

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION	
1.1 Background and research problem	1
1.2 Aims and rationale	2
1.3 Method of research	4
1.4 Theoretical framework	8
1.5 Analytical framework	12
1.6 Organisation of the study	12
CHAPTER 2: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON TRANSLATION	
2.1 Introduction	14
2.2 The development of translation as a field of scientific study	16
2.3 Prescriptive translation theories	18
2.3.1 On the notion of equivalence	19
2.3.2 Equivalence and Bible translation in the indigenous languages of South Africa	22
2.4 Movement away from equivalent-based approaches to translation	24
2.4.1 Polysystem theory	25
2.4.2 Descriptive translation studies	28
2.4.2.1 Towards a target-oriented approach	30
2.4.2.2 Translation as a norm-governed activity	31
2.4.3 From a descriptive translation approach to a corpus-based approach	37
2.4.3.1 Corpus creation and corpus-processing tools	38
2.4.3.2 Corpus types	40
2.4.4 Universal features of translation	43
2.4.4.1 Explicitation	44
2.4.4.2 Simplification	45
2.4.4.3 Normalisation	46

2.4.5	Research on translation using the corpus-based approach	48
2.5	Conclusion	50

CHAPTER 3: THE ZULU LANGUAGE AND LITERARY SYSTEM

3.1	Introduction	51
3.2	Historical background to the development and expansion of the Zulu Language	52
3.3	Zulu oral traditions	58
	3.3.1 Prose narratives	60
	3.3.2 Traditional poetry	65
3.4	First contacts between the Zulu people and Europeans	68
3.5	The missionary period amongst the Zulu people	71
	3.5.1 The American Board Missionaries	73
	3.5.2 Other missionary societies and churches that undertook to evangelise the Zulu people	79
	3.5.3 Further contributions to the development of written Zulu and literature	80
	2.5.3.1 Colenso	80
	2.5.3.2 Callaway	81
	2.5.3.3 Bryant	81
	3.5.4 Language planning policies during the missionary period	81
3.6	The history of Bible translation in Zulu	82
3.7	The Zulu literary system	87
	3.7.1 The origins of the Zulu literary system	87
	3.7.2 Literary works that emerged from the 1920s – 1940s	91
	3.7.3 Literary works that emerged from the 1950s – 1990s	92
	3.7.4 Translated works	96
3.8	Language planning policies in South Africa	97
	3.8.1 Language planning policies during the Union of South Africa	99
	3.8.2 Language planning policies during the Nationalist period	99
	3.8.3 South African language planning policies and their	

	effects on the indigenous languages of South Africa	103
3.8.4	Language planning policies in the new dispensation	106
3.9	Conclusion	108

CHAPTER 4: ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH PROCEDURES

4.1	Introduction	109
4.2	The significance of polysystem theory and descriptive translation for this study	110
4.3	Corpus-based research for this study	112
	4.3.1 Corpus compilation	113
	4.3.2 Text conversion	118
	4.3.3 Corpus-processing tools and procedures	119
	4.3.3.1 Concordance	119
	4.3.3.2 Wordlists	124
4.4	Micro-level analysis	125
	4.4.1 <i>The tertium comparationis</i>	126
	4.4.2 On orthographic shifts	128
	4.4.2.1 Foreign sounds	128
	4.4.2.2 On disjunctive and conjunctive methods of writing	130
	4.4.2.3 On the use of capital letters in the Zulu Bible	135
	4.4.3 On morphological shifts	136
	4.4.4 On lexical shifts	138
	4.4.4.1 Borrowing	139
	4.4.4.2 Derivation	142
	4.4.4.3 Semantic shift	142
	4.4.4.4 On the transliteration of Greek and Hebrew names	143
4.5	Macro-level analysis	145
4.6	Conclusion	146

CHAPTER 5: A CORPUS-BASED ANALYSIS OF TWELVE ZULU TRANSLATIONS OF THE BOOK OF MATTHEW

5.1	Introduction	147
5.2	Disjunctive versus conjunctive writing	150
5.3	Capitalisation problems in the Zulu Bible	157
5.4	Phonological shifts	161
5.4.1	The /u/ and /a/ combination	161
5.4.2	The /u/ and /e/ combination	163
5.4.3	The /u/ and /i/ combination	165
5.4.4	The /u/ and /o/ combination	166
5.4.5	The /a/ and /u/ combination	168
5.4.6	Aspirated sounds; the implosive /ɓ/ and the plosive /b/	169
5.4.7	The phonemes /hl/; /dhl/ and /dl/	173
5.4.8	The use of /y/ and /j/ in the corpus	174
5.4.9	The use of /g/ in places where /ng/ should be used	175
5.4.10	The influence of Xhosa speech sounds	176
5.4.10.1	The use of /ty/ and /J/	176
5.4.10.2	The use of the glottal /r/	178
5.5	Morphological shifts	179
5.5.1	The possessive construction	180
5.5.2	The locative construction	182
5.5.3	The vocative	187
5.5.4	The object concord and negative of the passive	188
5.6	Lexical shifts	190
5.6.1	Borrowing	191
5.6.1.1	Spiritual and religious titles	193
5.6.1.2	Religious festivals	199
5.6.1.3	Religious practices	200
5.6.1.4	Words of Xhosa and Khoi origin in the Zulu Bible	202
5.6.1.5	Zulu terms for the Supreme Being	204

5.6.2	Derivation	207
5.6.3	Semantic shifts	210
5.7	The transliteration of Greek and Hebrew names	216
5.8	Standardisation	222
5.9	Conclusion	223

CHAPTER 6: FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATION

6.1	Introduction	224
6.2	The translations of the American Board Mission: The 1848 translation of the Book of Matthew: the 1865 translation of the New Testament and the 1924 translation of the Bible	225
6.3	Colenso's translations: The 1855 adaptation and the 1897 translation of the New Testament	242
6.4	Döhne's translation of the Gospels	246
6.5	The 1924 translation of the New Testament by the Hermannsburg Mission	247
6.6	The 1959 translation of the Bible by the British and Foreign Bible Society	248
6.7	The 1966 Roman Catholic Mission translation of the New Testament	251
6.8	The 1986 translation of the Bible Society of South Africa based on the principle of dynamic equivalence	252
	6.8.1 Use of cultural substitutions	253
	6.8.2 Use of idioms	253
	6.8.3 Use of synonyms	253
	6.8.4 Domesticating foreign concepts	254
6.9	The 1994 New World Translation of the New Testament	254
6.10	The 1997 revised edition of the Bible by the Bible Society of South Africa	255
6.11	Conclusion	256

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

7.1	Introduction	257
7.2	Synopsis of the chapters	257
7.3	Limitations of current study	261
7.4	Contribution of current study	262
7.5	Implications for further research	263

List of Tables

	Pages
Table 1.1: The corpus of the study	5
Table 3.1: Translations by translators in co-operation with Bible Societies	86
Table 3.2: Translations by independent translators	87
Table 4.1: Places where the various biblical texts were obtained	114
Table 4.2: The size of the corpus in number of words	115
Table 4.3: Comparison of type/token information	117
Table 4.4: A comparison of the 1848 and the 1959 frequency lists	125
Table 4.5: Phonological choices made by the translators of the Zulu Bible	130
Table 4.6: The use of capital letters in the earlier stages of the Zulu Bible translation	135
Table 4.7: The use of capital letters in the later stages of the Zulu Bible translation	136
Table 4.8: Possessive formation rule	137
Table 4.9: Representations of the vowel-initial place name Egypt in Zulu	137
Table 4.10: Locative construction with vowel-initial nouns	138
Table 4.11: Semantic shift in the Zulu Bible	143
Table 5.1: Comparison between Gardiner's way of writing Zulu and the current written conventions in Zulu	149
Table 5.2: Texts that used the disjunctive method of writing	152
Table 5.3: Texts that used the conjunctive method of writing	153
Table 5.4: Disjunctive writing in the 1924 translation of the ABM	154
Table 5.5: Comparison of type of words used in the 1848 and 1959 translations	155
Table 5.6: Translations that used disjunctive writing versus those that	

	used conjunctive writing	156
Table 5.7:	The use of capital letters in the earlier stages of Zulu Bible Translation	158
Table 5.8:	The use of capital letters in the later stages of Zulu Bible translation	160
Table 5.9:	The locative <u>e Egipte</u> in the 1866 and 1987 translations	185
Table 5.10:	The locative <u>eGip(i)te</u> in the 1848, 1855, 1865 1924 (American Board Mission) and 1924 (Hermannsburg) translations	185
Table 5.11:	The locative <u>eGib(h)ithe</u> in the 1959, 1966, 1986, 1994 and 1997 translations	186
Table 6.1	Foreign names of biblical origin	249

List of Figures:

		Pages
Figure 2.1:	Toury's initial norm and the continuum of the adequate and acceptable translation	35
Figure 2.2:	Preliminary norms	35
Figure 2.3:	Operational norms	36
Figure 4.1:	Concordances of the search root <i>-buis-</i>	120
Figure 4.2:	The KWIC in a monolingual concordance	121
Figure 4.3:	Explanatory information	121
Figure 4.4:	Concordances of <i>abantu</i>	122
Figure 4.5:	Search word with the wild card '*'	123
Figure 4.6:	Search results with the wild card '*'	123
Figure 4.7:	An extract from Colenso's adaptation showing a trace of conjunctive writing	131
Figure 4.8:	Translations of the Bible in disjunctive writing	132
Figure 4.9:	Translations of the Bible in conjunctive writing	133
Figure 5.1:	Written Zulu in 1835	148
Figure 5.2:	Extracts from <i>Ilanga laseNatal</i> 10 April 1903	153
Figure 5.3:	Concordances of the demonstrative pronoun in disjunctive writing	156
Figure 5.4(a):	The /u/ and /a/ combination	161
Figure 5.4(b):	The replacement of /u/ with /w/	162
Figure 5.4(c):	Vowel juxtaposition in personal names and the use of a hyphen to separate vowels	162
Figure 5.5:	The use of a hyphen to separate vowels in vowel-initial personal names	163
Figure 5.6(a):	The /u/ and /e/ combination	163
Figure 5.6(b):	The replacement of /u/ with /w/	164
Figure 5.6(c):	Vowel juxtaposition in personal names	164

Figure 5.7:	The use of a hyphen to separate vowels in vowel-initial personal names	165
Figure 5.8(a):	The /u/ and /i/ combination	165
Figure 5.8(b):	The replacement of /u/ with /w/	165
Figure 5.9:	The use of a hyphen to separate vowels in vowel-initial personal names	165
Figure 5.10(a):	The /u/ and /o/ combination	166
Figure 5.10(b):	Dropping of a vowel in the context of juxtaposed vowels	167
Figure 5.10(c):	Vowel juxtaposition in personal names	167
Figure 5.10(d):	The use of the hyphen to separate vowels	168
Figure 5.11(a):	The /a/ and /u/ combination	168
Figure 5.11(b):	Concordances of /a/ and /u/ in the 1897 translation	168
Figure 5.11(c):	The correct representation of the infinitive [-ku-]	169
Figure 5.11(d):	The use of the semi-vowel /w/	169
Figure 5.12:	The use of a hyphen with the enclitic <i>-ke</i>	169
Figure 5.13(a):	Concordances of /k/	170
Figure 5.13(b):	Concordances of /p/	170
Figure 5.13(c):	Concordances of /t/	170
Figure 5.13(d):	Concordances of /kh/	171
Figure 5.13(e):	Concordances of /ph/	171
Figure 5.13(f):	Concordances of /th/	171
Figure 5.14(a):	Concordances for <u>beka</u> (lit. put)	172
Figure 5.14(b):	Concordances for <u>beka</u> (lit. look) (old orthography)	172
Figure 5.14(c):	Concordances of <u>bheka</u> (lit. look) (new orthography)	172
Figure 5.15(a):	The realisation of voiced affricate in earlier translations	173
Figure 5.15(b):	Earlier developments of the voiced fricative	173
Figure 5.15(c):	Later developments of the voiced fricative	174
Figure 5.16(a):	Concordances of /y/	174
Figure 5.16(b):	Concordances of /j/	175

Figure 5.17(a):	Concordances of /g/ in the 1848 translation	175
Figure 5.17(b):	Concordances of /g/ in the 1848 and 1855 translations	176
Figure 5.17(c):	Concordances of /ng/ in other translations	176
Figure 5.18(a):	The Xhosa phoneme /ty/ in earlier translations	176
Figure 5.18(b):	Colenso's uses /J/ in the place of /ty/	177
Figure 5.18(c):	The use of a Zulu phoneme /tsh/	178
Figure 5.19(a):	The use of the phoneme /r/	178
Figure 5.19(b):	Döhne's use of the phoneme /r/	178
Figure 5.19(c):	The use of the Zulu glottalic /h/ in earlier translations	179
Figure 5.19(d):	The use of the Zulu glottalic /h/ in later translations	179
Figure 5.20(a):	The possessive in earlier translations	180
Figure 5.20(b):	The possessive formed from vowel-subject concords in earlier translations	181
Figure 5.20(c):	The possessive in later translations	182
Figure 5.21(a):	Concordances of the locative <u>ekandeni</u>	182
Figure 5.21(b):	Concordances of the locative <u>ekanda/ekhanda</u>	183
Figure 5.22(a):	The locative <u>epupueni</u> in the 1848 translation	183
Figure 5.22(b):	The locative <u>epupweni</u> in the 1855, 1987, 1924 (American Board Mission) and 1924 (Hermannsburg translations)	184
Figure 5.22(c):	The locative <u>epusheni</u> in the 1959, 1966, 1994 and 1997 translations	184
Figure 5.23:	The transliteration of vowel-initial place names	187
Figure 5.24(a):	The vocative in the 1855 translation	187
Figure 5.24(b):	The vocative in other translations of the Bible	188
Figure 5.25(a):	The vowel morphemes in the 1848 and 1865 translations	188
Figure 5.25(b):	The object concord as represented in other translations of the Bible	189
Figure 5.25(c):	The use of the negative morpheme [-i] in the 1848	

	translation	189
Figure 5.25(d):	The use of the negative morpheme [-nga-] in the other translations	190
Figure 5.26(a):	Concordances of the loanword ' <u>umprofethi</u> '	194
Figure 5.26(b):	Nouns formed from the loanword ' <u>umprofethi</u> '	194
Figure 5.26(c):	Verbs formed from the loanword ' <u>umprofethi</u> '	194
Figure 5.26(d):	Negative loan verbs	195
Figure 5.26(e):	Possessives formed from the loanword ' <u>umprofethi</u> '	195
Figure 5.26(f):	Adverbs formed from the loanword ' <u>umprofethi</u> '	195
Figure 5.26(g):	Copulatives formed from the loanword ' <u>umprofethi</u> '	195
Figure 5.26(h):	Concordances of Döhne's <u>umpolofeti</u>	196
Figure 5.27:	Concordances of the loanword <u>ingelosi</u>	197
Figure 5.28(a):	Concordances of the loanword <u>abafarisi</u>	198
Figure 5.28(b):	Concordances of the loanword <u>abafarisia</u>	198
Figure 5.29:	Concordances of <u>iphasika</u>	199
Figure 5.30:	The use of the word <u>iSabatha</u> in the Zulu Bible	200
Figure 5.31:	Concordances of <u>ukubhaphathiza</u>	201
Figure 5.32:	Concordances of <u>unyana</u>	202
Figure 5.33:	Concordances of <u>indodana</u> in the later translations	202
Figure 5.34:	Concordances of <u>uThixo</u>	203
Figure 5.35:	Concordances of <u>uDio</u>	204
Figure 5.36(a):	Concordances of <u>uNkulunkulu</u> in the Zulu Bible	205
Figure 5.36(b):	Concordances of <u>uMvelinqangi</u> in the Zulu Bible	206
Figure 5.37:	Concordances of <u>umazisi</u>	208
Figure 5.38:	Concordances of <u>umzenzisi</u>	208
Figure 5.39(a):	Concordances of <u>umlingi</u>	209
Figure 5.39(b):	Concordances of <u>olingayo</u>	209
Figure 5.40:	Concordances of <u>abafundi</u>	210
Figure 5.41:	Concordances of <u>umbalo</u>	210
Figure 5.42:	Concordances of <u>izulu</u>	212
Figure 5.43:	Concordances of <u>ukukhuleka</u>	213

Figure 5.44:	Concordances of <u>inkosi</u>	214
Figure 5.45:	Concordances of <u>ukukhonza</u>	214
Figure 5.46(a):	Concordances of <u>ukusindisa</u>	215
Figure 5.46(b):	Concordances of <u>ukusindisa</u>	215
Figure 5.47(a):	Concordances of <u>Upiterosi</u>	218
Figure 5.47(b):	Concordances of <u>uPetru</u>	218
Figure 5.47(c):	Concordances of <u>uPhetro</u>	218
Figure 4.48:	Concordances of <u>uEmanuweli</u>	219
Figure 5.49:	Concordances of <u>uRakheji</u>	220
Figure 5.50:	Concordances of <u>u-Abrahama</u>	221

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to research problem

A great deal of experience and knowledge about other cultures is mediated through various forms of translation. Our understanding of issues central to our lives is no less dependent on translation than our understanding of world literature (Baker 1993:233). This statement is true not only in relation to world literature, but also with regard to the situation in South Africa. A great deal of knowledge has been passed on to us through various translated texts.

Ntuli and Swanepoel (1993:20) commend the efforts of the missionaries in capturing the African languages in writing; in training large portions of the African population in reading and writing and in translating the Bible. The conversion of the African people to Christianity, a new and unfamiliar religion, caused shifts in their social, economic and political lives, bringing with it new experiences and necessitating new forms of expression. The fact that they had access to a written Bible in their own languages after the advent of the missionaries not only had a significant impact on their way of life, but also affected their literature, effecting a transition from the oral to the written mode.

Ntuli and Swanepoel (1993:20) go even further and attribute the emergence of African written literature to the translation of the Bible, and they see this as a highly important step. In their view, Bible translation has unlocked a considerable portion of world literature for South African writers, enabling South Africans to share experiences with other nations of the world and also introducing them to almost all contemporary forms of literature. This gave prospective writers numerous models for their work, including fantasy, novellas, hymns, laudations and other forms of poetry, fragments of the dramatic, and so on. Thus, through the translation of the Bible into the various African languages, which resulted in these languages being written down, the African languages can today boast of a variety of written literary works.

Although the role played by the translation of the Bible in developing the literatures of the various African languages in general is widely acknowledged by South African scholars, little research has been done to account for the contribution Bible translation has made to the development and growth of written Zulu¹, except Van der Walt (1989), who gives an account of the scientific studies done on the Zulu language, and Wilkes (2000), who traces the development of Zulu orthography from the period of the American Board Missionaries to 1993. Other relevant studies in the area of Zulu Bible translation include those of Hermanson. In his MA study (1991), Hermanson explores the problems of transliterating biblical names of Greek and Hebrew origin into Zulu and in his doctoral study (1995), he examines the problems of translating metaphor in the book of Amos.

The Zulu language was first set to writing by the American Board Mission with the publication of the booklet *Incuadi yokuqala yabafundayo*, published in 1837. This continued with the first translation of a book of the Bible, the Book of Matthew, which is the focus of this study. The Book of Matthew was translated in 1848 by the American Board Mission. After this first translation, several translations and revised editions appeared, the last of which is in the 1997 Bible produced by the Bible Society of South Africa. On observing the language used in these texts, one tends to notice a number of shifts in orthography, morphology, the lexicon and the manner in which proper names have been transliterated from Greek and Hebrew.

1.2 Aims and rationale

The primary objective of this study is firstly to identify and define the linguistic shifts in the orthography, morphology, lexicon and manner in which biblical proper names have been transliterated from Greek and Hebrew. It is most significant to know the background from which written Zulu has emerged, and thus this study will diachronically follow its development over time in twelve translations or revised

¹ Although section 6(1) of the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act No.108 of 1996, refers to the indigenous languages of the Republic as Sepedi, Sesotho, Setswana, SiSwati, Tshivenda, Xitsonga, IsiNdebele, IsiXhosa and IsiZulu, the Pan South African Language Board in Government Gazette No. 22223 of 20 April 2001, decided that it is unnatural and ungrammatical to adopt and impose sound systems and prefixes of one language into another, the orthographic rules of each one of these languages should be respected. Each of the languages should be allowed to use the name of the languages according to its own orthography and sound system. Thus, the recommendation of the Board regarding the use of the correct English names for the various indigenous languages of South Africa has been adopted in this study, Zulu, Xhosa, Swati, Ndebele and Tsonga.

editions of the Book of Matthew, which were produced either under the auspices of various missionary societies or by translators who worked independently of missionary societies. This will enhance the understanding of the past and present state of written Zulu.

This study will also demonstrate the feasibility of corpus-based research in the indigenous languages of South Africa. Corpus-based research as a method of linguistic analysis became popular in the English-speaking world in the past twenty years, and also in other languages of Europe and Asia, but very few studies have as yet been attempted in the indigenous languages of South Africa, let alone in the field of Bible translation. This corpus-based study therefore breaks new ground in its application to Zulu and most importantly in the analysis of linguistic data from the Zulu Bible.

When considering the translation process, it is equally important to consider the impact of the various norms that constrain translational behaviour. In Toury's (1995) view, norms are criteria of appropriate behaviour that guide the translator in her/his choices (cf. Chapter 2 par 2.4.2.2). Toury (1980; 1995) identifies three types of norms: the "initial norm", which refers to the general choice made by translators; "preliminary norms", which concern "translation policy" and "directness of translation"; and "operational norms" which govern decisions about the textual make-up of the translated text (Toury 1995: 56-58).

The secondary aim of this study is to establish the predominant norms and translation strategies used by the various translators of the Book of Matthew into Zulu, and if possible to determine whether these strategies display evidence of universals of translation behaviour or whether they should be considered to be specific stylistic interventions on the part of Zulu Bible translators. In this regard, Kenny (2001:52) makes the point that phenomena that occur with a high frequency should not be automatically assumed to have been caused by translational norms. Rather, they may be evidence of "universals of translation behaviour". While norms are socially and culturally determined and change over time, universals represent general tendencies, and are observed irrespective of the translator, language, genre or period.

Through the translation of the Bible into Zulu and the development of the Zulu literary system, Zulu vocabulary has gradually been enlarged to meet the language needs of the people. This will lead me to the third aim of this study, namely to determine to what extent the shifts identified in Zulu Bible translations measure the development and growth of written Zulu. In dealing with any kind of shift, it is important to assess its significance and implications in a given context. Nida as cited by Venuti (2000:127) rightly confirms that no two languages are the same, and thus there can be no absolute correspondence between languages. Often, the target language has no direct equivalent with which to express the same meaning as the source language word, which causes a dilemma for the translator, who struggles to express foreign concepts in the target language, and must therefore use various translation strategies and term-formation processes in order to address this difficulty. It could be assumed then, that some of the new words of biblical origin which we find in Zulu were introduced into the language by Bible translators as a deliberate translation strategy to deal with the difficulty of expressing certain foreign concepts when translating the Bible.

My hypothesis is that these shifts are landmarks that point to the development and growth of the written language. Since these differences are linguistic rather than theological in nature, it is assumed that the translators of subsequent translations saw the necessity of revising and improving Zulu written conventions which had not been adequately represented in preceding translations or revised editions. These shifts could also denote two distinct periods in the development of written Zulu, as affirmed by the extent of growth and development seen in the translations (cf. par. 1.3).

1.3 Method of research

The analysis of biblical linguistic data will be carried out using corpus-based research. A corpus originally meant any collection of writings, in a processed or unprocessed form, usually by a specific author, but in recent years, and with the growth of corpus linguistics, a corpus can refer to the following (Baker 1995:223):

- a collection of texts held in machine-readable form and capable of being analysed automatically or semi-automatically in various ways;
- spoken as well as written texts

- a number of texts from a variety of sources by many writers and speakers and on a multitude of topics.

The following texts were thus collated for the specific purpose of studying the linguistic patterns as observed in them, according to explicit design criteria. I thereby ensured that this corpus is representative of the sample of language for which it aims to account:

Year	Text	Translation/Adaptation/Version	Author/Publisher
1848	Umatu	Translation of the Book of Matthew	<u>Authors:</u> George Champion & Newton Adams <u>Publishers:</u> American Board Mission
1855	Umatu	Adaptation of the 1848 translation of Matthew	<u>Author:</u> Colenso
1865	Ivangeli ngokuloba kuka Mateu (Gospel according to Matthew)	Translation of the New Testament	<u>Publishers:</u> American Bible Society
1866	Ivangeli elilotywe u Mateus (Gospel according to Matthew)	Translation of the Gospels	<u>Publishers:</u> John Döhne
1897	Ivangeli ukuti Izindab'ezinhle ezalotshwa UMATU (Gospel of the Good News according to Matthew)	Translation of the New Testament	<u>Author:</u> Colenso
1924	Ivangeli ngokuloba kuka Mateu (Gospel according to Matthew)	Translation of the Holy Bible	<u>Publishers:</u> American Bible Society
1924	Ivangeli elilotshwe uMateus (Gospel according to Matthew)	Translation of the New Testament	<u>Publishers:</u> Hermannsburg Mission
1959	Ivangeli ngokukaMathewu (Gospel according to Matthew)	Translation of the Holy Bible	<u>Publishers:</u> The British and Foreign Bible Society
1966	IVangeli Eliyingcwele LikaJesu Kristo Njengoba Libhalwe NguMathewu Ocwebileyo (Holy Gospel of Jesus Christ according to the Holy Matthew)	Translation of the New Testament	<u>Publishers:</u> Roman Catholic Mission
1986	UMatewu usilandisa INDABA EMNANDI (Matthew narrates to us the GOOD NEWS)	Translation of the New Testament and Psalms	<u>Publishers:</u> Bible Society of South Africa
1994	NgokukaMathewu (according to Matthew)	Translation of the New Testament	<u>Publishers:</u> Watch Tower Tract Society
1997	Ivangeli ngokukaMathewu (Gospel according to Matthew)	Revision of the 1959 translation in new orthography	<u>Publishers:</u> Bible Society of South Africa

Table 1.1: The corpus of the study

The translations could be categorised first, as those belonging to an earlier period (referred to as 'earlier translations' in this study) because they were produced during the earlier stages of the written language, and second those that could be considered as belonging to a later period, which saw accelerated growth and development, and which are referred to as 'later translations'. Translations that fall under the earlier period are:

- the two translations by the American Board Mission, namely, the 1848 Book of Matthew and, the 1865 New Testament;
- the two translations of Colenso, namely the 1855 adaptation of the 1848 Book of Matthew by the American Board Mission, and his 1897 translation of the New Testament;
- Döhne's 1866 translation of the four Gospels;
- the 1924 translation of the entire Bible by the American Board Mission; and
- the 1924 translation of the New Testament by the Hermannsburg Mission.

Translations that fall under the later period include:

- the 1959 translation of the entire Bible by the British and Foreign Bible Society;
- the 1966 translation of the New Testament by the Roman Catholic Mission;
- the 1986 translation of the New Testament and Psalms by the Bible Society of South Africa;
- the 1994 translation of the New Testament by the Watch Tower Tract Society; and
- the 1997 revision of the entire Bible by the Bible Society of South Africa.

These collected texts will be presented in a machine-readable format. *WordSmith Tools 3.0*, authored by Mike Scott, which has various corpus analysis tools such as the KWIC (acronym for Key Word In Context) concordance as well as Wordlists and Keywords, will be used for analysing the corpus data. Using the concordance, occurrences of a specified search word or expression in the corpus will be displayed with the specified search word or expression set in the middle of the concordance line. In this manner I will then be able to see the context in which the search word or expression occurs and the frequency of its occurrence in the corpus. I will then analyse the data by comparing the results presented by the concordances, after which the necessary findings and conclusions will be presented.

The primary motivation for the use of a concordance in the present study is to compare the various structures and usages of language as observed in the corpus, in order to test and confirm my hypothesis about whether the various patterns of orthography, morphology, the lexicon and use of biblical names observed in the different texts of the Book of Matthew do indeed attest to the growth and development of written Zulu.

However, use of a concordance program does not necessarily imply that research is corpus-driven. It is perfectly possible to use a concordance program simply to look for data to support a hypothesis which has been arrived at by some means other than analysing the corpus, and this study will therefore be data-driven rather than corpus-driven.

The main rationale behind choosing the various texts of the Book of Matthew to form the corpus of my study is that, as I have mentioned, the Book of Matthew was the first book of the Bible to be translated into Zulu. Thus, it is believed that it will be the best vehicle for a chronological comparison of linguistic patterns that are representative of the forms of language used in the corpus from the earliest period when the language was first recorded in writing, right up to the present. Therefore, one can map the development of the written language from its earliest stages of development through to the present. The translations of the Book of Matthew probably represent the most consistent written record of the language over the years, and they will most likely offer a reliable, credible and logical reflection of all written advancements made on the language over the years. These texts are classified as a single monolingual corpus (see Chapter 4, par. 4.3.1), because this corpus consists of one set of texts produced in the Zulu language.

Through the shifts observed in these texts, it will be possible to trace when certain ways of writing, divisions of words, parts of speech, etc. entered the language or fell into disuse. It will also be possible to trace which specific items from related languages such as Xhosa and/or from languages of the translators entered the language and when they did so. The translation and word formation strategies used in incorporating unfamiliar lexical items into the language will also be examined. The

shifts observed will also be viewed against the backdrop of language policies promulgated during the various stages of Bible translation.

Some biblical texts have not been included in the corpus, namely the 1883 Bible by the American Board Mission, the 1917 New Testament, also by the American Board Mission and the 1977 Bible. This is due to the fact they are similar to texts already included, and analysing them would therefore not deliver new insights. The Book of Matthew in the 1883 Bible is similar to its corresponding version in the 1865 New Testament produced by the American Board Mission. The Book of Matthew in the 1917 New Testament is similar to the Book of Matthew in the 1924 Bible, both produced by the American Board Mission, and the Book of Matthew in the 1977 Bible is a reprint of the 1959 Bible produced by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

1.4 Theoretical framework

Descriptive translation studies, or DTS, as it is generally known, is the theoretical framework that informs the arguments presented in this study. It was chosen on the basis that DTS approaches translations within a target-oriented framework, thus allowing the researcher to collect translated texts in the target language and allowing them to be objects of study in their own right. DTS also encourages the description of all kinds of translation and provides a wide basis on which to conduct research. It allows room for micro-level textual studies, but also emphasises the importance of macro-level textual studies (Kruger 2000:10). Therefore, DTS does not concern itself with providing guidelines for the next translation and passing judgement on any existing ones: rather, it takes the translated text as it is and attempts to determine the various factors that may account for its particular nature (Hermans 1985:13).

The fact that DTS represents the branch that concerns itself with the systematic description of three distinct empirical phenomena seen as constituting the object of the discipline as a whole - the product, the process and the function of translation - is another motivating factor for this study. Toury (1980:42) maintains that the object of the target text-oriented approach to literary translation is to supply a theoretical framework as well as tools, not for the study of translations in isolation, but for a descriptive study of translated texts and corpora of texts in their environment, the target literary polysystem and the systems and subsystems that comprise it. In this

respect, DTS differs not only from the source-oriented approaches which have been found altogether inadequate for the study of actual translations as empirical, observable phenomena, but also from other theories suggested in the past.

Toury (1995:3) contends that a systematic branch similar to DTS can ensure that the findings of individual studies will be testable and comparable intersubjectively, and the studies themselves will be replicable, thus facilitating an ordered accumulation of knowledge. The relationship between DTS and the other two branches, the theoretical and the applied, is dialectal and the development of the entire discipline is dependent on the harmonious and dynamic interaction between all three elements, which enjoy equal status (Laviosa 2002:10-11; 2003:46).

The three different research focus areas of DTS constitute a complex whole, within which the function of translation is viewed as the position which the product of translation and the activity of translating occupy in the target culture. Toury's (1995) use of the term 'function' is specific. The position (function) of a translation within the recipient culture is regarded as a strong governing factor for the very make-up of the product, in terms of underlying models, linguistic representation, or both. Translations always come into being within a certain cultural environment and are designed to meet certain needs of, and/or to occupy certain 'slots' in it. Consequently, translators may be said to operate first and foremost in the interests of the culture within which they are translating (Toury 1995:12). Function determines the actual textual make-up of the translation and governs the process of translating, that is, the strategies employed by the translator to produce a target text from a source text and the resulting relationships obtained between them.

The prospective function of the translation, via its textual-linguistic make-up and/or the relationship which tie it to its original, also governs the strategies which are resorted to during the production of the text in question, and hence the translation process as such. Toury (1995) believes that a product-oriented study must take into account questions pertaining to the determining force of its intended function and to the strategies governed by the norms of establishing a 'proper' product. Similarly, a process-oriented study of whatever type should incorporate the cultural-semiotic conditions under which it occurs (Toury 1995:12-13).

The relationship between DTS and theory is reciprocal, so that the results of observational and experimental descriptive research which reveal what translation 'does involve' under various conditions and why, will always have a bearing on the theoretical branch in the form of verification, revision and expansion of existing assumptions about what translation 'can involve'. On the basis of this empirical foundation the theory will be in a position to predict what translation is 'likely to involve' under various circumstances (Toury 1995: 15).

Laviosa (2002:12; 2003:47) asserts that the methodological procedures that Toury puts forward for DTS with the aim of unveiling the relationships obtained between function, product and process of translation start with the identification of the object of study. This consists of 'assumed translations', defined as 'all utterances which are presented or regarded as such within the target culture, on no matter what grounds' (Toury 1995: 32). The rationale for this definition derives from two basic tenets informing DTS. The first is that 'translations are facts of target cultures; on occasion facts of a special status, sometimes even constituting identifiable (sub)systems of their own, but of the target culture in any event' (Toury 1995:29). The second affirms that translations are texts in their own right, not just representations of other texts. Within this target-oriented and empirical perspective, the initial criteria for selecting individual texts or a corpus of texts are external, provisional, and firmly based on the target language system.

The descriptive methodology that Toury (1980/1995) proposes involves a gradual inductive progression from observable phenomena realised in real translation products to the non-observable factors that govern translational behaviour. At each stage of this process, hypotheses are formulated on the basis of empirical descriptions; they are verified through 'discovery procedures' that are first applied to an individual text, then to an expanding corpus within the same target culture and beyond it, aiming to achieve higher and higher levels of generalisation. The interaction between data, description and empirically-derived principles is a salient aspect of this method of inquiry into the subject matter of Translation Studies. Toury stresses the desirability of developing a coherent descriptive methodology in order to compare results, replicate studies and widen the scope of our current knowledge concerning the nature of translation (Laviosa 2002:15; 2003:49).

As well as studying individual translations and corpora, Toury puts forward a second-order object of translation studies: the norms that constrain translational behaviour. This construct is based on the recognition that the translation activity is embedded in its socio-cultural milieu; it fulfils a function assigned to it by the target community and there are criteria of appropriate behaviour that guide the translator in her/his choices (Toury 1995: 56-58).

Since norms are unobservable, they can only be reconstructed. The two main sources of data are the linguistic regularities observed in the translated texts themselves (textual sources) and the extra-textual sources consisting of the principles put forward by the prescriptive theories of translation, the statements made by critics, translators, editors, publishers and other practitioners working in this field. However, the information gathered from indirect sources is considered less reliable than linguistic evidence because it is viewed as a by-product of the 'existence and activity of norms' rather than a primary product of 'norm-regulated behaviour' (Toury 1995: 65).

