and stay on in South Africa. The practice has continued unabated since then, assisted by "paper" and other marriages that bestow some form of legitimacy on these migrants.

Initially, the presence of "new blood" on the marriage scene was attractive to local Muslim fathers with daughters of marriageable age. However, more often than not these Pakistani men had wives and families in Pakistan and although Islam allows men up to four wives that practice is the exception rather than the norm and the marriages entered into in South Africa, at least for the Pakistanis, were of convenience and easily abandoned. A spate of marriages gone awfully wrong, and

⁹ The term "coloureds" here refers to Blacks.

ending in deaths, abandoned girls and other social ills, turned a significant proportion of the local Muslim community in KZN against the Pakistanis in the last decade or so, after which paper marriages with local Zulu girls became the norm. In the case of paper marriages the Zulu girls are not required to have any relations with the men, and are paid nominal amounts to turn up with their ID's at Home Affairs offices and to pretend to live with the men. This practice has only been seriously curtailed during the past year, and it has now become very difficult indeed to get away with a paper marriage. As I am a qualified immigration practitioner who dealt with these matters even before becoming officially qualified, I know all of this to be fact. What I did not know until more recently, because I was involved more with the Pakistani community in KZN, was that Gujarati Muslims were also entering the country in their thousands, with possibly less negative impact on the local population because of historic ties with families already in KZN from the time of the arrival of the first passenger Indians.

Both groups of men – their families always stay behind - enter the country illegally through porous borders, especially with Mozambique. The borders at Kosi Bay (KZN) and near Nelspruit let through hundreds of men almost every day. They obtain visas (whether legally or illegally, but in all cases easily) for Tanzania and Malawi, from where they make their way down by land through the intervention of “agents” – Pakistanis and Gujarati use different “agents”, and a drop in daily numbers entering may be caused by an agent being caught, or otherwise not fulfilling his role properly. These agents link with other agents in the countries of origin, and vast sums of money are extorted from prospective immigrants, causing family jewels to be sold and properties to be pawned. This pays the chain of agents that will ensure entry into South Africa, and to buy accommodation at safe houses until a position in a store can be found in the rural areas of KZN, or until the individual can raise enough money to buy enough cell-phone/cosmetic/furniture/grocery stock to open his own store.

The exact mechanisms, some of which are known to me, are beyond the scope of this study, but what is relevant is that the vast majority of these men are emotionally traumatized, fearful and isolated by the time they arrive in KZN. This impacts, of course, on their perception of all things local, heightens their need for identification with people from similar background, and entrenches their feeling of belonging to a certain culture and religion, which are seen as buffers against the hostile world “out there”.

Their reasons for coming to South Africa pertain, in most cases that I have observed or heard of, to lack of economic opportunity in their countries of birth. For example my friend H., Pakistani, with a wife and two children in Gujranwala, Punjab in Pakistan and his friends explained it like this during a conversation in my home near Greytown in 2008 (paraphrased by me to be more intelligible): “In Pakistan we are serfs. We have to work for feudal landlord, and we don’t like it. We want to be the larneys¹⁰ for a change, and here we have the opportunity to have our own business. Beside, the exchange rate between the Rand and Pakistani rupee is very favourable so here we earn ten times more than we would have there”.

The case of Gujarati Muslims is slightly different and merits closer examination, especially since this study singles them out in other ways. Whereas in Pakistan the population is more or less homogenous (97% Muslim) and poverty is due to a failed state and a class system that puts “22 families in control of all the country’s wealth” (personal communication by Ali Awan, journalist, November 2010), India has a well-known communal divide in which Muslims economically often lag behind Hindus, especially in Gujarat. Although the 1994 Cricket World Cup may well have attracted Gujarati Muslims (and other Indians) to the same extent that it did Pakistanis, the year 2002 most likely formed a particular turning point. The following extracts from a submission made to the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights

¹⁰ “Larney” is the term traditionally used by Indians, since colonial times, to describe whites or other persons of status.

describes the situation succinctly and the loaded language depicts how Gujarati Muslims would have experienced the situation:

Beginning on February 2002, a wave of violence [ostensibly between Hindu and Muslim communities, but sometimes instigated by third parties - HNR], targeting primarily Muslims, swept across the state of Gujarat, resulting in thousand of death, rapes and violent assaults...During the pogroms, Muslims were targeted with gross acts of violence and had their homes and businesses looted and destroyed[...]

(The Marginalized Status of Muslims in Gujarat 2008:1)

Muslims in Gujarat continue to endure the lasting results of the pogroms in the form of ghetto-ized living conditions, often in 'relief colonies' that lack access to clean water and sanitation, causing severe health problems. They also suffer from unemployment, severely restricted access to schools, and social/cultural ostracism.

(The Marginalized Status of Muslims in Gujarat 2008: 2, bold in original)

Many former Muslim business-owners, whose businesses were destroyed during the 2002 pogroms, have yet to resume their operations, and the Muslim businesses that remain have languished under a continuing economic boycott that has been accompanied by threats and attacks.

(The Marginalized Status of Muslims in Gujarat 2008:3)

Including this lengthy excerpt is necessary for a better understanding of the social situation of Gujarati Muslims who decide to migrate to South Africa, as a cultural imperative of pride makes it highly unlikely that they will admit to poverty and degradation, especially when interviewed by a white person. Economic opportunity is the key for their being here, as it was for the nineteenth century passenger Indians. As with the passenger Indians, especially Gujarati Muslims, large remittances of money, earned locally, find their way back to Gujarat (and Pakistan)

to keep families alive. Whereas the passenger Indians often came with their families and made an irrevocable decision to stay and make their lives here, the new wave of Indian immigrants has largely no loyalty to South Africa, has no intention of keeping what are viewed as inconvenient laws – pertaining to tax, marriage and employment conditions - and always keeps the option open of returning to India with money made here. One family in Kranskop boasts to their customers that should they be investigated by Home Affairs (dozens of young Gujaratis work at one particular shop, being brought in legally and illegally to make money), they would be happy to be deported back to India as they have already sent the bulk of their money home.

Newcastle, from conversations with interviewees, seems to be the node of distribution for Gujarati Muslim immigrants in KZN. From there they are sent out to work in remote general dealer stores by local Gujarati descendants, either in whose families these stores have either always been or who have recently opened a store to fill a vacuum created by departing white businesses.

While this section and previous sections in this chapter have examined Fanakalo, and the historical and current situation in KZN as it relates to the use of this pidgin, respectively, it is still necessary to examine more general social and psychological aspects of the use of pidgins and other contact languages. The question of what happens to language in social situations of identity contact, threat, change and adaptation is valid across time and bears looking into for a better understanding of the genesis of Fanakalo and its possible immediate future. For these purposes a wide-ranging review of literature on contact languages is indispensable.

2.6. How do language, people and situation affect one another in a contact situation?

Meyerhoff and Niedzielski consider

pidgins and creoles [...] by their very definition, [to be] prime examples of the linguistic processes and outcomes that result from intercultural and

intergroup contact. It is surprising, then, that theory and research in the field of intercultural communication has paid little, if any, attention to pidgins and creoles. The converse has also been true: little effort has been made to integrate insight of intercultural communication theory into linguists' work on pidgins and creoles.

(Meyerhoff & Niedzielski 1994:313)

This study hopes to contribute to the rectification of this situation, as does Meyerhoff and Niedzielski's paper. Meyerhoff and Niedzielski (1994) in fact provide a very useful framework for studying both pidgins and identity issues, and more of their insights will be referred to in Chapter 4.

Peter Weinreich, in a discussion of identity analysis, describes the enculturation of an "alien" (foreigner, non-native) as follows:

if one *empathetically* identifies with another while simultaneously *contra-identifying* with that other, one has a conflicted identification with that person to an extent depending on the strengths of both empathetic and contra-identification.¹¹

(Weinreich 1997:160)

As we have seen, tension between identification and contra-identification was a marked element in relations between Indians and Blacks in the nineteenth hundreds (*cf.* p.23). The institutionalisation of a pidgin is most natural under such circumstances.

In a discussion of the standpoints on some aspects of intercultural communication of Barth and Goodenough, Pride describes the psychology involved in that field:

¹¹ Emphasis in original.

Individuals play many parts, or, one might say, enact many statuses, often simultaneously. Statuses may not always be easily compatible. Nor therefore will their associated rights and duties be so. The crucial cases [Barth] believes, may well be those which face participants with dilemmas of choice, involving incompatibilities among values, statuses, rights and duties alike. Linguistic responses in such cases range over a wide variety of options, Where there is a choice of two languages, one may be dropped, retained or modified, or may borrow features or elements from the other; borrowing or learning may go so far as to give rise to a pidgin language.

(Pride 1971:101)

For the Indian traders of the nineteenth century, their successors and others in similar situations all over the world, “commercial exigency must have been important: it was, as Barbot said, ‘a great convenience not to have to learn a host of remote African languages” [given that a pidgin was available-HNR] (Tonkin 1971:29).

As far as Zulus and other indigenous inhabitants that the Indian traders came into contact with were concerned, their accommodation of the traders while at the same time resenting them may have been a manifestation of what Hamilton Grierson described in 1903:

One way of dealing with strangers is to treat them, temporarily, as if they are not so: the stranger is still regarded as an enemy, but is treated as a friend for a limited time, and for a specific purpose.

(Tonkin 1971:137)

And, linguistically, examples show that “speakers do indeed simplify their native languages for specific social purposes in contact situations”, in each case it is the definite target language (in this case Zulu) as there is “no motive for foreigners to

simplify their own languages or to arrive at a compromise contact medium” (Thomason and Kaufmann 1988:177).

In all cases, negotiation of a new reality, both linguistic and social, was involved. Thomason and Kaufman (1988:167) stress the negotiation factor – “[...]one important aspect of pidgin genesis: the process of linguistic negotiation by which members of the new contact community develop a common means of communication” - which applies equally to the linguistic and the social elements involved in 19th and early 20th century Natal. Thomason and Kaufman furthermore discuss Hymes’ characterisation of the process of pidginization:

...learning and adaptation, a *selective* acceptance of lexicon and grammar, so far as any one source is concerned, in a context of limited opportunity, limited need, and, as adults, of more limited ability. From the standpoint of the community or group, the process[...]is one of sharing in the *ad hoc* adaptation and creation of a novel means of speech.

(Thomason and Kaufman 1988:173).

Purely linguistically, the formation of a pidgin

represents the very first stage of rudimentary language learning, with the development of linguistic structure and lexicon arrested at this level, except for whatever analogical extension is made using the resources of the pidgin itself.

(Hall 1966:127)

As far as the reaction of the speakers of the target language is concerned, Thomason and Kaufman quote a situation described by the 17th century Dutch missionary Michaelius in North America. Much has been written about Zulu speakers’ involvement in the creation of Fanakalo, but the following description suffices here, as if it describes Zulu speakers rather than Delaware Indians:

[they] rather design to conceal their language from us than to properly communicate it, except in things which happen in daily trade; saying that it is sufficient for us to understand them in that; and then they speak only half sentences, shortened words...; and all things which have only a rude resemblance to each other, they frequently call by the same name.

(Thomason and Kaufman 1988:175)

Adendorff and Mesthrie also mention the condescension factor in Zulus' dealing with incomers when discussing the missionary Callaway's writings on the matter of learning Zulu in the 19th century (cf. Mesthrie 1989 and Adendorff 1995).

Social factors cannot be left out of the account for long, though, as Hall's next observation, crucial to the development of this study, illustrates:

the crystallisation of structure at this first stage is due essentially to the slightness of the contact involved[...] slightness of the contact is rather one of continued non-intimacy, because of the desire of at least one side to keep the other at arm's length; in other words, the situation is invidious, involving a social distinction *for whose maintenance the continued use of pidgin is one of the means.*¹²

(Hall 1966:127-128)

In the consideration of the social negotiation process that accompanied the formation of Fanakalo, the following insights into how language relates to social processes provide valuable points for discussion:

There would be little disagreement with the statement that language is a means of organising and structuring the world[...]most people would accept that language is a means of symbolising and representing experience

¹² Emphasis my own.

and[...]that it is the vehicle for constructing reality

(Spender 1984:194)

I would add to that: when a social reality replicates itself in its actors and location, it can reasonably be expected that the language used to convey it will survive.

William O'Barr has this to say about the bi-directional nature of influence between language and social reality:

But is the relation between language and power only that of a mirror for society? [...]The choices we make – [...]in [...]markers of social relations – are recursive upon the situation that generate them.

(O'Barr 1984:260)

Hall opines:

In the last analysis, the social standing and hence the cultural usefulness of any language, be it a pidgin or a creole or a language of some other type, depend on the attitudes of those who use it.

(Hall 1966:137)

And finally, in this section of reviewing the vast literature that has bearing on the subject of Fanakalo in all its complexity, this suggestive statement by Elizabeth Tonkin:

Pidgins are useful test cases for sociolinguistic inquiry, but their study, it must be emphasised, is necessarily circular – for one can never assume in advance what value is placed on the use of a language variety: one can only try to derive from the same body of evidence what such values are likely to be.

(Tonkin 1971:147)

2.7. Concluding remarks

Mesthrie (1992:306) opines that Fanakalo is “not surprisingly denigrated by intellectuals on account of associations with colonial racism and cheap labour”. That statement would carry greater weight if it did not imply that only Whites used Fanakalo, and deliberately so to express their racism. It does not take into account the appropriation of a budding pidgin by Indian traders, descendants of 19th century immigrants and also new 21st century immigrants, up to today.

My own opinion is that the servant-master relationship associated with Fanakalo is only a reflection of relationships in the commercial activity of mining and should not be invested with as much political significance as has been convenient to do in order to make extra-linguistic value judgments. Fanakalo on the mines, which is of course an entirely distinct field of study from the present one, has become the defining ground for what Fanakalo is, what it should or should not be, and provides reasons – some of them pre-scientific and politically motivated – for why it should die a summary death. The following reference, very recent, should illustrate the previous statement satisfactorily:

in recent times it has become increasingly clear that it (Fanakalo) has reached the end of its acceptability...(it) does not promote community relations as it promotes separation of miners from the community in which they live

(Thwala 2008)

Judging the academic merit of that statement will be left to the reader, but it should be clear to most that a language cannot, by itself, “promote” anything, it is only a tool in the hands of those that use it. The statement also assumes that there is only one, homogenous “community” involved – a concept that has been shown in this researcher’s extensive experience of working with “communities” in remote areas of South Africa to be over-used, misappropriated and simplistic.

A remark of Landar's jumps to mind: "One's position on mixed languages reflects definitions and assumptions more than facts" (Landar 1966:136). I am of the opinion that Fanakalo should be studied in a sociolinguistic – in the widest sense of the word - framework, and that approaching it from a critical position is not helpful and does not take into account all the facts. Some facts, representative rather than exhaustive, will be presented in the following chapters to challenge politically motivated and "correct" views.

In this chapter I have endeavoured to provide a sweeping overview of historical circumstances that led to and contributed to the genesis and spread of Fanakalo. A brief review of wide-ranging literature on pidgins, Fanakalo specifically, and some communication psychology and identity issues were also presented, in the hope "that the disparate pieces of evidence become more coherent when one tries to understand the social relations that underlie them" (Tonkin 1971:129). To conclude this review I would like to remind the reader about the options that pidgins traditionally face, namely:

- Maintenance, i.e. remaining a pidgin
- Becoming obsolete and dying
- Creolisation

In chapter 3 I will describe the process of gathering data in the field in order to address the research questions put forward in the introductory chapter, and to evaluate the hypotheses of this study, and in chapter 4 the data itself is presented.

CHAPTER 3: METHODOLOGY

This chapter describes the research methodology followed to obtain data which could be used to address the research questions posed in Chapter 1. It outlines the data collection instrument, after which the chapter looks at the difficulties encountered by using the particular method. This is followed by a description of the actual data collection process.

3.1. The research instrument

In the planning stage of the research it was decided that conducting semi-structured interviews with both Indian traders and their Zulu-speaking customers in various locations in KwaZulu-Natal would provide sufficient data to enable the researcher to address the research question posed in Chapter 1. A questionnaire was formulated to address the issues involved in the continued use of Fanakalo in KwaZulu-Natal. The questionnaire, one part directed at (predominantly) Gujarati-speaking Indian traders and the second part put to Zulu-speaking customers and inhabitants of remote rural areas, is attached in Appendix A.

It is noted in the questionnaire, approved by the Stellenbosch University Research Ethics Committee, that other, related questions might arise during the course of the envisaged semi-structured interviews, and that these would be indicated as such in the transcriptions of the recordings. This method of interviewing subjects was approved by the Ethics Committee conditional upon the translation of the questionnaire and the consent form into Gujarati as well as Zulu. In practice it was found that new questions did indeed have to be formulated (e.g. about romantic relationships to provide material proof of social separation) however these are not specifically indicated as new in the interview transcriptions.