Kruger (2000:10) believes that the rise of DTS under the influence of polysystem theory has reversed the traditional evaluative comparisons, where one source text and its target text are the focus, to facilitating comparisons of a series of texts or translation problems. She further highlights the fact that DTS is an approach that allows room for micro-level textual studies, but also that it stresses the importance of macro-level, sociological expansions of the field. Kruger (2000) maintains that in this way researchers will gain insight into many factors that characterise the translation product and determine its function.

Laviosa (2002:16) draws a parallel between essential aspects of Toury's historical-descriptive approach to translation studies and the principles underlying the corpus linguistic outlook on language. She asserts that both descriptive translation studies and corpus linguistics embrace an empirical perspective, and investigate their respective objects of study through the direct observation of real-life examples, rather than through speculations based on intuitive data or *a-priori* assumptions. The selection of individual texts or corpora is not determined by some fixed definition of what is appropriate for investigation, but is mainly based, at least initially, on consensual criteria and external classifications. Moreover, both approaches affirm

that the generalisations derived from empirical evidence can only be valid if based on the study of large collections of texts, not just individual instances. Finally, the principles that pertain to their respective objects of study are discovered by systematic research and are expressed in terms of probabilistic rules of behaviour rather than prescriptive pronouncements.

1.5 Analytical framework

The theoretical framework will also form the analytical framework against which the study will be carried out. In addition, the procedures followed will also be outlined. A *tertium comparationis* will serve as the basis of comparison for the description of texts, both at macro- and micro level. The use of the term *tertium comparationis* here will be different from that of Toury who, in the early 1980s, introduced the concept of ‘adequate translation’ to serve as the *tertium comparationis* for any comparison of the target and source texts. For the purposes of the study, the *tertium comparationis* will be used in the sense suggested by Kruger and Wallmach (1997) as the “invariant of the comparison”. According to this model, one has to take into account a complex network of relations between the source text and the political, social, cultural, literary and textual norms and the conventions of the source system on the one hand, and the target text(s) and the political, social, cultural, literary and textual norms and the conventions of the target system on the other.

In the case of this study, the *tertium comparationis* will comprise differences in orthography, morphology, the lexicon and the manner in which proper names have been transliterated from Greek and Hebrew in the various translations of the Book of Matthew.

1.6 Organisation of the study

Chapter 1 outlines the aim and rationale for the study and also establishes the context for the research problem within a broader theoretical and empirical framework.

Chapter 2 delineates the prescriptive translation theories against which the translations of the Bible were generally produced, and move to descriptive translation

theories which will form the theoretical framework on which this study is based, right through to a discussion of corpus-based translation studies.

Chapter 3 examines the history of Zulu Bible translation, taking into account historical conditions of the Zulu people which have a bearing on language prior to their encounter with the white people and the history of the earliest missionary contact with the Zulu. The first publications in the language will be charted as well as the publications that emerged as the years progressed. This section of the study will also focus on the language planning policies which prevailed during the period when the first translation of the Bible into Zulu was produced, up to and including the period when the latest version of the Bible was produced, to examine to what extent these policies affected the development of written Zulu.

Chapter 4 focuses on the analytical framework and research procedures that will be used in achieving the objectives of this study. In this chapter it will be shown that orthography, morphology, the lexicon and the transliteration of biblical personal names will form the basis of comparison for this study. These elements will be drawn from the twelve texts that comprise the corpus of this study and will be analysed using the concordancing tool of *WordSmith Tools*.

Chapter 5 provides an analysis of the various shifts that occur in the corpus of the study. Analysis will be carried out in the areas of orthography, phonology, morphology and the transliteration of biblical personal names. The search results will be interpreted and the findings presented.

Chapter 6 constitutes the conclusion to the study. The contribution made by this study towards corpus-based research in Zulu will be outlined and suggestions made for future research.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES ON TRANSLATION

2.1 Introduction

Seeing that this study will be focusing on the translation of the Zulu Bible and its role in developing the written form of the language, descriptive translation studies as espoused by Toury (1980) will emerge as the most pertinent theoretical model against which to carry out this type of study. The descriptive model considers translations as items that are never produced in a vacuum, unaffected by time and culture. Most importantly, translations are seen as factors of the target culture. It is against this theoretical background that I am afforded an opportunity to collect Zulu translations of the Book of Matthew, study them, describe the linguistic patterns observed in them, interpret the results and draw conclusions as to their role in mapping the growth and development of written Zulu. The descriptive approach also lends itself well to the study because it supports corpus work by which the corpus used in this study will be analysed.

Thus, in this chapter, various theories of translation will be examined, largely focusing on descriptive translation studies as the overarching theoretical model. However, I will also look at normative and prescriptive theories through which the product and process of translation were evaluated before the advent of the descriptive approach. The rationale behind examining prescriptive approaches is that the translation of the Bible in general, as well as the translation of the Bible into the indigenous languages of South Africa, was carried out when prescriptive theories were most prevalent. In this regard, Nida's (1964; 1969) principles towards translation will receive the most attention, and the application of his theories to the translation of the Bible into the indigenous languages of South Africa will also be examined. In addition, corpus-based translation research, an offshoot of descriptive translation studies which underpins the present study, is discussed in detail.

While scholars like Gentzler (1993) and Munday (2001) are firm in their belief that the study of translation as an academic subject began some fifty years ago in the English-speaking world (Munday 2001:5), this claim cannot, at this stage be made in relation to the indigenous languages of Southern Africa. The study of translation as an academic field that warrants scientific research in its own right in the indigenous languages of South Africa is still in its infancy. While there are some studies which relate to translation in the indigenous languages of South Africa, to my knowledge there are very few of these.

Research done so far in the indigenous languages of South Africa using the corpus-based approach include those of Moropa (2005) *An investigation of translation universals in a parallel corpus of English-Xhosa texts*; Madiba's (2004) article entitled "Parallel corpora as tools for developing the indigenous languages of South Africa, with special reference to Venda"; Gauton and De Schryver's (2004) article entitled, "Translating technical terms into isiZulu with the aid of multilingual and/or parallel corpora"; Moropa's (2004) article entitled, "A parallel corpus as a terminology resource for Xhosa: A study of strategies used to translate financial statements". Corpus-based research on Bible translation in this country includes Kruger's (2002) article entitled "Corpus-based translation research: its development and implications for general, literary and Bible translation"; Wehrmeyer's (2004) article entitled "CTS and Bible translation: A study in belling the cat", and Naudé's (2004) article entitled "Representation of poetry in Afrikaans Bible translations: A corpus-based analysis" and Masubelele's (2004) article entitled "A corpus-based appraisal of shifts in language use and translation policies in two isiZulu translations of the Book of Matthew".

Munday (2001:5), attributes the emergence of translation studies as an academic discipline to the Dutch-based US scholar, James A. Holmes. James Holmes was the first to provide a framework for this discipline and in doing so, he divided it into two major categories: translation theory and descriptive science on the one hand, and applied translation studies which dealt with activities such as the training of translators and the provision of translation aids as well as translation criticism and policy on the other (Naudé 2002:45). Munday (2001:5) points out that,

Holmes described the then recently-formed discipline as being concerned with 'the problems clustered round the phenomenon of translating and translation'. The practice of translation was discussed by, for example, Cicero and Horace in the first century BCE, and St Jerome in the fourth century CE. St Jerome's approach to translating the Greek Septuagint Bible into Latin affected later translations of the Scriptures. The translation of the Bible was to be the battle-ground of conflicting ideologies in western Europe for well over a thousand years and especially during the reformation in the sixteenth century.

Munday (2001:5)

Thus, it is clear that while the practice of translating has long been established, the study of translation developed into an academic discipline only later. Before that, translation had normally been considered to be a secondary or derivative activity, the very existence of which depended on other primary or 'original' text production (Kruger 2000:28).

Baker (1993:233-234) maintains that if translated texts were to be studied at all, these texts were traditionally analysed with the sole purpose of proving that, without doubt they fell short of reproducing all the glory of the original. In Baker's opinion, during the prescriptive era, translations were viewed as a second-rate activity, not worthy of serious academic enquiry, no more than second-hand and distorted versions of 'real' texts. As proof of this, she cites the low status that was accorded to translated texts by many corpus builders working within corpus linguistics in Europe, who specifically excluded translated texts from their corpora. According to Baker, this was done on the grounds that translated texts were thought not to be representative and that they distorted people's view of the 'real' language under investigation.

In the following section of my discussion, I will examine the development of translation studies as a field of scientific study.

2.2 The development of translation studies as a field of scientific research

As highlighted by Munday (2001:9-10), the more systematic and mostly linguistic-oriented approach to the study of translation began to emerge in the 1950s and 1960s in works by Jean-Paul Vinay and Jean Darbelnet in 1958; Alfred Malblanc in 1963; George Mounin in 1963 and Nida in 1964. The word 'science' was used by Nida in the title of his 1964 book *Toward a Science of Translating*; the German

equivalent, *Übersetzungswissenschaft*, was taken up by Wolfram Wilss in his teaching and research at the Universität des Saarlandes at Saarbrücken, by Koller in Heidelberg and by the Leipzig school, where scholars such as Kade and Neubert became active. At that time, even the name of the emerging discipline remained to be determined.

According to Kruger (2000:30), the second phase of linguistic-oriented thinking about translation emerged in the 1970s and focused on text linguistics. The unit of translation for text linguistics was no longer the ideal contextless sentence but the text itself. In text linguistics, the text was not only seen as an isolated verbal construct but also as an attempt at communication that functions in a certain way, in a certain situation or culture and may not work with the same degree of success in another situation or culture. Text linguistics therefore gave a much-needed functional dimension to the analysis of the translation process and of translated texts.

However, the most significant stages in the formation of the descriptive theory of translation occurred during a series of three conferences. The first took place in Leuven in 1976, the second in Tel Aviv in 1978 and the third in Antwerp in 1980. The proceedings of the first conference were published as *Literature and Translation* (Holmes, Lambert & Van den Broeck 1978), those of the second conference in a special issue of the journal *Poetics Today* (vol 2, no. 4, 1981, edited by Even-Zohar and Toury), and those of the third in the Michigan-based semiotics journal *Dispositio* (vol. 7, nos. 19-21, 1982, edited by Lefevere) (Hermans 1999:12).

Hermans (1999:7) sees the formation of a descriptive approach to translation as a rejection of the idea that translation studies should be geared primarily to formulating rules, norms and guidelines for the practice or evaluation of translation or to developing didactic instruments for translator training. Descriptive theorists also rejected the primacy of the source text which entailed that translations were to be judged against the source text in terms of their faithfulness. Translations were to strive to be as equivalent to their originals as possible, with equivalence being understood mainly as a semantic or formal category (Baker 1993:236).

As previously indicated (cf. par. 2.1 in this Chapter), the translation of the Bible took place when the study of translation served to demonstrate the original's outstanding

qualities by highlighting the errors and inadequacies of any number of translations of it. Thus, constantly holding the original up as an absolute standard and touchstone became repetitive, predictable and prescriptive (Hermans 1985:8-9). In the following section of our discussion I explore what earlier theories of translation entailed.

2.3 Prescriptive translation theories

In reference to prescriptive theories, Toury (1980:35) maintains that before the development of the descriptive model of translation, most of the theories belonged to an altogether different type, since they are source text-oriented and more often than not, even source language-oriented, and are therefore directive and normative in nature. He further points out that these approaches considered translation from the point of view of its being a reconstruction of the source text or even of the source language, in such a way that the target text and the source text were interchangeable according to some preconceived definition of this interchangeability. Thus, seen as a reconstruction of the source text, translations should be as faithful as possible to the original. Consequently, translation was perceived as being merely a derived product that lacked substance and that should always be checked against the original for faults and shortcomings.

Toury (1980:35) also points to the fact that prescriptive theories were mainly concerned with potential translations or even with translatability rather than with the actual translation. Baker succinctly sums up prescriptive views in this manner:

Traditionally the implied aim of all studies on translation was never to establish what translation itself is, as a phenomenon, but rather to determine what an ideal translation should strive to be in order to minimise its expected distortion of the message, the spirit and the elegance of the original. Translation meant replacement, or substitution of an utterance in one language by a formally or semantically or pragmatically equivalent utterance in another language. Central issues that dominated all discussion on translation and which were never questioned in the literature were the important status of the source text, which entailed a requirement for accuracy and faithfulness on the part of the translator and the notion of equivalence. Translations were to strive to be as equivalent as their originals as possible, with equivalence being understood mainly as a semantic or formal category.

(Baker 1993:235-236).

It could rightly be said that when prescriptive approaches prevailed, there was no talk of a uniform view to translation. According to Stine (2004:vii), many translators and scholars before Nida came into prominence had begun to look to linguistics as a tool for describing some features of translation, but no one had really developed a systematic approach to translation.

The next section of my discussion focuses on the notion of equivalence as fundamental to the prescriptive theories of translation, with particular attention paid to Nida's (1964, 1969) work on translation and particularly on Bible translation.

2.3.1 On the notion of equivalence

The concept of equivalence was fundamental to all prescriptive theories of translation. Equivalence came into translation studies when scholars such as Catford in England, Nida in the United States, Wilss, Reiss and Koller in West Germany as well as Kade, Jager and Neubert in East Germany, under the influence of Chomsky's transformational generative grammar, began to use the concept to formulate the first 'scientific' theories of translation. In the context of transformational generative grammar, equivalence was seen as the replacement of a word in one language by a word in another language, a process which seemed easily applicable to machine translation (Wallmach 1998:71).

The term 'equivalence' was considered essential in any definition of translation in the 1960s during the development of linguistic theories. Catford (1965:27), for instance, defines a translation as the replacement of textual material in one language by equivalent textual material in another language. Catford's concept of equivalence is perhaps too general and abstract, as he bases his approach on isolated and even simplistic sentences of the type propagated in the theories of transformational grammar, as well as isolated words. House (1981:29-30) also defines translation as the "replacement of a text in the source language by a semantically and pragmatically equivalent text in the target language".

In Sager's (1994: 142) view, there is considerable diversity in the interpretation of what is meant by this concept. It is generally recognised that the relationship of a source and a target language text is one of cognitive, pragmatic and linguistic

equivalences. But how these equivalences are achieved and how they operate is far from clear. Equivalence between the two documents involved in translation can also be stipulated at different levels and there is further diversity in the evaluation of what is considered successful equivalence.

Nida came into prominence at a time when prescriptive approaches to translation were still widespread. Nida (1964), a biblical scholar of note, asserts that there are fundamentally two different types of equivalence: namely, formal equivalence and dynamic equivalence which he later referred to as functional equivalence (De Waard & Nida 1986). Nida argues that formal equivalence focuses attention on the message itself, in both form and content. Viewed from this formal orientation, one is concerned that the message in the receiving language should match as closely as possible the different elements in the source language. This means that the message in the receiving culture is constantly compared with the message in the source culture to determine standards of accuracy and correctness. A translation which is based on formal equivalence is basically source-oriented; that is, it is designed to reveal as much as possible of the form and content of the original message. Such a translation always renders a particular term in the source-language document by a corresponding term in the receiving language, often resulting in meaningless strings of words.

In contrast, in a translation which is dynamic, the translator is not concerned with matching the message in the receiving language with the source language message, but is concerned with the dynamic relationship; that is, the relationship between the reader in the target language and the message. The message should have the same effect on the reader in the target language as that which existed between the reader of the original text and the message. A translation of dynamic equivalence aims at complete naturalness of expression, and it tries to relate the reader to modes of behaviour relevant within the context of his/her own culture; it does not insist that he/she understands the cultural patterns of the source-language context in order to comprehend the message (Nida 1964).

Even though the response cannot be identical because of different cultural and historical settings, there should be a high degree of equivalence in response, "or the translation will have failed to accomplish its purpose". For instance, the translation of

the Bible must not only provide information which people can understand, but it “must present the message in such a way that people can feel its relevance (the expressive element in communication)” so that they can then “respond to it in action (the imperative function)”. The underlying principle for dynamic equivalence is that the translation should have the same effect when read as that which the readers of the source text experienced when reading the source text (Nida 1964:159).

What is meant by ‘dynamic’ in the context in which Nida has used the term is further clarified by a group of Bible translators who allege that a translation which transfers the meaning and the dynamic of the original text is set to be regarded as a faithful translation. The expression ‘transfer the meaning’, means that the translation conveys to the readers or hearers the information that the original conveyed to them. The expression ‘dynamic’ means that the translation makes a natural use of the linguistic resources of the RL (receptor language) and that the recipients of the translation understand the message with ease (Beekman et al 1981:34).

Larson (1984:6) gives another dimension of equivalence. She maintains that the best translation is the one which uses the normal language forms of the receptor language, communicates as much as possible to the receptor language speakers, conveys the same meaning that was understood by the speakers of the source language and maintains the dynamics of the original source language text. Maintaining the ‘dynamics’ of the original source text means that the translation is presented in such a manner that it will evoke the same response as the source text attempted to evoke.

However, Venuti (2000:156 &163) contends that a dynamic equivalent translation is directed primarily toward equivalence of response rather than equivalence of form. According to Sager (1994:142), the whole justification of Bible translation rests on the assumption of the possibility of equivalence response, and the experienced Bible translator knows that the cultural and temporal barriers cannot possibly produce full identity. From the 1980s, translation studies began to shift in focus, rejecting the concept of equivalence in favour of the more general concept of ‘adequacy’.

In a later publication entitled *From one language to another*, Nida (1986:vii) substitutes the expression ‘dynamic equivalence’ for ‘functional equivalence’, with the

explanation that the former expression had often been misunderstood as referring to anything which might have special impact and appeal for receptors. He goes on to claim that some Bible translators have seriously violated the principle of dynamic equivalence as described in his two earlier works, *Toward a science of translating* (1964) and *Theory and practice of translation* (1969).

Although Nida (1964) has tried to modify the notion of equivalence by distinguishing between formal and dynamic equivalence, in terms of these principles the failure and/or success of a translation was still judged on the basis of equivalence with the source text. However, equivalence in this rigid form which focused on the word as the unit of translation, proved unsatisfactory and linguists began to broaden the concept to include phrases, sentences and texts. Conversely, literary translation was not included in these analyses, since literature was seen as a 'special case', characterised by the inseparability of form and meaning, and therefore 'untranslatable' (Wallmach 1998:72-73).

2.3.2 Equivalence and Bible translation in the indigenous languages of South Africa

Nida's was the main approach used by Bible translators after the publication of his works (1964, 1969), and South African Bible translators were no exception. Hermanson (2002:7-17) divides the translation of the Bible into the indigenous languages of South Africa into two distinct periods, namely the missionary period and the Bible Society period. He maintains that many missionaries who were involved with Bible translation into the various indigenous African languages of South Africa used formal equivalence when they translated the Scriptures into these languages, in the same way they had been taught to translate the Classics, matching word for word and structure for structure wherever possible, since translation theory was not well developed.

Early translations of the Bible to emerge in the indigenous languages of South Africa were the following:

- the Tswana Bible, which was translated by the London Missionary Society and published in 1857;

- the Xhosa Bible translated by the Wesleyan Missionary Society and published in 1859;
- the South Sotho Bible printed by the Paris Evangelical Mission in 1881 and distributed in 1883;
- the Zulu Bible translated by the American Board Mission and published in 1883;
- the Northern Sotho Bible translated by the Berlin Mission and published in 1904;
- the Tsonga Bible translated by the Swiss Mission and published in 1906;
- the Afrikaans Bible translated by the Plenary Committee of the Dutch Reformed Church under the auspices of the British and Foreign Bible Society and published in 1933, and;
- the Venda Bible which was translated by the Berlin Mission and published in 1936 (Hermanson 2002:8)

The Bible Society period comprises the use of dynamic/functional equivalence in the translation of the Bible into the various indigenous languages of South Africa. During this period Bible translators leaned heavily on Nida's principle when producing their translations. This implies that in producing their translations they had to see to it that the message they convey has the same effect on the reader in the target language as that which existed between the reader of the original text and the message. Their translations also had to aim at complete naturalness of expression, and also try to relate the reader to modes of behaviour relevant within the context of his/her own culture. These included the Afrikaans Bible which was produced in 1983; the Zulu New Testament and Psalms produced in 1986; the first translation of the Southern Ndebele New Testament and a selection of Psalms produced in 1986; the Southern Sotho Bible produced in the orthography of Lesotho and another produced in the orthography of South Africa in 1989; the Tsonga Bible produced in 1989; the Xhosa Bible produced in 1996; the first Swati Bible produced in 1996; the Venda Bible produced in 1998 and the Northern Sotho Bible produced in 2000 (Hermanson 2002:7-17).

2.4 Movement away from equivalence-based approaches to translation

Toury (1980:35) maintains that prescriptive approaches were rejected because they championed source-oriented judgment. Opponents of these approaches concluded that source-oriented theories are totally unable to supply a sound starting point and framework for a descriptive study of actual translations because it is these issues in the first place that contribute to translation being held in low esteem. Toury (1985:16) states further grounds for the rejection of prescriptive approaches when he declares that no empirical science can make a claim for completeness and relative autonomy unless it has developed a descriptive branch. The reason for this is that an empirical discipline, in contrast to non-empirical sciences, is initially devised to study, describe and explain, in a systematic and controlled way, that segment of the 'real world' which it takes as its object.

From the late 1980s the source-oriented notion of equivalence was gradually replaced by notions which clearly took the target system and culture as a starting point. Scholars of translation studies made use of frameworks and methodologies borrowed from other disciplines such as psychology, the theory of communication, literary theory, anthropology, philosophy and cultural studies (Naudé 2002:46) . Baker (1993:237) comments that the decline of the semantic view of translation heralded the emergence of approaches which undermined both the status of the source text vis-à-vis the translated text and the value of the very notion of equivalence, particularly when seen as a static relationship between source and target texts. This has heralded some very exciting movements away from equivalent-based approaches to translation.

The proponents of the descriptive approach viewed literature as a complex and dynamic system. They proposed an approach to literary translation which is descriptive, target-oriented, functional and systemic (Hermans 1985:10). Toury (1980), a strong proponent of the descriptive approach, stresses that a translation belongs to one textual system only, the target system, and that the source text has assumed the role of a stimulus or source of information rather than a starting point for analysis. Questions regarding how a translated text came into being or what type of relationship it has with a given source text are secondary to its classification as part of the target textual system (Baker 1993:238-239).

The following section of my discussion examines some of the attributes which accompanied these new developments.

2.4.1 Polysystem theory

In the late 1970s, Even-Zohar began to develop a theory of literature as a polysystem, a view of literature as a complex and dynamic conglomerate of systems rather than a disparate and static collection of texts (Baker 1993:237). The central idea of polysystem theory, is that literary works are not studied in isolation but as part of a multisystem, a system of various systems which intersect with each other and partly overlap, using concurrently different options, yet function as one structured whole, the members of which are interdependent. A literary system is thus part of the social, cultural, literal and historical framework of a given culture, in which there is an ongoing dynamic struggle for the primary position in the literary canon (Munday 2001:109).

Citing Shuttleworth and Cowie (1997:176), Munday (2001:109) describes this approach as a heterogeneous, hierarchised conglomerate of systems which interact to bring about an ongoing, dynamic process of evolution within the polysystem as a whole. The hierarchy referred to in Munday's (2001:109) description of a polysystem, is the positioning at a given historical moment of the different strata of the polysystem. If the highest strata are occupied by an innovative type, then the lower strata are likely to be occupied by increasingly conservative types. On the other hand, if the conservative forms are at the top, innovation and renewal are likely to come from the lower strata.

According to Munday (2001:109), the dynamic process of evolution indicates that the relations between innovatory and conservative systems are in a constant flux and competition. Because of this flux, the position of translated literature is not fixed either. It may occupy a primary or a secondary position in the polysystem. As regards the various types of literature and their interaction both synchronically and diachronically, Even-Zohar (1990), contends that a polysystem could further be divided into 'canonised' versus 'non-canonised' literature, each consisting of subsystems or genres. The various literary systems and types maintain a hierarchical relationship: some maintain a more central position than others, or some are 'primary'

while others are 'secondary'. Primary activity is presumed to be that activity which takes the initiative in creating new items and models in literature: it represents the principle of innovation.

If translated literature is primary, it participates actively in shaping the centre of the polysystem. Translated literature occupies the primary position when the literature is 'young' and is being established, and looks initially to 'older' literatures for ready-made models; or when a literature is 'peripheral' or 'weak' and imports those literal types which it is lacking. This often happens when a smaller nation is dominated by the culture of a larger one; or when there is a critical turning point in the literary history so that established models are no longer considered sufficient, or when there is a vacuum in the literature of the country (Even-Zohar 1978:121).

Thus, the approach stresses that translated literature may, and sometimes does, occupy a central position in the polysystem and is therefore capable of providing canonised models for the whole polysystem (Baker 1993:238). On the other hand, if translated literature assumes a secondary position, then it represents a peripheral system within the polysystem. It has no major influence over the central structure and it even becomes a conservative element, preserving conventional forms and conforming to the literary norms of the target system (Munday 2001:110). Even-Zohar (1990) maintains that a translation will acquire a central position on condition that the polysystem has not been crystallised, that is, when a literature is 'young' or is in the process of being established; or if the literature is either 'peripheral' or 'weak' or both; and if there are turning points, crises or 'literary vacuums' in the literature.

Drawing on Even-Zohar (1980), Heylen (1987:146) asserts that translated literature maintains a secondary position if it has no influence on major processes and is modelled according to norms already conventionally established by dominant types. In this case, translated literature becomes a major force of conservatism. The conditions under which translated literature assumes a secondary position indicate that either there are no major changes in the polysystem or that these changes are not affected through the intervention of interliterary relations materialised in the form of translation (Heylen 1987:146). Hermans (1985:11) also believes that in a given literary system, translations may at certain times comprise a separate subsystem, with its own characteristics and models, or be more or less fully integrated into the

indigenous system; or they may form part of the system's prestigious centre or remain on the periphery.

The notion of systems or polysystems comes in when phenomena are put into context and examined. Polysystem theory took shape simultaneously and in close association with the descriptive model in translation studies. It offered a comprehensive and ambitious framework in literary translation studies, something that researchers could turn to when looking for explanations of and contexts for actual behaviour. A significant amount of empirical and historical work on translation and especially on literary translation is directly or indirectly indebted to polysystem theory (Hermans 1999:102).

Polysystem theory has far-reaching implications for the status of translated literature in general and for the status of the source text vis-à-vis the target text in particular. The theory assumes a high level of interdependence among various systems and subsystems which underlie a given polysystem, as well as among the literary polysystems in various cultures. This means that, for instance, children's literature would not be considered apart from literature for adults, and similarly, translated literature would not be considered together with original literature. As a result, the status of translated literature is elevated to the point where it becomes worthy of investigation as a system in its own right, interacting with cosystems and with literary polysystems of other cultures (Kruger 2000:33).

The view of literature as a conglomerate of systems, as well as the growing interest in the transfer and interference across systems has meant that questions regarding the equivalence between originals and their translations have become secondary to examining the target text as part of the target textual system. The most significant development in this regard is Gideon Toury's (1980) notion of norms. Toury observed that there was a systemic disparity between what is theoretically possible in translation and what one observes in specific socio-cultural situations. In specific domains of translation activity and within certain socio-cultural situations, certain types of translation behaviour occur repeatedly and translators choose to employ only some of the broad range of translation strategies actually available (Kruger 2000:35).

There is no way in which one can study part of a literary system of a particular culture without engaging the theory of polysystems. According to Baker (1993:238), the theory assumes a high level of interdependence among the various systems which underlie a given polysystem as well as among the polysystems of literature in various cultures. By recognising translated literature as a system in its own right, polysystem theorists shifted the attention away from individual literary translations as the object of literary studies to the study of a large body of translated literature in order to establish its systemic features (Baker 1993:238).

Polysystem theory has benefited translation research by placing translations squarely in a larger field of cultural activity. Even though the theory prefers to operate at the abstract level of repertoires and textual models rather than that of actual texts, writers or translators, it draws attention to the practical and intellectual needs which translations might be trying to fill. It thus provides a way of connecting translations with an array of other factors in addition to source texts,. In other words, it integrates translation into broader socio-cultural practices and processes, making it a more exciting object of study and facilitating what was subsequently hailed as the 'cultural turn' in translation studies (Hermans 1999:110).

On the basis of the polysystem theorists' view that literature, including translated literature, is not studied in isolation but within the cultural and literary systems in which it functions, the corpus of this study has been considered worthy of investigation. In the next section of my discussion I explore the tenets of a descriptive translation approach.

2.4.2 Descriptive translation studies

As mentioned previously (Chapter 1, par. 1.6), since the 1970s, several scholars in the field of translation studies began to express dissatisfaction with prescriptive methods in translation studies. Munday (2001:111) considers the polysystem approach as having had a profound influence on translation studies in that this approach moved translation studies forward into a less prescriptive observation of translation within its different contexts. Gideon Toury worked with Even-Zohar in Tel Aviv, and after his early polysystem work on the socio-cultural conditions which

determine the translation of foreign literature into Hebrew, Toury focused on developing a general theory of translation.

Baker (1993:236-237) also supports the idea that translation studies developed towards the descriptive, centred by the replacement of the static notion of equivalence which was viewed as a formal correspondence of grammatical and semantic structures, with the dynamic concept of functional equivalence between a source text and a target text. This alternative conception of equivalence has notably shifted the focus of analysis from the source text *vis-à-vis* the target text to the target language text types and translated texts.

Instead of taking pre-existing theories about literature and linguistics and applying them to translation, these scholars developed a descriptive branch that concerns itself with the systemic description of the empirical phenomena seen as constituting the object of the discipline as a whole: the product, the process and the function of translation (Laviosa-Braithwaite 1996:24).

According to Toury (1985:19), as a theoretical framework, the descriptive translation studies approach facilitates the study of translations within the target culture and advocates the notion that translations belong to one textual system, namely the target system because every translation is initially perceived as a target language utterance (Toury 1985:19). This target-oriented approach rejects the traditional subjective judgement of translation which centers on the primacy of the source text and the notion of equivalence. Toury contends that translators operate first and foremost in the interest of the culture into which they are translating, and not in the interest of the source text. Therefore, within this domain, translation studies as a discipline studies the phenomenon of translation from diverse angles and perspectives and is, of course, interested in the mediating role of the translator and the translation process, the translation product, as well as the causes and effects of the translation activity (Olohan 2004:5).

According to Laviosa (2002:11), the function of the translation in the target language determines the actual textual make-up of the translation and governs the process of translating; that is, the strategies employed by the translator to produce a target text from a source text and the resulting relationships that exist between them. Toury

(1980:1995) describes such a choice under his notable notion of norms. According to Laviosa-Braithwaite 1996:38), the notion of norms as espoused within the descriptive approach assumes historical and cultural variation and is oriented towards the target culture rather than the source culture. It informs a new concept of equivalence, which is no longer prescriptive and absolute, but descriptive and socio-culturally determined.

The next sections of my discussion will examine two key issues underpinning descriptive translation studies, namely target-orientedness and translation as a norm-governed activity.

2.4.2.1 Towards a target-oriented approach

Descriptive translation studies arise from the premise that any research into translation, whether it is confined to the product itself or intends to proceed to the reconstruction of the product which yielded it, should start from the hypothesis that translations are facts of one system only and that is the target system. For the purpose of descriptive research, translations should therefore be geared as functions that map target-language utterances, along with their position in the relevant target systems. Toury (1980:19-21) maintains that it is advisable first to take up target texts which are regarded as translations from the intrinsic point of view of the target culture, without reference to their corresponding source texts, or rather, irrespective of the very question of the existence of those texts, and to study them from the viewpoint of their acceptability in their respective 'home systems', as target language texts and/or translations into that language.

Descriptive translation studies, as a model for translation studies, is based on differences and assume structural differences between languages: "every linguistic system and/or textual tradition differs from any other in terms of structure, repertory, norms of usage, etc." (Gentzler 1993:129). Toury (1980;1995) successfully pushes the concept of a theory of translation beyond the margins of a model restricted to faithfulness to the original, or of single, unified relationships between the source text and target texts.

Descriptive translation studies, as mentioned previously, is first and foremost target-oriented, implying that the role played by translations in the target culture is examined first: As Toury (1980;1995) puts it, translations are facts of the target culture. By considering translation from the point of view of the target culture, Toury argues that translation equivalence is not a hypothetical ideal, but becomes an empirical matter. The actual relationship between the source text and the target text may or may not reflect the postulated abstract relationship: the translated text exists as a cultural artifact for the replacement of a source text by the acceptable version in the receiving culture (Gentzler 1993:128).

Toury's (1980) theoretical project is unified by the acceptance of translated texts without judgement of their solutions as being correct or incorrect. Only by analysing translated texts from within their cultural-linguistic context can one understand the translation process. Toury locates translation as always in the middle: no translation is ever entirely 'acceptable' to the target culture because it always introduces new information and forms of defamiliarisation to that system, and neither is it 'adequate' to the original version, because the cultural norms cause shifts from the source text structures.

The target-orientedness feature of the descriptive branch puts a strong emphasis on empirical data. Toury's approach stresses that translation studies can be and should be pursued as an empirical science, with real translation phenomena as its object of study. As an empirical discipline, translation studies should aim to describe, explain and predict phenomena pertaining to its object level (Kenny 2001:50).

2.4.2.2 Translation as a norm-governed activity

Toury (1995:61) introduced the idea of translation as a norm-governed activity in an attempt to redefine the notion of equivalence. Instead of taking equivalence as the central criterion for judging translations, he argued that the relation between a translation and its source was determined by the choices which the translator had made along the way. These choices are governed by norms as 'performance instructions'. As a result, these instructions determine the type and extent of equivalence manifested by actual translations.

Toury considers translation as a culturally significant activity which is subject to constraints that extend far beyond those imposed by the source text, the systemic differences between the languages and the textual traditions involved, or even the cognitive apparatus of the translator. These socio-cultural constraints are imposed by more or less binding intersubjective norms that represent, in sociological terms, the translation of general values or idea shared by a community as to what is right and wrong, adequate or inadequate, into performance instructions appropriate for and applicable to particular situations, specifying what is prescribed and forbidden, as well as what is tolerated and permitted in a certain behavioural dimension (Toury 1995:54-55).

Hermans (1999:75) asserts that norms operate at the intermediate level between competence and performance, where competence stands for the set of options translators have at their disposal and performance refers to the options actually selected. The idea goes back to the linguist, Eugenio Coseriu, who distinguished the underlying system of language (Saussure's *langue*), actual speech (Saussure's *parole*) and a linguistic 'norm' which pertains to language as a social institution, the level of conventional models and of appropriate socially acceptable ways of employing language in contact with other speakers. At this level other people's expectations of what is 'proper' in which circumstances play a crucial part. Failure to meet these expectations may result in sanctions such as correction, a reprimand or even the end of a conversation.

Seen differently, norms represent an intermediate level between competence and performance, with competence being an inventory of all the options that are available to translators in a given context, and performance being the subset of options which are actually selected by translators from this inventory. Norms are a further subset of these options (Baker 1993:239).