The interview schedule and consent form were translated into Zulu by a Zulu-speaking research assistant (attached as Appendix A); however, not one of the

contacts consulted during the course of the research study had sufficient written knowledge of Gujarati to do that particular translation. Furthermore, the Gujarati speakers consulted as advisers and contacts did not think that such a translation would serve any purpose as the majority of the prospective Gujarati-speaking interviewees knew enough English to consent, or not, to be interviewed. It is worth noting here that the Gujarati-speakers consulted as advisers and introducers are well-known to me and that a relationship of mutual trust and respect exists that left no doubt that an English-worded document would suffice, and that focusing on those Gujarati speakers that knew enough English to be comfortable with the process would eliminate any lingering uncertainty. Interestingly, all the Zulu-speaking interviewees preferred to sign the English version of the consent form, rather than the Zulu translation.

3.2. Methodological issues

The consent form, however, together with its symbolic representation of the whole artificial approach to research and evidence gathering imposed by the ethical research protocols, was a major problem. The questions that made up the research instrument call for a sensitive, informal and trust-gaining approach in order to elicit honest answers that contribute to our knowledge and understanding of the issues involved. Producing a lengthy document for an interviewee to sign has directly the opposite effect and produces stilted, considered and politically correct answers that only contribute to a skewed version of reality that is of little use to serious research.

The use of recordings was also not conducive to honest and content-rich answers. As a result, the tone of the interviews, especially from my own side, is often nervous and anxious as I tried to put interviewees at ease by indulging in very superficial communication content. Two incidents illustrate the painful reality that people are generally not willing to have their honest views recorded, even with the assurance of anonymity: one interviewee, a Pakistani cell-phone trader known to me for two years and also a household friend, produced answers such as “they are nice people generally” when asked about his opinion of his Zulu customers. For the past two

years, within the context of a close friendship this subject, W., has confided his dislike of Zulu people, their intellect, their customs and view of the world, to me. This knowledge, of contempt and loathing shared by many of his background, communicated to me as friend and confidante, I cannot officially use, as he is on record stating that “they are nice people generally”.

Another interviewee, a Pakistani trader who has lived in South Africa for 18 years, was not recorded because she dissolved emotionally upon seeing the recorder. This participant had confided some valuable insights to me during an open and frank conversation that came to an end when I asked if I could record her and use her views. She became pale and asked me to leave her shop as she “didn’t want any trouble, she had a family to feed and everybody here was just trying to make a living, please, her husband was not there and the Zulu customers would tear her shop down if it became public what she said...”. Nothing I could say would convince her of the fact that I was not a reporter from a national newspaper, even though she accepted my initial introduction as a Master’s student doing research. The recorder altered the playing field radically, with perhaps the redeeming feature of the whole incident being that it illustrates the level of distrust and fear that still exists between trader and customer, of two different cultural groups, in that part of the world.

The number of questions asked and the way in which the interviews were conducted also suffered, as reminders of the presence of the recorder would produce sudden withdrawals and hesitations.

What research protocols do not take into account, and what was perhaps considered too lightly in the planning stages of this project is the extent of the illegality of the presence of many of the Gujarati- and Pakistani interviewees. Although they arrive into a receptive atmosphere provided by generations of Gujarati Muslims who have always lived in those areas, and the lawlessness perceived by many of the residents of remote areas of KZN makes it easy to disappear and live comfortably for years without being detected or apprehended, a fear of officialdom persists and pervades

relationships. A Gujarati-speaking interviewer, producing documents to be signed and a recorder, would have encountered the same problems.

3.3. The data collection process

Having anticipated to a certain degree the methodological problems noted above, I resolved to take into account any input that was provided willingly to enable me to come to a conclusion about the research hypotheses. That included, on a flight into KZN, a conversation with the two ladies sharing my row on the aeroplane. One was of Indian descent and the other a Zulu speaker. Both women were content advisors to Parliament, one a social worker and the other a conservation biologist, and card-carrying ANC party members. As long as they remained anonymous, they were happy for their views to be used. Their contributions are included in the chapter on data analysis and discussion.

Interviews with Zulu-speaking customers and others were conducted, on the first day of the research trip, by a Zulu-speaking research assistant, the same assistant who translated the questionnaire and consent form, while I remained out of sight in the car. Subsequent interviews, on the second and third days of the trip, were conducted in English or Afrikaans by myself as the other research assistant lined up for those days had died in a hit-and-run accident two weeks before my arrival, leaving no time or resources to find another assistant of trust and confidence.

In all cases the Zulu speakers were happy and enthusiastic to share their views, reflecting a variety of views and attitudes towards Fanakalo, ranging from accommodating (mostly), to a pre-scientific identification of it as English, to one example of some knowledge of the nature of languages and the politics behind their use (see Chapter 4). Interviews with Zulu speakers were conducted in Sithundu Hills, Hammarsdale, Kranskop, Mooi River, Tugela Ferry, and Dundee. Zulu interviewees were approached in shops and on the street, while Gujarati- and Urdu-speaking interviewees were interviewed in their shops. Zulu participants were randomly selected based on whether they looked approachable, while Gujarati and

other Indian interviewees were elected based on references provided by contacts, and also on previous contact and observation of their language use.

Interviewing Gujarati Muslims and Pakistanis was problematic, as explained earlier. Although initially the research was meant to focus only on Gujarati Muslims for reasons explained earlier, I decided to get a sample of Pakistani views as well, as they contribute significantly to the fabric of society in the new KZN. Including their opinions, along the same set of questions put to Gujarati Muslims, may increase the data available for testing the research hypotheses and perhaps provide more insight into transfer (or not) of linguistic resources, and the nature of whatever pidgin or jargon is used in the trade environment of rural KZN of today.

Although I had attempted to set the scene for my arrival and the gathering of data before leaving Cape Town, preparing my Gujarati Muslim contacts and making sure that prospective interviewees were informed and willing to participate, obtaining cooperation was problematic, especially at the beginning. One store owner in Hammarsdale, born in South Africa and a fluent Zulu speaker, was helpful and informative, with no qualms about being interviewed, which was generally the case with traders born here, descended from passenger Indians that arrived in the 1800's. They were friendly and not at all worried about where or how their views were used.

Newcomers to KZN, most of them here illegally and living in cramped and unnatural conditions, even if they have been here for years, presented a challenge however. A store owner in Kranskop, where I hoped to get views from different generations of Gujarati Muslims, all originally from the same town in Gujarat and working at the same store (for the purposes of analysing diverse evidence from a homogeneous group), kicked me out of his store, screaming and cursing and saying that "he didn't want someone else's problem becoming his problem". He had not understood, even though the context was explained to him patiently by an elderly local Gujarati, what the research was about and perhaps saw the consent form and recorder as threats.

He also took umbrage at my introductory questions about the “kind” of Zulu he spoke to customers, his pride wounded at even a hint that his Zulu might not be “good enough for me to understand them and them to understand me!”, although this was never implied.

That incident was discouraging, as I have observed this same man for almost two years, speaking Fanakalo of recognisable and consistent content to customers. Then I was told that my Gujarati research assistant had suddenly left to work in another town, leaving me stranded with recourse only to my original contacts (life in remote KZN is unpredictable, at least, which underlines the need for research by observation over a long period of time), who were kind enough to provide me with more contacts in the town of Newcastle, where “thousands” of new Gujarati immigrants are living, waiting to be deployed in the rural areas in shops and other positions.

Travelling to Newcastle, on the third day of the trip, proved to be unnecessary, as an unexpected source of willing and friendly interviewees presented itself in the roadside settlement of Pomeroy. The commercial demographics of Pomeroy confirmed an impression I had earlier, namely that commercial territory in rural KZN seems to be divided between Gujaratis and Pakistanis. Where one group dominates, the other battles to make an existence. In Pomeroy there are no Pakistani traders, but many Gujarati shops, many of them seemingly only occupying space, without possibly making a profit. In Kranskop there are two Pakistanis among many Gujarati traders, and there is no social or friendly contact between the two groups, although they are both Muslim. In Greytown, 30km from Kranskop, there are around 50 Pakistanis in various shops, with not a single Gujarati of recent arrival. In Tugela Ferry, between Greytown and Pomeroy, there are mostly Somalis, some Pakistanis, and apparently no Gujaratis.

Interviews with Gujaratis took place in Hammarsdale, Kranskop, Pomeroy, Dundee and Shakaskraal, while (fewer) Pakistanis were approached in Kranskop, Greytown,

Dundee and Shakaskraal. The interview with the Pakistani woman in Mooi River was not recorded, although what she told me is important enough in the context of this research to be mentioned in Chapter 4.

All the interviews were transcribed and are provided in Appendix B. Ten interviews with Zulu speakers (excluding those with the women on the aeroplane, which were jotted down and not recorded), nine with Gujarati speakers (two of them born in South Africa) and five interviews with six Pakistanis were recorded. The relevant parts of the recorded research data are presented, collated with quotations and instances from historical and current literature, as well as anecdotal evidence from seven years of observation in KZN and new insight obtained on the short and focused research trip, to provide a comprehensive picture of the social situation in KZN today and how it relates to the original circumstances that gave rise to what became known as Fanakalo. The combined data is analysed and discussed in chapter 4, allowing me, in chapter 5, to come to conclusions and to provide pointers to possible further research issues and directions.

CHAPTER 4: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS and DISCUSSION

In this chapter I will present data from the interviews conducted during the data collection process. Relevant and salient parts of the interviews will be discussed under two main section headings: views of “Indian” (including Pakistani) traders, followed by views of Zulu speakers. Transcriptions of all the recordings mentioned can be found in Appendix B. In this chapter excerpts from the transcriptions will be presented, elucidated where possible by examples and comments from literature, and discussed in the context of what has been presented in previous chapters.

4. 1. Interviews with traders

Interviews with Gujarati and Pakistani Muslim shop owners or employees follow, and are dealt with in two sections: two interviews with “locals”, and seven with incomers.

4.1.1. Interviews with South African-born shop owners of Gujarati descent

The first respondent, A, is around 35, a fourth-generation South African of Gujarati descent. He speaks fluent Zulu, although some of his employees speak Fanakalo to customers. The following extract from his interview is relevant:

H: Have you always had this kind of store?

A: We are here...uh...fifteen years

H: Fifteen years. And what do you speak to the customers?

A: I speak fluent Zulu (interjection by H: You speak fluent Zulu, ok)...the Muslims can speak Zulu but it's more of the uh broken Zulu.

H: ...more of the broken Zulu...so that's what they speak to them...

A: Yes but then again English also because some of the customers can speak English. So we have both ways, English and Zulu.

H: And broken Zulu...?

A: Yeah...they can call it broken Zulu but from my side I speak very fluent Zulu.

H: Proper Zulu, or...?

A: Fluent.

Then, a little later in the interview:

H: The ones who speak what we know as Fanakalo, or broken Zulu, IF they speak it to the customers, do the customers mind?

A: ehhhh.....*(long pause)* I don't think they mind...but again, when I speak, when I speak...attending the shop (H:Yes) they speak to me that...ehh...they think I'm of Indian origin...

H: So they speak that to you?...

A: They try and speak in that ...eh... Fanakalo!

Finally, A. remarks about the customers:

A: They start off speaking that broken English...eh...Fanakalo, not realizing that we know the language, then they're happy.

As the full interview indicates, A. was friendly, cooperative, and had much to say about a topic that was obviously close to his heart. The fact that more of the employees (all of them South African, A. alleged, and also most of them younger than him) spoke Fanakalo ("broken Zulu") was acknowledged as a matter of course and he did not judge it, only indicated that it was better and elicited more favourable response from customers when traders speak Zulu "properly".

A. goes on to say that he does not know of any shops in that area that are run by incoming Gujaratis, that the only foreign owned shops are operated by Pakistanis and Chinese and Somalis. The Pakistanis speak English, live in their shops in the "location", he says, and they do pick up Zulu. Upon being asked what kind of Zulu he acknowledges that it is not proper Zulu, "not the Zulu that he speaks". The Chinese "are very difficult...more like sign language". And his final comment: "Let's be honest, we rely on them (Zulus) for business, and if you learn something of theirs, they appreciate it more."

I would like to highlight the following elements for discussion:

- The fact that A. was born in South Africa and lived here all his life, and had the opportunity and has had no problem picking up "proper" Zulu
- That in contrast the newcomers picked up "not proper" Zulu
- That there is a realization that "Zulus" are relied upon for business

These views will be discussed in conjunction with others at the end of the interview presentation.

The interview with A. was the first on the research trip conducted with a Gujarati speaker. Hammarsdale is west of Durban, closer to Pietermaritzburg, off the N3. The last interview of the research trip conducted with a Gujarati speaker was also with a local, this time in Shakaskraal, on the R102 northbound towards Stanger, about 50km away from Durban. That close to urban areas no shops belonging to recent

Gujarati immigrants were to be seen, although the last Gujarati interviewee, I., about 60 years old, acknowledged that they “had had a look around”. The following is an extract from the interview:

I: I speak English, Zulu, Gujarati, Urdu also...and a little bit of Arabic.

H: ... so you speak a little bit of Arabic...and when you speak to your customers...eh...what...

I: we speak English and Zulu

H: The Zulu that you speak, did you learn it here? (Affirmative noise). And is it...eh...pure Zulu?

I: No, no, not pure. But we speak Zulu (emphatically)

Upon being asked what customers speak back, I. carries on to say that customers speak either English or Zulu back to him. In the light of what he described as Zulu before, it is not clear whether they speak “full” Zulu back to him or replicate his “not pure” Zulu. He then says that “incomers” come and go, because he think they are not able to “do anything around here”, which confirms an impression that the presence of South African Gujarati Muslims around the urban areas is dense enough to serve the commercial needs of local people, and that newcomers must look elsewhere to set up their businesses.

I.’s use of the word “Zulu”, without qualifying it except when pressed, shows a consistent problem that is encountered when this type of research is conducted. What people mean with “Zulu” is in almost no case what a linguist would understand it to mean, or what is convenient for purposes of description. Surreptitious gathering of everyday data in interaction with customers, over a period of time, would be necessary to pinpoint exactly, in each case, what is meant by Zulu. This point will be remarked upon later.

4.1.2. Interviews with recent Gujarati Muslim immigrants - Kranskop

The first recent immigrant informant, F., is from Ankrishwar in Gujarat. All the other Gujarati shop owners in Kranskop are also from Ankrishwar, and as was mentioned earlier, Ankrishwar's conflicts are transferred to a single apartment complex in Kranskop where all the inhabitants know everything about one another. F. has been in South Africa for six years, having entered illegally through Botswana. Since then he has run the store in Kranskop for his older brother (who manages it from Johannesburg). F. has become a focus point for Gujarati/Pakistani conflict in Kranskop, and is regarded by others of Ankrishwar origin as a "problem" and a disgrace for their village.

The following excerpt from the interview throws light on reasons for coming:

H: And why did you come here?

F: We come here, 'cause ...India...problem is crime is too much...and also something also (indistinct)...is a problem"

About communication with his customers:

F: Customer...my girl is help anything customer wants...me little bit understand Zulu but I can't talk...yeah, Zulu understand but I can little bit talk.

H: OK, the Zulu that you can talk...where did you learn this?

F: In my girl.

At first I thought he was referring to a girlfriend (he has a Mozambican girlfriend and I was wondering what kind of Zulu he would learn from her) but it turned out to be an employee. Then:

H: And when you speak to her, what do you...

F: Zulu, English, little bit all things I speak.

It is worth noticing here that F. was one of only two males of Gujarati origin who indicated that there was a “problem” in India, and probably only because he has dealt with me extensively before and I have assisted in trying to improve his legal status. He was eager to talk to the recorder, even though he has obvious problems in expressing himself in English. The interview with his “girl”, the only one conducted with a Zulu employee at a store, throws more light on his language use and will be discussed under the Zulu speakers’ section.

4.1.3. Interviews with recent Gujarati Muslim immigrants - Pomeroy

Before presenting excerpts of interviews undertaken in Pomeroy, some background remarks, and specifically on the “find” of interviewees in the village, are in order. Pomeroy is around 20km north of Tugela Ferry, the settlement on the Tugela River which historically separated the colony of Natal from what was an ostensibly self-governed area of Zululand. The town – established around a Christian mission in 1867 consists of a main thoroughfare and one parallel street with some intersecting streets. It is situated centrally in the area known as Msinga, known for its Zulu-Zulu violence during the last years of the apartheid era. Msinga is also one of the very poorest districts in South Africa, with very little infrastructure. Apart from its remoteness and the almost exclusively Zulu customer base, which makes it ideal for the low-margin, small businesses seemingly favoured by Gujarati Muslim business people in KZN, the fact that there are Indian businesses at all is very significant, as Indians were not allowed to live or operate businesses in the areas that were designated “Zululand” before the advent of 1994 South Africa. I could have done twenty interviews in the main street of Pomeroy had the possibility of something new turning up seemed likely. Every single building houses at least two different businesses operated by Gujarati newcomers. The types of businesses there are

typical of those found all over rural areas in KZN: basic groceries (including chips and cooldrinks), furniture, building materials. One interviewee gladly referred me to a next one that they knew, and after five interviews I felt that Pomeroy was represented. Almost all the interviewees, during the initial conversation, indicated that there were “lots”, “thousands” of Gujaratis in Newcastle awaiting deployment into the interior. Almost all of the five men interviewed lived in Dundee, in the Indian neighbourhood, and had NO interaction with Zulu people apart from short exchanges for business purposes.

I was looking for a specific shop, owned by Mr G. of Greytown, also an “incomer”. This lead was provided by contacts in Greytown, who also put me into contact with other informants. However, G.’s shop was the very last one I found, as there is obviously some fierce competition among businesses, and every shop where I asked had an agenda for NOT sending me to G.’s as everyone would have preferred me to do business with THEM.

All interviewees, except maybe O. at a furniture shop, were enthusiastic about being asked for their views, and I was offered refreshments and invited to carry on with conversations. Especially relevant parts of the interviews with S., J., O., H. and M. are reproduced below:

4.1.3.1. Informant S.

The interview with S. was friendly, if awkward, with one of his employees (a local Hindu woman) helping and trying to make him understand what I wanted. Three things emerged:

- When I tried to elicit how he would say: “this bread is a good one” to judge the Zulu-ness or Fanakalo-ness of what he produced, he came up with the words *mnandi* (“nice” – Fanakalo rather than Zulu, which would have had a marker relating to the noun class that the *mnandi* described, e.g. in the case

of *isinkwa*, it would have been *esimnandi* (pronounced badly) and *sinkwa*, which is the Fanakalo form of *isinkwa* (“bread”).

- He has been in the country for seven years
- When he speaks to his customers, he talks “Zulu”, “but not fast”. He claims that it is enough for them to understand him and he them.

4.1.3.2. Informant J.

J., who comes from Surat in Gujarat, has been in KZN for three years. He could speak English well enough to start a conversation on a friendly note, but grew more timid as the interview proceeded. He felt put on the spot by and avoided my question of how he would say “this is a good one” in Zulu. He admitted that he only spoke “small words” like *faka la* (“put it here”) and *kipha la* (“take it away from here”), which certainly fit into the Fanakalo mould of “orders”.

Another significant contribution of this interview was the information that he stayed in Dundee with his wife and children. The children went to the “Indian primary school” and he had “only business” relations with Zulu people. He volunteered the information about his wife and children very quickly after I asked about “other”, “social” relations, which may or may not indicate that he wanted to emphasise that he did not have sexual relations with local girls.

4.1.3.3. Informant O.

O. is also from Surat in Gujarat and has been in South Africa 14 years. When I asked what he spoke to his customers, he replied “English Zulu” and finally admitted that he “mixed it”, and that his Zulu is “not very good, ja”. When I pointed to another, older man in the entrance of the shop O. confirmed that he was a relative, and that he also spoke same “English...Zulu”. When I asked the man himself on the way out about O.’s Zulu, he said: “Proper Zulu? I don’t know if he speaks proper Zulu! I have lived here all my life and I don’t speak proper Zulu, so I don’t think HE does!”

O. lives in Dundee, has only business dealings with Zulus, is married to a local Indian girl and said he wouldn't marry a Zulu girl.

4.1.3.4. Informant AH.

AH., who comes from Kosani in Gujarat, has spent 13 years in South Africa. He came because "they got too much fighting and all that" in Gujarat. He came because he had "friends" here who encouraged him to come. When he speaks to customers, he claims to speak English and Zulu...which he claims not to mix, "we can talk properly, no problem". If he had to tell an employee to take a box and put it in the back, he would say: "*Tata* cardboard and *faka* on the back". He didn't know how to say "fresh one" in Zulu, but would tell customers "this one *fikile manje* ("arrived just now"), "*tata lo*, is fresh one" if bread was fresh. He worked in Durban and Nquthu for 5 years before coming to Pomeroy 6 years ago.

I asked him if there were other Gujarati stores around, and he said "you go anywhere, you find", which excluded Mooi River and Greytown. Newcastle, Estcourt, Ladysmith could be confirmed, and specifically cell-phone shops owned by Gujaratis could be found in Ladysmith, which was new to me, and adds to the impression of turf wars between Gujaratis and Pakistanis. Pakistanis traditionally had almost exclusive control of the cell-phone market (much resented by a local Indian Muslim in Greytown who also ran a cell-phone store which he claimed was done honestly, in contrast to the "Pakistani crooks" who dealt in stolen phones (personal communication, Greytown, 2008).

4.1.3.5. Informant M.

Also from Kosani, M. is not related to H. He came from Gujarat eight years ago to "have a good life". M. had lived in Gauteng before, where he had been married to a South African Indian girl and was now divorced. He claimed to speak fluent Pedi and in Pomeroy only asked customers things like "what they want". He only had

business relations with Zulu people, but when asked if he would marry a Zulu girl he exclaimed: "I don't mind! They're human beings." He did add, when asked, that she would "definitely" have to convert to Islam for him to marry her, otherwise it would be against his religion.

M. was unique among all the Indians interviewed on this trip in that he would entertain the idea of marrying a Zulu lady, thus showing some degree of social closeness.

4.1.3.6. Informant Mr P.

From Pomeroy I carried on north-westwards towards Dundee, where I found Mr P., a very kind, white-bearded old Muslim gentleman who walked in on the interview I was doing with two Pakistanis (summarized in the following section). Mr P. arrived in South Africa in 1991 to live with relatives who kept contact with their village of origin (Ankrishwar) and provided an elusive bit of information that I had suspected but which was confirmed in the following excerpt from his interview:

My work start in Vryheid. Now my boss opened a shop in Nquthu...that time. That time I had a fresh...new man, maybe three four months when he opened a shop in Nquthu. And I went to Nquthu, that shop, and in this shop I tried to that language, Zulu. That's why I can a little bit speak Zulu and all.

When I asked him whether he asked his boss or family how to say different words, he replied

No, he put one man from here, South African Indian, he put him with me, he teach me...he taught me properly...that's why I little bit know Zulu, and English.

Mr P. didn't think people came from Gujarat because of problems, but he had arrived before 2002 and belonged to a wave of immigrants that came because of the opening of South Africa to non-European immigrants.

Mr P.'s explanation of how he acquired the Zulu that he did know confirmed my suspicion that direct transfer of an existing code, in this case Fanakalo, was taking place between long-standing and recent Gujarati immigrants. I had seen this linguistic transfer happen but needed someone to tell me about it without being prompted. It is reasonable to assume that he was not the only newcomer who learnt whatever Zulu they knew in the way he described. It is a key element, one that needs further research on a much wider scale, in the survival of Fanakalo for longer than anyone would have predicted twenty years ago.

After taking my leave of the two recently interviewed Pakistanis and Mr P. I managed to persuade one Zulu speaker in Dundee to give me his views ("for free?" he wanted to know) and then decided not to proceed to Newcastle. One reason was that I was now seriously stepping out of "Midlands" territory – where the research was supposed to be based - if I went any further north, and the other that I didn't expect any new or useful insights to emerge from interviewing very recent immigrants. It was time to add a few more Pakistani views, as I'd become aware of the Pakistanis branching out into other businesses such as hairdressing salons, and I thought that the picture of a repeat situation of the late 1800's would not be complete without them.

4.1.4. Interviews with Pakistani business owners

4.1.4.1. Informants M. & I.

Recent immigrants, M. and I. arrived in South Africa in 2009 from the Punjab in Pakistan (they declined to give more details). When asked why they had come, the reply was:

In Pakistan too much problem...bomb blasts...something...and kill the people...no life!

They had contacts in Standerton and Rustenburg with whom they had linked up. They speak English and “something...little for Zulu” with Zulu customers, like *Ngisaphila*, which is a standard greeting formula. They use the word *s’gunda* for communicating about cutting hair, and code terms like *bleskop* (Afrikaans for “bald head”). They claimed to learn by listening but then, when prompted, said that their friends also told them what words to use. They only had contacts with Zulus through the business.

4.1.4.2. Informant W., Kranskop

W. proved to be very difficult to interview, which was frustrating as I have known him for two years and he has often referred to me as his only friend in a hostile Kranskop populated by Gujaratis. He deliberated for many minutes before reluctantly signing the consent form and had many objections about legality, confidentiality, being found out by authorities, etc. He kept changing the subject, looking at the list of questions and finding reasons not to answer. The transcription illustrates the extremes one has to go to in order to put people at ease and construct a climate of trust and familiarity.

When asked what he spoke to customers, he responded promptly: “Zulu” and “that is Zululand, most customers are Zulu, so must speak Zulu.” He couldn’t read it, but he could speak it. Based on my own working knowledge of Zulu and having observed him over a period of a year, I know that what he speaks is not Zulu but rather a very restricted form of Fanakalo.

Another significant comment was that: “Mostly, the Zulu customers here don’t want to speak English; they want to speak Zulu”, which corresponds to my and other incomers’ experience of Kranskop: pressure to speak Zulu is persistent and with

employees I've found that they would prefer you to speak Fanakalo and show some willingness to speak some form of Zulu rather than English. A resentment towards the economic power of English (cf. Rudwick 2004) may well be manifested in this way. According to W., Zulu people, were, in "general...nice people all, but they DON'T want to speak English, I don't know why". When they spoke to the traders outside, he continued, they were willing to speak English, but inside the shop, doing business, they wanted to be addressed in Zulu.

W. claimed to speak the same Zulu that was taught to him by the Zulu customers and that customers at first laughed if he used words wrongly but then tried to teach him the correct way of saying or using a word. When asked if he would marry a Zulu girl, he was astounded: "How come!" ..."No way!"..."I can't marry that Zulu girl, I have to marry a Muslim Indian!"

4.1.4.3. Informant HM.

HM. didn't want to say where in Punjab he was from, even though he knows I know the name of the town, and got quite agitated when pressed. This fear of the recorder and its possible consequences was quite distressing as I had selected Pakistani interviewees from trusted and long-standing contacts. His reason for coming six years ago is:

You see, Pakistan, the situation is not right...everywhere is bombing and what what...And now the economic is going down...you can't do nothing in Pakistan.

He speaks "Zulu" which he learnt "from the people". To tell customers that a phone was good he would say "this is *mnandi*, mama" and spoke "sometimes English, sometimes Zulu, sometimes mix it". He admitted to learning from Pakistanis who had been there longer than him because "when I come here I don't know nothing"

and they told him “say like this”. He had “only business” relations with Zulu and the “people is OK, is nice people”.

HM. is perhaps a “typical” Pakistani in his circumstances and his short history in South Africa: he has a girlfriend in Nelspruit (where he came through the border), a wife and two kids whom he visits every four years in Pakistan, and a black paper marriage wife who resides in Johannesburg. In the three years that I’ve known him, he has had two different shops of his own, worked in two others in Greytown, moved to Bloemfontein and then Sterkspruit, went back to Greytown to work for his cousin and scraped together enough money to occupy a small cell-phone shop space in a Chinese clothing store. I have already indicated that the mechanisms by which immigrants enter and settle in KZN (and other and rural areas of South Africa) are extensive, and they point to an extremely organized bigger structure which uses individuals like H. to promote its interests, and which is here to stay. I would venture to suggest that while there are new immigrants arriving every day, and for many years after they stop coming, Fanakalo, or something like it, will not die.

4.1.4.4. Informant V.

V. has been in SA for nine years and came here “to do business”. He learnt his “little bit Zulu from customers” and employees (“the workers”), and from Pakistanis who’d been there longer than him as well. He had relations with Zulu people only through the business.

4.1.4.5. Informant R.

The last Pakistani interview was unplanned and happened in Shakaskraal on the way back to the King Shaka airport. I saw a Muslim name on the board outside a café and went to find out if he was Gujarati, only to be told that he was a lone Pakistani and very popular, with good relationships with his customers and not resented, in

Shakaskraal. He had to run up and down between shops and asked his assistant, a local Hindi lady from Stanger, to talk on his behalf.

R. has been in KZN for seven years, with the same assistant working for him all that time. He didn't know any Zulu when he came, but now he speaks "a little of Zulu". R. admitted to understanding what people wanted most of the time, but not speaking. The assistant said her Zulu was "all mixed up". Whatever she would teach him, then, would also be "all mixed up". R. didn't think he would ever learn Zulu "properly"; he would try but it was "hard" for him. He lives in a part of Shakaskraal where only Indian, mostly Muslims live, and didn't have any contact with Zulus outside of the business premises.

4.2. Interviews with Zulu speakers

The Zulu speakers interviewed for the study were mostly customers of Indian-owned shops, but also included two employees. The area that interviewees came from influenced their views to a certain extent. The first five interviews were conducted with Zulus living in semi-urban areas between Durban and Pietermaritzburg, in locations which were never part of "Zululand" but historically fell under the British colony and later the province of Natal. Their frame of reference is radically different from that of tribal Zulus living in the Umvoti (Greytown-Kranskop) and Msinga areas, as they have had access to better education and exposure to infrastructure that is not available in Umvoti or Msinga. The latter group is sharply divided between those who refuse to speak English, wear tribal outfits and lead a rural lifestyle, and those that come from a Christian background dating back to the time of American and other missionaries. The traditional tribal faction dominates in this area, which was also the scene of the Bhambatha Rebellion, which spread into Msinga and is proudly commemorated as a time in which Zulus showed their British colonial masters what would happen if they drove their subjects too far. Ironically, interviews conducted in Zulu took place in the semi-urban areas, while the traditionally very Zulu areas had only me to approach them with tragedies and mishaps befalling my research assistants.

Significantly, only one person interviewed had strong, informed views on Fanakalo. This person was also interviewed in Afrikaans, which should go some way towards showing that assumptions made by outsiders about how a particular group views a language are at best guesses that should be tested thoroughly before stating them as facts. The rest, all nine interviewees, seemed to be philosophical about its presence. Fanakalo seemed to be accepted as a fact of life: these Zulu speakers believed Indians could speak Zulu only like that and there were other, far more pressing things to worry about.

A passage quoted in Chapter 2 is particularly pertinent here, namely Rachael Gilmour's description of the social and political situation at the time the passenger Indians arrived in Natal. The province of KwaZulu-Natal seems to be a fault line for social and political upheaval, and the time of arrival for the second wave of Indian immigrants, 1990 to the present, has surely not been less tumultuous than the late 1800's. Climate change, land issues, extreme poverty and degradation, with the added element of AIDS and TB leading to a high number of deaths of adults of economically active age, more than a million children in child-headed households (Umvoti Aids Centre, personal communication), the failure of crops and traditional practices under those circumstances, political division and corruption. All these factors surely contribute to a situation that is very similar to the one in which Fanakalo had its genesis. In the 1800's Zulus – as an umbrella term for a variety of tribes and even kingdoms that jostled for space and prestige – had to deal with the arrival of English, Afrikaans, German and Hindi/Urdu, Tamil and Gujarati speakers (apart from a few others). In the early 21st century the immigrants speak Swahili, Mandarin, Cantonese, French, Somali dialects and, as in the 1800's, Urdu and Gujarati.

These factors need to be kept in mind when examining the data from Zulu interviewees, and also when considering the linguistic options open to such a developing society.

4.2.1. Informant J.

Sithundu Hills is a settlement close to Marianhill Monastery between Durban and Pietermaritzburg. It falls within a wide area in which Indian traders used to have shops, but where Zulu-Indian and Zulu-Zulu violence created a climate of fear and intolerance during the 1980's and 1990's. In looking for someone who could tell us about attitudes towards Fanakalo and its traditional speakers in that area, we were referred to J., who used to be a regular customer at an Indian general dealer's. It is worth noting that he recalled no negative feelings towards the Indian trader (which would imply that they also didn't mind him speaking whatever he spoke to them), and thought that the trader had maintained cordial relations with the Zulu-speaking customer base. He could not say why the trader had packed up and left, but confirmed that his store had been well-frequented and left a need which could not be properly filled by the current black-owned shops.

4.2.2. Informant M.

M. is an informal trader and sells fruit and vegetables from a kiosk in a parking area near some foreign-owned stores in Hammarsdale. He did not feel any animosity towards the foreign traders, probably because he gets some of his merchandise from them at wholesale prices (as happens everywhere in rural KZN where foreign traders have large supermarkets, and sell their produce to informal traders at a nominal profit to go and make another nominal profit by selling the produce somewhere where the trader can't reach).

4.2.3. Informant N. and friend¹³

These two males were interviewed at a taxi rank in Hammarsdale, where they were having beer with their friends after a day of casual labour at a nearby farm. Their comments included the following:

- The white owner of the SPAR spoke Fanakalo and was viewed with affection by his customers.
- Some of the older customers liked speaking Fanakalo to him, because they thought there were speaking English and it made them feel important.
- The Pakistani owners of the other supermarket were rude to people, spoke only English and made use of interpreters to communicate with their customers.

It was a very friendly conversation and the interviewees invited my research assistant to continue it “some other day”.

4.2.4. Informant K.

K. is a security guard at a local Gujarati Muslim-owned supermarket. It is the only store in a large area and has impenetrable security around it. We thought it would be useful to get the views of a non-customer, and someone who worked for an Indian trader in a different that of shop assistant.

He reported that the owners were well looked-upon by the Zulu-speaking customer community, that they provided a much-needed service, and also that they spoke “proper” Zulu and were accepted as part of the landscape.