Translation, in its socio-cultural dimension, can be described as subject to constraints of several types and of varying degree. Translation is a behavioural activity where different lines of action are possible, so that translation norms can be considered as "constraints guiding translators in their selection of 'suitable' translation methods among the range of available options". For translation scholars, norms determine the way foreign material is 'imported' and 'domesticated'. Thus, the very definition of

translation becomes dependent upon norms and how they work in a given system/society (Kruger 2000:36).

Norms, therefore, are the key concept and focal point in any attempt to account for the social relevance of activities, because their existence, and the wide range of situations to which they apply, are the main factors ensuring the establishment and retention of social order. This holds for cultures, too, or for any of the systems constituting them, which are, after all, social institutions ipso facto (Venuti 2000:207). According to Laviosa (2002:15), the issue of norms is based on the recognition that the translation activity is embedded in its socio-cultural milieu, it fulfils a function assigned to it by the target community and there are criteria of appropriate behaviour that guide the translator in his/her choices.

Norms can be expected to operate not only in translation of all kinds, but also at every stage in the translation event, and hence to be reflected at every level of its production. It is useful and enlightening to regard the basic choice which can be made between requirements of the two different sources as constituting an initial norm. Thus, a translator may subject him/herself either to the original text, with the norms it has realised, or to the norms active in the target culture, or, in that section of it which would host the end product. If the first stance is adopted, the translation will tend to subscribe to the norms of the source text, and through them also to the norms of the source language and culture. This tendency which has often been characterised as the pursuit of adequate translation, may well entail certain incompatibilities with target norms and practices, especially those lying beyond mere linguistic ones. If, on the other hand, the second stance is adopted, norms' systems of the target culture are triggered and set into motion. Shifts from the source text are an almost inevitable price to be paid for this. Thus, whereas adherence to source norms determines a translation's adequacy as compared to the source text, subscription to norms originating in the target culture determines its acceptability (Venuti 2000:207-209).

Even the most adequacy-oriented translation involves shifts from the source text. In fact, the occurrence of shifts has long been acknowledged as a true universal of translation. However, since the need to deviate from the source text patterns can always be realised in more than one way, the actual realisation of so-called obligatory

shift, to the extent that it is non-random, and hence not idiosyncratic, is already truly norm-governed (Venuti 2000:208).

For Kenny (2001:50-51), norms are abstract in nature; they are not themselves observable. Their operation is apparent in regularities of behaviour “in recurrent situations of the same type”. Another crucial point about norms is that they are not immutable. They differ from culture to culture and between groups within a culture, and they change over time. Norms serve as the backdrop against which behaviour is evaluated and positively or negatively sanctioned. They thus exert a kind of regulatory force on translators’ activities, but they are also reinforced by translators or other agents in the translation process, by virtue of their tendency to conform to prevailing norms.

In summary, Munday (2001:113) contends that these norms are socio-cultural constraints specific to a culture, society and time. Toury (1980:53-54) distinguishes three kinds of translation norms; namely, the initial norm, preliminary norms and operational norms. Each of these norms will be discussed separately below:

The *initial norm* refers to the general choice made by translators. Translators can subject themselves to the norms realised in the source text or to the norms of the target culture of language. If the norms of the source text are adhered to, then the target text will be adequate; if the target culture norms prevail, then the target text will be acceptable. Concerning ‘adequacy’ and ‘acceptability’, Toury (1995:57) contends that these are on a continuum since no translation is ever totally adequate or totally acceptable. The examination of the source text and target text should reveal shifts in the relations between the two that have taken place in translation. It is here that Toury (1995:85-86) introduces the term ‘translation equivalence’, but he strongly emphasises that it is different from the traditional notion of equivalence as espoused by the prescriptive theorists. Toury’s notion of equivalence is that of a ‘functional-relational concept’, by which he means that equivalence is assumed between a target text and a source text. This analysis does not mean that one should focus prescriptively on whether the target text or target text expression is ‘equivalent’ to the source or source text expression. Instead, it focuses on how the assumed equivalence has been realised and is a tool for uncovering ‘the underlying concept of translation... [the] derived notions of decision-making and the factors that have

constrained it'. An illustrative representation of Toury's initial norm is displayed in Fig.2.1 (Munday 2001:114)

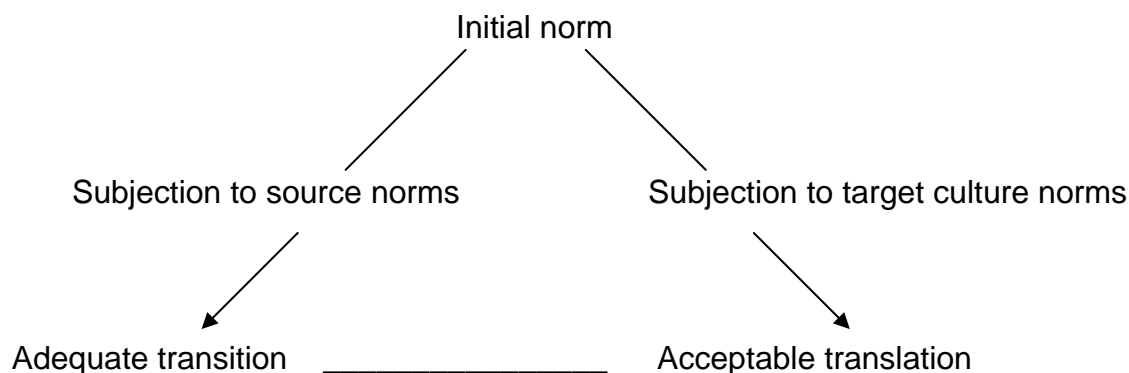


Fig.2.1: Toury's initial norm and the continuum of adequate and acceptable translation

Preliminary norms, concern such things as the choice of the text to translate, or the decision to work directly from the original language or from an existing translation in another language. Perhaps one could add here the decision to translate into the native or into a second or third language. *Preliminary norms* can be displayed as in Fig. 2.2 (Munday 2001:115):

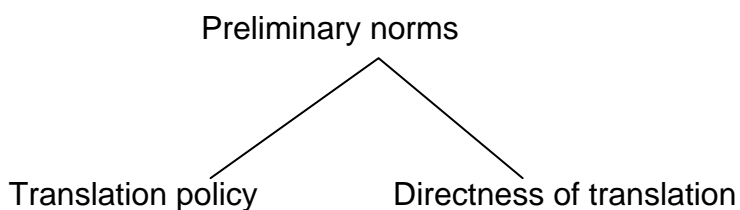


Fig. 2.2: Preliminary norms

Translational policy refers to the factors determining the selection of texts for translation in a specific language, culture and time, while on the other hand *directness of translation* relates to whether translation occurs through an intermediate language.

Operational norms describe the presentation and linguistic matter of the target text. Toury further subcategorises *operational norms* into:

- (a) *matricial norms*, which relate to the completeness of the target text. Phenomena include omission or relocation of passages, textual segmentation and the addition of passages or footnotes. *Matricial norms* help to determine

the macro-structure of the text and govern decisions concerning, for example, translating all or part of the source text, division into chapters, acts, stanzas, paragraphs and the like, and

(b) *textual-linguistic norms*, govern the selection of target text material: lexical items, phrases and stylistic features. Simply put, *textual-linguistic norms* affect the text's micro-level, the detail of sentence construction, word choice, the use of italics or capitals for emphasis, and so on. *Operational norms* can be displayed as in Fig. 2.3 (Munday 2001:115):

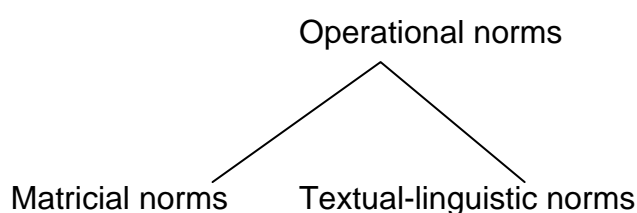


Fig. 2.3: Operational norms

The list makes it clear that norms affect the entire process of translation, including source-text selection (and, we might add, the decision to translate in the first place, in preference to, say, importing or exporting a text as it is, or paraphrasing or summarising it, etc.).

Earlier, Toury (1978:95) suggested that phenomena that occur with a high frequency should not automatically be assumed to have been caused by translational norms. Rather, they may be evidence of a “universal of translations behaviour”. While norms are socially and culturally determined, and change over time, universals represent general tendencies and are observed irrespective of the translator, language, genre or period. According to Kenny (2001:53), the distinction between shifts in translation due to the operation of norms and those that represent translation universals is not clear-cut, although Toury (1978:95-96) claims that it might be made on the basis of a combination of ‘theoretical speculation’ and the findings of empirical studies “carried out along similar lines and relating to different language/literatures and to various periods in history”.

As explained earlier (cf. Chapter 1 par. 1.6), descriptive translation studies’ natural progression led to the introduction of corpus-based translation studies which draws

from corpus linguistics and descriptive translation studies. On the basis of the similarities that exist between descriptive translation studies and corpus linguistics, corpus-based theorists considered it appropriate to propose that the methodology developed by corpus linguistics be used by translation scholars to explore some fundamental theoretical issues that pertain to the nature of translation (Laviosa 2002:17).

The following section of my discussion will focus on what corpus-based translation studies entail.

2.4.3 From a descriptive translation approach to a corpus-based approach

Baker (1993:236) sees the decline of the semantic view of the relationship between the source and target texts as developments that played a more direct role in preparing the ground work for corpus work. In the 1990s, Baker introduced the idea of using corpus linguistic analytical tools to study the product and process of translation from a descriptive rather than a prescriptive outlook. This new paradigm was then called corpus-based translation studies (or CTS for short), and can simply be defined as the descriptive branch of the discipline that uses corpora.

According to Baker (1993:233), the rise of corpus linguistics will yield serious implications for any discipline in which language plays a major role. She argues that the techniques and methodology developed in the field of corpus linguistics have a direct impact on the discipline of translation studies, particularly with respect to its theoretical and descriptive branches. Further Baker advocates that the move away from prescriptive translation approaches was a significant development which played a more direct role in preparing the ground for corpus work in translation. For a long time discourse on translation was dominated by the idea that meaning, or messages, exist as such and can be transferred from the source to the target text in much the same way as one might transfer wine from one glass to another

Thus, in Baker's (1993:237) view, the move away from the primacy of the source text and the notion of equivalence was instrumental in advancing corpus work because it enabled the discipline to shed its long-standing obsession with the idea of studying individual instances in isolation (one translation compared to one source text at a

time) instead making it necessary to examine a large number of texts of the same type, a requirement which can find fulfilment in corpus work.

Laviosa (2003:48) believes that corpus-based translation studies, like descriptive translation studies before it, makes use of a rigorous and flexible methodology, and its theoretical principles are firmly based on empirical observations. It uses both inductive and deductive approaches to the investigation of translation and translating, and it encourages dialogue and co-operation between theoretical, empirical and applied researchers.

But before going any further, it is important to define and discuss the terms used in corpus-based translation studies, some of the corpus processing tools as well as the corpus types.

2.4.3.1 Corpus creation and corpus-processing tools

Corpora are very useful resources in contemporary linguistics, but without techniques to search, sort, count and display the vast quantities of data they contain, they would be of little practical use (Kenny 2001:105). Any corpus analysis depends on both the creation of the corpus and the development of software tools to observe, analyse and process it.

Scholars in corpus linguistics maintain that corpus compilation is a vital step in any corpus-based study of language. Kenny (2001:105) alleges that the design of a corpus, and the selection of individual texts for the inclusion in that corpus, are mainly determined by its envisaged purpose. In linguistic research, corpora have traditionally been designed with the aim of presenting a representative sample of the language at large at a specific point in time.

Laviosa (2002:49-50) alleges that the selection of individual texts or corpora is not determined by some fixed definition of what is appropriate for investigation, but is mainly based on the consensual criteria and external classifications, and texts are at times selected at random. Once texts are selected, they are acquired and converted to electronic form, if not already in that form. Using a scanner and the OCR program, all twelve Zulu translations of the Book of Matthew were converted to electronic

format and saved as Rich Text Format (.rtf) files. Once texts have been converted to electronic form, they are then proofread and edited using Word for Windows. Proofreading essentially consists of going through all the texts, searching and replacing all known scanning errors (Kenny 2001:117).

Corpora are used together with corpus tools and techniques to search, sort, count, analyse and display the vast quantity of data they contain. Corpus analysis tools that will be used for the data contained in the corpus of this study will be provided by WordSmith Tools, a Windows-based suite of programs that offers six tools for the lexical analysis of texts; namely, *Wordlist*, *Concord*, *Keywords*, *Splitter*, *TextConverter* and *Dual text Aligner*. WordSmith Tools was developed by Mike Scott and is marketed by Oxford University Press (Kruger 2002:73).

2.4.3.1.1 Concordance

Concord is a program which makes a concordance using DOS, Text Only, ASCII or ANSI text files. To use it, one specifies a search word, which Concord will seek in all the text files chosen. It will then present a concordance display, for access to information about collocates of the search word. A concordance shows a number of examples of a word or phrase, in their contexts. Language students can use a concordance to find out how to use a word or phrase, or discover which other words belong with a word they want to use. (Kenny: 2001)

2.4.3.1.2 Wordlists

The WordList feature is used to create alphabetical and frequency-order lists of all the words found in the corpus. Users can thus establish which words seem to be 'important' in the corpus on the basis of frequency, and they can compare the frequencies of different words. Wordlists can be used in order to study the type of vocabulary used; to identify common word clusters; to compare the frequency of a word in different text files or across genres; and to compare the frequencies of cognate words or translation equivalents between different languages (Kenny:2001).

2.4.3.1.3 KeyWords

KeyWords compares a word list extracted from what has been called 'the study corpus' (the corpus which the researcher is interested in describing) with a word list made from a reference corpus. The only requirement for a word list to be accepted as a reference corpus by the software is that it must be larger than the study corpus. One of the most pressing questions with respect to using KeyWords seems to relate to what the ideal size of a reference corpus would be (Kenny: 2001).

2.4.3.2 Corpus types

Elaborate types of corpora used in translation studies have been distinguished by Baker (1995) and Laviosa (2003). Reference will be made to main categories of corpus types as delineated by Kruger (2002:86):

Monolingual corpora which contain texts produced in one language such as the British National Corpus (BNC), have been used in translation pedagogy as an aid in translation quality assessment as well as in terminology extraction (Kenny 2001; Kruger 2002).

Multilingual or bilingual corpora refer to sets of two or more monolingual corpora in different languages, built up either in the same or in different institutions on the basis of similar design criteria. These corpus types are further subdivided into a *single monolingual corpus* which consists of one set of texts all in the same language, and a *comparable monolingual corpus*. The latter is made up of two single corpora, a translational corpus consisting of translations in that language from a given source language or languages, and a non-translational corpus which comprises original texts in the language in question. The two corpora cover a similar domain, e.g. text genre, variety of language, time span and are representative in terms of male and female authors, readership, average number of words in each text, etc.(Baker 1995:232; Kruger 2002:87).

The study of translation through corpora draws on the methodological and theoretical principles of corpus linguistics and also has strong links with descriptive translation studies (Laviosa 2003:45). Corpus-based translation studies has strong links with

target-oriented and descriptive translation studies with regard to its object of study, while at the same time it envisages a methodology which draws on the insights and analytical tools of a linguistic perspective (Laviosa 2002:21). Tognini-Bonelli (2001:65) concurs with Laviosa (2002:21) in stating that corpus-based research is a methodology that avails itself of the corpus mainly to expound, test and exemplify theories and descriptions that were formulated before large corpora became available to inform language study.

According to Laviosa (2002:117), corpus studies embrace whole-heartedly the general empirical or essentialist research paradigm. In line with Chesterman (1998), the development of this paradigm from the early 1990s can be regarded as the most important trend that characterises translation studies. The principal feature of an empirical paradigm is the centrality it assigns to the importance of studying translational facts (the product and process of translation) and translational phenomena (translators and their choices) with testable hypotheses.

Laviosa (2002) strongly contends that the role played by the methodology in corpus studies is significant. Corpus design is a crucial and critical phase of any research programme. She maintains that researchers who have enthusiastically and courageously ventured into this new realm of research know the obstacles that have to be overcome before they can obtain the precious, representative and balanced sources of data that will allow them to achieve an adequate level of reliability and validity. The analytical tools employed are also important: they permit highly sophisticated searches and through the researcher's intuitions and interpretations, it is possible to discover new and revealing aspects of translation.

It is for these reasons that Laviosa (2002) generally agrees with Chesterman and Arrojo's (2000) claim that "translation models constrain research models, and hence the construction of translation theories", but she argues that in corpus studies the research model constrains the translation model and, in turn, affects the elaboration of theory. It is true that in the present state of the art, corpus studies adopt a comparative model and the hypotheses put forward tend to be descriptive. However, it is also true that corpus studies have the potential for developing a process and, ultimately, a causal model through the integration of corpus linguistic methods of analysis with other methodologies drawn from a variety of similar approaches.

In support of Laviosa's (2002) assertion, Kenny (2001:49-50) also believes that although polysystem theory has been forceful in the development of translation studies, it was just as forceful in the development of corpus-based studies in that it reinstated translated literature as a system worthy of study in its own right. It accredited a certain specificity to translated texts that warrant their investigation as a coherent body of texts, as a corpus, and it validated the study of such translated literature against the backdrop of non-translated literature in the same target language.

Although Baker (1996:177) proposes a new paradigm in the study of translation, she voices disapproval about the unacceptable manner in which translated texts are dealt with in corpus linguistics. Where translated texts have been studied at all, the idea has been to show that 'translationese' is common, or that some of the language that the corpus linguist is interested in studying is influenced by another language. The idea of using corpora to study translation, in order to understand it per se, did not seem to occur to corpus linguists. Citing Lauridsen's (1996:67) assertion which expresses the overall position of corpus linguistics, Baker highlights this problem when she states that one should refrain from using translation corpora unless the purpose of the linguistic analysis is either to evaluate the translation process or to criticise the translation product on the basis of a given translation theory.

In her article entitled *Corpora in translation studies: an overview and some suggestions for future research*, Baker (1995:223) confirms that computerised corpora have become increasingly popular in those areas of the discipline which have close links with the hard sciences. This is true of terminology and machine translation, where the emphasis is primarily, if not exclusively, on scientific and technical texts. Baker points out that terminology compilation is now firmly corpus-based. The desire to construct abstract and neat conceptual systems has given way to a practical need for addressing what happens in real life. Terms are therefore no longer extracted from previous lists, but are rather drawn from a representative corpus of authentic texts held in electronic form.

Baker (1993) puts forward a proposal for the various types of corpus-based research that can be carried out in the theoretical and descriptive branches of translation.

According to her, the most important of these studies is the elucidation of the nature of the translated text as a mediated communicative event. This type of investigation involves the identification of what can be called the universal features of translation, i.e. features which typically occur in translated texts rather than in original texts and which are independent of the influence of the specific language pairs involved in the translation (Baker 1995:153-154). Using corpora allows one to test empirically existing hypotheses about translation which were previously just impressionistic ideas. For example, hypotheses regarding the nature of 'translationese' and the characteristics which make translation a unique form of text, the so-called 'universals' of translation, can now be examined using a large number of translated texts in a corpus.

2.4.4 Universal features of translation

Baker (1996:176) argues that when we study translation through corpora, two conditions should be met. The first is the elaboration of explicit criteria and procedures for the selection, acquisition and annotation of the texts to be included in the corpus. The second is the precise definition of the linguistic features which are considered concrete manifestations of the universals of translation such as explicitation, simplification, normalisation or conservatism and levelling out, in order to render these global and abstract constructs operational and verifiable.

According to a fairly recent definition, universals of translation are linguistic features which typically occur in translated texts and are thought to be the almost inevitable by-products of the process of mediating between two languages rather than being the result of the interference of one language with another. The notion of universals of translation is closely linked to the concept of the 'third code' suggested by Frawley in 1984 in relation to the language of translated texts (Laviosa 2002:43). Frawley suggests that the confrontation of the source text and target text during the process of translation results in creating what he calls a third code. In other words, the code (or language) that evolves during translation and in which the target text is expressed, is unique. This language is a code on its own, which sets its own standards and structural presuppositions and entailments (Frawley 1984:169).

In the next section, the various universals of translation, namely explicitation, simplification and normalisation will be discussed individually.

2.4.4.1 Explicitation

Translations are usually longer than their originals, irrespective of the languages concerned, and this can be explained by the overall tendency on the part of translators to spell things out rather than to leave them implicit in translation. This strategy is called explicitation (Baker 1996:176-177; Kenny 2001:53). Explicitation means that translators subconsciously simplify the language or message, or both, and also refers to the practice of adding background information. Evidence of this is found in translated texts.

Blum-Kulka (1986) was the first person to suggest that explicitation is a feature of translation rather than the outcome of the linguistic and/or cultural differences between the source and the receptor language. She carried out research on shifts in the types of cohesion markers used in the target language texts and recorded instances where the translator expanded the target text by inserting words absent in the source text.

Consistently with Blum-Kulka's observations, Vanderauwera (1985) points to numerous instances where the translator applies explicitation techniques. The main procedures recorded are: use of interjections to express more clearly the progression of the characters' thoughts or to accentuate a given interpretation; expansion of condensed passages; addition of modifiers, qualifiers and conjunctions to achieve greater transparency; addition of extra information; insertion of explanations; repetition of previous details for the purpose of clarity; precise renderings of implicit or vague data; more accurate descriptions; naming of geographical locations and disambiguation of pronouns with precise forms of identification. Baker (1992) also reports several examples where the translator inserts additional background information in the target text to fill in a cultural gap.

Toury (1995: 227) claims that there is an obvious correlation between explicitness and readability and proposes to exploit this relationship in experimental studies with a view to assessing the varying extent to which the strategy of explicitation may be

applied either in different processes of language mediation or in the same type of mediated linguistic behaviour performed under different conditions.

Laviosa (2002:52) explains that the term explication was used by Vinay and Darbelnet ([1958] 1995) in their classical work of comparative stylistics of French and English, where it was regarded as a translation technique involving the introduction in the target language of information which is only implicit in the source language. Nida (1964:229) is also cited as having examined several examples from the Bible where the original semantic elements were amplified and rendered explicit in the target language through the use of additions.

2.4.4.2 Simplification

According to Kenny (2001:53), simplification is the tendency to simplify the language used in translation. In her corpus of English translations of Dutch novels, Blum-Kulka (1985:97-98) observes that ambiguous nouns were replaced with forms which allow more precise identification and the difficult syntax was made easier. In the same way she reports that, where quotation marks fail to distinguish a person's speech or thought in the source text, they are always restored in the target text.

Addressing the problem of non-equivalence at word level, Baker (1992:26) in her coursebook for trainee translators, discusses the different strategies that might be used by professional translators. One of these strategies refers to the use of superordinates when there are corresponding hyponyms in the target language. Baker acknowledges that this strategy is the most common for dealing with many types of non-equivalence, particularly in the area of propositional meaning. Paraphrase is another strategy identified by Baker in instances where the source text is not lexicalised in the target language. This strategy is generally successful in conveying the propositional meaning of the source item, but, since a paraphrase does not have the same stable status as a stable word, it cannot express any kind of associative meaning (Baker 1992:38-40).

Blum-Kulka and Levenston (in Laviosa-Braithwaite 1996:33) found that lexical simplification, that is the process and/or result of making do with fewer words, operates according to six microtextual principles i.e. translation strategies at word

level) to deal with various types of non equivalence. These translation strategies are (Kruger 2002:83):

- the use of superordinate terms when equivalent hyponyms are lacking in the target language
- an approximation of the concept expressed in the original text;
- use of “common” or “familiar” synonyms;
- transferring all the functions of a source language word to its target language equivalent;
- use of circumlocutions instead of conceptually matching high-level words or expressions – especially with theological, culture-specific or technical terms;
- use of paraphrase where there are cultural gaps between source language and target language.

In 1997 Laviosa-Braithwaite also investigated simplification in an English Comparable Corpus of Newspaper articles where she drew the conclusion that translated articles have a relatively lower percentage of content words versus grammatical words (that is, their lexical density is lower; the value of the lexical density is unaffected by the source language; translated articles have a lower mean sentence length; the proportion of high frequency words versus less frequent words is relatively higher in translated texts; the list heads of a corpus of translated texts account for a larger area of the corpus; the list heads of the translated texts contain fewer lemmas and that translated articles use the present tenses of the auxiliary verbs *to be* and *to have* more frequently.

2.4.4.3 Normalisation

Baker (1993:244) refers to normalisation as a strong preference for conventional ‘grammaticality’. She asserts that interpreters and translators tend to round off unfinished sentences, make ungrammatical utterances grammatical and omit false starts and self-corrections which were present in the source text, even those which are clearly intentional in a courtroom context. Sentences, paragraphs, narrative sequences and chapters are ordered more logically. Old-fashioned expressions are replaced by modern ones and experimental narrative is re-written in a more familiar mode. Finally, untypical and affected imagery which is realised by creative

collocations, is translated with more normal expressions. According to Vanderauwera (1985:76-77) these manipulations have the effect of creating a translated text which is more readable, more idiomatic, more familiar and more coherently organised than the original.

In her English corpus of translated novels from Dutch, Vanderauwera (1985:93) finds extensive evidence of shifts in punctuation, lexical choice, style, sentence structure and textual organisation which she considers manifestations of a general “tendency towards textual conventionality” which seems to be approved by the target audience.

In addition to explicitation, simplification and normalisation, Baker (1993:244) also identifies a tendency that is used to avoid repetitions which occur in the source text either by omitting them or by rewording them. She also talks of a general tendency on the part of translators to exaggerate features of the target language. Vanderauwera (1985:11) posits that translations overrepresent features of the host environment in order to make up for the fact that they were not originally meant to function in that environment.

According to Laviosa (2004:9) the exploration of the third code (a notion put forward by Frawley in 1984), inspired two studies of normalisation in English and German literary translations respectively. Laviosa further refers to the Scott's (1998) analysis of the novel *A hora do estrela* by Clarice Lispector and its translation, *The hour of the sun* carried out by Giovanni Pontiero. According to Laviosa, Scott (1998) looked in particular at how the repetition of the negative type *nao* had been translated and discovered two kinds of normalisation, one linked to the systemic differences between source and target language, the other resulting from the translator's stylistic preferences. The second study by Kenny (1999) examined lexical norms and creativity in a two million-word parallel corpus of contemporary experimental German literary texts and their English translations. According to Kenny, normalisation appears to be a trend in translations of highly idiosyncratic lexical use; however, this result does not obscure the equally important finding of a non-negligible proportion of creative renderings of unusual collocations.

2.4.5 Research on translation using the corpus-based approach

A wide array of research involving corpora has been carried out to date, ranging from the use of corpora in translator training with corpora, corpora as a resource for translators, corpora for foreign language teaching to corpora in language research.

Johansson (1998:3-4) alleges that the use of corpora in language research has been controversial, but because of the interest among linguists in language use, the use of corpora in language research is receiving more interest. This is also due to the development of corpora in machine-readable form and of techniques for exploring and analysing such corpora. Johansson further describes a computer corpus as a body of texts put together in a principled way and prepared for computer processing. Such a corpus provides data for descriptive studies as well as for more theory-oriented work. Corpus-based research offers translation scholars a powerful set of tools that have already revolutionised the study of language in other spheres (Baker 1999:281). Language comparison using a corpus is of great interest in a theoretical as well as an applied perspective (Johansson 1998:3-4). In the next section of my discussion I will look at a few research initiatives carried out on translation using the corpus-based approach.

In her work entitled *Investigating the language of translation: a corpus-based approach*, Baker (1996:175-176) analyses the reasons for the unique patterning of translational language or 'third code'. She maintains that if we accept that all language patterning is influenced by the constraints that operate in the environment of language use at any given time, then we have to accept that the patterning of the translated text is likely to prove different from that of the original text production. Put differently, it means that the nature and pressures of the translation process must leave traces produced by translators in the language.

The notion of the third code provides a useful starting point for explaining some of the concerns of translation scholars who are attempting to apply the techniques of corpus linguistics to investigating the language of translation. It is useful because what is different in the language of translation is approached from a descriptive and theoretically refined angle (Baker 1998:2). In defending the study of translation, Baker advocates that translation results in the creation of the third code not because

it is a faulty, deviant or sub-standard form of communication, but because it is a unique form of communication.

Laviosa (2004:9) states that in 1997 Munday combined systemic functional linguistics, corpora, cultural studies and reception theory to analyse translation norms in a parallel corpus of Spanish short stories by Gabriel Garcia Màrquez and their English translations. The findings obtained from comparative analyses of target and source texts vis-à-vis English and Spanish reference corpora suggested that the initial norm characterising the translator's choices was orientated towards acceptability.

Baker (2000:241-266) examines a methodology for investigating the style of a literary translator. She maintains that style in translation includes the translators' choice of the type of material to translate, his/her consistent use of specific strategies, including the use of prefaces or afterwords, footnotes, glossing in the body of the text, etc. More crucially, a study of a translator's style must focus on the manner of expression that is typical of a translator, rather than simply on instances of open intervention. It must attempt to capture the translator's characteristic use of language, his or her individual profile of linguistic habits, compared to other translators. This means that style, as applied in this study, is a matter of patterning: it involves describing preferred or recurring patterns of linguistic behaviour, rather than individual or one-off instances of intervention.

Focusing on forensic stylistics, Baker (2000) examines Bush and Clark whose works are part of the Translational English Corpus. The overall question as far as Baker's study is concerned is whether individual literary translators use distinctive styles of their own, and, if so, how we might go about identifying what is distinctive about an individual translator's style. The subcorpus used by Baker consists of five translated novels or a total of 296,146 words in the corpus by Peter Bush and three translated novels or a total of 173,932 words in the corpus by Peter Clark.

According to Kruger (2002:96) Peter Bush is found to prefer works written in Spanish and Brazilian Portuguese with an elaborate narrative which creates a world of intellectually sophisticated characters who speak largely through the narrator's voice. These works assume a highly educated readership. Peter Clark, in contrast, translates Arabic texts with an ordinary narrative which convey a social message

accessible to a wider lay readership. In these stories everyday people interact with one another and focus mainly on emotions. Peter Bush's translations have a higher average sentence length and a higher type-token ratio. Moreover, the analysis of the reporting verb *say* reveals a tendency for Peter Clark to use the simple past *said* more often, than any other form and indirect speech, while Peter Bush tends to use it in indirect speech in the typical structure as *someone said*. He also uses *says* more often and in indirect speech. While indirect speech creates a world with unclear boundaries, where the reader is encouraged to identify with the fictional or autobiographical world, direct speech clearly defines the beginning and end of the characters' utterances and thoughts which are directly and unambiguously conveyed to the reader. The tendency to use direct speech in Peter Clark's translated narrative may be tentatively explained by a subconscious attempt to render the source text, which belongs to a distant and alien culture, more accessible to the English readership. Baker (2000) concludes that it is possible in principle to identify patterns of choice which together form a particular thumb-print or style of an individual literary translator. It is also possible to use the description which emerges from a study of this type to elaborate the kind of text world that each translator has chosen to recreate in the target language.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter reflected upon approaches used by translation scholars to assess and research translation, moving from prescriptive approaches to translation, which assess translation against a fixed notion of equivalence, to descriptive approaches to translation, which reject the idea that the study of translation should be geared primarily to formulating rules, norms and guidelines for the practice or evaluation of translation. Descriptive theorists consider translations as facts of the target culture and engage with translations as texts in their own right rather than focusing on the originals which gave rise to them. Corpus-based translation studies, which builds upon the studies of scholars working within the descriptive branch of translation, as well as those of corpus linguists, was also examined. According to Baker (1993) the availability of various types of corpora, together with corpus-processing tools and corpus-driven methodology, will enable translation scholars to uncover the nature of translated texts as a mediated communicative event.

CHAPTER 3

THE ZULU LANGUAGE AND LITERARY SYSTEM

3.1 Introduction

Discussion in this chapter will evolve from the precepts of the polysystem theory which maintains that literature, including translated literature, is part of the social, cultural, literary and historical framework and should thus not be studied in isolation, but as part of the system of a culture. Against this backdrop, the focus of this chapter will be on the history of the Zulu people before their language was set to writing, including the period before their encounter with the Europeans. Traditional oral renditions used by the people during this period to pass on information will also be explored, as well as the history of the earliest missionaries who worked amongst the Zulu people, coupled with the history of Bible translation into Zulu.

The translation of the Bible into Zulu will be a gateway to the discussion of the Zulu literary system from its earliest stages to the recent present. This chapter will also touch on the language planning policies which were promulgated during the various stages of Bible translation.

According to various historians such as Wilson & Thompson (1969) and Duminy & Guest (1989), no account of Zulu history was ever documented before the arrival of the white people on the shores of Southern Africa in the 1820s. Knowledge of the region under the jurisdiction of the Zulu monarchs in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, an area which Duminy & Guest (1989:49) distinguish as the Phongolo-Mzimkhulu region, derives primarily from a corpus of oral traditions recorded a century or more after the occurrence of the events which they claim to describe. It was only from 1824, with the beginning of the first European settlement of Natal that some written records appeared to tell the Zulu story. Those who showed interest in the Zulu people, their language and their oral tradition, had to rely on archaeological excavations and linguistic evidence to help them fill in the details, but in general the knowledge of pre-nineteenth century Zulu is highly sketchy (Hexham 1987:4).

Canonici (1996:1) describes the Zulu people as descendants of an ancient population which lived north-west of the equatorial rain forest and the great lakes of Africa about 6 000 years ago and migrated southwards in search of better pasture for their cattle. It could be assumed that the Zulu language at this point in time did not exist; in its place a proto-language was spoken by all who migrated southwards.

Duminy and Guest (1989:54) maintain that in the pre-colonial societies of south-eastern Africa, the word 'Nguni', used variably as *umNguni*, *abanguni*, *abeNguni*, and their cognates, had a different meaning. They are of the opinion that no 'Nguni' ancestral clan ever existed and that the word was never used as a generic term by the peoples to whom contemporary scholars came to apply it. They claim that *Amantungwa*, *Amalala* and *Amambo* were not groupings of clans that could demonstrate a common descent, but clans whose traditions of common descent developed in a process of political struggle during the course of the nineteenth century. They assert that, strictly speaking, the word 'Nguni' should be used only as a linguistic term, as in 'Nguni languages' and 'Nguni-speaking people'. They believe that continued use of this term as an ethnic description helps obscure the conclusion to which recent archaeological research, as well as research recorded on oral traditions of Zululand-Natal, points; namely, that the historically known African societies of the region did not migrate in fixed ethnic units, but emerged locally from long-established ancestral communities of diverse and heterogeneous cultures and languages.

In the next section I will examine the way of life of the Zulu people during the pre-missionary period, before they came into contact with European settlers, with a view to tracing the historical background to the development and expansion of the Zulu language.

3.2 Historical background to the development and expansion of the Zulu language

As recounted by Duminy and Guest (1989:50), the way of life of the Nguni-speaking people who settled on the south-eastern coastal regions of Africa can be divided into three periods; namely, that which dated from about AD 1500 to 1700, which is marked as the period when the Nguni-speaking people migrated into the region from

the north and northwest, and dispersed into clans. The next was a period when the people lived in peace and stability in numerous small-scale clans under benign patriarchal rule. The third period began with the taking over of power of the Zulu clan by Shaka in about 1816.

Before the rise of Shaka and the formation of the Zulu kingdom, Zulu was a dialect spoken by a small Zulu clan, and the history of this clan is linked with that of the other Nguni groups. The Nguni languages are mutually understandable, though there are dialectal differences among them. In addition to Zulu, Xhosa, Swati and Ndebele are other languages under the Nguni group of languages. Each of these languages further comprises a number of dialects, distinguished by peculiarities in their sound systems, or by their word-formation patterns, or by the use of different vocabulary to express the same notions. East African Ngoni, now extinct, and Zimbabwe Ndebele are also considered to be Nguni languages (Canonici 1996:2).

The founding ancestor of the Zulu clan was Malandela, whose kingdom was split between his two sons, Qwabe, who founded the Qwabe clan, and Zulu. Zulu was succeeded by Phunga and Mageba. Malandela, Zulu, Phunga and Mageba are thus regarded as the great ancestors of the Zulu nation. Mageba was succeeded by Ndaba, who was then succeeded by Jama, the father of Senzangakhona. Senzangakhona was in turn succeeded by his three sons, Shaka (1787-1828, who ruled from 1816-1828); Dingane (1828-1840) and Mpande (1840-1872). Cetshwayo, son of Mpande, who could be considered as one of the last monarchs over the Zulu people, was king from 1872-1884. It was during Cetshwayo's rule that the Zulu kingdom collapsed under the pressure of the English government of the Cape. Those who reigned after Cetshwayo were no longer independent rulers after the kingdom was annexed by British colonial powers. These were Dinizulu (1884-1913); Solomon (1913-1933); Mshiyeni (regent from 1933-1949); Cyprian kaBhekuzulu (1949-1968); Mcwayizeni Israel (regent from 1971-1971); and Goodwill Zwelithini who ascended the throne in 1971 (Canonici 1996:1).

Going back to the period between 1800 and 1870, it is important to mention that the situation in both the coastal region and the plateau of south-eastern Africa began to change radically. Around 1805 the small chiefdoms were joined together in an alliance by Dingiswayo, the leader of the Mthethwa people. Following the death of

Dingiswayo in about 1818, one of the smaller groups in the alliance, the Zulu, defeated other groups under the able leadership of Shaka. In this manner the Zulu nation was formed (Hexham 1987:4-5). Duminy and Guest (1989:50 & 68) regard Shaka's assumption of power over the Zulu clan as a period that began major political changes in the region, whereby the earliest system of numberless clans and independent chieftains was gradually demolished.

Duminy and Guest (1989:57) maintain that although there is little that can be drawn either from the traditions or from the shreds of documentary evidence which existed on the nature of the socio-political organisation before the emergence of the Zulu kingdom in the late 1810s and early 1820s, there is enough to suggest that in the mid-eighteenth century, the inhabitants of the Phongolo-Mzimkhulu region lived in numerous, small-scale political units which varied in size, population and political structure. They believe that chiefdoms were made up of a random number of local communities which were themselves composed of shifting clusters of homesteads (Duminy and Guest 1989:57).

Ties that were not political tended to cut across political boundaries, and communities and chiefdoms alike were generally fluid and unstable entities, enlarging, splitting, forming and reforming, sometimes peacefully, sometimes violently, as members quarrelled over access to material resources and to sources of power. This fluidity and instability was an indication of the degree to which power in these political societies was distributed. This was because there were no institutions through which the chief could exercise more than a temporary effective command over the armed men of the chiefdom as a whole. Men mobilised on a local basis under their own community leaders, with the result that the chief was not usually able to command enough manpower to enable him easily to confront and subdue dissident factions, or to prevent them from abandoning their allegiance to him and sever connections with the chiefdom (Duminy and Guest 1989:57).

Shaka's rise to power came with the rapid expansion of the kingdom. He defeated other chiefdoms which had remained independent of Dingiswayo. Areas previously occupied by many independent chiefdoms, became transformed into a single kingdom, and many tribes became moulded into a single nation. The traditions of the Zulu royal lineage became the traditions of the nation; the Zulu dialect became the

language of the nation, and every inhabitant, whatever his or her origin, became a Zulu, owing allegiance to Shaka. Fear, too, was an important nation-building factor (Wilson & Thompson 1969:344).

The upheavals which accompanied the rise of the Zulu kingdom, known as the *Difeqane* or *Mfecane* (meaning 'the crushing'), were a major factor in the expansion of the Zulu language. The inhabitants of Natal south of the Thukela³ River took flight southwards, some amalgamating with Madikane, who founded the Bhaca chiefdom. Beyond them large numbers of disorganized refugees sought shelter among the Xhosa chiefdoms. They were known as Mfengu, 'Fingos' to the European settlers (Wilson & Thompson 1969: 345-346).

To the north of Shaka's kingdom, the most successful organizer of resistance was Sobhuza, a Nguni chief of the Dlamini clan. Sobhuza, who ruled from about 1815 to about 1836, retreated to defensible positions in the mountains north of the Phongolo River, absorbed Sotho as well as Nguni chiefdoms, created an army on Zulu lines and laid the foundations of what later became known as the Swazi kingdom, named after Sobhuza's son, Mswazi (Wilson & Thompson 1969:346). Although Swati is regarded as a fully fledged language today, for a very long time it was considered a Zulu dialect. During the period when Swaziland was still a British protectorate, the Zulu language was used in that region as a written vernacular. The New Testament *LiThestamente Lelisha* in Swati was first published by the Bible Society of South Africa in 1981, while the complete Bible *LiBhayibheli* was published in 1997 (Hermanson: personal interview).

After Shaka defeated the Ndwandwe tribe in 1819, two of Zwide's warriors escaped Shaka's clutches in 1821 by moving northwards. During the next decade, one of them, Soshangane, carved out his Gaza kingdom in the lowlands between Delagoa Bay and the lower Zambesi, subduing the Tsonga inhabitants and destroying the Portuguese settlements at Delagoa Bay, Inhambane and Sena (Wilson & Thompson 1969:346). Through Soshangane's influence and his Zulu dissidents, the Shangane language, which is presently known as Tsonga, in South Africa, came into existence.

² Many historians use official but very outdated orthography in reference to South African place and river names, e.g. Tugela River. In this study, in line with the new Zulu orthography, the name 'Thukela River' will be used.

Zwangendaba, another Zulu dissident, settled for a time in Soshangane's area, but in 1831 was driven westwards. In 1835 he crossed the Zambezi River to establish an Ngoni kingdom along the western side of Lake Malawi⁴ and as far north as Lake Tanganyika. Initially the migrant bands consisted of perhaps one hundred warriors each, but they quickly became huge by receiving fresh refugees from the Zulu country and absorbing large numbers of people from the chiefdoms they conquered in their travels. Zwangendaba's followers also threw off splinter groups as they advanced across the Zambesi (Wilson & Thompson 1969:347). Zwangendaba's followers spoke the Ngoni language, which is now extinct, but was considered a Zulu dialect.

Mzilikazi was taken into Shaka's service after his father, Mashobane, was killed by Zwide. In about 1822, Shaka sent Mzilikazi to raid cattle from a Sotho chieftain, but on his return Mzilikazi defied Shaka by retaining some of the cattle he had captured. To escape reprisal, Mzilikazi fled northwards with two or three hundred young men, brushing off Zulu pursuers, and acquiring more followers as he travelled. In 1823, he settled on the upper Oliphants River in the then eastern Transvaal highveld. During the next few years he conquered the Pedi and other Sotho chiefdoms in that area, and his following continued to grow as he absorbed Sotho survivors as well as more Nguni refugees from Shaka. When Mzilikazi fled north in 1837, he was accompanied by a considerable number of people of Sotho as well as Nguni origin (Wilson & Thompson 1969:405). He then moved westward to form a new kingdom in the then Northern Transvaal. This settlement was short-lived since, after clashing with Boer farmers, Mzilikazi was driven further north to finally establish the Matabele nation in Zimbabwe (Thuynsma 1980:6). The Ndebele language, spoken by Mzilikazi's followers in the then Transvaal and those in Zimbabwe, was considered a dialect of Zulu for a very long time until it was declared a fully fledged language. Despite the geographical rift, Zimbabwe Ndebele is still essentially a form of Zulu. However, a Shona influence is apparent in the vocabulary.

⁴ Although presently this locality is known as Lake Malawi, historically it was called Lake Nyasa.

The Ndebele-speaking people of South Africa fall into two sub-categories, namely the Southern Ndebele and the Northern Ndebele. Southern Ndebele comprise those of the Manala and Ndzundza tribes. Southern Ndebele is now a fully-fledged written language, more closely related to Zulu than to any other Nguni language, although it has striking similarities with Mpondo, a dialect of Xhosa. Northern Ndebele is a sister dialect to Southern Ndebele. They share a common history as well as a common vocabulary. The only difference is that Northern Ndebele is a dialect which falls under the Tekela language group, whereas Southern Ndebele falls under the Zunda group. The New Testament, with a selection of Psalms, *ITastemende Eliyjha namaRhalani akhethiweko*, was published by the Bible Society of South Africa in 1986. A team, based at the University of Pretoria, is currently translating the Old Testament. This is the only South African official language without a complete Bible (Hermanson: personal interview).

If the upheavals which came with the rise of the Zulu kingdom resulted in social and political changes in the south-eastern region of Africa, it is safe to assume that such changes did not leave the languages spoken by the people unaffected. Through these changes the languages of the chiefdoms which were subjugated by Shaka's warriors were transformed. The Zulu language became the language of all the conquered tribes.

During pre-colonial times policies pertaining to language were carried out unintentionally. The *Difaqane* upheavals under King Shaka comprised the most significant inadvertent act of language planning. These upheavals saw the Zulu language spreading within and outside the borders of South Africa, and being carried to other parts of the continent to countries such as Zimbabwe, Tanzania, Zambia and Malawi by Shaka's warriors who fled from his reign (Duminy & Guest 1989). This naturally resulted in a rise in the number of people speaking the Zulu language. Shaka unwittingly expanded the use of the Zulu language, which today is the most widely spoken language in South Africa (Duminy & Guest 1989).

The next section of my discussion will look into how the Zulu people used their language to pass on their value systems, norms and beliefs to their progeny.

3.3 Zulu oral traditions

The age of oral art amongst Southern African peoples is difficult to determine, mainly because of a lack of appropriate records, but it is clear that oral art has been with the human race since the beginning of mankind, from the very first occasions when our forefathers related their experiences real or imagined – to each other (Ntuli & Swanepoel 1993:8). To ensure their continued existence and survival, preliterate people trained their progeny in their society's customs, notions, beliefs, traditions and prejudices, and transmitted this knowledge orally from one generation to the next as forms of communication in small groups (Canonici 1996:53). This task was fulfilled in celebratory events where knowledge was imparted, and ethical systems were inculcated through examples.

Folklore is a tradition that stands quite apart from written literature. De Villiers (1979:1) contends that folklore is part of all human cultures. The knowledge of a people's folklore makes it easier to understand their culture, and a people's folklore is regarded as an account of their culture. The literary abilities of preliterate men and women have been established beyond question by the thousands of stories, lyrics, riddles and proverbs they have left us, not only in southern Africa, but in all cultures the world over (Ntuli and Swanepoel 1993:8). According to Bascom (1965:284), oral art, or folklore as he terms it, is a mirror of culture and incorporates descriptions of the details of ceremonies, institutions and technology, as well as the expression of beliefs and attitudes. Although there are differences as to the forms that comprise these literary abilities of preliterate men and women, the most significant are the narrative prose or myths, legends, fables and tales; didactic prose or proverbs and riddles; praise poems which include lyric and dramatic poetry and songs (De Villiers 1979).

The history of oral literature amongst the Zulu people started long before they knew anything about writing and long before the advent of missionaries on the shores of South Africa. Like all preliterate people who lacked a form of writing, the style of the narratives of the Zulu people was characterised mainly by oral presentations accompanied by a variety of acts which gave meaning to words, or which substituted the words. Canonici (1996:2) and Ntuli & Makhambeni (1998:7) contend that even

during their entire period of south-bound migration, the Bantu-speaking people relied on oral art to pass on information regarding their history and customs to their progeny. They had their own way of creating, committing and transmitting works of verbal art.

Although the different forms of folklore were rendered and performed for purposes of entertainment, they educated and preserved the language. Preliterate people did not divide folklore into various genres as we have them today. These divisions were introduced when folklore became a subject of scientific study. Oral prose differs from oral poetry in that it lacks the conciseness of poetry. In oral prose the artist indulges in elaborating the tale and explanations because they narrate at leisure. The artist reveals a fuller, more extensive side of his/her creative ability. According to Lestrade (1937:306), the difference between prose and poetry is one 'of spirit rather than form'. In storytelling there is reshaping, recasting and embellishing, according to creative genius (Thuynsma 1980:145). Folk oral narratives which are presented in prose make use of normal, everyday speech, which is perfected and controlled in the interests of artistic creation and literary style. Prose is spoken, but the rhythmic characteristics of the language are often heightened to involve the audience (Canonici 1996:8).

Ngcobo (2002:43) brings another dimension to oral traditional stories. He sees such stories as drawing upon the collective wisdom of oral people, thus serving important social and ethical purposes. For example, a parent would use a story to convey proper morals in accordance with the community. This was easy because storytelling was essentially an event in which the entire community participated. By the same token, people would use praise poems as an attempt to warn the king not to commit an action that would compromise himself and his high office.

Zulu storytelling follows a specific pattern. It has an opening formula which the storyteller usually uses which begins thus: *Kwesukasukela!* (Once upon a time, it happened) to which the audience's response is *Cosi* (small quantity). During the storytelling the audience will be active participants, joining in song and using various facial expressions and gestures that correspond with what is happening in the story. At the end of the story the storyteller will wind up her tale using a concluding formula, which will vary from one storyteller to the other, the most popular being *Cosi cosi*

iyaphela (This is the end of our story), and the audience will respond by saying *Siyabonga! Yaze yamnandi indaba yakho* (We thank you! What a nice tale it was!) (Canonici 1996:55).

In the next section I will examine the various sub-genres of the prose narrative, which comprise myth, legend and tales. I will also discuss the sub-genres of traditional poetry which include praise poems, clan names or praise names, lullabies, songs and sayings, as well as their significance in present-day life.

3.3.1 Prose narratives

The term 'prose narrative' is one that embraces oral forms that use prose as a form of language in their rendition. In prose, the language that is used in everyday normal communication is used. On the other hand, poetry has artificial formality which is brought about by poetic devices, such as rhyme, rhythm, metre, alliteration, parallelism, repetition, assonance, etc., which go hand in hand with the characteristics of oral style. Poetry concentrates thought and emotion by using bold imagery and repetition (Canonici 1996:8).

Attention will now be drawn to the various forms of prose narratives that exist in Zulu. We will start by looking at myths. Finnegan (1970:361) sees myths as prose narratives which, in the society in which they are told, are considered to be truthful accounts of what happened in the remote past. They are accepted on faith; they are taught to be believed; and they can be cited with authority in answer to ignorance, doubt or disbelief. Myths are the embodiment of dogma; they are usually sacred and they are often associated with theology and ritual. Their main characters are animals, deities or cultural heroes whose actions are set in an earlier world when the earth was different from what it is today. De Villiers (1979:2) also thinks that myths are concerned with the intangible and supernatural. They narrate tales of gods, spirits and other supernatural entities, of origins, creation and morality, usually resulting from the activities of supernatural beings. Canonici (1996:78), a distinguished scholar of Zulu oral tradition, states that myths have their own internal truth, often a very deep one.

The most commonly told myth amongst the Zulu people is that which explains the origin of death. Briefly, the narrative states that **uNkulunkulu** (The Great-Great-One) sent a chameleon to tell the people that they should not die. The chameleon set out slowly loitering on the way and, as it went, it ate of the **ubukhwebezane** fruit tree. At length **uNkulunkulu** sent a lizard after the chameleon. The lizard went; it ran and made great haste, for **uNkulunkulu** had said to the lizard that when it arrived it should tell the people that they should die. So the lizard went and said: "Let men die." The lizard went back to **uNkulunkulu**, before the chameleon had reached its destination. When the chameleon finally arrived, the people said: "We cannot take your word. Through the word of the lizard men will die" (Callaway 1913:9). This myth explains that death came to the people through the chameleon's sluggishness, which caused **uNkulunkulu** to become enraged and to send the swift lizard to tell the people that they would die.

Legends differ slightly from myths. Bascom (1965:4) defines legends as prose narratives which are regarded as true by the narrator and his audience, but which are set in a period considered less remote, when the world was much as it is today. Legends are more often secular than sacred, and their principal characters are human. They tell of migrations, wars and victories, deeds of past heroes, chiefs and kings. De Villiers (1979:3) maintains that the difference between myths and legends is not clear, but acknowledges that legends explain cultural phenomena and that they relate to past events. Legends refer specifically to tribal history and to the deeds of long dead heroes, and are presumably based on facts in which details concerning persons, events and places are forgotten or have been modified.

A commonly known legend in Zulu is that which tells of how a crow warned Mpeza, a Zulu sub-chief, not to attempt to raid the cattle of the Zulu men who were away on a military expedition (Canonici 1996:86). In this legend, true historical facts are distorted by what is imaginative. It is historically true that Mpeza was a Zulu sub-chief, but what disqualifies this fact as a historical one and consequently reduces it to a legend is the speaking crow. We all know that accounts in which animals speak belong to the imaginative world.

Another type of prose narrative that will be focused on is the folktale. Bascom (1965:4) regards folktales as prose fiction. They are not viewed as dogma or history.

They may or may not have happened, and they are not to be taken seriously. He further alludes to the fact that although it is often said that they are told for amusement, they have other important functions, as the class of moral folktales should suggest. Folktales may be set in any time and in any place and in this sense they are almost timeless and placeless. Canonici (1996:89) broadly distinguishes between animal and human folktales. He refers to animal folktales as those that have animal characters which have been selected on the basis of their suitability for the task at hand, or for specific roles, true or imaginary. Roles are assigned according to physical characteristics and behavioural patterns, normally following traditional images in the people's imagery bank. An animal folktale which has a moral is called a fable. In such tales, animals are used as human prototypes. Canonici (1996:91) maintains that some of these tales told by the Zulu are probably of African origin, while others may have entered African folklore through the early school readers prepared by missionaries. He further alludes to the fact that some animal fables are more complex and often end with etiological points, giving an imaginative explanation of how an animal acquired a particular physical or behavioural characteristic. When we consider the many animal tales that have been collected from Africa, the main factor that has struck most observers is the great emphasis on animal tricksters – small, wily and tricky animals who cheat and outdo the larger and more powerful beasts. They trick them in a pretended tug of war, cheat them in a race, deceive them into killing themselves or their own relations, gobble up their opponents' food in pretended innocence, divert the punishment for their own misdeeds onto innocent parties and perform a host of other ingenious tricks. The actual author of these exploits varies in different areas. Amongst the Zulu and Xhosa people, it is the weasel which is most often personified as a small boy (Finnegan 1970:344).

On the other hand, human folktales comprise a very wide category which includes the largest section of Zulu folktales. In these tales, humans are the main characters, although one often also finds animals and monsters playing important parts (Canonici 1996:102). The human stories seem to express man's insecurity, his anxieties, fears and doubts. They are serious and complex, employ symbolism and present polarities, and could be regarded as philosophical statements (Cope 1978:185). Cope continues to support the notion that in human stories the humans are real people (not representations of character types) in a world partly real and partly fantastic, who are required to interact with strange creatures and monsters as well as

with one another. Characters of most African stories also recur throughout the continent. The most familiar of all are the animals, particularly the wily hare, tortoise, spider and their larger dupes. But there are also many stories about legendary heroes or ancestors, and a few which recount the actions of various supernatural beings (Finnegan 1970:342).

Although the telling of stories is no longer performed in exactly the same manner as it was during traditional times, storytelling to this day is still a very active and important oral art form. Many of the traditional folk stories have been recorded on paper to be read by generations to come and are also performed live to audiences or through visual and audio media. Although the settings for storytelling have changed, from being told in the evenings around the fire, to being told anytime and anywhere, the effect is still the same.

Although proverbs and riddles are typified as didactic prose, they use language in a more purposeful manner than narrative prose. According to Thuynsma (1980:3), didactic prose derives from the experiences of a people and presents wisdom in symbolic form, or sets a mental problem, appealing to the intellectual ability of the hearer. The categories of didactic prose, namely proverbs and riddles, instruct and moralize, and preserve cultural experiences for future generations in a witty and apt way.

There are two main forms of didactic prose in Zulu: proverbs and riddles. Proverbs will be discussed first. As regards the definition of a proverb, Finnegan (1970:393) maintains that a proverb is a saying in more or less fixed form marked by 'shortness, sense and salt' and distinguished by the popular acceptance of the truth tersely expressed in it. In many African cultures a feeling for language, for imagery, and for the expression of abstract ideas through compressed and allusive phraseology comes out particularly clearly in proverbs. The figurative quality of proverbs is especially striking; one of their most noticeable characteristics is their allusive wording usually in metaphorical form (Finnegan 1970:380). Scholars such as Bascom (1965:296) perceive proverbs as reflecting the way of life, experiences, observations and ideas of the people using them, and thus provide insight into the culture of the people concerned.

Amongst the Bantu⁵ language speakers, proverbs generalize the specific and are considered by many as ancient wisdom in a condensed form. Proverbs are used in all manner of situations, as a means of amusement, in educating the young, to sanction institutionalized behaviour, as a method of gaining favour, in performing religious rituals and association ceremonies and to give a point and add colour to ordinary conversation (Messenger 1965:299).

Although proverbs were not specifically composed for the purpose of teaching, their use is considered by some as an effective means of instructing (Nyembezi 1963: xii). Nyembezi classifies Zulu proverbs according to various themes that pertain to human life; for instance those that pertain to bringing up children, those that pertain to the social life of the people and those that relate to living a happy marital life, etc.

Riddles are the next to be explored. Scholars such as Schapera (1937:218) Doke (1947:118) and Beuchat (1965:187 & 199-200) see riddles as material or abstract elements in culture. They argue that riddles indicate human experience, reaction to the environment and the ability to observe natural phenomena, and describe knowledge as well as the life of a people, depicting human errors humorously or stating a human truth. De Villiers (1979:5) maintains that appealing riddles that are widely distributed among the South African Bantu language speakers, provide excellent opportunities for understanding the traditional culture and customs of a people and the indigenous mind. Junod (1938:176) sees them as the most attractive form of indigenous folklore. Riddles are considered mainly as a form of entertainment, and therefore are related in the evenings and during the less busy months of the year.

The riddle may also act as an exercise of intellectual skill and quickness of wit; it becomes a test of memory with some riddles having answers that have to be learnt by heart in order to be known. Riddles are also instructive in that they mention geographical names or refer to historical events. They develop a sense of observation and often contain elaborate and rich linguistic forms. Although it is mostly young people who indulge in this pastime, some adults may also join in the fun.

⁵ The term 'Bantu' is a contentious one, since it is considered by many African language speakers to be racist and derogatory as a result of the over usage of the term during the apartheid period. The term 'Bantu' has historically been used by linguists to denote Southern African languages.

Either two individuals or teams may compete in the riddle games (Beuchat 1965:186-187).

Presently, most Zulu-speaking communities no longer engage in traditional riddle games as they did during traditional times. With the advent of modern technology, television has taken the time slot that was once occupied by this game in the field of family entertainment. Although riddles no longer feature as home entertainment, this oral art has been introduced in senior primary and secondary school syllabuses. Proverbs, on the other hand, are still casually used by communities, especially elderly people in their talk with younger people as words of advice, education and caution.

The next category of Zulu oral tradition to be discussed is traditional poetry. However, our discussion will focus only on praise poems, *izibongo* and praise names, *izithakazelo*.

3.3.2 Traditional poetry

According to Finnegan (1970:82), the most specialised genre of poetry occurs in association with royal courts. The actual position and duties of the royal court poets varied. In certain cases the poet held a single clearly recognised office among a ruler's entourage. This was the case with the Zulu and other Bantu kingdoms of southern Africa where not only the paramount king, but also every chief with any pretensions to political power had, wherever possible, his own *imbongi* also called a praiser or bard. This was an official position at the court, important enough to the rulers to have survived even the eclipse of much of their earlier power. The *imbongi's* profession was to record the praise names, victories and glorious qualities of the chief and his ancestors, and to recite these in lengthy high-sounding verse on occasions which seemed to call for public adulation of the ruler.

Jordan (1973:21) maintains that the bard, who was both a composer and a public reciter, was versed in tribal history and lore, as well as being witty. He held a position of honour in his community. It was the greatest ambition of every boy to be at least a public reciter, if not a composer. In fact, every boy was expected at the very least to be able to recite his own praises, those of the family bull or cow, even if composed by

someone else, and was also expected to know the traditional praises of certain species of animals and birds. Any boy who lacked these accomplishments was held in contempt by men as well as by other boys.

In the ensuing section of our discussion attention will be given to the various sub-genres of traditional poetry which existed and were performed by Zulu-speaking communities namely, praise poems, clan names or praise names, lullabies, songs and sayings.

Izibongo, the praise poems of individuals, will be discussed first. *Izibongo* developed from initial praise names, that an individual is given or gives himself, which briefly describe or epitomise an event in his life, his achievements or failures or a physical characteristic (Canonici 1996:226). To the African, including the Zulu people, the praise poem is their proudest artistic possession. The subject of a praise poem may be a nation, a tribe, a clan, a person, an animal or a lifeless object. The poem abounds in epithets, very much like the Homeric ones, and the language in general is highly figurative (Jordan 1973:21). The most famous praise poems are those which refer to prominent persons, heroes and kings. The royal praises are considered the highest form of Zulu oral literature. They also have great historical and cultural value, as they describe and praise the lives of people like Senzangakhona, Shaka, Dingane, Mpande, Cetshwayo, Dinizulu, Zwelithini, and others (Canonici 1996:133).

The various poetic forms of European poetry such as the ode, eulogy and epic are found in praise poems. They are considered odes since they refer to the personality traits and physical qualities of the subject of praise, pointing out both good and bad characteristics. As eulogies they praise the subject for his military and diplomatic achievements. They honour both the living and the dead, as they are a celebration of the continuous chain of life, with all the responsibilities this implies. As epics, they allude to historical events that involve the subject of praise. A person's praise poem does not die, but remains a testimony of this person for all to hear and know (Canonici 1996:233).

Praise names, *izithakazelo*, are also a form of traditional poetry not quite distinct from praise poems. Canonici (1996:233) maintains that a clan is known by the name of its founder (*isibongo*) or by a name belonging to one of its famous members (e.g. Zulu, Buthelezi and Qwabe). Several clans may share the same *isibongo*, but are

distinguished by one or more *isithakazelo*. Clan names are the glorious property of all members of a clan. People who share the same clan praises are considered 'brothers' and 'sisters', therefore as family relations, even though they may never have met each other or never heard of the other family or clan before. The use of clan names immediately reveals family relationships and helps to avoid the danger that people who are blood relatives may infringe the strict exogamous rule prevalent among the Nguni. Every member of the clan is expected to know his or her clan name. Children learn them informally, from an early age, to help them identify closely with their clan and family. Praise names are often used as respectful salutations and full versions of *izithakazelo*, often extending to several verses and stanzas, are used at intimate family functions, to call on the help of the clan's ancestors, as well as at public functions such as marriages and funerals.

Praise names are also in popular use these days. They are mostly used when families gather together for ancestral rituals, weddings or funerals. It is also common practice these days to see people's names written in a way that includes the possessive formative **ka-**, literally meaning 'of', which bears reference to the clan.

Art forms such as *izibongo*, narratives, histories and other materials from Zulu tradition were recorded by James Stuart in a series of school readers which he assembled in the 1920s in his collections entitled *UTulasizwe* (The one who keeps quiet, that we should listen) (1923), *Uhlangakula* (The dry stalk that grows) (1924), *UBaxoxele* (The one who tells) (1926), *Ukulumabetule* (The one who talks whilst they are quiet) (1925) and *UVusezakiti* (The one who wakes ours up) (1926). Stuart also translated Aesop's fables into Zulu in 1926 and 1929 (Andrzejewski *et al* 1985:500).

The earliest recordings of Southern African oral literature are found in travel documents and early ethnographies. Missionaries also began fairly early to collect a variety of genres of oral art. Amongst these missionaries are Bishop Callaway, who published his *Nursery Tales of the Zulus* in 1868 (Du Toit 1976:6) and Arbousset in 1852, who presented 241 lines of *Izibongo zikaDingane* (The Praises of Dingane). Only 27 lines were in Zulu and the rest were in French (Canonici 1996:5).

Andrzejewski *et al* (1985:499), also allude to the fact that writers such as A. H. S. Mbata and G. C. S. Mdhladhla compiled two volumes of Zulu oral narratives

depicting the activities of Chakijana, the Zulu trickster entitled *UChakijana bogcololo umphephethi wezinduku zabafo* (Chakijana, the clever one, the medicator of the men's fighting sticks) published in 1927 and *Uhlabanengalwi* (Fighter not fighting) published in 1938. V. Dube's collection entitled, *Woza nazo* (Come with the stories) was published in 1935. F. L. Ntuli who compiled *Izinganekwane nezindaba ezindala* (Folktales and other old stories) in 1939 and E. I. S. Mdhladhla, who produced *UMgcogcoma* (The one who is here and there) in 1947 have also collected materials from the Zulu oral tradition.

Contemporary writers who also have collections of oral art include L. T. L. Mabuya who wrote *Umchachazo* (A babbling brook), published in 1983. *Angigeqi magula* (I don't tell it all) and *Izinhlansi zomlilo* (Fire sparks), were both published in 1988 and *Intshengula* (The snuff spoon) and *Izihlonti* (Forelock), were both published in 1989. N. Makhambeni's *Amantshontsho* (The slaughterers' meat) and her *Izaqheqhe* (Rich sour milk) were both published in 1986. D. B. K. Mhlongo's *Igula lawokhokho* (The ancestors' milk container) was published in 1986, his *Iziko* (The fireplace), in 1987 and his *Umcebo* (Wealth), in 1990. C. T. Msimang's *Kwesukela* (Once upon a time) was published in 1987. S. D. Ngcongwane's *Umlalazi* (The whetstone) was published in 1990.

In the next section of my discussion I will look at the life of the Zulu people when they first came into contact with the European people.

3.4 First contacts between the Zulu people and Europeans

A discussion of the development of written Zulu that does not touch on the first European settlers amongst the Zulu people is rather lopsided. The first white settlers shaped the perceptions of the Zulu concerning who the European people were and what they were capable of. From the earliest times the Zulu people perceived whites with suspicion, as those who came out of the sea and had magical powers.

Portuguese crews and passengers of shipwrecked vessels were the only people to traverse the area of present-day Natal from the time of Vasco da Gama until the era of regular European settlers (Brookes & Webb 1987:4). By the middle to late nineteenth century, it became apparent that interest was provoked among various

missionary societies in Europe and America to take up evangelizing work on the 'dark continent' (Etherington 1989:275).

According to Wilson & Thompson (1969:336), the Zulu kingdom was already established when the first literate people started settling among the Zulu people in 1824 and its forerunner, the Mthethwa confederacy under Dingiswayo, no longer existed. Notably, some of the traders like Henry Francis Fynn, who arrived in Natal in 1824, and Nathaniel Isaacs (1825), wrote accounts of their experiences, and so did some of the early missionaries, notably Allen Gardiner (1835) and Francis Owen (1837). In 1824, Henry Francis Fynn and a group of fellow adventurers that included Lieutenant Farewell, arrived at what was then called 'Port Natal' where they established a base for trade in ivory with the interior (Hexham 1987:10). Satisfied that the Portuguese obtained much of their ivory from the Zulu people, Fynn and Farewell decided to establish a trading station at Port Natal (Lugg 1949:16).

Fynn instantly earned a reputation by healing a Zulu woman and giving medical help to Shaka when an attempt was made to assassinate him. In the nick of time, fresh medicine arrived from the Port which helped to make the cure complete (Hexham 1987:11). Shortly after this incident, Farewell and Fynn visited Shaka at his Bulawayo kraal, and it was on this occasion that they were made a grant of land (Lugg 1949:16). Fynn became fluent in their language and made several long journeys into the interior. Naturally Shaka was curious about these strange intruders and sought contact with them. From the start, Shaka made it clear that the whites were 'his people' and were free to travel throughout his domain in safety. They were provided with food and shelter and soon acquired a status similar to chiefs. Because they knew that their lives depended on Shaka's goodwill, the whites in turn gave him any assistance he needed and supplied him with presents, including guns. Fynn, in particular, seemed to have struck up a warm relationship with the Zulu king. His success with the Zulu was aided by the fact that prior to visiting Africa, he had worked as a surgeon's assistant in London. His medical knowledge proved invaluable among the Zulu (Hexham 1987:10-11).

On 24 September 1828, Shaka was assassinated by his half brothers, Dingane and Mhlangana. Dingane became king of the Zulu people. Dingane lacked both Shaka's skill and intelligence at a time when new problems were confronting the recently

created Zulu nation. His relations with the whites at Port Natal were strained and he faced various rebellions from his subjects (Hexham 1987:11).

Fynn eventually became a minor chief in the Umzinto district. After many adventures he left Natal in 1834 and became a colonial servant in the Cape. In 1852 Fynn returned to Natal where he became a resident magistrate. He was named 'Mbulazi weTheku' (Mbulazi, the one from Durban) by the Zulu people. He acquired a deep and intimate knowledge of Zulu life and beliefs as he was regarded as an authority on 'native affairs' by the Europeans. He died at his home on the Bluff in 1861 (Hexham 1987:128).

Another Briton who cannot be left out in a discussion of the first settlers and missionaries in Port Natal is Captain Allen Francis Gardiner, a retired naval officer, who arrived in Natal early in 1835. He quickly established contact with Dingane, seeking his permission to establish a mission station at the king's capital, uMgungundlovu, but ultimately failing to do so despite making several visits to the place (Lugg 1949:21). At first Dingane seemed to have regarded Gardiner with great suspicion but, eventually, he attempted to use Gardiner as a negotiator with the Natal traders and the colonial government in the Cape (Hexham 1987:44).

After failing to get permission to establish a mission station at the royal kraal of Dingane, Gardiner established a mission station at Port Natal. Dingane made Gardiner into a sort of chief whom he said was to rule the area between the uThukela and uMzimvubu Rivers, from the coast to the Drakensberg. As a result of this 'appointment' Gardiner travelled to Cape Town to obtain the approval of the colonial authorities. This visit led him to return to England with a plan to annex Natal. However, the British government was not prepared to co-operate, although Gardiner did persuade the Church Missionary Society to send Francis Owen as a missionary to Dingane. Francis Owen travelled from Cape Town to Natal where he met Dingane on 19 August 1837 (Hexham 1987:44).

When Gardiner was refused permission to establish a missionary station at the king's capital, he decided to set up a station at Port Natal instead. A few months later, the king changed his mind and told Gardiner that he could have a missionary station in Zululand (Dinnerstein 1971:18). Dingane, in turn, respected Gardiner as a man who

might help him bring order to the growing settlement of Port Natal. The captain then proved his good faith by returning to Zululand a group of people charged with crimes against the king and agreed to communicate to the Governor of the Cape, Sir Benjamin D'Urban, the king's views on diplomatic relations with Britain and the legal status of Port Natal (Etherington 1989:277).