¹³ This interview was not recorded as the recorder malfunctioned; however, the gist was written down immediately afterwards in the car while it was still very fresh in Dudu’s memory.

4.2.5. Informant D.

D. reported that she has been working for F. (see section 4.1.2.) at his Kranskop store for three years (even though F. stated that he'd only been in the store for one year). When asked what F. spoke to customers, she said: "Sometimes he speak English, sometimes he speak Zulu." In answer to the question, "Does he speak "proper" Zulu?" she replied "No."

D. carried on to explain that the kind of Zulu that F. spoke was things like *Ngena*, *mama* and other phrases like that. Using the construction of the imperative with someone you address as *Mama* is not "proper" Zulu and is typical of the simplification that characterizes Fanakalo, which has only one form of the imperative while Zulu has several ways of asking people to enter, or do anything else. She also confirmed that the customers spoke Fanakalo back to F. if he spoke to them like that, and that they didn't mind doing it. According to her, the Indian traders in Kranskop spoke sometimes English, sometimes Zulu, and sometimes Fanakalo, and that it was (in my words), "not a problem".

4.2.6. Informant L.

L. worked for an Afrikaans family for many years, lived in the Western Cape for a while, attends the Lutheran Church in Kranskop and is currently employed as a domestic worker for the family of a deputy minister. Her exposure to the "outside" world is considerably greater than that of any other Zulu speaker interviewed and she had very definite ideas of what was a language and what not. I asked her specifically about S. supermarket, owned and operated by a prominent family from Ankrishwar.

We spoke about many things, of which the following were salient points for the purpose of the study:

- Some staff at S. spoke proper Zulu, like the Zulu she speaks, others, especially the recent arrivals, spoke Fanakalo
- Zulu people didn't mind if Fanakalo was spoken, because they understood that those people were not born there and were trying
- She herself spoke Zulu back to anyone, regardless whether she was addressed in Fanakalo or Zulu, and she tried to teach people to speak properly if they were willing to learn
- S. supermarket was looked upon with affection by the people because the owner was quick to extend credit and to wait until people could pay it back.

The last point corresponds perfectly with the descriptions of the trader Indians quoted earlier and shows a tradition of Gujarati trading that goes back to the time and presence of the passenger Indians. Established supermarket chains in KZN would never extend credit, which makes the Indian traders almost indispensable to the local economy, which lives from small pay check to small pay check and gets itself ever deeper into debt.

4.2.7. Informant B.

The interview with B. was facilitated by A., a fellow employee at a Kranskop store and fluent Zulu speaker. A.'s first language is Gujarati. B. has been known to me for a long time and his English failed him completely on this occasion, so that A. conducted the interview in Zulu.

The gist of the interview is that some Indian traders in Kranskop spoke Zulu properly, while others spoke Fanakalo. There were no hard feelings about the Fanakalo spoken, and the general feeling in Kranskop is that people should be helped to speak better.

4.2.8. Informant S.

The interview with S. took place in Mooi River. Some misunderstandings initially hampered the flow of communication in this interview, but were eventually resolved and the following salient bits of information can be mentioned:

- There are more Indian-owned stores than other stores in Mooi River
- The Indians were all from the Mooi River area and all born locally, and lived in the Indian “location”
- Commercial competition in Mooi River was fierce, and the Indian businesses were only sometimes cheaper, especially when it came to everyday items. People seemed to have a sophisticated approach to buying and checked which businesses had which specials and decided to buy on that basis
- Most of the Indian traders spoke Fanakalo
- The interviewee didn’t mind this

4.2.9. Informant I.

The interview with informant I. took place in Tugela Ferry. The recording started a little way into the conversation. We were talking about Pakistani cell-phone shops, as the interviewee, a young man, had just come out of a complex where there were cell-phone shops and office services. He said that the cell-phone shop owners spoke English and Fanakalo, and that he spoke English and Zulu back. According to him, the Pakistanis lived in Tugela Ferry, and he was honest enough to admit that the local people sometimes presented a “Zulu problem” of xenophobia and told the foreigners to go back to the places they came from. He confirmed that Zulu customers there preferred to be addressed in Zulu rather than English and did not take kindly to being spoken to in Fanakalo, which corresponds with the extreme tribal orientation of the greater Bhambatha-Msinga area mentioned earlier.

4.2.10. Informant A

A. is from Nquthu, and he said that there were Indian shops there “now”. Nquthu is in “deep” Zululand, where there would not have been Indian presence before 1990. A. noted that Indian traders found it hard to learn Zulu, elaborating on the wrong use of clicks. He said that most of the traders spoke Zulu “in the *mina hambile lapha* (I intensive form – walked – here) way”, with the typical intensive first person form of Fanakalo, but that there were some people who were learning to speak proper Zulu. He spoke to the Pakistanis in English, but they did “the same thing”. He said that Fanakalo was easy for communication, especially for the older Zulu people who didn’t have the education to speak English.

Finally, he didn’t think Zulu people would speak Fanakalo for a long time to come, as they had more access to education and opportunities to learn English, and he also thought that Indian people would learn Zulu.

4.3. Other sources of data

To conclude the presentation of data, I would like to refer to data obtained in other ways, as already mentioned in the Chapter 3. I believe this data contributes to a fuller understanding of the attitudes that lead to the use of Fanakalo, and also confirms some aspects of the complex sociolinguistic picture in KZN.

The Zulu woman on the aeroplane, referred to in Chapter 3, after listening to an explanation of the research I was trying to do, thought for a moment and then said softly: “We use Fanakalo because we want to get closer to people. Especially on the mines, if it leads us to understand people from different backgrounds, if we can’t understand their language, we use it to overcome differences.” This was a young, intellectual person in a responsible position in the ANC government, and there was not a trace of resentment towards Fanakalo, only intense interest in what I was doing.

The Indian woman, also around 30 years old, said that she was fluent in “broken Zulu, what you call Fanakalo” but that one of her brothers spoke “proper Zulu”. When I remarked that there were people, linguists and politicians, who thought that people should rather speak proper Zulu, she shrugged dismissively and said: “I suppose there are just not that many purists around.” (Meaning that people didn’t really care WHAT was spoken as long as communication took place for the purpose it was used.) These points will be referred to in the final discussion.

The Pakistani lady in a shop in Mooi River, who became terribly emotional and fearful when she saw the digital recorder, related the following: that the Zulu inhabitants of Mooi River, even the old ladies, got “cross” with her if she tried to address them in Zulu, and asked her if she was a racist: if she addressed Indian customers in English, why did she condescend to Zulu customers? They wanted to be addressed in English also, “because we have been to school you know”, so that she has largely given up trying to communicate in Zulu. It must be stressed that this situation is not standard for KZN. I tried to find out from people who grew up in the Mooi River area, and they claimed that the Zulus living in the “location” had always been “difficult” and “uppity” and considered themselves to be more sophisticated because they lived on the N3 to Johannesburg and came into much more contact with the outside world than others further away. I include this anecdotal evidence to elucidate the variety of attitudes towards language and intercultural relations that can be found in KZN.

Lastly, some thoughts and data on “Fanakalo”. The question arises whether the code employed by Indian traders, both old and new, is “officially” Fanakalo or early language-learning attempts. According to Mesthrie, Fanakalo is distinguished from Nguni Second Language (NSL) – early language learning of Zulu or Xhosa by five elements (Mesthrie 2007:179) of which I will mention two:

- *Lo*, the article and demonstrative pronoun used in Fanakalo. Zulu does not use articles, and Fanakalo has been referred to as *Isilolo* because of this marked overuse of the demonstrative.
- Free pronouns (*mina, wena, thina, yena* etc) used in Zulu for emphasis, are used in Fanakalo as unemphasised pronouns; early language learners use the Zulu bound morphemes used as pronouns, but incorrectly.

Fanakalo shows a simple, uniform crystallized structure, whereas in Mesthrie's database at the time early language learning attempts showed no such thing but rather a haphazard and incorrect application of bound morpheme and other rules (Mesthrie 2007:179).

Taking these features as a measure, I can confirm that Mrs P., 68 years old, of Greytown, who organised some contacts, speaks fluent and standard Fanakalo, as illustrated in the following interactions with her domestic worker, and various other instructions in the time I was there:

(1) *Gladys, woza tata lo tiye ka wena*

"Gladys, come and take your tea"

This would have been *Woza uthathe itiye yakho* in Zulu.

(2) *Shiya lo washing, mina zo geza kusasa*

"Leave the washing, I will wash tomorrow"

I have observed the same phenomenon in Gujarati Muslim stores in Kranskop, Ahrens, Mandeni, Greytown, Colenso. None of the recently immigrated Indians I interviewed had got to that stage of fluency – whether in Fanakalo or NSL, as distinguished by at least the two characteristics referred to above - but there were indications that crystallised Fanakalo conventions were being taken over, such as the use of the direct imperative form. Recordings of several new Indian immigrants over a period of time would have to be done to determine whether their language

learning efforts would result in more fluency in the pidgin or would lean in the direction of acquiring Zulu.

My own impression is that what the Pakistanis learn may turn out to be slightly different from the Gujarati Muslim version, as the Pakistanis do not have the element of direct transfer of “linguistic reservoirs – self-perpetuating sources of the language from which it can be continued to be picked up as a lingua franca” (Tonkin 1971:135) to the same extent – rather maybe one degree removed – as the Gujaratis have. Tonkin says: “But obviously, any available precedent is likely to be used on initial contact – any available schema of behaviour will be applied to try to cope with a new situation” (Tonkin 1971:135). It seems unlikely that these immigrants, and the many others still to come, will learn Zulu rather than Fanakalo.

4.4. Discussion of the data

4.4.1. The principle of expedience

In her study of pidgins in West Africa and the circumstances that lead to pidgin formation and maintenance, Tonkin makes the following, seminal for this study, comment: “One must take into account both the operation of the “law of effort” and the key importance specific historical events may have” (Tonkin 1971:136).

W. said to me once: “But you must understand, we Pakistanis ALWAYS take shortcuts” when I asked him about bribing Home Affairs officials. Mrs P. said: “We do what we can, we are trying to speak Zulu, so why criticize us for it?” And the woman on the aeroplane dismissed “purists” as irrelevant to reality – people were communicating, and it was satisfactory for their purposes. I would venture to predict that while economic motivation is the main reason for being in KZN, Indian traders will only learn as much “Zulu” as they need to communicate the bare basics of economic activity.

Not many of the interviews provided a glimpse of this principle at work, but in the utterances of F. in Kranskop, M. in Pomeroy and R. in Shakaskraal it was evident that “whatever worked” to keep the business going and retain goodwill was what was going to happen on the communication front.

4.4.2. Attitudes of Zulu speakers

Interestingly, only one out of the ten Zulu speakers interviewed had strongly articulated feelings about Fanakalo. Informant L., who indicated that she would try to teach people to speak properly if they were willing to learn, was also the oldest Zulu speaker interviewed. All the other informants appeared to have neutral to positive attitudes towards Fanakalo. Initial investigation suggests that while the local population has access to credit and affordable wares in rural KwaZulu-Natal, Indian traders will be seen as a positive or at least necessary presence, and their inability to speak “proper” Zulu will be taken in stride and accommodated. Fishman says:

Language maintenance, the process and pursuit of inter-generational linguistic continuity, is a reflection of sufficient indigenous control over and delimitation of ongoing intergroup interaction processes so that they do not overpower the indigenous ethno-cultural system. This system remains essentially intact if the outside influences acting upon it are few, distant or inherently weak, or, if otherwise, provided they can be channelled so as to impact only certain pursuits, restricted sub-population, specific regions etc.

(Fishman 1989:177)

Trade takes up a small of time in daily Zulu life. Not one of the Zulu-speakers interviewed spoke any Fanakalo to anyone else apart from traders or possibly household employers who could be regarded as dim-witted, or to be kept in the dark as a matter of survival – as long as they had a bit of their language and culture impenetrable to outsiders, they would feel more in control of their destiny. Zulus are in a comfort zone in rural KwaZulu-Natal, and do not feel threatened, generally, by

Indian traders or other incomers or immigrants. Over the past 8 years in KZN, I was addressed in Fanakalo by Zulu-speakers on countless occasions, and they were all slightly taken aback when I said that I did not speak it. I was expected to! Indian traders' idiosyncrasies are tolerated, as they make up a very small part of Zulu cultural and social reality, which brings me to the last, and most important point I would like to make about the probability of Fanakalo surviving and being maintained in rural KZN.

4.4.3. The principle of non-intimacy

Pinky Paahla quotes Sapir in her motivation for using North Sotho as a commercial language in its sphere of influence: "Language is an ever-present badge of membership, reinforced in the subtleties of linguistic styles" (Paahla 2005:157).

Fanakalo, as linguists never fail to point out, does not lend itself to the expressions of subtlety. In its sphere of use, it does not need to. Trade is an impersonal exchange, and if necessary, communication can be limited to asking and giving the prices of items, and indicating the number of them a customer wants. No membership is involved, and if people's lives touch only on that point, a very restricted code is sufficient to keep the activity alive.

Meyerhoff and Niedzielski, discussing reasons why some pidgins creolise and others do not, state that a pidgin is "also no-one's ingroup language: a language used to define one's membership in a group, as distinct from other groups called outgroups" (Meyerhoff & Niedzielski 1994:313). In relations between Zulus, Gujarati Muslims and Pakistanis in KZN, **there are only outgroups**. As the interviews with Gujarati traders, especially with recent immigrants, indicate, the only contact is commercial. The two groups have nothing to say to each other socially. Zulus, especially, never try to convert others to their indigenous religious experience, and in the rare instances of Gujarati Muslims trying to reach the souls of Zulus, proper Zulu is learnt. Meyerhoff and Niedzielski are of the opinion that

“from the restricted domains of use of pidgin, it is clear that they are communication situations that accentuate intergroup factors and de-emphasise interaction on the individual level”

(Meyerhoff & Niedzielski 1994:315).

De Kadt says: “Discourse may also signal identity. Linguistic variation is not only geographically and socially determined but also a tool used to signal affiliation and disaffiliation” (De Kadt 2005:22). When using a pidgin, groups who have little to say to each other may *indicate* this by using the pidgin.

And finally, Hall states: “The contact situation in which the pidgin is used may be brief or of long duration” (Hall 1966:128). It normally lasts only a generation or two, or it may last considerably longer

if the contacts themselves involve a socially conditioned non-intimacy over a long time. Such long survival of a pidgin normally implies that its use has been institutionalized to a certain degree; newcomers to the situation are initiated into the pidgin as one of the distinctive characteristics of the relationships involved.

(Hall 1966: 128)

Data gathered from the interviews certainly supports this: “socially conditioned non-intimacy” describes relations between Zulu-speakers and traders very well, and the institutionalization of the pidgin is evident in the automatic use of it by many Zulu-speakers to anyone who looks remotely Indian or “from outside”. Newcomers to the situation are certainly initiated into the pidgin, as was confirmed by the case of Mr P.

4.5. Answering the research question/s

In examining the data gathered through semi-structured interviews and informed observation the research sub-questions, as specified in Chapter 1, can be commented upon as follows:

4.5.1. Do the traders know that they are not speaking Zulu?

Most of the traders interviewed had no idea that what they were speaking was not Zulu. One of the informants, born in South Africa, knew the difference between “proper” Zulu, which he claimed to speak, and “broken” Zulu, the term normally used by KZN Indians to refer to the Fanakalo that they speak. Among the recent immigrants not one knew that they were not speaking “proper” Zulu, and would not have worried too much about it – enough communication was taking place, and more concerted and properly directed effort would have been a waste for them. As such, the answer to question 1 is “no”. This fact also addresses, roughly, questions 2 and 3: there is no reason for the traders to learn anything more or better than what they are speaking, as their commercial, and communicative needs are perfectly taken care of through the use of Fanakalo (“broken” Zulu).

4.5.2. Which (social) elements of the lives of Gujarati Muslims in the nineteenth century have remained the same, resulting in a continuation of the use of the pidgin?

To summarise, although there was no verbalization of an answer to question 4 in the interviews, Gujarati (and Pakistani) Muslims see themselves as very much apart from their customers in all areas except for trade. As customers, Zulu speakers have to be respected and their needs catered to, but that is where the relationship ends. No other social contact (that anyone would openly admit to) took place in the 19th century, and no other social contact takes place now. The immigrants are mostly men, and the vast majority would never dream of intermarrying with the local population, for religious reasons among others.

4.5.3. How do Zulus perceive Gujarati and other traders?

Not one of the interviewees expressed resentment against the traders, except where they were known to be rude or unpleasant, as the Pakistani traders in Hammarsdale were reported to be. At best the traders were appreciated for making life easier in

extending credit and bringing trade to remote areas, and at worst they were tolerated as a part of the landscape. Data gathered during observation and long-term communication with trusted informants, namely that Muslim traders were seen as exploiters and resented for it, was not supported by attitudes expressed during the interviews.

4.5.4. Do Zulu-speakers mind the use of Fanakalo? And whether they do or not, why do they perpetuate the use of Fanakalo if it is seen as a parody?