Dingane's good manners proved deceptive. Initially, the possibility that his people might be taught to read and write seemed to intrigue him. He even promised the missionaries that if they succeeded, he would let them bring their school into the 'heart of my dominions,' and would learn himself in order to set an example to his people (Gardiner 1936:38). It quickly became evident, though, that despite these claims of interest, his advisors, who represented the people, preferred to observe the missionaries at a distance. The function of the advisors was to make certain that the king acted in conformity with custom. The king took a decision after consultations with his advisors who were mostly headmen, the heads of the leading families of the tribe whose rights were mainly hereditary (Krige 1936:218-220).

As far as Gardiner could judge, the Zulu people had vague notions of religion. They believed that the universe had begun with a single act of creation and that a divinity named *uNkulunkulu* had divided the first human beings into sexes and races and had communicated to them the mournful knowledge that they must die. Spirits of the dead were believed to inhabit certain animals. Gardiner regarded the Zulu beliefs as a remnant of pre-Christian Judaism. They did not seem to be much of an obstacle to conversion, and he was favourably impressed by Dingane's intelligence and willingness to entertain new ideas (Etherington 1989:277).

In the next section we will examine the history of the missionaries who worked among the Zulu people and also touch on the Boer Voortrekkers whose clashes with the Zulu people impeded the work of the missionaries.

3.5 The missionary period amongst the Zulu people

In this section discussion will cover the earliest groundbreaking work by the American Board Mission, other missionary societies and churches, as well as individuals such

as Colenso, Callaway and Bryant who contributed to the development of written Zulu and its literary system.

It is essential to give some background here as to how the missionaries acquired the knowledge of the languages with which they worked. According to Kritzinger (1995:357), these missionaries understandably had great difficulty to communicate with the people whom they wanted to reach. It was essential for them to learn the local languages. Amongst the problems they faced was the fact that the languages of these people were not written down. However, by intimate fellowship with the locals, these first missionaries 'picked up' the languages. Sometimes the missionaries met people who already knew some English or another European language and they made use of this 'bridge' in order to acquire the indigenous language.

Kritzinger (1995) maintains that the missionaries most certainly found this stage of their work very difficult, and sometimes an insuperable obstacle, and it was probably only because of their supernatural motivation that they succeeded. Later language instruction was conducted by the senior missionaries. It was primarily for that purpose that grammars of the languages were written, as the traditional way for Europeans to study languages was by means of books describing language and phonetic word lists leading the student into a vocabulary. These early efforts were without doubt insufficient and even full of errors, but they laid the foundations for subsequent work. Kritzinger further asserts that all this language work by the missionaries was a tremendous contribution towards positive communication, since the missionaries were the first to study the culture and history of the Africans in depth and to publish definitive works on anthropology.

Another dimension of the language work of the early missionaries went beyond the need for oral communication. People had to receive the Bible in their own language. Missionaries were convinced that the experience of Pentecost, where everyone heard the message of the great deeds of God in his or her own language, had also to become real for this newly reached language group. That is why so much effort was put into committing the language into writing, and the subsequent translation of the Bible into the language. By the turn of the nineteenth century there were already full published Bibles in five South African indigenous languages: Tswana (1857), Xhosa

(1859), Southern Sotho (1881), Zulu (1883) and Northern Sotho (1904) (Kritzinger 1995:358).

Missionaries like Moffat (Tswana); Boyce, Shrewsbury, and Appleyard (Xhosa); Cassalis, Roland, and Arbousset (Southern Sotho); Berthoud (Tsonga); Knothe, Kuschke and Trumppelmann (Northern Sotho); and Schwellnus (Venda) are amongst those whose contributions towards the translation of the Bible into the various South African indigenous languages are most acknowledged.

In the following section of my discussion, the focus will be on the various missionaries who worked amongst the Zulu people.

Missionaries who had an interest in working with these people came from many countries and many faiths including the American Congregationalists, Anglicans, Scottish Presbyterians, English Methodists, French and German Catholics, and Lutherans from Saxony, Prussia and Scandinavia (Etherington 1989:275). Of these, the earliest missionaries to work amongst the Zulu people were the American Congregationalists. They were responsible for the first translations of the Bible into Zulu, which culminated with the translation of the entire Bible in 1883.

3.5.1 The American Board Missionaries

In the introduction to his book *The Journal of the Rev George Champion*, Booth (1967) explains that the story of the American Mission in South Africa is a long one. Its inception was inspired by Dr John Philip, the prominent Superintendent of the London Missionary Society in Cape Town. In 1831, a young student at the Princeton Theological Seminary, John B. Purney, wrote to Philip to ask about the possibilities of South Africa as a mission field. Philip responded enthusiastically and urged the Americans to plant establishments in South Africa, advising them to send a group to Mzilikazi, in the then Transvaal, and to Dingane in Zululand (Dinnerstein 1971:11).

The Board accepted his suggestions and six missionaries, namely Daniel Lindley, Dr Alexander Wilson, Henry Venable, Aldrin Grout, George Champion, Dr Newton Adams and their wives comprising the pioneer party embarked aboard the ship Burlington in Boston Harbour to make their long journey to South Africa (Booth 1967:

x; Dinnerstein 1971:11). The Prudential Committee, the American Board's executive body, decided to split them into two groups, apparently on Philip's advice (Switzer 1971:2). Daniel Lindley, Dr Alexander Wilson and Henry Venable were instructed to proceed inland and work with Chief Mzilikazi's tribe, a major offshoot of the Zulu people. The other group, which comprised Dr Newton Adams, Aldrin Grout and George Champion, constituted the Maritime Mission, and were to work among the Zulu of Chief Dingane in the Zulu country. The missionaries sailed together on the 3rd of December 1834, and landed in South Africa on the 6th February 1835. After six weeks, those destined for the inland mission began their trip by ox wagon, in the company of Rev. Peter Wright, a London Society missionary (Christofersen 1967:13).

When the Maritime Mission were to start out on their journey to Zululand, conflicts between the colonists and their African neighbours made their overland journey difficult, and so they decided to abandon the overland route. The men left their wives behind and boarded a ship, and two weeks later they arrived in Port Natal with oxen, a wagon and essential provisions. They instantaneously began their journey towards Dingane's capital, beyond the uThukela River (Switzer 1971:3).

The Americans entered Natal while the effects of an upheaval between the inhabitants of Zululand and Natal were being felt. The eruption that had so shaken the area had been caused by wars waged by the Zulu leader, Shaka, from 1818 to 1828, in an attempt to build an empire centered on Zululand. The wars of Shaka were the dramatic climax to developments in Natal and Zululand that began with the entrance of the Nguni into that area in about 1300. In the early days, the Nguni lived in tribes of several thousand, each of which consisted of the central lineage, from which the chief came, together with families from other clans (Dinnerstein 1971:1-2).

The kingdom of the Ndebele people, under Mzilikazi, was one of the areas affected by these upheavals. This new state emerged as a result of Shaka's wars. Mzilikazi had been in Shaka's service as a leader of one of his regiments, but in 1823 he rebelled against Shaka who defeated him in battle. Mzilikazi then marched off first to the north, then west, swelling his following as he went into a type of political organisation that has been termed 'the snowball state'. Mzilikazi incorporated refugees from Zululand into his organisation and conquered other tribes. In 1832 he established himself in the Marico River Valley at eGabeni and Mosega. Half of the

contingent of the American missionaries went to meet him at his place in 1836, and the other half went to meet Dingane, Shaka's half brother who was reigning at the time. Shaka had been assassinated in 1828 (Dinnerstein 1971:5).

The missionaries from the American Board Mission had a vague idea about Africans and their way of life, but this lack of knowledge did not prevent them from having some preconceived ideas about the strategies they would employ to convert the "unknown heathen". From Dr Philip they had learned that Dingane and Mzilikazi exercised some kind of centralized leadership. The existence of local leaders pleased the missionaries, who hoped to repeat the successful experiences of Hawaii by working directly through the ruling elite (Dinnerstein 1971:12)

In January, 1836, three American missionaries, Champion, A Grout and Adams visited Dingane for the first time. Their aim was succinctly summed up by Champion: "Let the king be taught aright and with God's blessing he would take the lead in civilizing and Christianizing his people" (Dinnerstein 1971:17). This notion is supported by Etherington (1989:275), who states that the American missionaries went out hoping that they could, by concentrating on the Zulu court, win the nation *en masse* to Christianity. Dreams of converting the Zulu nation *en masse* quickly faded.

Dingane received the missionaries "with kindness, and treated them with respect", but his advisors were more cautious and advised the king against allowing the missionaries to work north of the uThukela River. Although Dingane's councillors said that the missionaries could not begin work in Zululand, it is clear that they were announcing a decision arrived at by the king with the help of their advice. The councillors proposed that the Americans establish their headquarters at Port Natal and if their efforts, especially in teaching the Zulu people to read and write, were successful, they would be allowed to work among the people north of the uThukela River (Switzer 1971:4).

The missionaries returned to Port Natal where Champion, in March 1836, was given a grant of land from white traders living there. The first American mission station in Natal was built near the Umlazi River. Meanwhile, Grout and Adams left for Port Elizabeth only to find Mrs Grout gravely ill with tuberculosis. She died in February 1836 and the missionaries returned to Natal. They arrived in Natal in May 1836, and

found that Dingane had changed his mind and had again invited them to his capital. A site for a mission station north of the uThukela was selected with his approval and they named it Ginani (I am with you) (Switzer 1971:4).

The Zululand mission station at Ginani proved a disappointment almost from the beginning. The missionaries, pursuing their plan of approaching the Zulu through their leaders, had wanted a station at the royal kraal where they hoped to reach, not only the king, but also the indunas who spent a great deal of time there. Instead, they were located at a place to which they had to travel for four days by ox wagon, and two days by foot to reach the king's headquarters. The opportunities for meeting and influencing the leaders from that distant spot were minimal. Despite the king's proclaimed interest, he did little to help the missionaries (Dinnerstein 1971:20).

Adams was chosen to work at Umlazi and Champion at Ginani, while Grout was to divide his time between the two stations. The missionaries now began a serious study of the Zulu language. Schools were established and several pamphlets and tracts were translated and printed on a small press at Umlazi, despite the fact that there was no established Zulu orthography, dictionary or grammar book (Switzer 1971:4 -5).

In July 1837, the Maritime Mission received the ill-fated members of the Interior Mission and they were soon put to work in Natal. Dingane allowed Wilson and Venable to establish a station north of the uThukela River at Hlangezwa, while Lindley built a station at Imfume. In two and a half years, the missionaries had established four stations – two to the north of the uThukela River in what was then Zululand, and two to the south, in what was to become the British Colony of Natal (Switzer 1971:5).

Conditions of peace and security which the Americans had hoped for were rudely shattered once again in a clash between the Zulu and the Voortrekkers who had, late in 1837, finally migrated to Natal. The ramifications of the events leading to the massacre of Piet Retief, leader of the Voortrekkers, and his men; the decisive battle of Blood River on 16 December 1838, and other conflicts between the Zulu and the Boers, and eventually between the Zulu and the British, had a catastrophic effect on the work of the missionaries in Natal and Zululand. They were forced to flee the

country to survive, abandoning their converts and stations. For a while it looked as if the Maritime Mission would go the way of the Interior Mission. Grout had already returned to America in late 1837 with the two children whose mothers had died in the field, his own and Dr. Alexander Wilson's. Shortly afterwards, Wilson departed for the American Board's mission in West Africa, where he died in 1841. Champion and Venable also returned to America. While Champion yearned to go back to Natal, his health deteriorated and he died in 1841. Venable quit the mission field altogether and filled various pastorates in the United States until his death in 1878 (Switzer 1971:5-6).

The first missionary enterprises in Zululand were suspended very suddenly when, in Stavern's (1918:7) words, Dingane "treacherously massacred Piet Retief". By this act Dingane caused all missionary work to come to a standstill in his country. The Rev. Francis Owen, an Anglican minister who was in Dingane's kraal on the day of the murder, left for Natal as soon as possible, and the American missionaries did likewise (Stavem 1918:7).

Only Adams and Lindley remained in South Africa, watching the Natal scene from Grahamstown and Bethelsdorp respectively. Finally, in March 1839, Adams returned overland to Natal and, in June, Lindley followed him. Grout also came back to Natal in 1840. He resolved to re-establish a mission station in Zululand. Near the present town of Empangeni, Grout made the third and last attempt by the American missionaries to open up a new station north of the uThukela River which was called *Inkanyezi* (The Star) (Switzer 1971:6).

Zululand was now under the reign of Mpande, who at the time was little more than a vassal of the triumphant Voortrekkers. After the installation of Mpande as the ruler of Zululand another evangelising experiment was attempted by the Rev. Grout. He occupied the mission station at Umhlathuze in 1840. The opposition was still very strong and the attitude of certain chiefs towards the missionary and those willing to listen to him was so threatening that this second attempt also had to be abandoned, Rev. Grout found it advisable to withdraw, and returned to the colony where he founded the well known Umvoti mission station (Stavem 1918:6; Switzer: 1971: 6).

By 1856, twelve stations had been established by the American Board Mission, whereafter mission reserves were set apart, namely Amanzimtoti, Amahlongwa, Esidumbini and Maphumulo. It was only six years since the missionaries had resumed work after the turbulent times of 1837 to 1844 (Taylor 1911:13).

Educating the Zulu people was the chief means of approaching the Zulu from the beginning. The American Mission had regarded Christian education as part of their duty to lay the foundation for civilization. As early as the middle of 1837, Dr and Mrs Adams had about fifty pupils in their school in Umlazi, besides a morning class of adults. The missionaries and their wives taught personally in the small primary schools, because no indigenous people were as yet qualified. It was in about 1850 that a necessity was felt for a training school where native helpers could be prepared. In 1853, the Amanzimtoti Seminary was established. It first received young men only, the prime purpose being to develop a ministry run by indigenous people. Inanda Seminary for girls was also begun by the American Mission in 1869 (Taylor 1911:31& 35)

Side by side with preaching and teaching, among the earliest activities of the missionaries was their printing in the Zulu language. The records of the first established station show that “up to the end of 1840, 55 380 pages had been printed at Umlazi.” By 1849 a small edition of the Gospel of Matthew had been printed and bound, 37 Psalms, a hymn book, a catechism, a tract, an arithmetic book and a monthly paper known as *Inkanyezi Yokusa* (The Morning Star) had been started (Taylor 1911:47).

In relation to Zulu publications by the American Mission, Tyler (1891) lists the following: the entire Bible, dictionaries, grammars, histories (one ecclesiastical), hymn books, arithmetic book, geographies, primers, catechisms, a monthly newspaper – *The Morning Star* – and a variety of tracts. The Zulu Bible, printed by the American Bible Society, answered not only for missionaries of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, but for Norwegian, German and Swedish Societies as well as the London Missionary Society among the Matebele Zulus (Tyler 1891:259).

In the following section I will look at other missionary societies that also had an interest in the Zulu people and which also played a role in the development of their language and literature.

3.5.2 Other missionary societies and churches that undertook to evangelise among the Zulu

Missionaries who worked among the Zulu people included those of the Norwegian Missionary Society, under Bishop Schreuder, who arrived in Natal in January 1844. The American missionary, Dr Adams, kindly offered Mr Schreuder a snug house at the Umlazi mission station where he started studying the language of the Zulu people. In 1845 he started out for Zululand, proceeding to Mpande's capital, Nodwengu, to request to be permitted to commence a missionary station in the country. The king, according to Zulu custom, referred the matter to his headmen. On being refused permission to commence a missionary undertaking in Zululand, Schreuder soon left for Hong Kong (Stavem 1918:8-9)

He returned in 1848 with three recruits. In 1848 he set up a station at Uitkomst but abandoned it in 1854. In 1850 he established a permanent station at Umpumulo in the Umvoti district (Brain 1975:16). He also established stations at Empangeni and Entumeni in 1851 and at Mahlabathini in 1860. In 1850, Schreuder was granted a mission glebe in the Umvoti Location and it was on this land that he built the present station and named it Umpumulo (Lugg 1949:87). After establishing Umpumulo, Schreuder went to Zululand, to found other stations, and left the Rev. T Udland in charge. Despite the split caused by Bishop Schreuder's breaking his connections with the society in 1873, the work carried on, and Oftebro, Schreuder's successor as overseer of the Norwegian Missionary Society stations, became a personal friend of Cetshwayo (Hexham 1987:184).

The Berlin Mission began its work in Natal under Rev W. Posselt in 1847 and the Hermannsburg Mission in 1849. The Hermannsburg Mission Society opened its station at Hermannsburg in the Umvoti district in 1854 (Hexham 1987:184).

The Church of Sweden Mission began its work under the Rev O. Witt only in 1876. Its station, Oscarberg at Rorke's Drift, was to become famous in the Zulu War. The

Presbyterian Church was not active in Natal until 1850, when Rev. William Campbell and his family arrived from Scotland. They opened the Gordon Memorial Mission in the Msinga District in 1870. The Dutch Reformed Church began its work at Ladysmith in 1861 and at Greytown in 1870 (Brookes & Webb 1965:101).

In the subsequent section we will examine individuals who played a role in the development of written Zulu and Zulu literature.

3.5.3 Further contributions to the development of written Zulu and literature

3.5.3.1 Colenso

Although John William Colenso was the Natal Bishop of the Church of England, his contributions to the development of the Zulu language are attributed to him as an individual. He was consecrated the first Bishop of Natal in November, 1853. He arrived in his Diocese on 23 January 1854, and after a ten-week exploration of Zululand and Natal he returned to England for missionary reinforcements, coming back to Natal permanently in May 1855 (Brookes & Webb 1965:106). During his ten-week visit, Colenso travelled extensively throughout Natal, visiting mission stations and questioning the various missionaries as well as officials. He also talked to many Zulu people, hoping to discover “whether traditional African religious concepts could be synthesized with those of Christianity” (Brain 1975:47).

From the outset, it was clear that Colenso looked upon his missionary work among the Zulus as his most important duty. At his home at Bishopstowe, a few miles out of Pietermaritzburg, he started a school, giving it the Zulu name *Ekukhanyeni* (Place of Light), at which he gave an education to African boys, especially the sons of chiefs and indunas (Brookes & Webb 1965:106).

Without loss of time he taught himself Zulu. This he did by conversing every day, hour after hour with Zulu people living on the mission. Once he had mastered the language, he wrote and printed within his first seven years at the mission – a Zulu grammar, five Zulu readers, a Zulu-English dictionary of 552 pages, and translations into Zulu of four books of the Old Testament and the whole of the New Testament (Winckler 1964:9).

Increasingly, Colenso became the voice of opposition to settler policy and a friend of the Zulu king, Cetshwayo. He defended the Zulu practice of polygamy and genuinely sought the betterment of the Zulu people, who responded by calling him *Sobantu* (Father of the People) (Hexham 1987:159).

3.5.3.2 Callaway

Callaway also made a major contribution to the Zulu language. He arrived in Natal in 1854 and began his study of the Zulu language, later translating parts of the Bible into Zulu. His interest in the Zulu language led him systematically to collect Zulu folktales and oral traditions. His first publication in this field was *Nursery Tales, Traditions and Histories of the Zulus*. Later, encouraged by members of the Folklore Society in London, he published *The Religious System of the Ama-Zulu* (Hexham 1987:184).

3.5.3.3 Bryant

Another missionary of note, who cannot be excluded in any discussion of the Zulu language and its people, is Rev. A. T. Bryant. Bryant's contribution to Zulu historiography cannot be overstated. No scholarly work on the Zulu people has failed to refer to Bryant's *Olden Times in Zululand and Natal* (1929), or to *The Zulu People* (1949), or the 1911-1913 articles he compiled as *A History of the Zulu* (1964) as well as *A Zulu—English Dictionary* (1905). Bryant joined the Trappist mission station at Mariannhill near Durban in 1883. Here, he single-handedly established the school for boys, an ancillary of practical training, and the first two Zulu-language newspapers, neither of which survived long (Wylie 2000:166). Bryant left Mariannhill to spend another fourteen years in mission work in Zululand, ten of them spent alone on the Ngoye ridge (Wylie 2000:164).

3.5.4 Language planning policies during the missionary period

The continental missions, such as the German and the Swiss, particularly in Natal and the then Transvaal, did not have the same commitment to English as the British

missions, and from the beginning these missionaries were strong protagonists of the use of the vernacular languages (Hartshorne 1992:190).

In the nineteenth century, the domination of English in African schools was seen as part of the British colonial policy to achieve 'Anglicisation' and to maintain political and economic domination. English continued to be the dominant language through to 1910, except in Natal, where from 1885 onwards Zulu began to play an increasingly important role (Hartshorne 1992:190).

3.6 The history of Bible translation in Zulu

Hermanson (1991:85) questions the claims of Fynn's translation work as asserted by Capt. Allen F Gardiner in a letter he wrote in March 1826 to the Church Missionary Society that some progress had already been made in translating the New Testament into the Zulu language. The existence of such work is surrounded by mystery. Hermanson bases his argument on the fact that if Fynn did undertake such a great task, why was it not mentioned in his journal and why did the early missionaries not know of it? It seems that Gardiner had asked Fynn if he would be willing to translate the New Testament into Zulu, and that Fynn kindly consented, without realising exactly what such a project would entail. If Fynn had been doing the work under his own volition, Gardiner would hardly have used the words 'kindly undertaken' which imply some sort of request being made and being agreed to. What is almost certain is that if Fynn did translate any portion of the New Testament into Zulu, it was never published.

The first publication of a complete gospel, the Gospel of Matthew, a revision of an unpublished translation by the Rev. George Champion and revised by the Rev. Newton Adams, was printed in 1848. This was published by David Buchanan in Pietermaritzburg. Colenso spent ten weeks in Natal, then returned to England, revised and published the Book of Matthew there, and then returned to Natal to start his work, bringing the books with him (Hermanson 1991:87).

In 1865, the first New Testament was printed in Esidumbini in Natal, the result of the combined work of the missionaries of the American Zulu Mission. This New Testament went through six editions between then and 1892 (Hermanson 1991:90).

In 1883, the first complete Bible in Zulu, translated by the missionaries of the American Zulu Mission was published by the American Bible Society. A panel of about twenty translators worked independently on different books of the Bible, but were supplied with handwritten wordlists to ensure that they all used the same Zulu words in translating various concepts (Christofersen 1967:64). The final editor of this Bible was the Rev. S. C. Pixley, who was assisted in proofreading by I. A. Nembula, the son of Mbulazi Makhanya, Dr Adams's first Zulu convert to Christianity. A second edition of this Bible was published in 1893. A facsimile of the revision of this translation, which was published in 1893, is still produced by the Bible Society of South Africa, and proves popular among older readers as well as members of the Shembe AmaNazaretha Church and, incidentally, also among the Ndebele of Zimbabwe to the present day (Hermanson 1991:96-97; Hermanson 1995:145).

Ntuli & Makhambeni (1998:102), support the notion that missionaries were busy with Bible translation activity from 1845, which resulted in the entire Bible being published in 1883. They also state that the book of Genesis was translated by Newton Adams in 1846, and in 1847 he also translated other books of the Bible.

A revised translation of the New Testament done by the American Zulu Mission, and that of the Bible, were published by the American Bible Society in 1917 and 1924 respectively. This version was originally intended to serve all Societies, and the Natal Missionary Conference originally appointed a large representative committee under the chairmanship of a member of the American Zulu Mission to do the work. The Rev. W.C. Wilcox was responsible for the work at first. Different books of the Bible were assigned to different individuals, but little progress was made and the responsibility was therefore later entrusted to the Rev. Dr J. D. Taylor. This version of the New Testament and Bible did not find general acceptance in the churches, and resulted in the earlier editions being reprinted only once, after which they were discontinued. In reaction, the missionaries of the Hermannsburg Mission published their own translation of the New Testament and the Bible in 1924. This too is now out of print (Hermanson 1991:106).

In 1939, the British and Foreign Bible Society took over the responsibility of publishing the Zulu Bible, as they maintained offices in South Africa, whereas the American Bible Society did not. In 1944, the Natal Missionary Conference resolved

that a new translation of the entire Bible be undertaken. A committee under the leadership of Rev. T. Liesegang at first, and later under the leadership of Dean O. Sarndal, a Swedish Lutheran, was appointed by the British and Foreign Bible Society. This committee also included J. Astrup, G. Krause, H. Filter, S. Dahle, M. J. Mpanza, L. Liserud, B. Schiele, W. Weber, M. C. Haldorsen, A. Hlongwane, S. Sikakane, E. Madondo, J. Mbatha and S. S. Ndlovu. This resulted in 1959 in the publication by the British and Foreign Bible Society of a new translation of the Bible in Zulu which is currently still in popular use. 1959 was also the year in which the new orthography became compulsory in schools (Doke 1958: xii) (Hermanson 1995:147).

In 1967, the Word of Life publisher produced and published a New Testament, *Amazwi Okuphila – Testamente Elisha Ngolimi Lwanamhlanje* (Words of Life – The New Testament in the language of today) based on the paraphrase by Dr Kenneth Taylor, *The Living New Testament* (Hermanson 1995:148).

The Bible Society of South Africa became autonomous in 1965 and took over the responsibility from the British and Foreign Bible Society for translating the Bible into the languages of South Africa (Hermanson 1991:72).

Following a translators' seminar in 1967, a start was made to translate the Scriptures into Zulu, using the principles of dynamic equivalence, as set out in Nida and Taber, *The theory and practice of translation* (1974). In 1975, B. B. Ndelu, a Lutheran school teacher and Zulu poet, Rev. E. H. B. Mkhize, an Anglican clergyman and the project co-ordinator, Dean N. J. Joëlson, a Swedish Lutheran, set out to render the Hellenistic Greek of the New Testament and the Classical Hebrew of the Psalms, into the "closest, natural equivalent" in Zulu. This resulted in 1979, in the publication of *Indaba Enhle kaNkulunkulu* (The Good News of God), a translation of the Gospel of Mark, the Book of Acts, the Epistle to the Ephesians, and the Psalms. The complete New Testament and Psalms was published by the Bible Society of South Africa in 1986 (Hermanson 1995:148).

There were also other translators who produced Zulu translations of the Bible. The Rev. F. Suter of the South African General Mission at Dumisa, who later became the principal of the Union Bible Institute in Sweetwaters, had translations of Psalms published in the Native Teachers' Journal. He also translated certain books of the

Old Testament and completed a translation of the New Testament that was never published. His manuscripts are housed in the Strange Library of Africana at the Johannesburg Public Library, but do not include a translation of the book of Amos. The Roman Catholic Mission at Mariannhill also published a New Testament under the leadership of Fr. R. Studerus, OSB in 1955. Fr Studerus also produced a translation of the Psalms which was published by the Mariannhill Mission Press in 1973 (Hermanson 1995:146-147).

In the next tables, I indicate some of the Bible translations or translations of sections of the Bible which exist in Zulu. Some were produced by translators in co-operation with established Bible Societies (Table 1) and others were produced by independent translators (Table 2):

Year	Text	Translation/ Revision	Author/Publisher
1865	<i>iTestamente Elitya Lenkosi uJesu Kristu (New Testament)</i>	Translation	<u>Publisher:</u> American Bible Society
1883	<i>IBaible Eli Ingcwele (The Holy Bible)</i>	Translation (The New Testament is a fourth Edition i.e a revision)	<u>Publisher:</u> American Bible Society
1917	<i>ITestamente Elisha eli isivumelwano esisha Senkosi Umsindisi wetu u Jesu Kristu li hunyushwe li kitshwa olimini lwesiGreki. Lihunyushwa ngokusha 1916 (New Testament, A new Agreement of Our Lord and Saviour, translated from Greek. A new translation of 1906)</i>	New Translation	<u>Publisher:</u> American Bible Society
1924	<i>IBaibele Eli Ingcwele (The Holy Bible)</i>	Revision of the 1883 Bible and possible revision of the 1917 version of the New Testament	<u>Publisher:</u> American Bible Society

1959	<i>IBhayibheli Elingcwele (The Holy Bible)</i>	Translation	<u>Publisher:</u> British and Foreign Bible Society
1986	<i>IThestamente eliShanamaHubo (The New Testament and Psalms)</i>	Translation - Based on the notion of Dynamic Equivalence	<u>Publisher:</u> Bible Society of South Africa
1997	<i>IBhayibheli Elingcwele (The Holy Bible)</i>	Revision of the 1959 version in new orthography of 1989	<u>Publisher:</u> Bible Society of South Africa

Table 1: Translations by translators in co-operation with Bible Societies

1848	<i>Umatu (Matthew)</i>	Translation	<u>Translators:</u> G. Champion & N. Adams <u>Publisher:</u> American Zulu Mission
1855	<i>Umatu (Matthew)</i>	Adaptation	<u>Author:</u> J. W. Colenso
1866	<i>The Gospels</i>	Translation by J. L. Döhne	<u>Author:</u> J. L. Döhne, Pietermaritzburg
1877	<i>Izindab'ezinhle Ezine (The Good News)</i>	Translation by H. Callaway	<u>Publisher:</u> Mission Press, Highflats
1897	<i>Izindab'ezinhle ezashunyayelwa ku'bantu ngúJesu-Kristo iNkosi yetu kanye nezincwadi ezalotywa ng'abaPostole bake (The Good News Preached to People by Jesus Chrsit Our Lord and the Epistles)</i>	Translation by J. W. Colenso	<u>Publisher:</u> P. Davis & Sons, Pietermaritzburg 1897 J. M. Dent & Co, London
1922	<i>Itestamente Elitsha Lenkosi Umsindisi wetu uJesu Kristu (The New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ).</i>	Translation by Hermannsburg Mission	<u>Publisher:</u> Hermannsburg Mission Press, Moorleigh

1956	<i>Izincwadi Eziyingcwele Zethestamente Elisha Lenkosi Umsindisi wethu uJesu Kristo NgesiZulu zahunyushwa, zachazwa ngabafundisi bebandla Lamakhatholika. (The Holy Books of the New Testament of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ translated into Zulu, and explained by the Ministers of the Catholic Church)</i>	Translation by Catholics	Publisher: Catholic Mission Press, Mariannhill.
1976	<i>Amazwi Okuphila – ITestamente Elisha LeNkosi Yethu UJesu Kristu Ngolimi Lwanamhlanje (Words of Life – The New Testament of Our Lord Jesus Chrsit in Contemporary Language)</i>	Translation of The Living Word New Testament	Publisher: Word of Life Publishers, Roodepoort
1994	<i>New World Translation of the Christian Greek Scriptures (Zulu)</i>	Translation	Publisher: Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society

Table 2: Translations by independent translators

In the following section we will examine the various developmental stages of the Zulu literary system after the language was committed to writing.

3.7 The Zulu literary system

The Zulu literary system developed progressively from the earliest stage of written Zulu. Presently, the Zulu literary system includes a wide variety of genres covering numerous themes.

3.7.1 The origins of the Zulu literary system

The earliest stages of written Zulu saw small advances towards literary works which were mostly biblical in nature. As the number of Zulu people who were taught at mission schools increased, more and more people produced short stories and poems which were published in journals or in school magazines which were in circulation at the time.

Although there are divergent views as to the written works that were first published in the Zulu language, scholars of the history of the Zulu people and history of the missionary organisations which ministered to the Zulu people, are all in agreement that the missionary period saw the dawn of the first written publications in the Zulu language. This could therefore be said to be the period during which the Zulu literary system originated. Several written works, both literary and non-literary, appeared for the first time in the Zulu language during this period. Ntuli & Makhambeni (1998:114) contend that while mention is made of the earliest stages of written Zulu during the 1800s to the beginning of the 1900s, contributions made by the Zulu people themselves are often forgotten. They further allude to the fact that other people even tend to forget the wealth that folklore, which prevailed before the language was committed to writing, contained.

The American Zulu Mission press arrived in Port Natal during May 1837, and in June Champion recorded that a Zulu spelling book was ready for the press (Booth 1967:97). The booklet *Incuadi Yokuqala Yabafundayo* (The first book of the learners), gives a 26-letter alphabet, including the letter *r*, which could have been needed if Zulu learners were to be taught to read English. This was followed by *Incwadi yesibini yabafundayo* (The second book of the learners), published in 1841 and *Incuadi yesitatu yabafundayo* (The third book of the learners), published in 1847 (Hermanson 1991:75-80). The translation of the Bible was also accompanied by various activities which resulted in the emergence of dictionaries, grammars, readers and a newspaper in Zulu. A record of these publications will be given in the next section of our discussion.

According to Ntuli & Makhambeni (1998:115), the earliest written works could be attributed to Magema Fuze. Magema Fuze, Ndiyane and William Ngidi were the first Zulu people to set pen to paper during the 1860s. Although their first publication, entitled *The Three Natives* and published in 1860, was in English, this work was later translated into Zulu by Magema Fuze himself in 1893. In this publication, three texts were in Zulu. According to Nyembezi (1961:4), these texts were perhaps the earliest published contribution from the pen of a Zulu person. Ngcobo (2002:8), citing Ngcongwane (1984), contends that written Zulu was first recorded in 1849, when a thirteen-page article titled 'The Zulu language' by J. C. Bryant was published in the *Journal of the Oriental Society*.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, other translations appeared such as *Incwadi yamahubo* (1871), a translation of the *Book of Psalms* by Henry Callaway. Callaway relied heavily on Zulu assistants in all his work. Bunyan's *The Pilgrim's Progress*, which is a deeply Christian work that fitted easily and naturally into the structures of the Zulu oral tradition, was translated by J. K. Lorimer and Benjamin Zikode in 1895 (Andrzejewski et al 1985:494; Ntuli & Makhambeni 1998:121). In 1897 Fr T. Langa translated German religious works into Zulu. The publication was entitled *Izindaba Zencwadi Yezincwadi* (Stories of the Book of books). Fr Langa is also considered a translator of those times because he translated other works as well, assisted by missionaries (Ntuli & Makhambeni 1998:121).

Together with religious works, the early European missionaries produced linguistic materials. Grammars that appeared during this period are those by Hans Schreuder (1850 – *Grammatik for Zulusproget*), Colenso (1855 – *An Elementary Grammar of the Zulu-Kafir language*; 1859 – *First Steps in Zulu-Kafir: an Abridgement of the Elementary Grammar of the Zulu-Kafir Language*), L. Grout (1859 – *The IsiZulu. A Grammar of the Zulu Language, with appendix containing specimens of Zulu literature*, 1860 – *The IsiZulu. A Grammar of the Zulu Language accompanied with a historical introduction.*), 1893 – *The IsiZulu: A Revised Edition of A Grammar of the Zulu Language*) and dictionaries compiled by J. Perrin (1855 – *A Kafir-English Dictionary of the Zulu Kafir Language as spoken by the tribes of the Natal Colony*), J. L. Döhne (1857 – *Zulu Kafir Dictionary*), Colenso (1861 – *A Zulu-English Dictionary*), C. Roberts (1880 – *English Zulu Dictionary with supplement of additional words*), and that of A. T. Bryant (1905 – *Zulu-English Dictionary and a Synopsis of the Zulu Grammar and a Concise History of the Zulu People*) and that of R. C. Samuelson (1923 – *King Cetshwayo Zulu Dictionary*) (Andrzejewski et al 1985:494-495).

Readers were also produced during the period of the missionaries because missionaries also wanted the Zulu people to be able to read the Word of God on their own. The earliest readers to appear in the Zulu language (Ntuli & Makhambeni 1998) were Champion's *Zulu readers – Incwadi yezwe* (A Book of the Country) published in 1862, Colenso's *Zulu readers and history, Izindatyana zabantu kanye nezindaba zas'ENatali* (Short stories of the People and History of Natal) published in 1862 and

Grout's *Zulu I readers – Incwadi ngezwe* (A Book about the Country) published in 1862 (Andrzejewski *et al* 1985:494-495).

The emergence of a newspaper in the Zulu language is attributed to the late J. L. Dube, who, after receiving the American Board Mission education, went to America to further his studies. In America he studied at the Union Missionary Training Institute in Brooklyn. Here he was influenced by people like Booker T Washington who wanted to change the plight of the black people. He was ordained a full minister of religion in New York in 1900. On his return, he founded the first independent black school at Ohlange. In 1903, he established the first Zulu newspaper in Zululand entitled *Ilanga LaseNatali* (The Natal Sun). The main purpose of this newspaper was to continue the Christian discussion, to teach the Zulu people independence and the ability to view their opinions on paper and also write poems and short stories on their own. The second newspaper to appear in Zulu was *Izindaba Zabantu* (The news of the people). *Izindaba Zabantu* was established in 1910 by G. Wolpert and published by a newspaper printing company named uMhlatuzana Press (Ntuli & Makhambeni 1998:130-133 & 156).

After 1900, the missionaries still continued to interest themselves primarily in dictionary work, the writing of grammars, studies in phonetics and Bible translation. But at this stage there was a pressing need for creative work in Zulu, a gap which was to be filled by the Zulu people themselves. However, Zulu people were not properly equipped for this and there were no books in their language to serve as a guide (Nyembezi 1961:4). A great number of literary works that were produced arose out of a need for school education. There was also much emphasis on the imitation of European style (Nyembezi 1961:4; Ngcobo 2002:10).

Although there had been factors which inhibited the production of Zulu literary works, Nyembezi (1961) asserts that there had also been circumstances which stimulated such production, such as the general awakening of the Zulu people and a new interest in their language. Literary competitions which were held from time to time also had an effect in encouraging African writers. *Ilanga LaseNatali*, the Zulu weekly paper, also played an important role in the development of Zulu literature by providing a useful training ground for Zulu writers (Nyembezi 1961:6).

In the following section I will examine literary works that were produced between the 1920s and 1940s.

3.7.2 Literary works that emerged from the 1920s – the 1940s

It is noted that this delineation of Zulu literature according to specific periods is not entirely feasible when literary works produced at different periods by a single writer have to be discussed.

The contention that the Zulu people did not start creating a written literature until the early 1920s is supported by Ntuli & Makhambeni (1998:117) who believe that the most well-known significant contribution to the development of the language during this period was the work Magema Fuze produced personally, which was published in 1922, entitled *Abantu Abamnyama Lapa Bavela Ngakona* (Where the black people came from). Magema Fuze is regarded by Ntuli and Makhambeni (1998:118), as a pioneer in the Zulu literary system, a man who also brought to light certain attributes which became the groundwork and the basis for the Zulu written system.

Another book which appeared in the same year was *Isitha somuntu nguye uqobo lwakhe* (A person is his/her own worst enemy) by J. L. Dube. In 1924, P. Lamula a minister of the Norwegian Mission, published *UZulu kaMalandela* (Zulu, Son of Malandela), which is a record of historical events. It was at this time that J. Stuart's books appeared which for many years were used in Zulu schools. Stuart's books included *UTulasizwe* (The one who keeps quiet, that we should listen) (1923), *Uhlangakula* (The dry stalk that grows) (1924), *UBaxoxele* (The one who tells) (1926), *Ukulumabetule* (The one who talks whilst they are quiet) (1925) and *UVusezakiti* (The one who wakes ours up) (1926) (Nyembezi 1961:6).

In 1930 the first Zulu novel by J. L. Dube, *Insila kaShaka* (The body-servant of Shaka), was published. *Insila kaShaka* has been translated into English by Prof Boxwell (Nyembezi 1961:6). The period between 1931 and 1940 saw some big advances in the production of Zulu literature. Two writers who stand out prominently during this period are B. W. Vilakazi and R. R. R. Dhlomo. Vilakazi produced his first novel entitled *Noma Nini* (Whenever) in 1935. Among the Zulu people, Vilakazi is remembered more as a poet than as a prose writer. His *Inkondlo kaZulu* (Zulu songs)

was published in 1935 and his *Amal'Ezulu* (Zulu horizons) was published in 1945. He produced *UDingiswayo kaJobe* (Dingiswayo, son of Jobe) in 1939 (Ntuli & Makhambeni 1998:170).

Dhlomo produced historical novels about the leaders who presided over the rise and decline of the Zulu nation in the nineteenth century: *UDingane* (1936), *UShaka* (1937) and *UMpande* (1938). Dhlomo also wrote *UNomalanga kaNdengezi* (Nomalanga daughter of Ndengezi) in 1934 (Nyembezi 1961:6; Andrzejewski *et al* 1985:498). In 1948, Dhlomo produced a dramatic narrative of life in the African townships of Johannesburg with *Indlela Yababi* (The path of the wicked ones) (Gérard 1981:200; Ntuli & Makhambeni 1998:169).

Besides the works of Vilakazi and Dhlomo, many small books by various writers appeared during this period. Traditional life in KwaZulu became a central focus of many early writers. Some concentrated on ancient customs: P. Lamula's *Isabelo sikaZulu* (The Zulu heritage) was published in 1936. Zulu drama was initiated by N. Ndebele who wrote the fully fledged drama, *uGubudele Namazimuzimu* (Gubudele and the ogres) was published in 1939. T. Z. Masondo produced *Amasiko esiZulu* (Zulu customs) in 1940, R. H. Mthembu wrote *uMamazane* in 1940, and M. A. Xaba wrote *Inkomo kaZulu* (The cattle of Zulu) in 1940. In 1948 J. M. Zama produced *Nigabe ngani?* (On what do you pride yourself?) (Gérard 1981:20; Andrzejewski *et al* 1985: 495-496 & 500; Ngcobo 2002:90).

3.7.3 Literary works that emerged from the 1950s to the 1990s

In addition to his earlier historical novels, Dhlomo later wrote *UCetshwayo* (1952) and *UDinizulu* (1968) (Gérard 1981:200). The 1950s also saw the emergence of C. L. S. Nyembezi who is usually regarded as the best Zulu novelist. His two most popular novels are *Mntanami! Mntanami!* (My child! My child!), which was published in 1950, and *Ubudoda abukhulelwa* (Acts of manhood are not necessarily performed by grown-up men) which was published in 1953 (Ntuli & Makhambeni 1998:175). J. Ngubane's *Uvalo lwezinhlonzi* (The fear of the wrinkled forehead) was published in 1965. M Ngcobo's *Inkungu maZulu* (Ignorance, Zulu people) was published in 1958, and *Qhude manikiniki* (Let them fight it out) was published in 1977, as was *Ukufika kosuku* (The dawning of day) (Ngcobo 2002:9 & 26-27). *Inkinsela*

yaseMgungundlovu (The tycoon from Pietermaritzburg) by C. L. S. Nyembezi was published in 1961. Other novels which appeared during this period include the following: J. N. Gumbi's *Baba ngixolele* (Father, forgive me) and D. Mkhize's novel entitled *Ngavele ngasho* (I said so), which both appeared in 1965. S. V. H. Mdluli's *UBhekizwe namadodana akhe* (Bhekizwe and his sons) appeared in 1966, and K. Bhengu's *UKhalalembube* (The nose of a lion) appeared in 1953 and *UKadebona* (The one who has been seeing things for a long time) in 1958. *Umbuso weZembe nenkinga kaBhekifa* (The government of Zembe and Bhekifa's problem) was published in 1959; *UNyambose noZinitha* (Nyambose and Zinitha) in 1968; *Ubogawula ubheka* (Look before you leap) in 1968; *Ayikho impunga yehlathi* (Nobody is too clever for anything) in 1973; *Siyofa silahlane* (Till death do us part) in 1976; *Ngiyesaba* (I am afraid) in 1977, *Uphuya waseMshwathi* (The poor man from Mshwathi) in 1983, and *UDlokwakhe* was published in 1987. O. E. H. Nxumalo's *Ikusasa alaziwa* (Tomorrow is not known) was published in 1961 and his *Ngisinga empumalanga* (I look to the east) was published in 1969, with his *Izinsizwa ngamakhosi* (Young men are kings) appearing in 1973. In 1964, J. S. M. Matsebula's *Inkanankana* (A problem) was published. J. J. Gwayi is another writer whose contributions to the development of historical novels cannot go unnoticed. In 1973 she wrote *Bafa baphela* (They all perished); in 1974 she wrote *Shumpu* (Chopped off) and in 1976 she wrote *Yekanini* (Oh my!). C. T. Msimang's contribution to the development of the Zulu literary system is ascribed to *Akuyiwe emhlahlweni* (Let a diviner be consulted) which was published in 1973, and *Buzani kuMkabayi* (Ask Mkabayi) which was published in 1982 (Ngcobo 2002:25-27; Ntuli & Makhambeni).

Prominent writers during the 1980s include S. J. Nkosi whose novel *USandanezwe kaSigwinyanansimbi* (Sandanezwe the son of Sigwinyanansimbi) was published in 1983. L. Molefe is another writer of note who contributed significantly to the development of the Zulu literary system. His *Ikhiwane elihle* (A beautiful fig); *Isigangi sendoda* (A naughty man) and *Osibindi Bongqondongqondo* (The brave masterminds), were all published in 1985. He also wrote *Isitolo esasingasebhange* (The shop which was next to the bank) and a novella entitled *Awu sacishe seduka nezwe* (Oh! We nearly got lost in the world) which were published in 1988 and 1990 respectively. S. S. Shabangu's *Isithunzi sikamufi* (The shadow of the deceased) was published in 1987 (Ngcobo 2002:26-27).

Poetry that emerged during this period spans a spectrum of subjects from imitating ancient Zulu poetic forms to analyzing the system of governance under which the Zulu people lived. Some of the best of many volumes of Zulu poetry include those of J. C. Dlamini: *Inzululwane* (Giddiness), *Imfihlo yokunyamalala* (The secret of vanishing) and *Amavovo ezinyembezi* (Residues of tears), which were published in 1959, 1973 and 1981 respectively. O. E. H. Nxumalo's *Ikhwezi* (The morning star) was published in 1965 and *Umzwangedwa* (Self-consciousness) in 1968. P. Myeni's *Hayani maZulu* (Sing praises, Zulu people), M. T. Mazibuko's *Ithongwane* (The snuff-box) and D. B. Z. Ntuli's *Amangwevu* (Uppercuts) were all published in 1969. E. E. N. T. Mkhize's *Kuyokoma amathe* (Until the mouth dries up) was published in 1970 and M. T. Masuku's *Izikhali zembongi* (The weapons of a poet) and *Uphondo lukabhejane* (The horn of a rhinoceros) were published in 1971 and 1973 respectively. A. C. Nkabinde's *Inkwazi* (The fish eagle) was published in 1971. D. B. Z. Ntuli's *Imvunge yemvelo* (Murmurings of nature) and *Amehlo kaZulu* (Through the eyes of a Zulu person) were both published in 1972 and his *Ugqozi* (The inspiration) was published in 1975. N. J. Makhaye's *Isoka lakwaZulu* (The young man of kwaZulu) was published in 1972. L. T. L. Mabuya contributed significantly towards the development of Zulu poetry through his *Ithala* (A shower of assegais), which was published in 1977. His *Umhlokomi* was published in 1985, *Amayezi* (Hazy clouds around the moon), in 1986, *Ilaka lokulangazelela* (The anxious desire), in 1982, *Uvivi lokusa* (Early dawn) in 1983, *Umvimbi* (A continuous heavy rainfall) and *Amajozi* (broad-bladed spear), both published in 1987. S. Nyembezi's *Isibuko senhliziyo* (The mirror of the heart) was published in 1980 (Ngcobo 2002:36-41).

C. T. Msimang's significant contributions to the development of Zulu poetry include: *Amagagasi* (Sea waves) which was published in 1979, *Izinsungulo* (Needles) published in 1980, *Intwasahlobo* (Spring time) published in 1982, *Izimbongi izolo nanamuhla* (Poets of yesterday and today) published in 1986, *Iziziba zoThukela* (Streams of the Thukela River) published in 1987 and *UNodum'ehlezi kaMenzi* (The one who became famous in the homestead of Menzi) published in 1990. N F Mbhele co-authored with E. S. Q. Zulu *Imisinga yosinga* (Currents of aspiration), and *Unyazi* (Lighting) in 1982 and 1989 respectively, and Mbhele wrote *Iziphepho zengqondo* (The brains storms) which appeared in 1986. L. B. Z. Buthelezi's *Izagila zephisi* (Knobkerries of a hunter), *Khala nkomo kaZulu* (Bellow, cow of the Zulu people) and *Uhlanga lwezwe* (The stalk of the country) were published in 1980, 1986 and 1987

respectively. S. S. Gcumisa's *Isilulu semicabango* (Source of thought) and *Ukugedeza kwengede* (The sound of the honey bird) were published in 1981 and 1985 respectively. A. D. Magagula's *Inkezo kaZulu* (The Zulu gourd ladle) was published in 1983. L. T. J. Mtalane and N. M. C. Mthembu's *Siyagaba* (We are proud) and E. Q. S. Zulu's *Amagekle* (Reed whistles) were both published in 1986. E. Q. S. Zulu's *Unyazi 1* (Lightning 1) was published in 1989. V. V. O. Mkhize and C. M. Mhlongo's *Ithonsi lomkhongolo* (A drop in the ocean) and A. S. M. Zuma's *Indlela yomcacamezelo* (The way of trial) were both published in 1987. Z. L. Khumalo's *Amabhosho* (Bullets) was published in 1989 (Andrzejewski *et al* 1985:505; Ngcobo 2002:36-41).

The 1970's could be typified as being characterised by the emergence and the development of short stories and essays. D. B. Z. Ntuli's *Imicibisholo* (Bows and arrows) and J. M. Sikhakhane's *Umathokomalisa* (The Comforter), both appeared in 1970. Ntuli wrote *Uthingo lwenkosazana* (The rainbow) in 1971. M. W. B. Mkhize's *Ezomhlaba kazipheli* (Marvels never cease) appeared in 1972, followed by his *Emhlabeni mntanomuntu* (Oh, this world son of man) and his *Kunjalo-ke emhlabeni* (It is like that in this world) which appeared in 1977 and 1981 respectively. D. B. Z. Ntuli significantly contributed to the development of the Zulu literary system through a series of short stories such as *Amawisa* (Knobkerries) published in 1982; *Ngamafuphi* (Briefly) published in 1985, *Izizenze* (Battle axes) and *Idukubele* (The meal is ready), both published in 1986 and *Umtshingo* (The flute) published in 1987. O. E. H. Nxumalo's *Amagwababa echobana* (White-necked ravens kill lice on each other's bodies) was published in 1985. M. Xulu's *Kunje-ke* (This is how it is) is an anthology of essays published in 1987. L. Molefe's *Zihlekana iziphongo* (They laugh at each other's foreheads) and N. G. Siniya's *Ikusasa eliqhakazile* (A bright future) were both published in 1988 while R. S. Ndlovu's *Umbani* (Lightning) was published in 1980. N. S. Ntuli wrote *Imishiza* (Fighting sticks) which was published in 1989 (Ngcobo 2002:30).

Drama that appeared during this period includes L. L. J. Mncwango's *Manhla iyokwendela egodini* (She will marry into the grave) which was published in 1951. Mncwango also wrote *Ngenzeni?* (What did I do?) published in 1959. E. Zondi produced *Ukufa kukaShaka* (The death of Shaka) published in 1966, B. B. Ndelu composed a historical drama *Mageba lazihlonza* (I swear by Mageba) which was

published in 1962 and M. A. J. Blose's *Uqomisa mina nje uqomisa iliba* (You court me, you court the grave) was published in 1968 (Andrzejewski *et al* 1985:499). J. L. Dube's *Ukufa kuyosihlanganisa* (Death will join us in the end) was published in 1971, while S. B. L. Mbatha's *Nawe Mbopha kaSithayi* (You too, Mbopha son of Sithayi) was also published in 1971. K. Bhengu's *Baba ngonile* (Father, I have sinned) and *Ukuzala ukuzelula amadolo* (To bear children profits one) were published in 1972 and 1985 respectively. In addition to the prowess D. B. Z. Ntuli showed in the development of short stories in Zulu, he also made a noteworthy contribution towards the development of drama. His *Indandatho yesithembiso* (The engagement ring), *Ishashalazi* (The arena), which he co-authored with N. F. Mbhele, was published in 1988. *Ithemba* (Hope), and *Woza nendlebe* (Listen) are collections of radio plays written by D.B.Z Ntuli, which were published in 1971, 1974 and 1988 respectively.. C. T. Msimang's historical drama *Izulu eladuma eSandlwana* (Thunder on Sandlwana) was published in 1976. J. N. Gumbi's *Mubi umakhelwane* (The neighbour is bad) and M. S. S. Gcumisa's *Inkatha yabaphansi* (The grass ring of the ancestors) were published in 1997 and 1978 respectively. A. H. Dladla's historical drama *UNtombazi* (Ntombazi, Zwide's mother) was published in 1979. Damane's *Awuthunyelwa gundane* (Marriage is unpredictable) and *Amavenge* (Chunks of meat) were both published in 1983 and 1985 respectively. E. Zondi's historical drama *Insumansumane* (Something weird) was published in 1986. A. L. Molefe's *Yisiphithiphithi Mangwane* (Confusion amongst the Ngwane people) was published in 1989. N. Makhambeni's *Amaseko* (Hearth stones) is a collection of one-act plays published in 1990 (Ngcobo 2002:32-35).

3.7.4 Translated works

Nyembezi (1961:1) in his review of Zulu literature, points out that it was only in the twentieth century that African writers began to have a hand in the development of their literature, although they did give some assistance in translation work in the nineteenth century. Canon Callaway published *Incwadi Yamahubo* in 1871, a Zulu translation of the Book of Psalms with the assistance of trained mother-tongue speakers. In 1895, John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's progress* was translated by J.K Lorimer and Benjamin Zikode as *Uhambo lomhambi*. In 1897 Fr Th. Lange translated *Izindaba Zencwadi Yezincwadi* (Stories about the Book of books) from German into Zulu.

Other translated works produced in Zulu are those of Rider Haggard's *Nada the lily* which was translated by F. L. Ntuli as *Umbuso kaShaka* (Shaka's kingdom) in 1930. P A Stuart's *An African Attila* was translated as *UNkosibomvu* in 1930. Allister Miller's *Mamisa, the Swazi warrior* was translated by J. Nxumalo and M. Zulu as *UMamisa iqhawe leSwazi* in 1957. Rider Haggard's *King Solomon's Mines* was translated by J. F. Cele as *Imigodi Yenkosi uSolomoni*. C. F. Cele also translated *UPrestor John* in 1960. Alan Paton's *Cry the Beloved Country* was translated by S. Nyembezi as *Lafa Elihle Kakhulu* in 1958. Jenny Seed's *The Voice of the Great Elephant* was translated as *Izwi Lendlovu Enkulu* by N S Ntuli. Cicely Luck's *Tajewo's and the Sacred Mountain* was translated by N Makhambeni as *Amathunzi Ayewukela* in 1985. N. Makhambeni also translated Chinua Achebe's *No longer at Ease* as *Kwakwenzenjani* in 1992. C. T. Msimang translated Chinua Achebe's *Things fall apart* as *Kwafa gula linamasi* (A milk-vessel got broken) in 1995 (Ntuli & Makhambeni 1998:198).

Zulu translations of Shakespeare only appeared in what Kruger (2000) terms the third stage of the Shakespearean period. Two translations of Shakespeare's works were produced during this period, namely *Umhwebi waseVenisi* (The Merchant of Venice) by Shange in 1950 and *uMabatha by Welcome Msomi* in 1999 which is an adaptation of Macbeth..

Now that I have examined the Zulu literary system, in the next section I focus on language-planning policies which came into force during the different stages of the development of the written language.

3.8 Language planning policies in South Africa

Discussion on the status of the African languages in South Africa will not go beyond 1997 because the latest biblical text that informs the argument of this study was published in 1997. The subject of the status of the African languages in South Africa is best discussed under the language planning policies which had an effect on these languages over a period of a hundred years. Language planning and language policies are defined in various ways by different language planning theorists and sociolinguists. For the purposes of this study Heugh et al's (1995: vii) description will suffice. According to Heugh et al, a country's language policy is a set of principles

conceptualised within the overarching framework of values, usually embodied in the constitution. If a country's language policy is to be effective, it has to be in harmony with the country's national development plan. Language planning is a term that refers to the process of implementing a particular language policy. Historically, language planning has, on the one hand, comprised corpus planning, which involves graphisation and term elaboration, and, on the other, status planning, which involves the role and function of language. Conventionally, language has been planned from 'above'; that is by those in power.

In South Africa, decisions on language have had to do with issues of political dominance, the protection of power structures, the preservation of privilege and the distribution of economic resources. The history of the use of language in African schooling has revolved around the relative positions and status of English, Afrikaans and the African languages, and has been determined by the political and economic power of those using the various languages. The decisions have never been taken by those who use the African languages in their everyday life, and ironically, when decisions were taken in favour of those languages, they were made without reference to their users, and for purposes far removed from any that had broad community support, thus serving to divide the African community, limiting and limited social mobility and access to higher education (Hartshorne 1992:186).

Phaswana (1994:2) maintains that language policies may affect communities adversely in that governments may use language policies to deny access to politics, the economy or education. Marivate (1992:62) argues that language issues in South Africa have always been characterised by party political undertones. Anglicisation began in 1822 when the British declared English the official language of the Cape Colony. As early as 1826, the Dutch started complaining that their language was no longer the main language in the colony and that the Dutch language was giving way to English and even to Xhosa. Africans were also affected by the struggle between English and Dutch because the policies adopted meant that English should be their medium of instruction at schools (Marivate 1992:73)

Hartshorne (1992:186) sees education as neutral but as directed towards the achievement of certain purposes, behind which rest fundamental issues such as philosophies of life, views of man, religious beliefs, ideas about the state and society,

and in particular the place of the individual, political ideologies and the working of economic forces. It is in this context that language was taken into consideration in the schooling system and during all discussions in African schools at the time of the Union of South Africa, up to and including the apartheid period. In education, language issues centred largely on the medium of instruction.

The next section of my discussion focuses on the status accorded to the African languages during the Union of South Africa and during the apartheid regime.

3.8.1 Language planning policies during the Union of South Africa

At the centre of negotiations at the Union Convention of 1909 lay the question of how to reconcile the conflicting interests of the two White groups in relation to English and Dutch. However, agreement was finally reached in terms that were enshrined in Article 137 of the 1910 Constitution that both English and Dutch should be the official languages of the Union and be treated on an equal footing, enjoying equal freedom, rights and privileges. This fundamental decision taken by the convention had significant implications for education in the long term (Stevenson 1992:177).

At the time of the Union, English was firmly entrenched as the dominant language in African schools, while in the then Transvaal and Natal there was a growing lobby in favour of greater use of the vernacular languages (Hartshorne 1992).

3.8.2 Language planning policies during the Nationalist period

After the formation of the Union in 1910, English continued to be used as a medium of instruction in African schools (Marivate 1992:76). From the mid 1930s Afrikaans began to have a strong influence in African education, especially in the northern provinces of the Orange Free State and Transvaal. The recognition of Afrikaans in education, including African education, had political origins. In this struggle for political recognition and power, the Afrikaner recognised the importance of his language as the outward symbol of identity. During this period, the 'purified' Nationalists of Dr Malan, together with the Afrikaner Broederbond, made Afrikaans a symbol of exclusiveness and separateness, and the struggle for Afrikaans became part of a 'mission' to control and rule over South Africa. In education this expressed

itself in a commitment to separate schools, and a rigid mother-tongue education policy. As Nationalist theorists and ideologists turned their attention to African education, a clear pattern began to emerge: rigid educational separation, a Christian-National education ideology, enforcement and extension of the mother-tongue medium, and thereafter the use of Afrikaans with a concomitant decline in the influence of English – these were to be the objectives (Stevenson 1992:180).

Hartshorne (1992:196) maintains that Article 15 of the policy of Christian National Education formulated by the Instituut vir Christelike–Nasionale Onderwys, which was adopted soon after the National Party came into power in 1948, dealt with African education and, amongst other things, it stated that any system of teaching and education of natives must be based on the principles of trusteeship, no equality and segregation and that it must be grounded in the life- and world-view of the whites, most especially those of the Boer nation as the senior white trustees of the natives. The mother-tongue must be the basis of native education and teaching, but the two official languages must be taught as subjects because they are official languages, the keys to the cultural loans that are necessary to his/her own cultural progress. The next step in the evolution of a strict narrow language policy for African education was the appointment on 19 January 1949 of a government Commission on National Education, led by Dr W.W.M. Eiselen: an anthropologist, former Chief Inspector of Native Education in the Transvaal, ‘separate development’ theorist, and descendant of German Lutheran missionary stock. The all-white commission sat for two years. In the end, in its recommendations on language and education, it reported in terms of its own ideological stance and completely disregarded the weight of evidence from African witnesses (Hartshorne 1992:196: Stevenson 1992:181).

The main recommendations of the Eiselen Committee on language matters were that all education should be conducted through the medium of the mother-tongue for the first four years, and this principle should be progressively extended year by year to all eight years of primary school. Terminology committees were established to produce manuals for the teachers, after which mother-tongue instruction should be introduced gradually in secondary schools. Mother-tongue medium would be used in teacher training colleges for school organisation and method, child psychology, and subjects taught through mother-tongue at primary school level. The first official language

should be introduced in the second year of schooling as a subject, and the second official language not later than the fourth year (Hartshorne 1992:197).

In the primary schools, the Eiselen recommendations on mother-tongue medium were adopted in full, and, without exception, schools were required to extend the mother-tongue medium, class by class, year by year, starting with Std 3 in 1956 through to Std 6 in 1959, when the Std 6 public examination was, for the first time, written in one or other vernacular language instead of in English. In other aspects of the language policy, the government did not follow the Eiselen report so closely, largely because of its concern to protect and expand the influence of Afrikaans in the system. The following are some of the actions which were carried out that were not in accord with the Eiselen recommendations. Both English and Afrikaans were introduced as compulsory subjects in the first year of schooling because of the fear that, if the Eiselen recommendations were adopted, Afrikaans would be regarded by teachers and communities as the second official language and would therefore be introduced only in the fourth year of schooling. Both English and Afrikaans were made compulsory at secondary school level because it was realised that if the Eiselen Report were followed, English would be the language chosen, and Afrikaans would fall back to the status of 'third language'. Both English and Afrikaans were to be used as media when transfer from mother-tongue instruction took place in the first year of secondary school, because it was realised that if a choice of one were allowed, English would continue to be that choice (Hartshorne 1992: 197-198).

In defending these policy decisions, the government always used the argument that the Constitution of South Africa required equality of treatment of the two official languages, conveniently forgetting that dual medium education was not required in white secondary schools. It was not the educational interests of the pupils that were regarded as paramount: they were made subservient to ideological and political factors that were concerned with the protection of white interests, and in particular the maintenance of Afrikaner Nationalist domination in the fields of politics and education (Hartshorne 1992:198).

The recommendations of the Eiselen Commission culminated in the Bantu Education Act of 1953 which removed African education from provincial control and brought it under the Department of Bantu Education (Marivate 1992:180). Following the

passing of the Bantu Education Act in 1953, one of the first undertakings of the new central State department, which took over control of African schooling from the provinces and mission churches, was to lay down a strict national language policy. What was clear from the beginning was that the concern was as much for Afrikaans as for the development of mother-tongue instruction, and the intention was to reduce the influence of English. Among the steps that were taken was the introduction of Afrikaans as a subject in the schools and training colleges in Natal, where it had not been offered previously (Hartshorne 1992:197).

In a very short time Afrikaans became the dominant language in African education, especially at the level of management, control and administration and in teacher training (Stevenson 1992:182). As regards the African languages, Bantu Education propagated the production of literature to provide the necessary terminology for describing scientific terms. Mother-tongue instruction was to be used at primary school. With later developments made in African languages, they were to be used as the medium of instruction throughout the entire schooling system, with English and Afrikaans taught as compulsory school subjects (Marivate 1992:96).

Marivate (1992:108; 112-113) highlights the fact that Africans were aware of the type of education which was intended for them by the government. The language policy adopted in Bantu Education produced linguistic inequality between racial groups. The Bantustan systems which were ethnically divided into language groups, and introduced by the Nationalist government, did not adopt the mother-tongue principle of Bantu Education. The Transkei, a homeland of the Xhosa people, took the issue of language medium in their schools seriously. In 1962, the Cingo Commission, which was appointed to look into the language policy, came up with recommendations that the mother-tongue be retained as medium of instruction up to and including Std 4. In Std 5 one official language that was to be used as the medium of instruction could be introduced (Hartshorne 1992:199).

According to Hartshorne (1992), from 1967, as other homelands began to be given increasing authority for certain legislative functions, including education, the same pattern began to emerge as in the Transkei, particularly in the so-called Territorial Authorities of Zululand, Lebowa, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana. In 1971, the Zulu Territorial Authority proposed that the Transkei model be adopted in Zululand. At first

the Department of Bantu Education refused to depart from the established policy. In August 1971, Dr Koornhof suggested that from Std 5 upwards Science should be taught through the medium of English and Mathematics through the medium of Afrikaans, and that otherwise Zulu should be used up to the end of Std 6. This was not acceptable to the Zulu Territorial Authority. In September, the Department compromised by authorising the use of English in Science and Afrikaans in Mathematics from Std 3. If this was to be carried out, it meant that Mathematics would first be taught in Zulu (Sub A to Std 2), then in Afrikaans (Std 3 to 6) and finally in English, because the Afrikaans medium was almost non-existent in Zulu Territorial Authority secondary schools. Nothing could have been more revealing of the illogicality that the government language policy was capable of creating. Fortunately, the Zulu Territorial Authority ignored the proposal and Zululand gradually settled into a pattern of Zulu medium of instruction up to Std 4, and thereafter English only. The myth that South Africa is a bilingual English-Afrikaans country persisted for many years under the Nationalist government (Hartshorne 1992:200).

3.8.3 South African language-planning policies and their effects on African education

For twenty years (up to 1976), the issue of the medium of instruction was at the centre of opposition to the system of 'Bantu Education'. Black opinion never became reconciled to the extension of the mother-tongue medium beyond Std 2, or to the dual medium policy at secondary school level. Opposition was immediate, and particularly strong among black teachers in the Cape, many of whom resigned or were dismissed because they were not prepared to implement the new language policies. In the ensuing years, the bodies closest to the Department of Bantu Education and in regular contact with it – the Advisory Board for Bantu Education, the school boards, and the African Teachers' Association of South Africa – year after year, in memoranda and interviews, persistently attempted to get the department to reconsider its language-medium policy. The ministry adopted a hard-line stance, particularly in relation to the primary school language medium, and the best the Department was able to do was to authorise numerous exceptions to the dual medium policy in secondary schools, especially at the Std 9-10 level (Hartshorne 1992:198).

After the introduction of Bantu Education, African teachers taught through the medium of English at high school. Afrikaans was taught as a subject. Since Afrikaans was never used as medium in African schools, the situation was seen by the government as jeopardising their objective of Afrikanerising South Africa. As a result, a 50/50 language policy was emphatically implemented in African schools. This policy, which had been prescribed as early as 1955, stipulated that half the examination subjects be taught in Afrikaans, and the other half in English. By 1968 most African schools were still not teaching through the medium of Afrikaans. According to the Department, only 26% of their schools were implementing the 50/50 policy. In 1972, the Minister of Education issued a statement indicating how the 50/50 language policy was supposed to be effectively implemented in schools: from Sub A to Std 4 the medium of instruction should be mother-tongue. From Std 5 onwards all examination subjects should be taught in Afrikaans or English, or both on a 50/50 basis. In 1974, another notice was given through the Departmental Circular no. 6 to the effect that the 50/50 language policy was to be maintained (Marivate 1992:130-134).

According to Marivate (135-136), in 1974 the Orlando-Diepkloof Zulu School Board in Soweto applied for exemption from the rule on behalf of nine schools, but their request was turned down. No reasons were stated and therefore the board took its own decision on which language to use as a medium of instruction. The Department of Bantu Education issued another circular no. 6 of 1975 which reminded school boards that they had no right to decide on the medium of instruction since this was a "professional matter upon which no school board had jurisdiction and any contradictory instructions were to be revoked immediately". The Orlando-Diepkloof High School Board, which was denied permission to deviate from the 50/50 language principle, wrote a memorandum to the Department rejecting the use of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in African Schools. Their reasons were that teachers proficient in the Afrikaans language were unavailable, students were not at home with Afrikaans, and English was the medium of higher education. Again, the officials reacted by dismissing a board member, Mr Mahlangu, who was chairman of this board. The students demanded that he be reappointed and they protested against the use of Afrikaans.

Throughout 1975 and the early part of 1976, teacher groups, principals, school boards and the Soweto Urban Bantu Council, urged the Department to take a more relaxed, flexible approach to the language medium question, but to no avail. At the beginning of 1976, the Meadowlands Tswana School Board took unilateral action and instructed their schools to use English only from Std 3. This resulted in the Department dismissing two of the members of the school board, whereupon the entire board resigned in protest. From the beginning of 1976, clear expressions of dissatisfaction began to come from the pupils of many higher primary and junior secondary schools in Soweto. They were feeling the weight of the dual medium policy much more heavily than pupils in Stds 9-10 who were still using English. Major strike action took place on 17 May, when pupils of Orlando West Junior Secondary schools stayed away from class after the local circuit inspector refused to meet a committee they had elected to put forward their grievances (Hartshorne 1992:203).

The day of June 16 was established by South Africa's Government of National Unity, which came into power on April 27 1994, to commemorate the events which took place on 16 June 1976, when Soweto schoolchildren erupted in protest against the apartheid policy of the government of the day. Although the main reasons for the protest were political, the direct trigger was a decision by the National Party Government that Afrikaans should be a compulsory medium of instruction in the secondary schools of the former Department of Bantu Education, along with English. Teachers and students rejected this decision, arguing that teachers and pupils were not proficient enough in Afrikaans, that text-books were not available in Afrikaans, and that the people directly affected by the policy decision had never been consulted (Webb 2002:5).

The Government, of course, rejected the objections of the teachers and pupils, and there was a direct confrontation between protesting pupils and the police. In the county-wide protests which followed, more than a hundred people died (Webb 2002:5). Although the country had now erupted as a result of the imposition of a dual medium language policy on black school pupils, the uncompromising and hard-line Deputy Minister of Bantu Education, Dr Andries Treurnicht, addressed Parliament, stating that in the white area of South Africa where the government provided the buildings, subsidies and paid the teachers, it was surely their right to decide what the language dispensation should be. Early in July 1976, under pressure from many

quarters, the Ministry gave in and agreed that one medium, to be decided upon by the school, could be used from Std 5 upwards (Hartshorne 1992:203).