As mentioned before, almost all the Zulu interviewees viewed the use of Fanakalo by traders as something to be expected. On the one hand the pidgin does keep the traders at a manageable distance from cultural life, and on the other hand it is regarded as understandable that people cannot speak Zulu properly. It may even be a feather in the hat of the Zulu language that people seem to have difficulty acquiring the language, because that bestows a certain invincibility on the Zulu language and its speakers. Even the one interviewee who viewed Fanakalo as patently undesirable would put up with it and continue to speak Zulu back to Fanakalo speakers if necessary.

4.5.5. The hypotheses revisited

The above examination of the research questions reveals the following about the hypotheses formulated in Chapter 1:

The first hypothesis, namely that traders will learn acquire enough of the Zulu language, in most cases some form of Fanakalo, to satisfy the needs of their customers, and at the same time not regard them as equals and thus decline to learn more of the language, is supported by the data gathered during the interviews, and elucidated by the principles above.

The second hypothesis, that Gujarati and other traders identify and would like to express solidarity with Zulu customers as both being down-trodden by colonial

oppressors, does not find any support in the data collected during interviews. This in itself does not invalidate the hypothesis, as historical evidence does point to solidarity between Indians and Zulus in socio-political matters, but the format of the interviews and time spent on them did not lend themselves to gathering such data. There was even contradictory evidence from the one Pakistani remark, namely that the traders would like to DISSOCIATE themselves from the position of their customers, and that they would like to be seen as people with status.

The third hypothesis, that Zulu-speakers tolerate the use of Fanakalo, and even use it themselves, as an expression of their regard for Indian traders as distinctly outgroup, a necessary but resented foreign presence, is partially supported by the data, although maybe not overtly so in the words used by subjects during interviews. Indians are certainly regarded as an outgroup (“they are not from here”; “it is difficult for them”), but there was not much support for “resentment” to be singled out as an attitude.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY

In 2003 I moved with my family to KwaZulu-Natal from the Western Cape for a long stint of fulfilling a contract that we expected to obtain, to train tour guides and other students in the then Greater St Lucia Wetland Park. In the process we spent long periods in Tongaat, Tugela Mouth/Mandeni, St Lucia, Umvoti (Greytown-Kranskop) and Kosi Bay area. We also trained guides in Howick, Bergville (among the AmaHlubi people), Nquthu, Border Cave/Ingwavuma (on the border with Swaziland), around Mkhuze and in and around Ulundi.

I had previously obtained a BA with Linguistics as major from UNISA; in the third year a lot of emphasis was given to sociolinguistics, which I specialized in, and which dealt extensively with Fanakalo. I had also started learning Zulu prior to going to KZN, and was thus in a position to differentiate between Zulu and Fanakalo. To my surprise, the distribution of Fanakalo I observed during our travels across the province did not correspond with the impression created by papers we had to study in the undergraduate course, Mesthrie (1989) in particular.

During the last two years of our stay in KZN I became aware of the phenomenon of Pakistanis, Bangladeshis and other immigrants from the Indian subcontinent vying for commercial and other space, especially in the rural areas of the province where others had moved out. This phenomenon is of course not limited to KZN, as the same distribution can be observed in the other provinces.

This study set out to test my hypotheses that Fanakalo, although under pressure from official directions to die and remove the embarrassment of its existence, has continued to survive in KZN because of various sociolinguistic factors that make it useful. I have tried to show that the circumstances of its genesis corresponds to a certain extent to the circumstances of its survival, and that a key element, among others, could be the drawing on a linguistic reservoir by specifically newly-

immigrated Gujarati Muslim traders. That element, particularly, needs to be investigated further and tested with far more data than I have been able to produce in the general approach and scope of this thesis.

What I hope to have demonstrated reasonably, taking into account the limited number of interviewees and also the limited scope of the thesis, are the following points:

- That expedience and convenience, rather than cultural pride or approximation, reign in relations between Zulus and Indian traders, and that while Indian traders fulfil a useful purpose, Zulus will continue to tolerate their perceived linguistic disability and accommodate them by understanding their Fanakalo and even addressing them in it.
- That Indian traders acknowledge the centrality and importance of their Zulu customers, and will therefore take steps to acquire what they perceive as their language, but that the institution of Fanakalo is so strong that it easily occupies the space that Zulu arguably should, and is more easily acquired in the context of its linguistic reservoir and that it will therefore probably continue to be acquired for trading purposes.
- That institutionalised non-intimacy, on the basis of race, culture and religion continues in KZN and may even be intensified with the arrival of new immigrants. Therefore outgroups define relations between Indian traders and others, and pidgins, by their very definition, are ideal outgroup languages. There is no reason for Zulus to learn Indian languages, and the Indian traders do not regard their customers as desirable social contacts, so will see no reason to acquire their language for the purpose of expressing feelings or subtleties. The *status quo* for the past 150 years remains the *status quo*, and as long as it does, Fanakalo will probably play a role, both in defining relations and expressing them.

One of the shortcomings of this study is that the data is not exhaustive or representative. Ideally, hundreds of subjects need to be interviewed, in a far larger selection of sites, across the whole province, in order to generalize about the subject accurately. I have already pointed out the problems encountered, caused by research protocols prescribed by a committee far removed from the realities of wild, remote areas populated by, on the one hand, a culturally vigorous and numerically strong population group that has never taken Western laws very seriously, and an immigrant group that prefers to operate under the radar and doesn't take the laws and conventions of a democratic society seriously either.

The subject of Fanakalo as used, or not, by a new generation of immigrants from the Indian subcontinent is a complex one, with many possibilities for further research and enquiry, from different frameworks. Topics for further research that suggest themselves immediately include:

- The numbers of male immigrants that have entered the country over the past twenty years, and their demographic distribution (sociological).
- The social contact between these men and local populations (especially the females). The contact exists but is not widely acknowledged. The sociological impact of paper marriages, forced abortions and rejections on thousands of black women could be significant and have far-reaching effects in future, both for local and immigrant populations.
- What language is used for the above-mentioned contact? Does mutual linguistic accommodation take place in that sphere of contact? (sociolinguistic).
- Whether recent immigrants fall comfortably into South African Indian conventions in terms of language use or whether the variety of English they acquire corresponds more with SASE (linguistic).

- Whether Pakistani immigrants in KZN acquire the same variety of Zulu/Fanakalo as Gujarati Muslims, or whether there is a difference in forms that their Zulu acquisition crystallises in (linguistic).
- Whether Fanakalo itself stays the same or to what extent it changes to accommodate the ability, frame of reference or extended spheres of use new immigrants may introduce (linguistic).

All these avenues of research are sensitive and will require intrepid researchers with few preconceived ideas. One case will intrigue me, myself, until I have the opportunity to investigate it further:

Nasir is from Gujranwala in Pakistan. (deleted here)He married a Zulu girl two years ago, a real, not paper marriage, leaving behind his wife and children in Pakistan. They now have a one-year old son. Nasir speaks very poor English, and so does his young wife. He doesn't speak much Zulu, she speaks no Urdu. They use Fanakalo to communicate. What language will their child speak?

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Adendorff, R. 1993. Ethnographic evidence of the social meaning of Fanakalo in SA. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 8 (1): 1-27.
- Adendorff, R. 1995. Fanakalo in South Africa. In R. Mesthrie (ed.). *Language and Social History: studies in South African sociolinguistics*, 176-192. Cape Town: David Philip
- Adendorff, R. 2002. Fanakalo: A pidgin in South Africa. In R. Mesthrie (ed.). *Language in South Africa*, 179-198. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bhana, S. and B. Pachai (eds.). 1984. *A documentary history of Indian South Africans*. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Bredenkamp, P.J.J. 1971. 'n Sosiologiese studie van sekere aspekte van die Indiërbevolking in Suid-Afrika (*A sociological study of certain aspects of the Indian population of South Africa*). MA thesis, Potchefstroom University.
- Brown, K. and S. Ogilvie. 2009. *Concise Encyclopedia of the Languages of the World*. Oxford: Elsevier Ltd.
- Davey, A. and A. Koopman. 2000. Adulphe Delegorgue's Vocabulaire de la langue Zoulouse (*Vocabulary of the Zulu language*). *South African journal of African languages*, 20 (2): 134-147
- De Kadt, E. 2005. English, language shift and identities: a comparison between 'Zulu-dominant' and 'multicultural' students on a South African university campus. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* 23(1): 19-37.

- Dhupelia-Mesthrie, U. 2000. *From Canefields to Freedom: a chronicle of Indian South African life*. Cape Town: Kwela Books.
- Ferraz, L.I. 1980. Notes on a pidgin dialect. *African Studies* 39:209-220.
- Ferraz, L.I. 1993. Fanakalo: a pidgin caught in a crisis. *York Papers in Linguistics* 1:11:107-118
- Fishman, J.A. 1989. *Language and ethnicity in minority sociolinguistic perspective*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Gilmour, R. 2006. *Grammars of Colonialism: Representing Languages in Colonial South Africa*. London: Palgrave MacMillan.
- Govinden, D. 2008. The indentured experience. In J.C. Hawley (ed.). *India in Africa, Africa in India*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Hall, R.A. 1966. *Pidgin and creole languages*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Hanekom, E. 1985. *Die funksionele waarde van Fanakalo* (The functional value of Fanakalo) Pretoria: HSRC.
- Landar, H. 1966. *Language and Culture*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Lanham, L.W. and K.P. Prinsloo (eds.). 1978. *Language and Communication Studies in South Africa: Current Issues and Directions in Research and Inquiry*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- The Marginalized Status of Muslims in Gujarat. 2008. Submission to the Second-Fifth Reporting Session of the UN Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. [Online] Available: http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cescr/docs/info-ngos/Gujarat_India40.pdf

- Mesthrie, R. 1989. The origins of Fanakalo. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 4(2):211-240.
- Mesthrie, R.1992. Fanakalo in Colonial Natal. In Herbert, R.K.(ed.). *Language and Society in Africa: the Theory and Practice of Sociolinguistics*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Mesthrie, R. 2006. Fanakalo. In E.K. Brown and A. Anderson (eds.). *The encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics*, 2nd edition, Oxford: Elsevier.
- Mesthrie, R. 2007. Differentiating pidgin from early interlanguage – a comparison of Pidgin Nguni (Fanakalo) and interlanguage varieties of Xhosa and Zulu. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* 25(1): 75-89.
- Meyerhoff, M. and N. Niedzielski. 1994. Resistance to creolization: an interpersonal and intergroup account. *Language and Communication* 14(4): 313-330.
- Nair, S. 2008. Indian Women in colonial Natal. In J.C. Hawley (ed.). *India in Africa, Africa in India*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Nelde, P.H. (ed.) 1990. *Language Conflict and Minorities/Sprachkonflikte und Minderheiten*. Bonn: Duemmler Verlag
- O'Barr, W. 1984. Asking the right questions about language and power. In C. Kramarae, M. Schulz and W.M. O'Barr (eds.). *Language and Power*. Beverly Hills, etc: Sage Publications.
- Opperman, J.M. E.F. Ferreira and T.F.H. Senekal. 1967. *Leerboek vir Fanakalo/ Fanakalo Textbook*. Pretoria: NG Kerkboekhandel
- Paahla, P. 2005. Knowledge production in what language? The feasibility of using Northern Sotho as a language of Commerce and Industry in its sphere of

- influence. *25 years of Applied Linguistics in Southern Africa: Themes and Trends in South African Linguistics*. Pretoria: University of Pretoria.
- Pieterse, J.N. 2007. *Ethnicity and Global Multiculture: Pants on an Octopus*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc.
- Price, R. 2007. Some anthropological musings on creolization. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 22(1): 17-36.
- Pride, J.B. 1971. Customs and cases of verbal behaviour. In E. Ardener (ed.) *Social anthropology and language*. London: Tavistock Publications.
- Rudwick, S. 2004. "Zulu; we need (it) for our culture": Umlazi adolescents in the post-apartheid state. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies* 22 (3&4): 159-172
- Sebba, M. 1997. *Contact languages: Pidgins and creoles*. Hampshire & New York: Palgrave.
- Spender, D. 1984. Defining reality: a powerful tool. In C. Kramarae, M. Schulz and W.M. O'Barr (eds.). *Language and Power*. Beverly Hills, etc: Sage Publications.
- Thwala, N. 2008. *Is Fanakalo still relevant in South Africa?* [Online] Available: <http://www.witslanguageschool.com/Newsroom/ArticleView/tabid/299/articleid/1/d>
- Thomason, S.G. and T. Kaufman. 1988. *Language Contact, Creolization and Genetic Linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Tonkin, E. 1971. Some coastal pidgins of West Africa. In E. Ardener (ed.). *Social anthropology and language*. London: Tavistock Publications.

Trudgill, P. 1983. *Sociolinguistics: An introduction to language and society*.

Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Vahed, G. and T Waetjen. 2010. *Gender, Modernity and Indian Delights: The Women's Cultural Group of Durban, 1954-2010*. Cape Town: HSRC Press.

Weinreich, P. 1997. Enculturation of a semi-alien: journeying in the construction and reconstruction of identity. In M.H. Bond (ed.). *Working at the interface of cultures: eighteen lives in social science*. London: Routledge.

APPENDIX A: Questionnaires

A. SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS: Questions to Gujarati-speaking and other Indian participants.

It is envisaged that these questions will lead to related ones which will be recorded and transcribed and clearly indicated on the transcription.

1. Were you born in South Africa?
2. Why are you here?
3. How long have you been here?
4. What language do you use to communicate with your customers? Why?
5. Why do you prefer to use [Fanakalo/English/Zulu] rather than [Fanakalo/English/Zulu]?
6. Where and how did you learn this language?
7. What do you think of the Zulu people?
8. Can you speak Zulu?

B. SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEWS: Questions to Zulu-speaking customers

1. Where do you buy your groceries?
2. Why do you prefer to deal with ... rather than ...?
3. What do you think of ... and his store and his associates?
4. Do you like ... and his family living in ...?
5. Do you speak to them often?
6. What language do you speak to them?
7. What other languages do you speak?
8. Why do you prefer to speak [Fanakalo/English/Zulu] rather than [Fanakalo/English/Zulu] to them? Do you mind them speaking [Fanakalo/English/Zulu]? Why (not)?

APPENDIX B: Interview Transcriptions

“H” indicates the researcher, and first letter of the interviewee’s name is used to indicate him or her. In one or two cases other people were present, as in the last Shakaskraal interview where “assistant” is indicated by “AS”.

B1: INTERVIEWS WITH LOCAL GUJARATIS

INFORMANT A. - HAMMARSDALE

- H: May I ask you, are you from Maritzburg?
A: Yes
H: Born there?
A: Born there
H: And everybody that is working here for you, in the management and staff, are they all South African?
A: All South Africans.
H: All South Africans. And from which language group, originally?
A: Meaning?
H: I mean, for instance, that guy behind the butchery counter...
A: We’re Muslims...
H: Yes, ok, where is he...
A: No, no he’s a South African.
H: But is he from Urdu background or from Gujarati...
A: Gujarati.
H: Gujarati background. OK, fine. And how long...have you always had this kind of store?
A: We are here...fifteen years.
H: Fifteen years? OK. And what do you speak to the customers?
A: I speak fluent Zulu.
H: You speak fluent Zulu, OK.
A: And a...some of them speak Zulu but more or the broken Zulu.
H: More of the broken Zulu. And...that’s what they speak to them...and...
A: But again, English too, some customers today, some speak in Zulu, some speak in English, so we interact that way – both ways, English and Zulu.
H: And...and...broken Zulu...whatever...
A: Well, broken Zulu, they can call it broken: from my side, I speak very fluent Zulu.
H: Proper Zulu, or...?

- A: Fluent.
- H: Fluent. OK. And some of the others speak...
- A: Ehhh...well, I've got some Xhosa customers, I've got a gentleman here, an elderly guy, he speaks very good Xhosa, and he speaks very well...Zulu.
- H: Aha, and the guys...
- A: But more in Zulu and English.
- H: More in Zulu and English. OK. And when...if the ones who speak what we know a Fanakalo, what you say is broken Zulu, if they speak it to the customers, do the customers mind?
- A: I don't think they mind, I think they're used to it.
- H: They're used to it.
- A: Ja...but again, when I speak, when I speak, attending the shop, they speak to me sometimes, thinking I come from an Indian origin...
- H: So they speak that to you!
- A: Yes, they try speaking that, that Fanakalo.
- H: To you.
- A: But when I reply, it is a shock unto them and they ...talking normal Zulu.
- H: I see, OK, so they start sometimes...
- A: They start off a broken English, Fanakalo, but on realizing we know the language, they happy they tend to be happy when you speak the language to them.
- H: OK, I see, OK. Do you know any other shops in the area? Which are mostly...
- A: Indian?
- H: Ja.
- A: Ja, all of us.
- H: I mean, like, not born in South Africa...
- A: No.
- H: People who...from where?
- A: We...from...like Pakistan or India? From Pakistan yes.
- H: Yes.
- A: In the location.
- H: In the location.
- A: In the location you get a lot of them.
- H: OK. And any other...because for example in Kranskop there are some Gujaratis, who are here maybe fifteen years but there weren't born here. Are there any shops like that here?
- A: No...
- H: Not.

- A: Whichever shop that I can think of, anyway ...well I'm talking of stores on this side. Ahh, South African origin...that I know of...the other stores around here...the Pakistanis and the Somalis.
- H: ?
- A: In the locations.
- H: In the locations...OK... Alright.
- A: It's hard for me to tell you where in the locations but they there...(indistinct)...I see them in the mosque all the time, but then I know, they are in the location.
- H: OK, do the live there also in their shops?
- A: They live there ja. Some of them (indistinct)...there is a Pakistani store right next door here...
- H: Oh.
- A: ...the Chinese..own a property here...
- H: Ah, Chinese...what do THEY speak?
- A: Ey, it's very hard, eh? It's very hard for me...Oooh, I try speaking to them but...hey, I don't know, it's more sign language...really.
- H: (laughing) And what do the Pakistanis speak?
- A: English.
- H: To the customers?
- A: Yes...
- H: Really.
- A: And in Zulu, they know...
- H: They do?
- A: You come from a foreign country, it is very easy for you to learn...I dunno...they, I find it, for me, I was born and brought up in there...
- H: So you know.
- A: Ja, for me, It was, I was born here.
- H: Yes.
- A: For them I think they're very quick, heh?
- H: But do the pick up proper Zulu, or do they...
- A: No, not proper Zulu.
- H: Not.
- A: No the Zulu that I... I keep on saying on me.
- H: Yes.
- A: ...but I speak it well, I wouldn't lie to you, I speak it very well...
- H: Ja.
- A: ...but not the way I speak to the customers.
- H: Ah.

- A: But I think it's good. It's good that you know the language, because in the end they're your customers.
- H: Uhm.
- A: They tend to take it on a better note...
- H: Yes.
- A: ...that you know the language...and you speak it to them in their own language...
- H: Properly. They, they prefer that?
- A: They prefer.
- H: OH. Alright, well, thank you. That's all we need to know. We're asking all over the place...
- A: No, it's good, it's good that you...especially when you're trading...in areas like Hammarsdale, in the rural areas, not only in the rural areas but in areas like Hammarsdale. It's good that you know the language. Because, if you're willing to learn the language...
- H: Mmm.
- A: And let's be honest, we, we rely on them on business, and we have to be honest about it. And if you learn something of theirs...they appreciate it more!
- H: Yes.
- A: I mean, I get along very well with the old ladies...because I speak Zulu.
- H: Yes.
- A: And they tend to appreciate me more.
- H: Yes
- A; Where they become more loyal to me, because they walk into a store knowing...they walk into a store and there's SOMEONE there...
- H: Who actually understand EXACTLY what they...
- A: What they want...
- H: It's not a broken thing, it's not just...OK, Alright, well, great! Thank you, thanks very much!
- A: Not a problem!

INFORMANT I. - SHAKASKRAAL

- H: OK, so, were you born here?
I: Ja.
H: In South Africa
I: Yes.
H: And, have you always traded, like this.
I: Yes.
H: OK< and what languages do you speak?
I: We speak English, Zulu, and Gujarati, Urdu also.
H: Oh you also speak Urdu.
I: Ja...and a little of Arabic.
H: A little Arabic. And...when you speak to your customers.
I: Mostly English and Zulu.
H: Mostly English and Zulu. And the Zulu, where did you learn it?
I: We learnt it here.
H: As a child? Or...
I: As a child, ja.
H: As a child. I see, Do you speak mixed Zulu, Is it...pure Zulu
I: No we can speak...no, not pure. Not properly, no.
H: Oh
I: But we are speaking Zulu...
H: I see. And they understand you.
I: They understand and...
H: I see. What do they speak back? To you?
I: Either English or Zulu.
H: Either English or Zulu. I See. OK. And in this area you say there are no...new people.
I: No new people at this moment.
H: At this moment. Have there been?
I: Well they come in and they go, because I don't think they can do anything here.
H: I see, and when they go, where do they go?
I: I don't know.
H: But they come in...
I: Well we haven't seen anybody coming in. They just come for a few days and they're gone.
H: Really? OK. Because in Newcastle and those places there are lots...
I: There are plenty of them.
H: There are plenty of them. And why do they come, do you think?
I: I won't know. Maybe they might be cross fellows, better...cross place in South Africa, that may be the reason.

B2: INTERVIEWS WITH IMMIGRANT GUJARATIS

INFORMANT F. - KRANSKOP

- H: Ok tell me, where are you from?
F: s...India
H: Where in India?
F: Indian...in Gujarat.
H: Aha. Which village?
F: It's ah...Ankrishwar. Gujarat, Ankrishwar.
H: OK. And how long have you been in South Africa?
F: Me, in South Africa, six years.
H: Six years. And why did you come here?
F: I come here...the...problem...India...is a crime too much. Also something also...a thing also, this is problem.
H: OK. And when you speak...how long have you had this shop.
F: No, me is work in the shop.
H: Me is work in the shop.
H: You work in the shop.
F: Me is work ja, in shop.
H: I see. Who does the shop belong to?
F: Shop here? Me only one here.
H: I see...so...this is hour shop?
F: No, is my brother big hop. My brother.
H: Your brother's shop. OK, OK, OK. Now, when you speak to your customers...
F: Customer, eh, my girl is help, anything customer talks, in shop, me little bit understand...Zulu, understand Zulu but I can't talk.
H: You can't talk.
F: Yes, Zulu understand little bit.
H: Uhuh.
F: Zulu understand but talk I can't. Little bit talk.
H: Little bit talk? OK, maybe just now when you talk I can hear...
F: Ja, me understand anything also ja.
H: Alright, now, the Zulu that you can talk...where did you learn this?
F: Ja, Zulu little bit also talk.
F: Is a learn my girl.
H: From your girl. OK. How...alright, OK. And, what do you think of the Zulu people?
F: Zulu is right, nothing also...

H: And your girl, is she Zulu?

F: Zulu girl.

H: That girl?

F: Yes, that girl is Zulu one. This a my girl.

H: Oh, the girl who works for you. She. OK, and what do you speak to her?

F: Is a Zulu, English...a little bit all I speak

H: OK, alright. Alright so, can I speak to her also?

F: Yes, no problem.

H: OK, thank you very much.

INFORMANT S. - POMEROY 1

- H: Where are you from?
S: From India.
H: Where in India?
S: Surat.
H: OK and how long have you been in South Africa?
S: Seven years.
H: Seven years. OK< and have you always had this store here?
S: Yes, always work here, seven years.
H: OK, so what do you speak, when you speak to your customers?
S: Ja, Zulu and English.
H: Zulu and English. Can you tell me, if you tell them "This one is a good one", how would that say in Zulu?
S: Not talk fast, a little bit.
Assistant: If something is nice one, how would you say.
S: Mncandi [insert a click that isn't there in Zulu].
H: OK, but you, when you speak, if you say...this is bread, here is your bread.
S: *Sinkwa*.
H: And if you say, here is your bread?
S: (indistinct) tom...*sinkwa*.
H: OK, I'm just trying to find what kind of Zulu you speak. OK, that's why I'm asking.
S: Little bit, little bit. Not much Zulu, but I know... customer...I know Zulu.
H: You know enough to...
S: Customer talk Zulu, I understand, but I don't talk fast Zulu.
H: OK, that's great. But you've been here seven years? All right, OK.

INFORMANT J. - POMEROY 2

- H: Hello. Are you...related to people in Kranskop?
- J: Ja.
- H: Oh...Police? [a surname in Kranskop]
- J: No Police. Red Mink.
- H: Red Mink, OK! And you are South African? Or you came...India? Gujarat? So because you're new, it's a good thing, because there's lots of old people, but I need new people. All I will ask you, if it's ok, at the end you can sign. I want to know: how long have you been here.
- J: Long...three years.
- H: Three years. And from which part in Gujarat ?
- J: Surat district.
- H: And why did you come?
- J: ...I lost my sister and my brother...small business there, my brother also is in Canada and I'm here.
- H: I See, Do you have relatives here?
- J: Yeah. My cousin.
- H: And he came first?
- J: First. Maybe fifteen years, ten years.
- H: OK, when you speak to the customers...
- J: I, a little bit English and Zulu but my...is working for...(indistinct) he speaking Zulu. And the people is Zulu (indistinct).
- H: Yes, yes, and for example, if you say something like..."This is a good one", how will say in Zulu?
- J: Same.
- H: Same. OK, So what Zulu will you speak, for example, what...
- J: Say *faka la, fika la*, little words.
- H: Small words. OK, *kipha la, faka la*, that sort of thing. OK, that's all, that's all I need to know. So will you just please sign for me. Related to Red Mink...just so I can remember where you are. You can put your first name and sign. One more question, I forgot to ask...eh, where do you live? Here in Pomeroy?
- J: Stay in Dundee.
- H: In Dundee. And your relationship with Zulu people, how do you...do you do only business with them? Or do...?
- J: Only business.
- H: Only business, nothing else, nothing social, nothing...
- J: My wife and children...
- H: And they, to what school do they go?
- J: Is a Indian Primary School.
- H: Indian primary school. OK, that's all, thank you.

INFORMANT O. - POMEROY 3

- H: Where are you from?
O: From Gujarat, India.
H: Where in Gujarat?
O: Surat.
H: How long have you been in South Africa?
O: Fourteen years.
H: Why did you come? For business? For...?
O: Ja.
H: Did you...were you always in Pomeroy? Or were you in other places?
O: Stay in Dundee.
H: In Dundee. OK and this shop, how long have you had this shop?
O: One and a half year.
H: One and a half year. And before that?
O: Before I was in Kranskop.
H: In Krans...you were in Kranskop. Oh really, how long? I lived in Kranskop...
O: Two years.
H: Two years. And when you speak to your customers, what language do you speak?
O: English Zulu.
H: English and Zulu. Do you mix it? Not?
O: Ja, I mix it.
H: So your Zulu is maybe not...
O: Not very good ja.
H: Where did you learn your Zulu?
O: Ja. In here.
H: In here. From other shopkeepers also, or just from customers?
O: No, just from customers.
H: Just from customers. And that man, for example, is he, is he family of yours?
O: Yes.
H: And what does he speak?
O: All same: English, Zulu.
H: Mixed.
O: Ja.
H: OK. And the Zulu people, do you deal with them socially? Or, as only business.
O: No, only business.
H: Only business. OK. Are you married?
O: Yes.
H: With Gujarati girl of local girl.

O: Ja, local girl.
H: Indian girl.
O: Ja.
H: So you wouldn't marry a Zulu girl?
O: No.
H: OK, that's all I need.

INFORMANT AH. - POMEROY 4

- H: So if you will sign there...Now. Where in Gujarat are you from?
AH: Kosani.
H: And how long have you been in South Africa?
AH: Thirteen years.
H: Thirteen years. OK, and why did you come?
AH: Because they got too much fighting, and all that. That's why we can...come here.
H: OK and did you have relatives here? When you came? Or did you come on your own.
AH: No, come own.
H: You didn't know anybody.
AH: No.
H: No friends, nothing?
AH: No I got the friends!
H: Aha. So they said come, and OK, have you...this shop is not yours, you work here?
AH: (Yes)
H: OK and where do you live?
AH: In Dundee.
H: In Dundee. Now, when you speak to customers, what do you speak?
AH: Any! English or Zulu...
H: Do you mix them?
AH: No, no, we can talk properly, no problem.
H: Really? So if you ay, to a customer...or if you say to your employee, put that box there, what do you say?
AH: What language?
H: Zulu. If you speak to one employee, one Zulu employee.
AH: Uhm...*tata* cardboard an *faka* on the back.
H: *Tata* cardboard and *faka* on the back. OK. You don't maybe say *tata LO cardboard* or...
AH: No, no.
H: Not that...if you say: This bread is a fresh one, in Zulu...how do you say it?
AH: Eh...fresh one I don't know, but we just tell it, this one is a...*khona fikile manje, masi thatha, khona* fresh one.
H: Oh really...is that...
AH: Yeah.
H: And...have you always been in this supermarket or did you work in another place?

AH: No, if I work in Durban, I work in Nquthu...

H: That, in Nquthu...

AH: Yeah in Nquthu also I work five years now is here.

H: OK, how long? Here?

AH: Six years now.

H: In this supermarket, working for Mr...OK, OK, I see. I'm trying to find out, maybe I can just listen, I won't record, I just want to stand here five minutes, and just hear how people are talking, OK, is that alright?

AH: OK, alright.

INFORMANT M. - POMEROY 5

- H: So you said you were here how long?
M: Eight years.
H: Eight years. From which village in Gujarat, or which town?
M: Also Kosani.
H: Sorry? Same. OK, are you family?
M: No.
H: Not family. OK, and why did you come?
M: For a good life.
H: To look for a good life. What is life like there?
M: (after long silence) Like employees' lives, you know...
H: And, have you always worked in this supermarket?
M: No, no, no, I've been to Gauteng, I've been to Limpopo.
H: I see. And when you speak to the customers, what do you speak tot them?
M: Actually, here one year, so...
H: Well that doesn't matter, I still...
M: I also talk Sepedi, when I was in ...town...
H: Oh, really, fluently?
M: Fluently.
H: Really. And now here, how, what are you talking?
M: What they want...
H: And...
M: No particular thing.
H: Yes, and you live in Dundee.
M: Yes.
H: And what other relations do you have with Zulu people. Only business, or...anything else?
M: Ja, business.
H: Business. Are you married?
M: I was.
H: Oh, OK.
M: To a South African.
H: To a South African...was it a paper marriage?
M: Nooo, it not worked it out.
H: Sorry? It didn't work out. Was it an Indian girl?
M: Ja.
H: Oh, OK. Would you marry a Zulu girl?
M: I don't mind. (H:You don't mind) They are a human being!

- H: Yes, no of course, I think so. But my Pakistani friend in Kranskop says: No way, no way, no way!
- M: There are good people also.
- H: Yes, of course, everywhere. And would you require her to convert to Islam.
- M: Yes, of course. I will marry a Muslim.
- H: She must be a Muslim.
- M: Must be Muslim. If I don't, it's against our religion.
- H: I see, so for you to marry her she would have to convert.
- M: Definitely.
- H: Definitely. Oh, OK. Alright, well, thank you.

INFORMANT Mr P. - DUNDEE

H: Where in India.

P: Gujarat.

H: Oh really! Right, OK, please can I talk to you also...I'm asking, I am doing research at the University of Stellenbosch about what immigrants here speak to their customers. OK, this is now a very good place because I have Pakistanis and Gujaratis together in one place so that's quite nice! What shop do you have? Or is this your shop?

P: No. His (indicates Pakistani).

H: OK and where is your shop?

P: Pandor's (indicates shop across the street.)

H: OK. And when did you come from India?

P: I came from, '91.

H: 91. And, and why?

P: I got my relatives here...my own family.

H: You got relatives here. When did they come?

P: They came from grandfather and grandfather...

H: Oh I see, so you maintained contact with this family...

P: Family...

H: And you came...which village?

P: Ankrishwar.

H: I've met some other people from Ankrishwar. OK and...OK that's your shop so you have a lot of Zulu customers who come in and buy things.

P: Ja, Ja.

H: And what language do you speak to them?

P: We speak normal English, and (indistinct) try to Zulu also.

H: Some words (Ja) and this Zulu that you speak, where did you learn it?

P: From here.

H: From your family? Did they tell you word...word...

P: Ja.

H: They taught you. Oh I see. OK, and I was just asking...the relations that you have with Zulu people, is it only business relations, or do you have any other kind of social contact?

P: No.

H: Nothing. Just the business relations.

P: Just business relations.

H: OK, alright, well thank you, that's all I need to know, thanks very much for your time I really appreciate it.

Then, later, the conversation resumed:

P: My work start in Vryheid.

H: OK, yes?

P: Right? Now my boss opened a shop in Nquthu, that time. That time, I had (indistinct) a fresh, maybe three, four months, he opened a shop in Nquthu. And I went to Nquthu, that shop, I in this shop, and I tried to that language, Zulu. That's why I can little bit speak now Zulu and all.

H: But you asked you boss, you asked your family...what is word for? How to say this thing?

P: No, he got the one man from here.

H: Yes.

P: South African. And he...

H: Put with you. I see, OK.

P: He teach me...

H: He taught you.

P: He taught me.

H: OK, wonderful, OK.

P: That's why I little bit know Zulu, and English.

H: And how many...I know you can't have a proper figure but how many Gujaratis do you think are in Dundee.

P: Ten families maybe, round about.

H: New families?

P: Old, no, little bit old...

H: And new ones that came in. I hear that in Newcastle there are a lot.

P: Ja, ja. (M& I in background: Ja, ja)

H: How many do you think.

P: I don't know.

H: You don't know but a lot. And they only came in like the last five years or so?

P: Starting in 90. 1990.

H: Why? Why then?

P: Because I think the before...that...

H: Because of apartheid? Or...? Things like that, and when things changed, then...

P: Open that thing...

H: I see. Did it have anything to do with...circumstances in Gujarat?

P: No.

H: Was there a reason they came from there?

P: I think for sometimes, so people visit us...they want to visit for new country, after come here and see its' a nice country...and witness all good they try to stay...