3.8.4 Language planning policies in the new dispensation

Since South Africa's democratic transition in April 1994, the government has taken up the challenge of moving from two official languages to eleven, which means that more than 98% of the home languages spoken by the total population of 46.9 million people are now accounted for – in contrast to the two-language policy during apartheid, which favoured the white minority. South Africa's first democratic Constitution (Act 200 of 1993) recognises not only the following eleven official languages of the country at national level, Afrikaans, English, isiNdebele, Sepedi, Sesotho, Siswati, Xitsonga, Setswana, Tshivenda, isiXhosa and isiZulu, spelt according to the official orthography of each, but also South African Sign Language and the various 'heritage' languages (such as French, German, Gujurati, Urdu, Arabic and Chinese).

The new language policy fulfils the following important requirements (Department of National Education undated: 2):

- It reflects the democratic content and attitude of the new Constitution in that it recognises people's right to exercise their rights and freedoms in their own language; and
- It recognises the reality of the linguistic diversity of South Africa. For example, English and Afrikaans are spoken by less than 25 per cent of all South Africans as their home language or first language.

The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (Act No. 200 of 1993) had to effect an evolutionary transition to a new dispensation for South Africa over a period of five years – from 1994 to 1999. The development and protection of people's fundamental rights is one of the cornerstones of the new Constitution: the preamble to the Constitution, for instance, provides that a new system of national unity must be created in South Africa, within which *“all citizens shall be able to enjoy and exercise their fundamental rights and freedoms”* (Department of National Education undated: 3).

According to the Department of National Education (undated: 3) the new Constitution also embodies a number of constitutional principles with which the final Constitution will have to comply. The importance attached to a democratic language dispensation and the protection of fundamental rights, are clearly to be seen in Constitutional Principle XI which reads: *“The diversity of language and culture shall be acknowledged and protected, and conditions for their promotion shall be encouraged.”* The Constitution is intended to guarantee the freedom and human dignity of all South Africans under a new dispensation, and is not intended to withdraw or diminish rights but, on the contrary, to extend people’s rights. The recognition of our country’s linguistic diversity is regarded as an extremely important means of bringing this about. Each of the eleven languages is at present an official language somewhere in South Africa; for example, Xhosa in the Eastern Cape, Southern Sotho in the Free State and Zulu in KwaZulu-Natal. If a language such as Venda, spoken in Limpopo, should lose its status as the official language of a province, this would constitute a diminution of language status and would not be in accordance with the basic intention of the Constitution, which is to extend rights. Official status was also given to these eleven languages because the great majority of South Africans – probably more than 98% – use one of these languages as their home language or first language. The decision to make these languages the official languages of South Africa is therefore clearly a democratic step which is intended to promote inclusiveness and, hence, national unity.

In addition to providing for the status of the eleven official languages, the Constitution also addresses the transformation of the historically marginalised languages. Language development is afforded high priority: ‘practical and positive measures’ are to be put in place to advance these languages. The high priority is reflected in the provision for the establishment of a dedicated language development agency, the Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) which is charged with developing and promoting the use of all the languages of South Africa: including the ancient indigenous languages of South Africa’s ‘first people’, the Khoi, Nama and San languages, sign language, all languages commonly used by South African communities in South Africa, including German, Greek, Gujurati, Hindi, Portuguese, Tamil, Telegu, Arabic, Hebrew, Sanskrit and other languages used for religious purposes in South Africa (Mutasa 2003).

As regards language in education, Section 29 (2) of the Bill of Rights states that everyone has the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice in public educational institutions where that education is reasonably practicable (The Constitution of South Africa, 1996).

3.9 CONCLUSION

Zulu has changed over the years as the people who speak it have given way to changes that have come about because of various influences, including social, economic and technological factors. Oral Zulu as a language of imparting and transmitting value systems, beliefs and norms gave way to the written medium as the need arose to have the Word read by the people themselves. Setting Zulu to writing opened literary avenues which saw Zulu giving rise to a variety of literary works. Zulu like all other indigenous languages of South Africa, was marginalised during the period of white supremacy in South Africa.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK AND RESEARCH PROCEDURES

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will outline the analytical framework and research procedures followed in this study. However, before doing so, I will briefly review the aims and objectives of the study. The primary objective of this study, as stated in Chapter 1, par 1.2, is to:

- Identify and define the linguistic shifts in the orthography, morphology, lexicon and manner in which biblical proper names have been transliterated from Greek and Hebrew.

The secondary objectives of this study are to:

- Demonstrate the feasibility of corpus-based research in the indigenous languages of South Africa;
- Consider the impact of the various norms that constrain translational behaviour; and
- Establish translation strategies used by the various translators of the Book of Matthew.

In order to achieve the primary objective of this study, the development of written Zulu will be chronologically tracked from shifts in orthography, morphology and the lexicon which have been observed in twelve translations/revised editions of the Book of Matthew ranging from 1848 to 1997, and also in the manner in which biblical proper names from Greek and Hebrew origin occurring in these texts have been transliterated into Zulu. My hypothesis is that these shifts are landmarks pointing to the development and growth of the written language.

Since these shifts are to a large extent linguistic in nature, rather than theological, it is assumed that translators conducting subsequent translations saw a necessity for revising and improving Zulu written conventions which had not been adequately represented in preceding translations or revised editions.

4.2 The significance of polysystem theory and descriptive translation for this study

Polysystem theory has extensive implications for this study because this approach posits that translated texts form part of the Zulu literary system, together with other systems existing in the particular culture. Polysystem theory promotes insights that translated texts form part of a dynamic conglomerate system which occupies either a central or peripheral position in the system and performs a primary or secondary function in society (Even-Zohar 1990:47). It further alludes to the fact that if the position of the translation is primary, the translators will not feel constrained to follow target literature models. Thus, the translators will produce target texts that are a close match to the textual relations of the source text.

In supporting the assertion that translations are part of the entire system of a culture, Munday (2001:109) affirms that a literary work should not be studied in isolation, but as part of the literary system of a particular culture, which itself is defined as a “system of functions of the literary order which are in continual interrelationship with other orders”. Still, within the polysystem approach, literature is regarded as being part of a social, cultural, literary and historical framework.

The notion that translated literature which occupies a central position in a polysystem may lead to new source language models, is also valid as regards Zulu literature. This statement is supported by Ntuli and Swanepoel (1993:20) (cf. Chapter 1 par. 1.2) who justly acknowledge that the emergence of African written literature could be attributed to the translation of the Bible, and that this process unlocked a considerable portion of world literature to South African writers, enabling them to share experiences with other nations of the world and also introducing them to almost all contemporary forms of literature.

In terms of polysystem theory, it could be accepted that the literary system of the language at the time of Bible translation into Zulu was not yet established, and thus translation occupied a central position. As is the case with the earliest translation of the Bible into Zulu, a number of aspects demonstrate that translators subjected themselves to the norms of the source text, and through them to the norms of the source culture as will be shown in Chapter 5 par 1. The earliest translators of the Zulu Bible relied on grammatical conventions of the language they spoke in writing the Zulu language. The manner of writing Zulu was initially disjunctive which undermined the agglutinative make-up of the language. The mode of capitalisation of Zulu words was also not given much thought, and the representation of aspirated sounds also showed a bias towards the source text.

In the main, I draw on the domain of descriptive translation studies, an offshoot of the polysystem theory, as the theoretical model to inform the arguments that will be presented in this study. The significance of a descriptive approach for this thesis is that it takes translations as facts of the target culture and that any research into translation, whether it is confined to the product itself or intends to proceed to the reconstruction of the process which yielded it, should start from the hypothesis that translations are facts of one system only and that is the target system.

According to Toury (1995:166), a proponent of the descriptive approach, translation is basically designed to fulfil (what are assumed to be) the needs of the culture which will eventually host it. It does so by introducing into that culture a version of something which has already been in existence in another culture, making use of a different language which for one reason or another is deemed worthy of introduction into it. Although translation entails the retention of aspects of the source text, it also involves certain adjustments to the requirements of the target system. At the same time, a translation is always something which has not been there before; even in the case of retranslation, the resulting entity, that which actually enters the recipient culture, will definitely *not* have been there before.

Using descriptive translation studies as the theoretical backdrop to this study has also facilitated investigation into the process and function of the twelve Zulu translations/revised versions of the Book of Matthew which form the corpus of this thesis. This has been done because the descriptive approach takes translated texts

as they are and within its frontiers, an attempt is made at determining the various factors that account for the particular nature of translations. For the purposes of this study, this means that I will work without predetermined notions as to what actually constitutes the twelve translations of the Book of Matthew. Hermans (1985:13) points out, having preconceived notions as to translations will without doubt prove to be normative and restrictive.

Descriptive theorists also maintain that comparative work may add a dimension to the account of the texts' acceptability. They allude to the fact that the easiest comparative study to perform involves various parallel translations in one language, which came into being at a certain point in time. This kind of comparison is also the easiest to justify, because it involves the smallest number of variables. If each translation is properly contextualized, such a study is therefore bound to shed light on the correlations between surface realisation and position (or 'valence') in the target culture. The comparison of a number of parallel translations into one language has been even more common, due to greater availability of these translations, which came into being at different periods in time (Toury 1995: 72-73).

4.3 Corpus-based research for this study

The use of corpus-based research in the analysis of a corpus of Zulu will demonstrate the feasibility of corpus-based research for the indigenous languages of South Africa. According to Kenny (2001:69), one of the greatest advantages offered by corpus-based research, a natural progression from the descriptive approach, derives from the fact that one deals with texts in electronic form which can thus be stored, distributed and manipulated in ways that enhance their usefulness vis-à-vis hard copy corpora. Studies that involve electronic corpora can be supplemented, replicated or even replaced by what emerge as more appropriate studies because data can be very quickly retrieved. Biblical texts that form the corpus of this study will be electronically analysed to trace the development of written Zulu from language behaviour observed.

Johansson (1998:3) sees computer corpora as being used for a wide range of studies such as in grammar, lexis, discourse analysis, language variation, etc. He maintains that they could be used in both synchronic and diachronic studies, and

increasingly also in cross-linguistic research. The benefit of corpus-based research according to Biber *et al* (1994: 169-170) is that it provides a large empirical database of natural discourse, so that analyses are based on structures that occur naturally and they also enable analyses of a scope and reliability not otherwise feasible, allowing researchers numerous avenues to address issues that were previously impossible to deal with. In the following section how the corpus of this study has been compiled will be elaborated on.

4.3.1 Corpus compilation

It is encouraging to state that as regards copyright permission for the texts that will be used as a corpus for this study, I was advised that this was not strictly necessary because the section of the Bible that will be compiled into a corpus will be used for research rather than for commercial purposes (Hermanson: personal interview 2006).

According to Sinclair (2004:13), any corpus work needs to begin with the creation of the corpus itself: therefore, twelve Zulu texts which comprise the Book of Matthew have been selected for analysis in this study. The texts included in the corpus were acquired in different ways. The following table gives a brief account of where the various texts were obtained:

Where Obtained	Translation
British & Foreign Bible Society Library in Cambridge University Library	1848 Book of Matthew by the American Board Mission
Information Centre - Bible Society of South Africa, Cape Town	1855 Adaptation of Book of Matthew by Colenso
	1966 New Testament by Roman Catholic Mission
	1986 New Testament and Psalms by Bible Society of South Africa
Ries Collection in Room 6-73 University of South Africa	1866 the Gospels by J L Döhne
	1883 Bible by the American Board Mission
Library – University of South Africa	1865 New Testament by American Board Mission 1897 New Testament by Colenso 1924 Bible by American Board Mission 1924 New Testament by the Hermannsburg Mission 1959 Bible by the British and Foreign Bible Society 1997 Bible by the Bible Society of South Africa
Independent informant	1994 Watch Tower Tract Society

Table 4.1: Places where the various biblical texts were obtained

It should be understood that decisions as to what should be in the corpus and how the selection is to be organised control everything that happens subsequently. These texts have been selected in view of the fact that the Book of Matthew was the first authoritative publication written in the Zulu language, and therefore examining linguistic patterns occurring in these translations will provide an appropriate avenue through which the development of the written language may be traced. These texts could be considered a representative sample of the Zulu language and thus, by examining the various patterns of language observed, I will be in a position to analyse the linguistic behaviour, determine the growth and development of the language and also identify biblical texts that became landmarks, signifying important stages in the process of written Zulu and how these stages fostered further progress.

The size (in number of words) of texts that comprise the corpus of this study is listed below:

Translations/Revised editions	Size (words)
1848 American Board Mission – Matthew	21 485
1855 Colenso Adaptation of 1848 Matthew – Matthew	21 946
1865 American Board Mission – New Testament	18 011
1866 Döhne – The Gospels	19 960
1897 Colenso – American Board Mission – New Testament	12 305
1924 American Board Mission – Bible	17 658
1924 Hermannsburg – New Testament	12 852
1959 British and Foreign Mission Bible Society – Bible	12 575
1966 Roman Catholic Mission – New Testament	12 849
1986 Bible Society of South Africa – New Testament & Psalms	13 705
1994 New World Translation – New Testament	14 809
1997 Bible Society of South Africa – Bible	12 185
Total number of words in the corpus	1 930 340

Table 4.2: The size of the corpus in number of words

The corpus that will be analysed in this study is almost two million (1 930 340) words. Sinclair (2004:19) is of the opinion that we need to have quite a large number of occurrences available in order to study the behaviour of words in texts, and that a corpus which does not reflect the size and shape of the documents from which it is drawn is in danger of being seen as a collection of fragments where only small-scale patterns are accessible. He further states that, alternatively, whole documents could be gathered.

The distinction of various types of corpora as distinguished by Baker (1995) and Laviosa (2002) – see Chapter 2 par. 2.4.2.3 – helped me classify the corpus for this study as a monolingual single corpus, due to the fact that all the texts are translations into Zulu. Kenny (2001:59) suggests that monolingual corpora are useful in the investigation of features that are particularly characteristic of translated texts as opposed to originals. Monolingual corpora offer considerable advantages in that they allow comparisons between sets of texts to be made on the basis of global quantitative measures. Measures such as type-token ratios, lexical densities and mean sentence lengths can be meaningfully compared across texts or corpora in the same language in order to ascertain whether, for example, translated texts typically contain less varied vocabulary, or shorter sentences than originals, and features that might be expected if translation really does involve simplification or explicitation.

Explaining the size of a corpus in terms of a type-token ratio, Kenny (2001:34) basically argues that written texts can be viewed as sequences of characters delimited by spaces. Each sequence corresponds to a running word or 'token'. Simply put, this means that when we have a one-million-word corpus, this usually implies that we have a corpus containing one million tokens. If we wish to know how many different words, or 'types', there are in a text or corpus, however, then we need access to a tool that will take in all the tokens in the text or corpus, eliminates duplicates, and counts each word form just once. Thus, a standard tool should be able to tell us that the text fragment 'to be or not to be' contains six tokens, but only four types, as there are two tokens each of the types 'to' and 'be'.

Baker (1995:236) further explains the issue of type/token by asserting that any sequence of letters with an orthographic space on either side is counted as a word or, more precisely, a token. She exemplifies this by demonstrating that each occurrence of the word *day* in a given corpus is counted as an individual token and we can say that there are x tokens of *day* in a particular corpus. The word-form *day* itself is a *type*, no matter how often it occurs. So we can say that there are x tokens of the type *day* in a corpus of y million words.

The ratio of types to tokens in a corpus tells us something about the variety of the word forms used in the corpus. Where there is a lot of repetition, we can expect the type/token ratio to be lower than in cases where writers avoid re-using the same words. The longer a text, the more likely it is that words will be repeated, thus lowering the ratio (Kenny 2001:34).

Another problem with type/token ratios, and all sorts of other automated quantitative techniques in corpus linguistics, is that they may not take homographs and lemmas into account. Homographs are different words with the same spelling; for example, 'bat' the animal and 'bat' as used in cricket. The problem with such homographs is that they will be counted as a single type by a piece of software that knows about the appearance of word forms, but nothing about their meanings. The solution to this problem is either to change the data, by introducing some sort of semantic annotation to the corpus, or to change the processing by making it somehow sensitive to such problems (Kenny 2001:34).

The following table gives a comparison of type/token information as represented by the 1848 translation amongst the earliest translations, and the 1959 translation amongst the later translations:

Text File	1848AB~1.TXT	Text File	1959B&~1.TXT
Bytes	113,755	Bytes	110,254
Tokens	21,546	Tokens	12,760
Types	3,329	Types	5,232
Type/Token Ratio	15.45	Type/Token Ratio	41.00
Standardised Type/Token	36.60	Standardised Type/Token	64.63
Ave. Word Length	4.08	Ave. Word Length	7.01
Sentences	655	Sentences	1,032
Sent. Length	32.64	Sent.length	12.15
Paragraphs	32	Paragraphs	24
Para. Length	673.31	Para. Length	522.21
Headings	0	Headings	0

Table 4.3: Comparison of type/token information

Taking Kenny's recommendation into account, we can analyse the difference in the type/token ratio of the 1848 and 1959 translations by construing that the 1848 translation which has a type/token ratio of 15.45 contains more repetitions of word forms than the 1959 translation which has a type/token ratio of 41.00. Thus, the 1848 translation is longer than the 1959 one and this could also be attributed to the disjunctive manner of writing adopted in this translation. The various morphemes which normally form part of word structures were written as independent types in the 1848 translation, with the resultant repetitions.

It is useful to explore how the types of a language are distributed in a given corpus and to use the result as a basis for comparison with other corpora (Baker 1995:236). As illustration, Baker cites Krishnamurthy (1992) who reports that the overall type/token ratio for a corpus of BBC World Service broadcasts is approximately 174, and for a corpus of *The Times* daily newspaper approximately 60. This suggests that *The Times* uses a much more varied vocabulary than the BBC or, conversely, that the BBC uses a more restricted set of lexical items than *The Times* corpus.

Baker (1995:236) contends that comparing the type/token ratio of a corpus of original texts and a corpus of translated texts of the same language and in the same type of

domain – for example, fiction, media, instruction manuals – may help us capture global patterning that contributes to the identification of translations as translations. A high type/token ratio, for instance, may be interpreted as a consequence of the process of lexical simplification which has been reported as taking place in a variety of mediated communicative activities, including translation.

Regarding lexical density, Baker (1995:237) maintains that language, any language, consists of a series of lexical and grammatical words. Lexical words are generally ‘about’ something and typically comprise items which belong to categories such as nouns, adjectives and verbs. Grammatical words belong to closed sets such as determiners and prepositions. She defines lexical density as the percentage of lexical as opposed to grammatical items in a given text or corpus of texts. For the purposes of this study, an elaboration of lexical density will not be entertained.

4.3.2 Text conversion

After the texts were selected, they were converted into machine-readable form. The Zulu biblical texts of the Book of Matthew were converted to electronic format using optical character recognition (OCR) software. Each of the twelve texts were separately scanned and saved as Rich Text Format (.rtf) for proofreading and editing in Word for Windows. The files were saved as text files (txt files) so that they could be analysed using *WordSmith Tools*. Kenny (2001:118) contends that the OCR reader is able to deal with different character sets without the user having to reinstall a new version of the program each time, and the user can view the image of the document just scanned before the system starts to convert that image to an editable text when sent to Word for Windows.

The texts were converted to electronic form, and were proof-read and edited. The proof-reading of my corpus consisted of checking the spelling of words and replacing characters which had been wrongly read by the OCR reader with correct characters. Earlier translations which were written disjunctively took longer to proof-read and edit because they were read at a slower pace than later translations. Kenny (2001:119) infers that even with the most careful editing, mistakes remain in the electronic versions of texts, but it is hoped that most of these were uncovered and corrected as the texts were used in electronic analyses.

4.3.3 Corpus-processing tools and procedures

Corpora, in contemporary linguistics, are invaluable resources, but without techniques to search, sort, count and display the vast quantities of data they contain, they would be of little practical use (Kenny 2001:33). Some of the corpus-processing tools that are provided by *Wordsmith Tools 3.0*, a Windows-based suite of programmes authored by Mike Scott, that were used for data analyses in this study, include the *Concord*, *Wordlists*, (cf. Chapter 2, par 2.4.2.1), *Keywords*, *Splitter*, *Textconverter* and *Dual Text Aligner*.

In this section of my discussion it will be shown how the corpus-processing tools were used for analysis in the study.

4.3.3.1 Concordance

The concordance is the most pertinent corpus-processing tool used in this study. As previously mentioned (see Chapter 2 par. 2.4.2.1.1), a concordance is a tool that retrieves all occurrences of a particular search word in its immediate context and displays these in an easy-to-read format. Some concordances work by searching through the entire corpus from beginning to end every time a search pattern is entered, while others work by first creating an index of all the words in the corpus along with a record of the location of each occurrence. In this study, the type of concordance that was used is that which searches through the entire corpus from beginning to end every time a search pattern is entered. The result of the search was thus displayed with other words that occur in their environment. The following example illustrates concordances that were displayed as the result of the search root **-*buis*-** (bless):

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
128	a tabata isinkua, wa si busisa wa s'ahlula, wa si	18,674	1848ab~1.txt	88
125	wa-tabata isinKwa, wa-sibusisa wa-s'ahlula, wa	18,850	1855co~1.txt	88
46	wa ba fund isa, e ti, Ba busisiwe abampofu emo	1,601	1865ab~1.txt	9
126	endula wa ti kuye; u ya busiswa Simon ka Yona	10,062	1866do~1.txt	51
127	bheka ezulwini, wa zi busisa , wa zi hlepula w	7,363	1924ab~1.txt	42
129	ake, wabafundisa, wati: Babusisiwe abampofu e	1,142	1924he~1.txt	9
132	khe, wabafundisa wathi: Babusisiwe abampofu e	1,133	1959b&~1.txt	9
42	bili, wabheka ezulwini, wazibusisa , wazihlephul	5,891	1966ro~1.txt	45
29	Wabafundisa wathi: " Babusisiwe abampofu n	1,217	1986sa~1.txt	9
130	futhi ngemva kokusho isibusiso , wasihlephula,	13,202	1994ne~1.txt	88
131	khe, wabafundisa wathi:" Babusisiwe abampofu e	1,154	1997sa~1.txt	9

Fig. 4.1: Concordances of the search root -busis-

From the above examples we then see that the search verbal root **-busis-** (bless) was drawn from eleven texts that comprise the corpus of the study. From the display it can also be determined in which texts the search word was found. This information was obtained from the texts listed under File in the concordance. Sinclair (1987:170) has observed that the concordance is at the hub of corpus linguistics, because it gives access to many important language patterns in texts.

The advantage of a full-text search is that no pre-processing is required and the corpus can be easily modified; for instance, texts can be added to the corpus or be removed (Kruger 2002). Once a search has been made, the results are displayed for the user. The most common display format is known as a KWIC (an acronym for Key Word In Context) display. In a KWIC display all occurrences of the search word are lined up in the centre of the screen. The extent of the context on either side of the search word is variable and can often be specified by the user. The KWIC display in Fig. 3 illustrates the concordance produced for the search word **umbuso** (kingdom):

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
293	bunce emoyeni: gokuba umbuso wezulu u ngo w	1,816	1848ab~1.txt	9
298	yi-tenga le 'nSimu. Futi umBuso weZulu u-ya-fan	8,979	1855co~1.txt	42
248	o wa u faka kubo, wa ti Umbuso wezulu u fana n	7,297	1865ab~1.txt	41
290	kwokulungisa, ngokuba umbuso wezulu u ngowa	1,963	1866do~1.txt	10
286	al'azisiswe igama lako; umbuso wako auze; izwi	1,780	1897co~1.txt	14
288	wa wu beka kubo wa ti, Umbuso wezulu u fana	6,601	1924ab~1.txt	38
275	umfanekiso, wati: Umbuso wezulu u fana	5,275	1924he~1.txt	41
282	emoyeni, ngokuba umbuso wezulu u ngowa	1,137	1959b&~1.txt	9
278	Phendukani, ngoba umbuso wezulu u sondel	1,097	1966ro~1.txt	8
274	imizekeliso, wathi: " Umbuso wezulu u singaw	9,373	1986sa~1.txt	70
276	ngemifanekiso, ethi: " Umbuso wamazulu usu	10,555	1994ne~1.txt	70
273	ngemifanekiso, wathi: " Umbuso wezulu u fanis	8,878	1997sa~1.txt	72

Fig. 4.2: The KWIC in a monolingual concordance

The primary motivation for the use of a concordance in modern corpus linguistics is the belief that interesting insights into the structure and usage of a language can be obtained by looking at words in texts and seeing what patterns of lexis, grammar and meaning surround them. Kennedy (1998:8) thinks that using KWIC concordances actually predisposes linguists towards studies of lexis and lexical grammar, because the amount of co-text available in concordance lines is too limited to allow for analysis of syntax or discourse.

A brief explanation of what appears under each concordance is essential for better understanding of how the concordance works and also to interpret concordance results with insight. At the top of each concordance there is an explanatory row under which all the search information appears. This row has the following:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
---	-------------	----------	------	---

Fig. 4.3: Explanatory information

The 'N' stands for the number which the programme allocates to an entry which has been drawn from the corpus. 'Word number' means the chronological position which the word occupies in the text. 'File' means the text from which the search word has been drawn. A further explanation is in relation to the files in the concordance. The texts that form the corpus of this study have all been marked according to the year in which they were published and the publisher/society and/or authors will be represented by a suffix. The following texts were marked in the following manner in the concordance:

- 'ab' after the year of publication stands for the American Board Mission. All the translations done by the American Board Mission have the ab suffix, e.g. 1848ab~1.txt; 1865ab~1.txt; 1924ab~1.txt.
- 'co' after the year of publication stands for Colenso's translations e.g. 1855co~1.txt; 1897~1.txt.
- 'do' after the year of publication stands for Döhne's translation, e.g. 1866do~1.txt.
- 'he' after the year of publication stands for the Hermannsburg Mission's translation. e.g. 1924he~1.txt.
- 'b&' after the year of publication stands for the British and Foreign Bible Society, e.g. 1959b&~1.txt.
- 'ro' after the year of publication stands for the Roman Catholic translation, e.g. 1966ro~1.txt.
- 'ne' after the year of publication stands for the New World translation e.g. 1994ne~1.txt.
- 'sa' after the year of publication stands for translations by the Bible Society of South Africa e.g. 1986sa~1.txt; 1997sa~1.txt.

The above-mentioned information was thus captured in the following manner in the concordances of **abantu** (people):

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
512	zokutenga, nokubizua g'abantu gokutiwa,	15,689	1848ab~1.txt	74
508	i-'ziYalelo, a-ti-a-fundise abaNtu njalo,	2,117	1855co~1.txt	10
502	Zi leteni kimi. Wa yala abantu ukuba	8,035	1865ab~1.txt	45
499	Kona abalimi ba bamba abantu bake,	13,624	1866do~1.txt	68
500	kambe bababamba abantu bake, omunye	8,660	1897co~1.txt	68
494	uNkulunkulu, o nike abantu amandhla a	3,413	1924ab~1.txt	20
501	bahle bababamba abantu bake, omunye ba	8,849	1924he~1.txt	68
505	uNkulunkulu onikile abantu amandla anjalo.	2,952	1959b&~1.txt	23
497	uNkulunkulu onike abantu amandla angako.	3,113	1966ro~1.txt	23
495	zakhe, wabaphilisa. Abantu bamangala laph	6,557	1986sa~1.txt	49
496	uNkulunkulu, owanika abantu igunya elinjalo	3,568	1994ne~1.txt	23
504	uNkulunkulu onikile abantu amandla anjalo.	2,970	1997sa~1.txt	24

Fig. 4.4: Concordances of abantu

Another aspect allowed when using the concordance as a corpus-processing tool, and which was also be used in this study, was be the wildcard '*'. Wildcards are characters that stand in for other characters. Wildcards that stand in for any single character are useful in searches for words where there is a likelihood of spelling variation. The wildcard '*', can be used to replace any number of other characters in the search word at the beginning and/or end, or in the middle of words or phrases (Kenny 2001: 46 &122). When doing a word search of, for instance, the search root -

khonz- (to give greeting of respect) , wildcards are inserted before and after the root in this manner ***khonz***, and all instances that contain the search word will be displayed in a window similar to the one below:

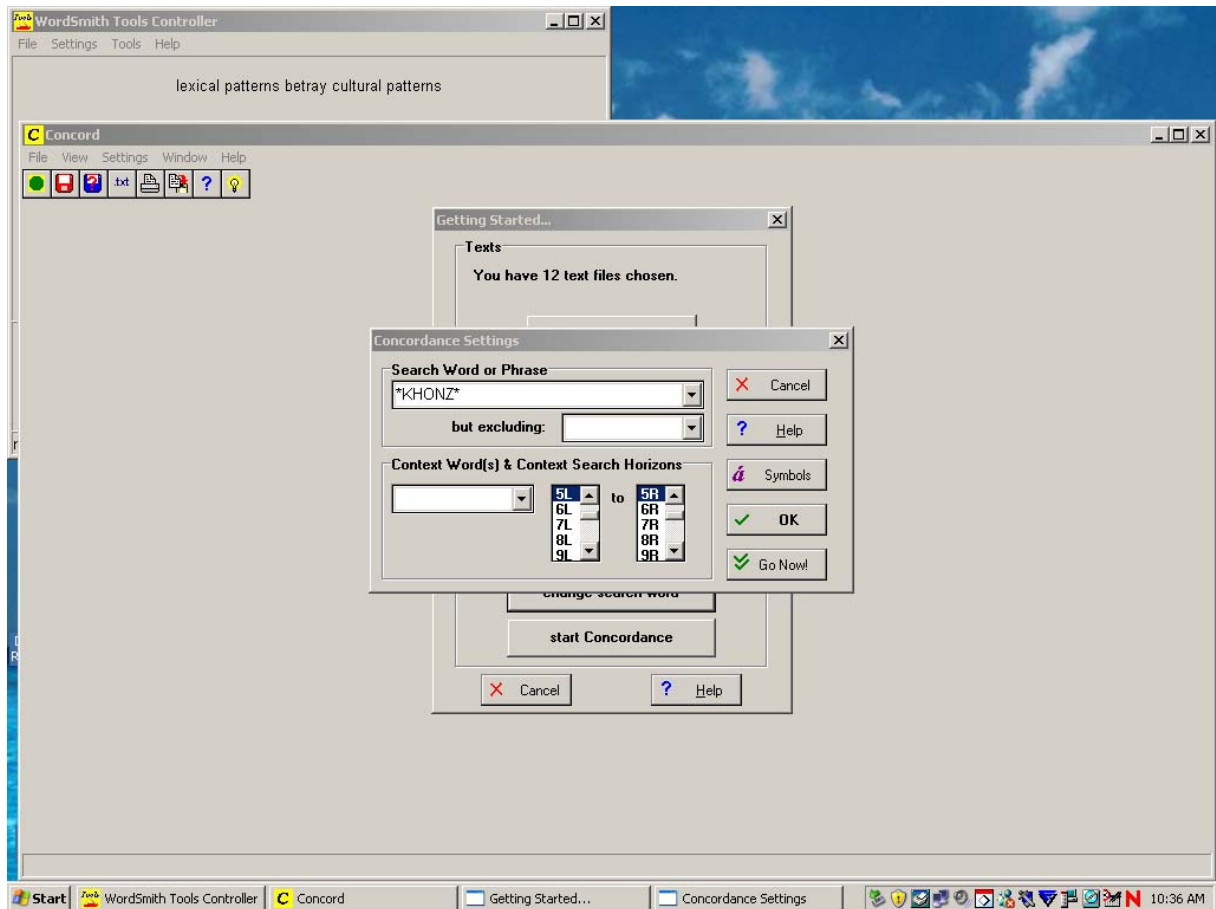


Fig. 4.5: Search word with the wild card “*”

The result will display the following end product:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
4	uJesu bevela eGalile, bemkhonza ; phakathi	12,459	1959b&~1.txt	97
9	ukukhonzwa kepha ukukhonzwa nokunikela u	8,167	1959b&~1.txt	63
71	noma usetilongweni, singakukhonzanga , na?	10,962	1959b&~1.txt	86
3	kusukela eGalileya, ababemkhonza . Phakat	12,832	1966ro~1.txt	97
8	siqala ukushaya eginye izikhonzi ezikanye	10,697	1966ro~1.txt	81
67	kuso: Wenze kahle, sikhonzi esilungileyo, es	10,938	1966ro~1.txt	83
1	umahluleli akunikele esikhonzini sikubophe.	1,499	1986sa~1.txt	11
35	ningibikela ukuze nami ngiyomkhonza ” Inkosi	415	1986sa~1.txt	3
2	ukusuka eGalile ukuze bamkhonze ; phakathi	14,667	1994ne~1.txt	97
68	yomuntu ingezelanga ukukhonzwa kepha	8,196	1997sa~1.txt	66

Fig. 4.6: Search results with the wild card “*”

The use of the wild card in the search allows the concordance to draw all instances of the search word which contain the specified root or section of the word. This tool is invaluable in the analysis of words in the indigenous languages of South Africa since they contain various affixes which are attached to the root to produce meaning. Regarding the search word **khonz** which has wildcards inserted before and after, words with the following affixes were drawn from the corpus with the help of the wildcard:

izikhonzi (servants):
bemkhonza (worshipping him):
singakukhonzanga (when we did not worship you):
bamkhonze (they worshipped him):
bemkhonza (worshipping him):
ukumkhonza (to worship him):
ababemkhonzile (who were worshipping him):
singakukhonzanga (when we did not worship you):
ukumkhonza (to worship him):
esikhonzini (at the servant):
ngiyomkhonza (I will worship him):

singakukhonzanga (when we did not worship you):
bamkhonze (they worshipped him):
ukumkhonzwa (to be worshipped):
esikhonzini (at the servant):

The use of the wildcard “*” was very useful in that it helped bring to the surface instances of words which would otherwise not have been recognised in the study.