B3: PAKISTANI INTERVIEWEES

INFORMANT W. - KRANSKOP

- H: Why are you here? Why are you in South Africa? For what reason?
W: What I gave you question, now that...
H: Just tell me. Because you like animals so much? (Laugh)
W: (chuckles) I like YOU so much, that's why!
H: OK, but you didn't know about me when you came. So why did you come? For trading? Hmm??
W: Ja. This, that, that, trouble for us.
H: No, ja, I see.
W: And you know, is trouble, don't know what they are doing there, and, now I not working my phone, you see?

LONG SILENCE

- H: When you speak to your customers, what do you speak?
W: Speak Zulu. Speaking Zulu here, with the customer, because it's Zululand.
H: Mmm.
W: So, most customer our customer is Zulu. Speaking with them Zulu.
H: OK, so, OK, so, do you read Zulu, do you...?
W: No, I can't read Zulu, but I can speak Zulu.
H: You can speak, OK, and do you sometimes speak English to them?
W: Ja, some customers, if some customer speak English...
H: OK, but do some of the Zulu customers speak English?
W: Mostly, ja, mostly, Zulu customers they don't want to speak English. They want to speak Zulu only.
H: Hmm. And, what do you think of Zulu people?
W: General? General...nice people all, but...they don't want to speak English. I don't know why. Especially...outside, they'll speak English nicely, with us...but when they come in s hop, to buy something, they want to speak a Zulu.
H: OK, and do they speak the same kind of Zulu back to you or do they speak...their own kind of Zulu.
W: No, the same kind that they teach us, we learn from them...they speak the same way.
H: The same one.
W: Ja...same.

- H: And would you marry a Zulu girl?
W: Me? How come?
H: I'm just asking!
W: No way!
H: Why?
W: No. We can't marry them, we can't...because she is, they're not our relation [religion], no, I can't marry with Zulu girl...I to marry Muslim Indian. Ja.
H: OK, and, if you don't speak Zulu properly, do they mind? Do they help you, or...
W: They help me.
H: They help you.
W: They help me nicely. Ja. They...they, first they laugh, and after that they tell, no, it's this way. This word is like this.
H: Mmm. OK, and your assistant, does she sometimes...why do you have one like that? To have another person in the shop, or someone to speak proper...
W: No, they they they...only these two (indistinct) sometimes, I can't understand what they say, especially in the back world...they come from the...I can't understand what that old mama want...and then...
H: So did you learn any Zulu from anybody else, did anybody, other Pakistanis, or other...the Indians, did they teach you some words, did...
W: No.
H: Nothing at all.
W: Nothing.
H: Nothing, you just heard from them.
W: Ja, from the customer, because three year, almost three and a half year I been in this town, so, this is Zululand, so all, everyone here, come to buy, they speak Zulu. So...
H: (OK)
W: Ja, if we speak English to them they say, you know you are in Zululand.
H: OK, well that's all, thank you....if you say, I am hungry in Zulu, what do you say?
W: *Lambile manje*, like that, what...
H: OK, and if you say...take this one?
W: *Tata lalo* phone...*tata le* phone.
H: *Tata le* phone?
W: Ja, this one.
H: OK this one. And if you say...you must pay me tomorrow.
W: No, not this question...because this one never happen in this store.
H: OK, they pay you always...OK...if you say you must pay me now...
W: Ja.

- H: What do you say?
W: *Khokhile manje...khokha la manje.*
H: *Khokha la manje.*
W: *Manje.*
H: Alright, thanks. They taught you to say that.
W: Ja, to say that.
H: OK, and if you say something like do you like this phone or do you like that phone or this is a...
W: Ja, which...like that. Like means *thanda*. What phone you *thanda*. Like that.
H: Ja.
W: We ask like that.
H: How do you ask?
W: Which phone...*thanda iphi phone*.
H: Aha.
W: Ja, *thanda iphi phone*.
H: Alright.

INFORMANTS M. & I. - DUNDEE

- H: Where are you from?
M&I: Pakistan.
H: Where in Pakistan.
M&I: Pakistan, Punjab. Same place.
H: Same place, same town. OK, and when did you come to South Africa.
M&I: 2009.
H: OK, and why?
M&I: For, Pakistan is too much bomb blasts, something...and kill da people...no life.
H: No life. And when you came, did you have relatives here? Did you have family here or did you have friends? How did you know to come?
M&I: Ja, is a friends for...Standerton, Rustenburg...
H: OK, so you came via that way. And how long have you been here in this shop?
M&I Three years
H: In this shop. OK and when you speak to customers, to Zulu customers...
M&I: Ja, I...if you speak to...English something, little for Zulu.
H: Little for Zulu? OK, like what? What do you say to them?
M&I: For...someone *kanjani*? *Ngisaphila*, you see.
H: OK, and if you say to them...do you cut hair, also?
M&I: Ja.
H: So, if you cut their hair, you cut with razor, or...
M&I: Comb, machine...
H: With the machine. And so: what do you ask them? I mean, do they speak English to you, or do you speak Zulu about the hair.
M&I: Sometime is *s'gunda*, we talking both for Zulu, *s'gunda*. I speak to OK *diskop*, *bleskop*, you see.
H: Oh, I see, words like that, I see. OK, and you, what do you do? Same?
M&I: Same like.
H: And where did you learn that? Just from the customers?
M&I: Ja, just some...
H: Did any other Pakistanis tell you you must use this word, or did you learn from other...
M&I: For I, listening and learning. If you...talk and you listen what he talking I'm learning.
H: OK, aha. So you didn't have a friend who said to you...you must use this word...
M&O: Ja, sometimes for friend teach me that and that.

H: OK, alright, so they did teach you, and your...Zulu people, what do you think of them? Do you have...do you do only business with them or do you have any other...

M&I: No, only this business also.

H: Really.

M: Ja, I have friend also, I live in shop.

H: I see. And do you do anything else with them...do you go to...restaurants with them...

M*I: Ja, if you sometime go restaurant...

H: I mean with the Zulu people...

Mr P. enters and conversation takes different turn. See interview with Mr. P.

INFORMANT HM. - GREYTOWN 1

- H: Right, so, where are you from?
HM: Pakistan.
H: Where in Pakistan?
HM: Punjab.
H: Where in Punjab?
HM: No, sorry (indicates paper and declines to answer). I'm here from six years.
H: Six years, and why did you come here?
HM: You see the Pakistan, the situation is not right, fighting, what what, now economy is going down...we can't do nothing in Pakistan.
H: Six years ago, was it also like that?
HM: Ja...
H: The economy down and so on.
HM: Everything.
H: And what do you have here?
HM: I run my business.
H: And who are your customers? Mostly?
HM: Zulu people.
H: And what do you speak with them.
HM: I can speak English, I can speak Zulu.
H: Where did you learn this Zulu?
HM: From the people.
H: From the people. OK, so if you say something like...this phone is a good phone, how do you say?
HM: Can say, this is *mnandi, mama* and (indistinct) like that when I deal with the customer.
H: OK, so you mix.
HM: Ja.
H: English...
HM: English, Zulu, sometimes English, Sometime Zulu...
H: Did you learn anything from people, from other Pakistanis who were here before? Did they teach you some words? Did they say to you you must use this word, this word.
HM: Ja, I...people teach me sometime.
H: Really.
HM: Cos if I came, I don't know nothing...(indistinct)...I ask them how I can speak, what what, and they say , this way.
H: This way. And do you have any other social relations or so with the Zulu people or is it only business?

HM: No, only business.

H: Only business. And what do you think of them? I mean how...

HM: People is OK.

H: Is OK.

HM: Is nice people.

INFORMANT V. - GREYTOWN 2

- H: May I just ask you, where are you from?
V: Ja.
H: Where are you from?
V: Pakistan.
H: Where in Pakistan?
V: No (declines to answer)
H: And, how long have you been here?
V: Nine years.
H: Nine years and why did you come? What reason did you come to South Africa?
V: For doing business.
H: Business, OK, now when you speak...you're here in Zululand, in Natal, KwaZulu-Natal and when you speak to your customers...most of your customers are what? What do they speak?
V: Speaking Zulu.
H: OK and what do you speak to them?
V: I just speak a little bit of Zulu.
H: A little bit of Zulu...OK, and where did you learn that little bit of Zulu?
V: From the customer.
H: From the customer! And other people...oh the workers, and did any other Pakistani teach you any words, like did they say to you, you must use this word or did anybody teach you, or tell you what to...
V: No, because Pakistani no can teach the people, they don't know the Zulu?
H: No no but here, the ones who were here before you? You know, when you came new...
V: Ja, I was learn from them also.
H: Them also, OK, and do you have any other relations with the Zulu people except business?
V: What you mean about the business...not all the people have...
H: No, I mean social, do you do things together with the Zulu people?
V: No, not staying together.
H: Not? But you don't go out together? Just in the business, that's where you see them, no other place. Alright, thanks.

INFORMANT R. - SHAKASKRAAL

- H: All right, will you sign for me here? Just there, that you give me permission to talk to you. OK, R___ has been here for seven years.
- R/AS: Yes.
- H: OK, have you worked for him all that time?
- AS: Ah yes, from the time...
- H: From the time that he came.
- AS: Yes.
- H: And, when he came, did he speak any Zulu?
- AS: No.
- H: No oh and now?
- AS: Now he speaks a little of Zulu.
- H: Can you confirm this, R___?
- R: Yes, mam?
- H: That you speak a little bit of Zulu?
- R: Just a little, not too good, I would like to say...I...(indistinct)...hear the fellow.
- AS+H: what he wants, ja...
- R: But I can't speak to back to him.
- H: You can't speak back. So who speaks back? You have people who work for you who speak back?
- AS: Sometimes the girl or I, if I understand I speak back.
- H: I see, so you use...
- R: Most of, lot of people (+ A) talking English, most of them.
- R: And sometimes is come for...talking Zulu...then don't understand you ask, also this...
- H: I see. How is your Zulu (to assistant).
- AS: Mine is ...all mixed up.
- H: It's all mixed up.
- AS: But I, like, understand.
- R: Here, Hindi, Urdu, Pakistani, everything can...
- H: Everything, so everything is talked here.
- R: We talk here.
- H: And do you think you will ever learn, Zulu fluently?
- R: No.
- H: Not?
- R: But I try, I try, I have to learn Zulu slowly, but it's hard for me.
- H: Yes.
- R: Things like that, hard for me is a, I HAVE to learn slowly, slowly.
- H: Even if something, even if you mix. Do you know some words?

- R: Nooo...
- H: Just some words you know.
- AS: Like tell us some...tell us some words that you know.
- R: Ahhh, sometimes, you know, I talking...laughing talking *Woza la*. In Zulu *woza la* is come here, like that I just talking (indistinct)...together, not talking to outside for Zulu people.
- H: I see, so you only speak to them here in the shop.
- R: Here, is a my...*woza la*, other something, like *buka*, OK
- H: *Khokha?* (A laughs). I see OK. Thank you, I think that's all I need to know? More or less...and do you live here in Shakaskraal? Where do you live?
- AS: In Shakas.
- H: You don't have, you only deal with Zulu people inside the shop, not outside.
- AS: Not outside, just at the premises, if they're here.
- H: So there are like different living areas...? Is there a living area where you stay which is different from theirs?
- AS: No, where he stays is completely cultural, only Indian there...
- H: Only Indians.
- AS: Yes
- H: Mostly Muslims?
- AS: Mostly Moslems.
- R: Muslim.
- H: OK so you stay in a separate area and you (to assistant)?
- AS: I stay in Stanger.

B4: ZULU INTERVIEWEES

INFORMANT J. – SITHUNDU HILLS

D = Dudu, research assistant. Participants indicated with initials.

- J: Ngihlala khona la.
D: Lapha esitolo? Nigzwe ubaba ethi khona owaye-owner isitolo.
J: Kwaku-umlungu ngalesosikhathi.
D: Yini into egenza ukuthi nivale?
J: Angazi.
D: Awazi.
J: Ngoba sayekwa yilomlungu, sathathwa omunye umlungu walapha eduzane.
D: Babe-communicata kanjani mhlambe, phakathi kwakhe, nababethenga esitolo, babe-communicata kanjani? Babekhuluma ini?
J: Babekhuluma isi-Fanakalo
D: Yini eyenza ukuthi bakhulume isi-Fanakalo?
J: Kwakukuthi bathole izingane nabantu abadala abangazane baye esikoleni, ukuthi bafunde.
D: Abangasazi isingisi? Babenzela ukuthi bakwazi ukuxhumanana?
J: Yebo
D: Mawucabanga wena babemthatha njengamuntu onjani, lo owayephetha isitolo? Babukhona ubudlelwane, babunjani? Phakathi kwakhe nabantu abathengayo.
J: Mina ngangibona ku-right, anazi ke.
D: Wayeba-treat-a kanjani kodwa abantu?
J: Ukuthi okuningi nganginakuboni.
D: Kodwa waye-umuntu o-friendly?
J: Yebo.
D: Uthe awunayo idea ukuthi bavalelani?
J: Cha.
D: Zazingaku izitolo ezivuliwe ngalesosikhathi?
J: Zazingekho.
D: So kwakuphoqeleka ukuthi nithenge khona?
J: Zazingekho impela ezinye.
D: So, abantu babephokile ukuthi bathenge khona. Sasinayo yonke into?
J: Yebo, kwakhukhona konke.
D: Kwakhugekho mhlambe ukhlukumezeka ebantwini, emphakathini wendawo? Ucabanga ukuthi yini into eyadala ukuthi isitolo size sivalwe?

J: Angikho sure, kodwa ngibona engathi kyini eyenza ukuthi sivaliwe isitolo kwaku-ukulwisana nje.

D: Ngabe yini eyenza ukuthi sivaliwe isitolo uma ucabanga?

(The rest of the interview is most indistinct with considerable background noise.)

INFORMANT M. – HAMMARSDALE 1

- D: Ebengifisa ukukwazi baba, ukuthi niyithenga kuphi i-groceri?
M: Sithenga kwa-Boxer.
D: Izinto ezinje ngoma-cellphone, ukulungisa amacellphone, airtime.
M: I-cellphone ngayithenga kwaRoy.
D: Ikhona indawo yokulungisa amacellphone la?
M: Yebo, ikhona indawo, kwa-Azad.
D: I-religion ubani?
M: Yisulumane.
D: Isulumane lelili, ucabangani ngalo, nokubakhona kwalo la endaweni? Libaphethe kanjani abantu?
M: Li-right, libaphethe kahle abantu.
D: U-communicata kanjani nabantu?
M: Ay yena ukhuluma i-English.
D: Kulaba abangafundile uyenzenjani?
M: Kukhona umsizi wakhe uMsimango, engicabanga kukthi uyena omsizayo.
D: Mhlambe uma kuthiwa akekho, naba abantu bafuna ukuthenga uye enzenjani?
M: Uyaluzwa kancani ulimi kodwa akakwazi kahle hle, uyabhidhilisha.
D: Isi-Fanakalo, uyasazi, uyasizama?
M: Yebo, uyasizama, akasazi, uyasizama.
D: Uyasikhuluma isi-Fanakalo?
M: Yebo, kodwa not kahle, uyasizama nje.
D: But abantu bayamthanda?
M: Yebo bayamthanda futhi bayamsaphotha.
D: Niyamsaphotha nonke?
M: Yebo.
D: Uyena yedwa o-runna isitolo njengaye la endaweni?
M: Sikhona esinye , nasi (pointing)
D: Sireligion yini ke zona?
M: Nakohna yisulumane, kodwa khona isupermarket.
D: Nicabangani naye, ubudlelwane bakhe ne-communication yakhe nabantu injani?
M: Bayafana nje bonke, uma sebela ezindaweni zabantu bayashintsha.
D: Bafriendly?
M: Yebo, bafriendly.
D: Yena ke ucommunicata kanjani, wenzenjani kulaba abangafundile?
M: Lona ke uyasazi isiZulu!
D: Uyasazi isiZulu?
M: Yebo.

INFORMANT N. – HAMMARSDALE 2

- D: Into engifisa kukyazi baba ukuthi abantu bathenga kuphi isikhathi esiningi?
N: Bathenga kwa-Boxer.
D: Sikhona esinye isitolo esila eduze ngaphandle kwalesi?
N: Cha asikho.
D: Yilesi kuphela.
N: Yebo.
D: OK! Umuntu orunnishwa isitolo, yini yisulumane noma yini?
M: Yebo, yisulumane.
D: Awekho amaPakistanians.
N: Cha awekho.
D: Ubudlelwane benu njengabantu bendawo nobalaba abaphethe isitolo bunjani?
N: Akulula ukuthi ngichaze kahle hle lapho.
D: Kodwa niyamazi angithi, ningamsiza?
N: Abantu abanjengathi njengoba singama. Guard nje, isikhathi esiningi asihlali ndawonye, njengamanje nami niglindele imoto ukuthi ifike ingithathe.
D: Kodwa uma ni-communicata naye? Niyamazi angithi umqashi wenu! Uwumuntu onjani?
N: Miina angisebenzi lana.
D: Kodwa anikaze nimbone u- Onlystone?
N: u-Onlystone ukhona la, umuzi wakhe nangu la ngphakathi.
D: OK...
N: Thina nje sifana nabantu abangama-visitor afikayo ahambe.
D: Ngokumazi kwenu nina, u-communicata kanjani yena?
N: Ukhuluma isizulu, nabasebenzi bakhe basazi njengoba sinjalo.
D: Nabaqashi babo? Abantu ababasebenzelayo?
N: Yebo.
D: Isi-Fanakalo abasikhulumi?
N: Abantu abakhulela lana, ngakho isizulu basifunda kudala kusekhona umkhulu wakhona, kwasekuba amadodana ke, nezingane zakhona zakhula zasifunda.
D: Okushukuthi bangama Muslim akhulela khona la?
N: Yebo.
D: Abanye abantu eceleni baye bathini ngabo? Baphatheke kahle?
N: Nigye nginaweza amacomplaint ngaphandle uma kwenzekile kwantshontshwa, ngale kwalokho k echa.

INFORMANT D. - KRANSKOP

- H: D, how long have you been working with F?
D: One year (indistinct)...
H: One year. Three years? In this shop? OK. And what does he speak to his customers?
D: Me? Or F?
H: F.
D: Some speak English, sometimes speak Zulu.
H: Does he speak proper Zulu?
D: No.
H: What does he speak?
D: English.
D: OK, but when he speaks Zulu, what kind of Zulu does he speak?
D: Hmm...come customer here: *Ngena mama*, like that.
H: That sort of thing. OK, alright, and does he sometimes speak Fanakalo?
D: Ja sometimes.
H: He sometimes speaks Fanakalo. OK, now when he speaks Fanakalo to the customers, what do they...
D: If customers not understand for...Zulu, customers come and talk Fanakalo.
H: Really? The customers also talk? And, do they mind?
D: No.
H: They don't mind. What do the customers think of these people, these immigrants, that come here (shrug from N)
H: No problem? And if they speak Fanakalo to them, It's not a problem? No problem? They speak back?
D: Ja.
H: They speak Fanakalo back?
D: Ja.
H: Oh really. And what do YOU think of that?
D: (shrugs)
H: Nothing? It's OK? Not a problem? Really?
D: Ja.
H: So do you think the people in this place, in Kranskop, do they have a problem to speak Fanakalo to the shopkeepers.
D: No...most speak for Fanakalo.
H: Mmm.
D: Sometimes, talk for English sometimes talk for Zulu.
H: OK, but sometimes they speak Fanakalo.
D: Ja.

INFORMANT L. - KRANSKOP 2

Diacritic marks for Afrikaans have been left out of the transcription.

- H: OK, oraait, wat ek wil weet, ne, waar koop jy jou groceries?
L: Enige plek!
H: Maar hierso...
L: Greytown, hierso, Siyabonga...
H: Hoekom koop jy by siyabonga? As jy hier koop?
L: SPAR, OK...
H: OK, maar as jy hier is.
L: Ek het nie een plek nie.
H: Jy't nie een plek nie.
L: Ja.
H: Maar as jy hier is, dan koop jy by Siyabonga?
L: Ja.
H: Want? Hoekom? Want...daar's nie 'n ander plek nie? OF...?
L: Daar is plek, maar my huis is daar, daardie kant...ek gaan maar net Greytown toe, nie altyd nie> Ja, ek koop maar net hierso, dan gaan ek huis toe.
H: OK, wat dink jy van Siyabonga?
L: Dink ek...?
H: Ek bedoel, wat dink jy van hulle, van daai lot?
L: Ek dink dis maar net...soos die ander winkel? Hulle werk maar soos die ander winkel.
H: En die mense?
L: Die mense daarso?
H: Ja.
L: Nee, hulle werk maar net baie mooi. Ja, ook die boss.
H: Aha. Hy's...is hy 'n goeie ou, wat's sy...
L: 'n Goeie oubaas, ja.
H: Watsynaam, Ismail.
L: Ismail.
H: En wat...
L: As jy wil maar net iets he, jy het nie genoeg geld nie, ja, hy gee maar net vir jou, kom maar net wanneer jy die geld gekry het. Ja.
H: Ja, hy's nice in daai...
L: Hy's baie mooi.
H: En waar bly hy? Weet jy?
L: Hy bly in Greytown, ek weet nie waar nie.
H: En die ander mense wat hier bly, winkeleienaars...bly hulle hierso in Kranskop?

- L: Ja, hulle huis...hulle ry maar net met die kar in die aande...in sy kar.
- H: OK, OK. En, en, die mense hie, OK, ek vra nie net van jou nie, ek vra oor die algemeen, hoe voel hulle oor DIE mense wat hier bly, in Kranskop.
- L: Die ander mense hierso, het hulle huise. En as ek 'n huis soek, ek wil maar net 'n kamer he, ek soek 'n kamer om te slap, kan ek net die geld rent, in die kamers.
- H: Ja maar, die Indiers wat die winkels het, wat hier bly. Hoe voel die Zoeloemense van Kranskop oor hulle?
- L: Nee ek, ek voel maar net lekker, maar ek weet nie die ander ene nie. Ons koop maar net, maar...
- H: Maar maar maar, hoe sal...wat praat die mense, as hulle praat van die Indiers, was se hulle van hulle?
- L: Hulle praat maar net Zoeloe?
- H: Nee nee maar kyk, as julle onder mekaar praat, oor se nou maar, oor Siyabonga, of oor Kwasizabantu, daai, hoe praat julle...wat se naam gebruik julle vir daai ouens. Die eienaars? Wat praat julle? Noem julle hulle Indiers? Of noem julle hulle...
- L: Suleman. Indians...hulle vloek nie.
- H: Nee nee nee nee ek weet, ek wil net weet watter naam gebruik julle vir hulle? En en en, wat wou ek gese het...wat praat hulle, as hulle met hulle customers praat? Wat praat...
- L: O, hulle praat maar net hulle tale. Soos wanneer, hulle praat nie Engels nie, hulle praat maar net daai Indian language.
- H: Nee, nee maar, as hulle met die customers praat.
- L: Zoeloe.
- H: Praat hulle Zoeloe?
- L: Ja!
- H: Of praat hulle Fanakalo?
- L: Nee, ek...Fanakalo, die ander ene praat Zoeloe soos ek.
- H: Watter ene?
- L: By die winkels? Baie, en dis Fanakalo, die ander ene is Fanakalo. Want die ander ene, hy praat maar net soos ek praat.
- H: Soos jy praat. En en as hulle, se nou maar jy kry 'n ou wat net Fanakalo praat, wat praat jy met hom terug?
- L: Ek praat maar net soos ek praat.
- H: Jy praat soos jy praat.
- L: Ja, ek praat nie Fanakalo nie.
- H: Jy praat nie...jy praat soos jy praat. En by Siyabonga? Wat praat hulle?

- L: Hulle praat Zoeloe. En die ander ene wat nou gekom, hulle is ander manier wat hou gekom...hulle ken nie Zoeloe nie. Hulle praat maar net Engels, jy sien, of Fanakalo. Ja.
- H: En Salim?
- L: Salim praat maar net i(si)Zoeloe.
- H: Praat hy Zoeloe?
- L: Zoeloe.
- H: Ordentlike Zoeloe, of...?
- L: Ja! Ja! Zoeloe, nie Fanakalo nie.
- H: Nie.
- L: Maar die ander een...Fanakalo, maar HY praat Zoeloe.
- H: So hy praat Fanakalo woorde.
- L: Ja, die woorde, hy's...hy kan nie, hy praat Fanakalo, maar die ander een, hy praat maar net Zoeloe.
- H: Nee, dis oraait, so daar is wel 'n...en as die ouens met julle Fanakalo praat, gee julle om?
- L: As hulle praat?
- H: As hulle Fanakalo praat. Raak julle...maak dit julle vies? Of...?
- L: Nee.
- H: Wat dink julle? Hoekom doen hulle dit?
- L: Want hulle, hulle het nie hierso gebore nie, jy weet.
- H: Hmm.
- L: Hulle praat maar net die Fanakalao, hulle VRA, as hy wil maar net se, wat moet jy se met Zoeloe? Ja, hy vra. As jy sien maar net, hy wil maar net iets se, hy weet nie wat moet hy se, hy moet maar net vir my vra: Kyk hier, ek wil maar net se met Zoeloe, wat moet ek se? Hulle vra maar net so.
- H: Hulle vra so. En dan se hulle dit.
- L: Ja, hulle se maar net so soos hulle moet se.
- H: O OK. Wel baie van hulle...wat ek probeer uitvind...wat ek wil weet ne...is...baiekere hierso as ek 'n mens gekry het om vir my te kom werk, ne, dan praat die Zoeloemens met my Fanakalo.
- L: Ja.
- H: Hoekom?
- L: HOEKOM? Dis wat ek vra.
- H: Maar hoekom? Wat dink hulle? Dink hulle...ek kan dit net praat?
- L: Of jy kan dit nie praat nie. Dit is wat ek nie wil he nie. Ek wil praat nie Fanakalo nie!
- H: Nee ek ook nie, maar...

- L: As ek wil maar net Zoeloe praat, ek praat Zoeloe met jou en jy vra...hoe...as jy nie verstaan nie, jy moet maar net stadig praat, dan se ek vir jou as ek se maar net so, ek bedoel DIT!
- H: Ja. Maar hoekom kom die ouens na my toe, se nou maar die ouens vir wie ek werk gegee het, hoekom praat hulle met my Fanakalo?
- L: Nee ek weet nie! Hulle dink jy is TOE!

INFORMANT L. - MOOIRIVIER

- H: Do most of them speak Fanakalo or do most of them speak perfect Zulu?
L: Most of them.
H: What?
L: Speaking Fanakalo?
H: Really?
L: Ja.
H: And, if they speak in Fanakalo, do you, what do you people speak back to them?
L: Eish, but I'm not sure, but...
H: I mean you for instance, let's say you go into a shop, and the guy speak to you in Fanakalo, what do you speak back?
L: No, I speaking Zulu, for they understand what I'm trying to say.
H: Oh, they understand, OK. Do you MIND if they speak Fanakalo?
L: Ey, I don't mind.
H: You don't mind. And what do you think about having these people around? The fact that there are so many Indian shops, what do you think of that?
L: It's not my problem...I used to buy something, I don't stay with them...I used...
H: Sorry?
L: I used to buy some stuff to them...I used to buy something, I don't stay with them.
H: Why?
L: Because I'm staying far away.
H: OH, I see! So where do you buy?
L: Sometimes I used to buy, there by a...Foodzone, Sharp there, PK Store...
H: And why did you buy at these stores?
L: You know, sometimes, if I went to SPAR, they don't have some stuff, I suppose to go there.
H: So do they have stuff that other shops don't have?
L: Sometimes ja.
H: OK like what stuff?
L: Like if I want milk, they don't have there, I have to go there.
H: So where do you go first? If you decide, OK, I'm now going to buy.
L: Sometimes in the price does something.
H: So are they cheaper?
L: Ja, sometimes they're cheaper, sometimes they're too expensive.

- H: I see, so, do you go and see where things are cheaper then you decide where to buy?
But there are a lot of shops in Mooi River. Indian shops.
- L: Not too lot.
- H: If I stand here, I see...
- L: Ah but you can count them, there are not a lot, there are not too many, we can even count.
- H: Yes but what I mean is, in relation to other shops. Are there more Indian shops, or are there more other shops.
- L: More Indian shops.
- H: And do you know where these Indians are from?
- L: Mooi River.
- H: Sorry?
- L: There is a location for Indians here.
- H: Really? Where?
- L: When you go straight in your right, at the bridge there's a T-junction Greytown, on your right hand side...
- H: Aha, that's the location? And the ones that are here? Are they new from India? Or were they born in South Africa?
- L: They born here.
- H: All of them?
- L: Ja.
- H: Because some of them dress like the come from Indian? That's why I'm asking.
- L: That's our traditional.
- H: What is your traditional?
- L: Oh the Indian. They wear that one, specially on Friday, when they go to pray.

INFORMANT I. - TUGELA FERRY

- H: So you say...what do they speak to you? I'm talking Pakistanis...yes you name and signature. They speak English, and Fanakalo?
- I: They speak English, and Fanakalo.
- H: OK. And which languages do you know? You know Zulu and English?
- I: Me? I know Zulu and English yes.
- H: OK and if they speak to you in Fanakalo...what do you speak back?
- I: I speak English...Zulu, I mean, the Zulu people speak Zulu and English.
- H: So you speak Zulu back to them. Do they live here, these people? These Pakistanis. Do they live in Tugela Ferry?
- I: Yes.
- H: And how do people feel about them.
- I: People they feel...like other people who ...(indistinct)...sometimes they do on Zulu problem, we, sometimes we treat these people like: Go to your home...sometimes you (indistinct) other brother, other places, and here, we're doing that thing.
- H: That same thing. Would you prefer to deal with them in English, or in Zulu.
- I: I prefer in Zulu.
- H: You prefer in Zulu.
- I: Yes..
- H: OK.
- I: All other people in Tugela Ferry they talking Zulu.
- H: The White people, what do they talk?
- I: In Tugela Ferry? Mostly, the White people less than the Black people.
- H: But the White people in the stores, for example, what do they speak?
- I: Oh some, in the stores, they speaking English.
- H: They speak English. They don't speak Zulu, or...
- I: Some other one they speaking Zulu, because they know Zulu, or...is Fanakalo.
- H: They also speak.
- I: Yes.

INFORMANT A. - DUNDEE

- H: Right. Are you from Dundee?
- A: Mmmmm, ja. From Nquthu actually.
- H: OK, and are there Indian shops in Nquthu?
- A: Ja, there is now.
- H: For how long? Long time?
- A: A's long time.
- H: Really. And these people, what do they speak to the customers?
- A: When the black customer comes in the shop?
- H: Yes.
- A: Actually, they, they find it hard to learn the Zulu, but the Zulu is a easy, what can I say, it's the easiest language...for the outside people when they come here to learn, because most of the people are in South Africa, they speaking Zulu. And English.
- H: Hmm.
- A: Those are the two languages that are most important here. Ja. O, like when the pronounce the way, it's hard for them, like q, instead of saying *qa*, they say *ca*, they saying about eggs, they not saying *amaqanda* they say *amacanda*. You see, so if you is telling them, you go to the shop, for me, you'll find the Zulu is also hard to lean than English, they say *mina hambile lapha*, I heard that way, you see, so they find it hard.
- H: So they speak like that: *mina hambile lapha*.
- A: Ja, ja, they speak like that.
- H: All of them?
- A: Ja, most of them. Lots of, most of them, but, there IS some people who are learning Zulu properly.
- H: OK, but the new ones who come in, not the South Africans...
- A: Oh the Pakistanis.
- H: Ja.
- A: Ja.
- H: Well, what do they do? They speak like that, *mina hambile lapha*. Or what do they do?
- A: Eish, I don't know, I never come across, I normally speak to them in English...
- H: In English. OK you speak to them...
- A: But for sure, they also do the same way.
- H: They do the same way when they speak to people who can't speak English.
- A: Ja...but I think for them it's easy co...those who are here from South Africa...some of them like the Chinese they the Chinese, they can speak Zulu, do you know that?

- H: Really? Oh, OK.
- A: Ja, they, Chinese can speak Zulu, you tell the word, they said that word...
- H: OK but it's not just words, huh, I mean words are easy to learn...and that is why...
- A: Ja. They speak Fanakalo, isn't it, but when it comes to the conversation they find it hard.
- H: Really. And oh, what was I, do people MIND. Let's say, people who don't speak English, they go to the shop, and these people speak to them in *mina hambile lapha* language, do people mind that?
- A: Ja, you see as blacks you normally find that we, we do understand them 'cause...even they...even their English, you'll find it hard for me, if I speak English to you, if I don't know it, you see.
- H: Yes, yes.
- A: Like my grandfathers, they didn't went to school, you find the way they talk to somebody, in English, they'll find it hard.
- H: Yes.
- A: But when they speaking to Fanakalo, I wonder who created that Fanakalo, really, that language, I don't know, but it's easy for the communication...for old people.
- H: OK
- A: So that's why the Indian people (indistinct) Fanakalo, it's coming from the old people where they didn't know how to speak the...English very well.
- H: Yes. But maybe now these people can also not speak English well, always...
- A: Which ones? Oh those ones. Ja, they can't speak English very well.
- H: So do you think...do you think...this is just another question...that for a long time still people will speak Fanakalo? Or what do you think?
- A: As from now...(indistinct)...I don't think, 'cause actually when they speaking Fanakalo, our generation, it's easy, because we've been to school and learning English, we've been learning other languages you see so I don't think, easily, for us, unlike our grandfathers.
- H: Not you, but like, some people will still speak it, people in areas where...
- A: No, I don't think.
- H: You don't think so...OK not you, but the Indians. Do you think they will still speak?
- A: Eh...eish!
- H: What do you think will happen if the Indians come, they can't speak English very well...
- A: They will learn, they will learn.
- H: They will learn? OK, you think so, Alright, thanks.