4.3.3.2 Wordlists

Wordlists were used in this study, although to a much lesser extent. The Wordlist gives a list of all the types in a corpus or text, arranged alphabetically or in order of frequency. Table 4.4 below shows a comparison between the top 25 types in the frequency Wordlist of the 1848 translation and the 1959 translation:

Prefixes

class 8 noun prefix [*izi-*]:
 participial subject concord [*be-*]
 participial subject concord [*si-*]
 subject concord [*ba-*]
 object concord [*-m-*]
 object concord [*-m-*]
 relative concord [*aba-*]
 potential morpheme [*-nga-*]
 the infinitive morpheme [*uku-*]
 locative morpheme [*e-*]
 future tense morpheme [*-yo-*]

Suffixes:

negative suffix of the perfect: [*-nga*]
 the perfect suffix [*-e*]
 the passive extension [*-w-*]
 the locative suffix [*-ini*]

Text File 1848AB~1.TXT					File 1959B&~1.TXT				
N	Word	Freq.	%	Lemmas	N	Word	Freq.	%	Lemmas
	`1	KU	1,224	5.68					
2	BA	701	3.25		1	KEPHA	225	1.76	
3	WA	640	2.97		2	WATHI	187	1.47	
4	NI	615	2.85		3	NGOKUBA	170	1.33	1.33
5	E	598	2.78		4	NA	157	1.23	
6	YA	584	2.71		5	UJESU	137	1.07	
7	BE	514	2.39		6	KHONA	135	1.06	
8	A	496	2.30		7	KUYE	116	0.91	
9	NA	494	2.29		8	UKUBA	115	0.90	
10	U	424	1.97		9	UKUTHI	87	0.68	
11	TI	392	1.82		10	KUBO	81	0.63	
12	O	359	1.67		11	KINI	78	0.61	
13	NGA	265	1.23		12	UMA	77	0.60	
14	YE	261	1.21		13	BATHI	75	0.59	
15	ZI	231	1.07		14	KE	65	0.51	
16	TYO	217	1.01		15	KODWA	63	0.49	
17	KODUA	215	1.00		16	NGITHI	59	0.46	
18	GI	205	0.95		17	NOMA	54	0.42	
19	M	202	0.94		18	ABAFUNDI	52	0.41	0.41
20	GOKUBA	183			19	NGAKHO	47	0.37	0.37
21	UKUTI	169	0.78		20	BHEKA	46	0.36	
22	ZA	163	0.76		21	INDODANA	45	0.35	0.35
23	UKUBA	153	0.71		22	KONKE	45	0.35	
24	UJESU	152	0.71		23	LAPHO	45	0.35	
25	I	151	0.70		24	LOKHU	40	0.31	
					25	BAKHE	39	0.31	

Table 4.4: A comparison of the 1848 and the 1959 frequency lists

Wordlists were used in this study to tell translations written in the disjunctive method apart from those written in the conjunctive method, as clearly shown on the frequency lists used above. Frequency wordlists were also used for type/token ratios as well as for determining the universals of translation present in my corpus.

4.4 Micro-level analysis

Lambert and Van Gorp view the micro-textual level as referring to shifts on the phonic, graphic, syntactic, lexical and stylistic level which include:

- selection of words (lexical sets, semantic fields, terminology, etc.);
- dominant grammatical patterns and formal literary structures (metre, rhyme, etc);
- forms of speech representation (e.g. direct, indirect, free indirect speech);
- metaphors and figures of speech;

- terms of address;
- modality (passive/active voice, ambiguity, etc.);
- language variety (sociolect, archaic/popular, informal/formal register, jargon, etc.);
- cohesive patterns (lexical cohesion, reference, substitution, conjunction, ellipsis);
- coherence;
- text structure (e.g. narrative structure, layout etc.);
- aspects of culture;
- translation procedures (e.g. substitution, repetition, deletion, addition, compensation, etc.).

Lambert and Van Gorp's (1985) model was not fully followed in this study. Only the selection of words and the dominant grammatical patterns will be analysed at micro-level in this thesis. The other aspects identified by Lambert and Van Gorp such as the graphic, syntactic and stylistic levels do not fall within the scope of this study. Focus here is on shifts which could be an endorsement of the developments in written Zulu. In comparing the shifts I will use a contrastive linguistic model in accordance with James (1980:169), referred to as a *tertium comparationis*.

4.4.1 *The tertium comparationis*

According to Wikipedia, a *tertium comparationis* (Latin = the third [part] of the comparison) is the quality that two things which are being compared have in common. It is the point of comparison which prompted the author of the comparison in question to liken someone or something to someone or something else in the first place. If a comparison visualises an action, state, quality, object, or a person by means of a parallel which is drawn to a different entity, the two things which are being compared must necessarily not be identical. However, they must possess at least one quality in common. This common quality has traditionally been referred to as a *tertium comparationis*.

According to Kruger and Wallmach (1997:123) who use Toury's (1980) model of an invariant for comparison with some modification of James's (1980:169) model, a *tertium comparationis* comprises an independent, constant set of dimensions in

terms of which segments of the target texts only are compared and mapped onto one another. In a comparative analysis, an account of a complex network of relations has to be taken, for instance between the target texts and the political, social, cultural, literary and textual norms and conventions of the target system. This means that the researcher takes into account constraints imposed upon the text by relevant political, social, cultural, literary and/or textual norms and conventions and then, for comparison, concentrates on a category or categories that serve as the invariant. In comparing entities, James maintains that:

The first thing we do is make sure that we are comparing like with like: this means that the two (or more) entities to be compared, while differing in some respect, must share certain attributes. This requirement is especially strong when we are contrasting, that is looking for differences, since it is only against a background of sameness that differences are significant. This sameness is called the constant and the differences are called variables. In the theory of contrastive analysis the constant has traditionally been known as the *tertium comparationis*.
(James 1980:169).

The invariant serving as a *tertium comparationis* with regard to this study will be target-text based. This implies that the analysis of shifts in linguistic patterns that are compared will be drawn from the twelve translations of the Book of Matthew which are in the target language. As mentioned earlier, shifts that will be compared (the *tertium comparationis*) will be in orthography, morphology, the lexicon and how the spelling of Greek and Hebrew personal names are transliterated in Zulu. If this could be presented graphically, this would mean that the very same twelve translations of the Book of Matthew will be compared chronologically.

Within the broad systemic descriptive translation studies framework, researchers may carry out comparisons between target texts at microtextual as well as at macrotextual level. Therefore, the shifts in orthography, morphology, the lexicon and the transliteration of Greek and Hebrew names in the various Zulu translations/revised versions of the Book of Matthew from 1948 to 1997 which will be discussed in Chapter 5 will be compared at a microtextual level.

4.4.2 On orthographic shifts

Under orthography, phonological and morphological shifts will be discussed with a view to highlighting development in the written language. Under orthography, the following issues are dealt with:

4.4.2.1 Foreign sounds

Chapter 5 (see Chapter 5 par. 5.1) will give a brief synopsis of how the Zulu speech sounds were realised and presented prior to the first translation of the Book of Matthew into the Zulu language by the American Board Mission. Gardiner's method of writing Zulu during his journey to the Zulu country undertaken in 1835 will be explored through extracts from his book, *Narrative of a journey to the Zoolu country in South Africa*. The following Zulu examples will be drawn from Gardiner's journal to illustrate how Zulu was written during this earliest stage of its development:

Foreign phoneme	Example	Zulu phoneme	Zulu word
/oo/	<i>Zoolu; indoona</i>	/u/	<i>Zulu; induna</i>
/ar/	<i>Sharka; Dingarn</i>	/a/	<i>uShaka; uDingane</i>
/ou/	<i>outchualla</i>	/u/	<i>utshwala</i>
/tch/	<i>outchualla</i>	/tsh/	<i>utshwala</i>
/u/	<i>outchualla</i>	/w/	<i>utshwala</i>
//l/	<i>outchualla</i>	///	<i>utshwala</i>
/ss/	<i>Issigordlo</i>	/s/	<i>isigodlo</i>
/or/	<i>Issigordlo</i>	/o/	<i>isigodlo</i>

It will be indicated that in instances where the speech sounds comprising Zulu words were unfamiliar to the ears of the European writer, approximate speech sounds in the language of the writer were used, as demonstrated by the word used by Gardiner, **Unkünginglove**, (The place of the elephant), instead of uMgungundlovu, the name originally given to Dingane's kraal.

It will be shown that many similar occurrences are found in the corpus of this study. Foreign speech sounds which were used in the earlier translations of the Bible into Zulu include the following:

Translators' choices	Example	Translations	Translators' choices	Example	Translations/edited editions
/u/	<i>abantuana</i>	1848; 1855	/w/	<i>abantwana</i>	1865; 1897; 1924 Hermannsburg Mission; 1959; 1966; 1986; 1994; 1997.
/u/	<i>ebusueni</i>	1848	/w/	<i>ebusweni</i>	1855; 1865; 1866; 1924; 1924 Hermannsburg Mission; 1959; 1994; 1997.
/u/	<i>amazui</i>	1848; 1865	/w/	<i>amazwi</i>	1855; 1866; 1897; 1897; 1924; 1924 Hermannsburg Mission; 1959; 1966; 1986; 1994; 1997.
/u/	<i>enhuini</i>	1848, 1855; 1965	∅	<i>endlini</i>	1866; 1897; 1924, 1924 Hermannsburg Mission; 1959; 1966; 1986; 1994; 1997.
/u/	<i>sokohluo</i>	1848;1855	∅	<i>sokohlo</i>	1866; 1897; 1924; 1924, 1924 Hermannsburg Mission; 1959; 1966; 1986; 1994; 1997.
/au/	<i>nesihau</i>	1848: 1855; 1865; 1866; 1897; 1924; 1924 Hermannsburg Mission;	Insertion of /w/ between the /a/ and the /u/	<i>nesihawu</i>	1959; 1966; 1986; 1994; 1997.
Non-aspirated phonemes - /p/, /t/, /k/	<i>kakulu</i> ; <i>ukupila</i> ; <i>tabata</i>	1848: 1855; 1865; 1866; 1897; 1924; 1924 Hermannsburg Mission;	Aspirated phoneme s - /ph/, /th/, /kh/	<i>kakhulu</i> ; <i>ukuphila</i> ; <i>thabatha</i>	1959; 1966; 1994; 1986; 1997.
/nhl/	<i>inhlela</i>	1848; 1855; 1866.	/ndl/	<i>indlela</i>	1959; 1966; 1994; 1986; 1997.
/dhl/	<i>indhlela</i>	1865; 1897; 1924; 1924 Hermannsburg Mission	/dl/	<i>indlela</i>	1959; 1966; 1994; 1986; 1997.

/y/	<i>uYohane</i>	1855; 1866	/j/	<i>uJohane</i>	1848; 1865; 1924; 1924 Hermanssburg Mission; 1959; 1966; 1994; 1986; 1997.
/g/	<i>Gi ya tyo kuni</i>	1848; 1855	/ng/	<i>ngiyanitshela</i>	1865; 1866; 1897; 1924; 1924 Hermanssburg Mission; 1959; 1966; 1994; 1986; 1997.
/ty/	<i>ematyeni</i>	1848; 1865; 1866	/tsh/	<i>ematsheni</i>	1897; 1924; 1924 Hermanssburg Mission; 1959; 1966; 1986; 1994; 1997.
/J/	<i>emaJeni</i>	1855	/tsh/	<i>ematsheni</i>	1897; 1924; 1924 Hermanssburg Mission; 1959; 1966; 1986; 1994; 1997.
/r/	<i>e-rolela</i>	1855; 1865; 1866	/h/	<i>eholela</i>	1959; 1966; 1994; 1986; 1997.

Table 4.5: Phonological choices made by the translators of the Zulu Bible

The symbol \emptyset which has been used in Table 4.5 above indicates that the later translators' choice was not to replace a phoneme in a word, but rather to remove a phoneme so that the word in question represents the target language word as naturally as possible. Inferences that will be drawn from Table 4.5 above will be interpreted and conclusions will be drawn.

4.4.2.2 On disjunctive and conjunctive methods of writing

Chapter 5 will examine the translations which show that Zulu was initially written disjunctively before the conjunctive method of writing was adopted. It will be shown that in earlier translations Zulu, which is agglutinative, was written in a similar manner to which isolating languages are written. An agglutinative language is a language which consists of bound morphemes. This means that for a word to be meaningful, different morphemes are brought together to form a word. For illustration, I will use a

verb such as **wabasindisiweyo** (of those who have been saved). This word consists of the following morphemes which have been glued together to convey the meaning 'of those who have been saved' (the description of each morpheme is given in brackets):

- wa-** (class 1 possessive concord)
- aba-** (class 2 relative concord)
- sindis-** (verbal root)
- iw-** (passive extension)
- e** (perfect tense suffix)
- yo** (relative suffix)

When we look at the English translation of this word, one is faced with six words which convey the same meaning as the one Zulu word, consisting of six morphemes. English as an isolating language uses free morphemes where each word has its own meaning independent of the other words in the sentence.

As early as 1855, Colenso, an Englishman, had already begun to hyphenate words (as did the 1924 Hermannsburg), showing that he had begun to recognise something about the agglutinative nature of Zulu. The following extract from Colenso's adaptation of 1855 is an example of this case:

LAPO uYESU e-be-zelwe eBethelimi la-s'eYudia, emiHleni yi-ka-Herodi inKosi, kwa-ti kwa-fika abahlakanipi eYerusalema, be-vela emPumalanga; Be-ti, `U-pi-yena, o-zelweyo inKosi y'abaYuda na? gokuba si-bonile inKanyezi yake, si-s'emPumalanga, si-ze'ku-m-dumisa.' uHerodi inKosi, se-e-be-zwile loku, wa-katazeka, kanye, na bo-bonke bas'eYerusalema. Na lapo e-be-hlanganisile enDawo'nye abaKonzi aba-kulu n'abaBali babaNtu, wa-buza ku-bo, uKristu, wa-be-e-za-kuzalwa pina?.

Fig. 4.7: An extract from Colenso's adaptation showing a trace of conjunctive writing

Examples of texts in disjunctive writing and those in conjunctive writing will be used to illustrate the different methods of writing, as illustrated by the following table:

1848 translation

KUA ti ga les'o'sikati Ujesu wa dabula emasimini gesabata; abafundi bake be be lambile, ba qala uku zi ka izikuebu noku hla. Abafarisia be ku bonile, ba tyo ku ye ukuti, Beka, abafundi bako ba ya ku enza o ku nga vunyelui uku enzua gesabata. Kodua yena wa tyo ku bo ukuti, A ni fundanga o ku enziweyo g'uDavida e lambile na bo a ba be na ye na?

1855 translation

KWA-TI ga-leso'siKati uYESU wa-dabula emaSimini ge-Sabata; abafundi bake be-be-lambile, ba-qala uku-zika iziKwebu nokuhla. abaFarisia be-ku-bonile, ba jo ku-ye, uku-ti, 'Beka, aba-Fundi bako ba-ya-ku-enza oku-nga-vuNyelwi uku-enza ge-Sabata.' Kodwa Yena wa-jo ku-bo, uku-ti, 'A-ni-fundanga oku-enziweyo g'uDavida, e-lambile na-bo aba-be na-ye na?

1865 translation

NGA lesosikati uJesu wa dabula emasimini ngesabata ; abafundi b a k e ba lamba, ba qala ukuka izikwebu, ba zi dhla. AbaFarisi be bona, ba ti kuye, Bheka, abafundi bako ba yenza okungafanele ukwenziwa ngesabata. Wa ti kubo, A ni fundanga ini okwenziwa uDavida msukwana e lambile, yena nabo aba be naye?

1866 translation

Ngaleso 'sikati uYesu wadabula emasimini ngosuku lwesabata; kepa abafundi bake, be lambile nje, ba qala ukuka izikwebu, ba zi hle. Lapa aba Farise ba beka ba ti kuye: beka abafundi bako benza okungafaneli ukwenziwa ngosuku lwesabata. Kepa yena wa ti kubo: A ni ke ni funde na loku a kwenzileyo uDavida, msukwana elambayo, kanye nabo aba be naye yini na?

1924 Hermannsburg

Ngaleso 'sikati uJesu wadabula emasimini ngesabata; abafundi bake babelambile, baqala ukuka izikwebu, badhla. AbaFarisi kambe bebona loko, bati kuye: abafundi bako benza okungavunyelwe ukuba kwenziwe ngesabata. Watike kubo: Anikufundanga yini, akwenzayo uDavid msukwana elambile, yena nababe naye?

1924 American Board Mission translation

Nga leyo nkati uJesu wa dabula, emasimini ngesabata; abafundi bake ba be lambile, ba qala ukuka izikwebu ba dhla. Kepa bat'ukubona loku abaFarisi, ba ti kuye, A u bheke, abafundi bako b'enza oku nga vumekile ukwenziwa ngesabata. Wa ti ke kubo, A ni fundanga yini okw'enziwa uDavida msukwana e lambile, yena naba be naye;

Fig. 4.8: Translations of the Bible in disjunctive writing

In Chapter 5 it will be demonstrated that, after several deliberations, the conjunctive manner of writing was decided upon as the most appropriate way in which the Zulu language should be written, with the writing of Zulu in the conjunctive manner beginning in earnest with the 1959 translation, as illustrated by the table below:

1897 translation

KuLEYO 'NKATi uJesu wahamba, ehamba ngeSabata, edabula emasimini. Abebandhla lake kambe babelambile, baqal'ukuka izikwebu, badhla. abaFarisi-ke bat'ukubona loko, bati kuye, 'Nampa abebandhla lako b'enza okungavunyelwe ukuba kwenziwe ngeSabata !' Wati kubo, 'Anikufundanga, yini, akwenzayo uDavid, mhla elambile nababe naye,

1959 translation

Ngalesosikhathi uJesu wadabula amasimu ngesabatha; abafundi bakhe babelambile, baqala ukukha izikhwebu, badla. Kepha abaFarisi bebona lokho bathi kuye: Bheka, abafundi bakho benza okungavunyelwe ukuba kwenziwe ngesabatha. Wathi kubo: Anifundanga yini akwenzayo uDavide msukwana elambile kanye nababenaye

1966 translation

Kuleyonkathi uJesu wadabula emasimini ngesabatha. Kwathi-ke abafundi bakhe belambile, baqala ukukha izikhwebu badla. AbaFarisi bebona lokho basebethi kuye: Nampo-ke abafundi bakho benza okungavunyelwe ukuba kwenziwe ngesabatha. Kodwa yena wathi kubo: Anifundanga yini okwenziwa uDavid nababenaye elambile na?

1986 translation

Akubanga nsuku ngaki uJesu wadabula emasimini kuyisabatha. Abafundi bakhe balamba, base bebhonyula izikhwebu badla. Bakubuke lokhu abafarisi bese bethi kuye: "Awubheke! Abafundi bakho benza okungemthetho ukuba kwenziwe kuyisabatha." Kodwa wabaphendula wathi: "Kanifundanga yini ngesenzo sikaDavide mhla elambile kanye neqembu lakhe?"

1994 translation

Ngaleyonkathi yonyaka uJesu wadabula emasimini okusanhlamvu ngesabatha. Abafundi bakhe balamba baqala ukukha izikhwebu nokudla. Lapho bekubona lokhu abaFarisi bathi kuye: "Bheka! Abafundi bakho benza lokho okungekhona okungokomthetho ukuba kwenziwe ngesabatha." Wathi kubo: "Anikufundanga yini lokho uDavide akwenza lapho yena namadoda ayenaye belambile?"

1997 translation

Ngaleso sikhathi uJesu wadabula amasimu ngesabatha; abafundi bakhe babelambile, baqala ukukha izikhwebu, badla. Kepha abaFarisi bebona lokho bathi kuye: "Bheka, abafundi bakho benza okungavunyelwe ukuba kwenziwe ngesabatha." Wathi kubo: "Anifundanga yini akwenzayo uDavide msukwana elambile kanye nababe naye.

Fig. 4.9: Translations of the Bible in conjunctive writing

The 1959 translation which was printed at least once a year since then, until 1997, adhered to this manner of writing. It should be remembered that by 1959 the translation of the Bible into Zulu also involved mother-tongue speakers of the language. In Chapter 3 par. 3.7, it is mentioned that the committee involved in the new translation of the entire Bible, included Zulu mother-tongue speakers, namely M. J. Mpanza, A. Hlongwane, S. Sikakane, E. Madondo, J. Mbatha and S. S. Ndlovu.

That disjunctive writing was reintroduced as regards the demonstrative pronoun will also be touched on in Chapter 5, and illustrations of this will be drawn from the 1997 translation. This reintroduction of writing the demonstrative pronoun separately from the noun that follows it was in line with the recommendation of the Zulu Language Board in circular 6/2/2 dated 31 October 1989. The following examples are illustrative of this method of writing in the 1997 translation:

- i) ***anothi niphuma kuleyo ndlu noma kulowo muzi*** (when you go out from that house or that village)
- ii) ***Indodakazi yakhe yasinda kusukela kuleso sikhathi.*** (His daughter was healed from that time)
- iii) ***akayikuthethelelwa nakuleli zwe nakwelizayo*** (He will not be pardoned in this world and in the next)
- iv) ***Kuyakuba njalo nakulesi sizukulwane esibi*** (It will be like that even to this bad generation)

The writing of the demonstrative pronoun disjunctively cannot at this stage be attributed to adherence to source text norms. By this period, the translation of the Bible into Zulu involved not only non-mother-tongue speakers of the Bible who knew the languages of the Bible well, but also included mother-tongue speakers who were experts in their language. Thus, the decision to write the demonstrative pronoun disjunctively from the noun that follows it was made by the mother-tongue speakers who were members of the Zulu Language Board and, I presume, after much consideration of the target language grammatical conventions. The 1997 revised edition of the Zulu Bible was the direct result of a specific request by the Zulu Language Board to update the Bible to the latest official orthography so that it could be used in schools.

It could thus be concluded that the writing of the demonstrative pronoun disjunctively from its preceding noun, adhered to the norms of the target culture.

4.4.2.3 On the use of capital letters in the Zulu Bible

The manner in which the translators of the Bible into Zulu used capital letters in their translations will also be indicated in Chapter 5. The use of capital letters was done in dissimilar ways in the various texts that comprise the corpus of this study, as illustrated by the following examples:

Translation	Example
1848 Matthew: American Board Mission	M aye U korazini! maye U betisaida! gokuba uma imisebenzi yamanhla e y'enziwe kini i be enziwe e- T urosi na s'e Sidoni, ga be i pendukile pakade eyikeni nomlota.
1855 adaptation of Matthew: Colenso	M aye, u K orazini! M aye, u B etisaida! gokuba, uma isiSebenzi yamanhla, e-y'enziwe kini, i-be-enziwe e T urosi nas'eSidoni, ga-be-i-pendukile pakade e Y ikeni nom L ota.
1865 Matthew – New Testament: American Board Mission	W a ti, N ako kuwena, K orazini ! nako kuwena B etsaida! uma imisebenzi emikulu e yenziwe kuwe, i be yenziwe e T ire na se S idone, nga ba penduka kade, be hlala ngendwangu yamasaka na ngomlota.
1897 Matthew – New Testament: Colenso	A u wena, K orazine! A u wena, B etesaida! ngoba inxa imisebenzi yamandhla, ey'enziwe kinina, yay'enziwe e T uro nas'e S idone, ngaikade yapenduka, yavata amanikiniki, yahlala ebuqwini lomlota,
1924 Matthew – Bible: American Board Mission	W a ti, M aye wena, K orazin! M aye wena, B etesayida! ngoba uma be kwenziwe e T ire na se- S idon imisebenzi yamandhla ey'enziwe kini, nga ku be kade ya penduka ngendwangu yamasaka na ngomlota.

Table 4.6: The use of capital letters in the earlier stages of Zulu Bible translation

In Chapter 5 it will be shown that the use of capital letters was a problem to the earlier translators of the Zulu Bible. In the translations produced by the American Board Mission as well as by Colenso, it is plain that there was a great deal of influence from the manner in which capital letters were used in the language they spoke, namely English, when they capitalised words in Zulu. In some cases, capital letters were used indiscriminately without any regard for the position the word in question occupies in the sentence, or whether the word is a proper noun or not. In other cases, the initial vowels of proper nouns were capitalised at the expense of the vowel at the beginning of the proper noun. It could thus be concluded that the translations produced by the American Board Mission, like those by Colenso, were source-text oriented as far as the use of capital letters is concerned.

It will be shown again that as the written language developed, capital letters were appropriately used where these were supposed to appear in the language, as illustrated in Table 4.5 below:

Translations/Revised editions	Example
1866 Matthew : Döhne	Wa ti: Nya Korazine , nya Betsayida , imisebenzi yamanhla nje e ya be yenzelwe kini, i nga ti yenzelwe e Tire no Sidone , ba se be penduke kade ngesaka na ngomlota.
1924 Matthew – New Testament: Hermannsburg Mission	Wati: Nako kuwena, Korazin! Nako kuwena, Betsaida! ngoba uma bekwenziwe e Tirus nase Sidon imisebenzi yamandhla eyenziwe kini, ngakube kade yapenduka ngendwangu yamasaka nangomlota.
1959 Matthew – Bible: British and Foreign Bible Society	wathi: Maye kuwe- Korazini! Maye kuwe- Betsayida! Ngokuba uma kwakwenziwe e Tire nase Sidoni imisebenzi yamandla eyenziwe kini, ngakube kade yaphenduka ngesaka nangomlotha.
1966 Matthew – New Testament: Roman Catholic Church	(Wathi:) Maye kuwe Khorozayini Maye kuwe Bethsaida , ngoba ukuba zazenzele e Thire nase Sidon izimangaliso ezenzele kinina, ngakube kade baphenduka, bagqoka amasaka, bazithela ngomlotha.
1986 Matthew – New Testament and Psalms: Bible Society of South Africa	Maye we Khorazini! Maye we Bhetsayida! Ngoba lezizimanga ezenziwe kini, ukuba zazenziwe e Thire nase Sidoni , abantu balapho ngabe bazishaya kudala bembatha amasaka bazisola babhuquza othulini baphenduka.
1994 Matthew – New testament: New World Translation	Maye kuwe Korazini! Maye kuwe Betsayida! ngoba ukuba imisebenzi yamandla eyenzeke kini yayenzeke e Tire nase Sidoni , ngabe kudala yaphenduka ngendwangu yesaka nangomlotha.
1997 Matthew – Bible: Bible Society of South Africa	Maye kuwe Korazini! Maye kuwe Betsayida! Ngokuba uma kwakwenziwe e Tire nase Sidoni imisebenzi yamandla eyenziwe kini, ngakube kade yaphenduka ngesaka nangomlotha.

Table 4.7: The use of capital letters in the later stages of Zulu Bible translation

4.4.3 On morphological shifts

In Chapter 5 par. 5.5.1 it will be shown that the 1848 translators had problems with the formation of the possessive. These translators applied the possessive formation rule even in cases where the rule did not apply. For instance, they formed this type of possessive by prefixing the subject concord of the possessive noun to the possessive concord [-ka-] and the possessor noun, like this:



	Possessive noun	Subject concord of the possessive noun	Possessive concord -ka-	Possessor noun	Possessive
1.	<i>Abantu</i>	<i>Ba-</i>	<i>-ka-</i>	<i>uJehova</i>	<i>bakaJehova</i>
2.	<i>ingelosi</i>	<i>(y)i-</i>	<i>-ka-</i>	<i>uJehova</i>	<i>yikaJehova</i>

Table 4.8: Possessive formation rule

Nouns with subject concords that are vowel only, as exemplified by [**i-**] subject concord of *ingelosi* (angel), drop the subject concord and use the possessive concord [**ka-**] only. As a result, the possessive formed from *ingelosi* as possession will thus be (*ingelosi*) **kaJehova** (angel of Jehovah). With regard to the earliest translators, the possessive formation rule applied in 1 was also applied in 2. This error did not occur in the later translations.

The locative was also a problem to the earliest translators. Here we also see rules being applied even in cases where they do not apply. The general locative formation rule directs that the locative prefix [**e-**] and suffix [**-ini**] be added to nouns when forming locatives. This rule was applied even in words such as **ekhanda** (on the head) and **emnyango** (at the entrance) as shown in the following 1848 examples: **isiqoko sameva, asi faka ekandeni lake** (a hat of thorns, and put it on his head), and **ye za ya tenda itye emyanqueni** (and he put a stone at the entrance), where the locative suffix [**-ini**] should not have been used, as in the following 1997 examples: **umqhele wameva, awufaka ekhanda lakhe** (a crown of thorns, and put it on his head), and **wagingqela itshe elikhulu emnyango wethuna**. (he rolled a big stone in the entrance of the tomb). This error does not occur in the later translations.

The formation of locatives with vowel initial nouns was also a problem with earlier translators. The noun that seemed to be the most problematic, as observed in the corpus, is the Zulu derivative of the English word, *Egypt*. The different translations had different representations, as shown in the table below:

Translation	Locative
1848: American Board Mission	<i>e-Gipte</i>
1866: Döhne	<i>e Egipte</i>
1897: Colenso	<i>eEgipite</i>

Table 4.9: Representations of the vowel-initial place name Egypt in Zulu

It will be shown in Chapter 5 par 5.5.2 that some of the earlier translators had a difficulty forming locatives from vowel initial place names such as *Egypt*. In the 1848 translation, the locative prefix [**e-**] has been added to the stem [**-Gipte**] which does not conform to the syllabic system of Zulu. The Zulu syllabic structure is CVCV, and was followed by Colenso, but not Döhne. In Döhne's 1866 translation as well as in Colenso's 1897 translation, the initial vowel of the place name 'Egypt' was retained whereas in the 1848 translation it was discarded.

The tendency to discard the initial vowel of the word 'Egypt' is kept even in later translations, as evidenced by the following instances:

Translation	Locative
1855 Colenso	eGipite
1865 ABM, 1924 ABM, 1924 Hermannsburg Mission	Egipite
1959 BFBS	eGibithe
1966 Roman Catholic Mission, 1986 BSSA, 1997 BSSA,	eGibhithe

Table 4.10: Locative construction with vowel-initial nouns

Egipite/ eGipite/ eGibithe/ eGibhithe, as realised by the other translators, although differently spelt, conform to the grammatical structure of the language. Concerning Toury's initial norm as far as morphology is concerned, it could be concluded that some of the earlier translators, especially those of the 1848 and 1855 translations (and those of 1866 and 1897 to a lesser extent) were source text-oriented, because they subjected themselves to the original text and thus to the norms expressed by it. The later translators subjected themselves to the linguistic and literary norms active in the target language and in the target literary polysystem, or a section of it.

4.4.4 On lexical shifts

In chapter 5 it will be shown by means of concordances that the translators of the Zulu Bible resorted to several word formation processes at their disposal to address such problems when faced with the lack of an equivalent word. Productive word formation processes and translation strategies which the translators of the Zulu Bible

used will be identified. These word formation processes will be discussed in the order suggested below.

4.4.4.1 Borrowing

Scholars in the domain of sociolinguistics define lexical borrowing as a process whereby a word or phrase from one language is imported into the vocabulary of another language (Cluver 1989:4). In relation to the Zulu Bible, a substantial number of words of Greek and Hebrew origin have entered the lexicon of the Zulu language. Lexical borrowing is mostly due to contact between people who speak the language from which words are 'borrowed', termed the donor language, and those who speak the language into which the words are imported, termed the recipient language. This type of borrowing is referred to as contact-induced borrowing.

It will also be shown that borrowing of words of Greek and Hebrew origin into the Zulu lexicon was not through contact between the speakers of these languages and the Zulu people, but rather through a mediating medium in order to address the lack of an equivalent in the target language. Some words of Greek and Hebrew origin were adopted into the lexicon of the language and even developed into popular use and became metaphors and idioms in the language, while others fell into disuse. Reasons for such occurrences fall outside the ambit of this study.

A sample of loanwords will be taken to illustrate the presence of Greek and Hebrew words that have been assimilated into the Zulu language, amongst which will be loanwords that refer to Jewish spiritual and religious ranks, Jewish religious festivals and Jewish religious practices.

4.4.4.1.1 Loanwords that refer to Jewish spiritual and religious ranks

When looking at those loanwords that refer to Jewish spiritual and religious titles such as *umprofethi* (prophet), *ingelosi*, (angel) *abafarisi* (Pharisees), it has been observed that these words no longer only refer to these categories of people as designated in the Bible, but contemporarily are used of people who execute similar engagements or exhibit similar behaviour to the beings or individuals who reflect these in biblical times. Presently, the word *umprofethi* is used not only to refer to the

prophets of the Bible, but also to refer to people who use the Bible and prayer to predict the future, and for healing purposes. This word is also used as a metaphor when a person is said to be predicting something, as in ***Phela yena ungumprofethi*** (By the way he/she is a prophet). The use of ***ingelosi*** metaphorically as in ***Lo muntu uyingelosi yeNkosi*** (This person is an angel of the Lord.) is popular in present-day speech. This expression testifies to a person's kindness. On the other hand, the word ***abafarisi*** (Pharisees) or its singular form ***umfarisi***, (a Pharisee), is presently commonly used metaphorically when referring to a scheming individual who is devoid of truth. These words and the ranks that designate them were new to the people when the Bible was translated into Zulu.

4.4.4.1.2 Loanwords that refer to Jewish religious festivals.

Terms that refer to Hebrew religious festivals were adopted into the language through Bible translation – terms such as ***iphasika*** (Passover). According to Hebrew tradition, the Passover is a commemoration of God's act of passing over the houses of the Israelites who had applied blood on their doorposts when the angel of doom killed all the firstborn children of the Egyptians. This term is used presently to refer to Easter, the period of Christian celebrations during the year that commemorate Christ's death and resurrection. ***iSabatha*** (Sabbath) is another Hebrew term that came into the language through the translation of the Bible to refer to the day of worship. The use of the term ***iSabatha*** to refer to a day of worship fell into disuse, except in churches like the Seventh-Day Adventists, because Christians now use the term ***iSonto***, (Sunday) to refer to the day of worship. The contention is that this is the day on which Christ rose from the dead and thus it is on this day that this event is commemorated. The plural form of the word ***iSabatha***, which is ***amaSabatha***, has even extended to refer to Christians who observe the Jewish custom of having the seventh day of the week as the day of rest and worship.

As Zulu religious festivals were quite distinct from those which came with the new system, the words and the festivals that accompany them were new to the people. Festivals which were celebrated by the Zulu people differ immensely from those which came with Christianity and the translation of the Bible into the language. The Zulu people celebrated the festival of the first fruits. This festival played a significant role in Zulu society, as it embraced a number of important aspects of Zulu society,

although it is has now become obsolete as a national event. The festival of the first fruits involved celebrating fertility in agriculture, military involvements ranging from an army review and enrolment of new recruits to persuading the king to undertake new campaigns, strengthening and renewal of the king, and the proclamation of new laws (Berglund 1976:326). It is interesting to note that the Jews also celebrated the festival of the first fruits, cf. Exodus 23:14-17; 34:18-23. It was also called the Feast of Weeks.

4.4.4.1.3 Loanwords that refer to Jewish religious practices

I will now look at loanwords that refer to Jewish religious practices. The word **ukubhathiza** (baptise) derived from the Greek word *baptizo* entered the Zulu lexicon through Bible translation, and refers to the action which takes place when a person who is converted to Christianity shows, by being immersed in water, his/her sincere absorption into the faith by professing that Christ is his/her Lord and Saviour. This word and the action accompanying it were new to the people when the Bible was translated into Zulu. It cannot be unequivocally concluded that the use of loan words was initiated by the translation of the Bible into Zulu, although it is assumed that these were first chronicled when this event occurred.

Not only words of Greek and Hebrew origin are found in the corpus. Words of Xhosa, Khoi origin and other neologisms are found, such as the Xhosa word **unyana**, (son), used by the earliest missionaries in their translation, that is in 1848 and 1855. This word fell into disuse when the Zulu word **indodana** was used in subsequent translations. The Khoi word **uThixo** for the Supreme Being also found its way into the Zulu language through Bible translation. This word is still in use by some sections of the Zulu speech community to refer to the Supreme Being. Although it did not survive, the word **uDio** for the Supreme Being was also introduced into the language with the translation of the Bible into Zulu. According to Hermanson (personal interview), the word **uDio** was used by the people who were the converts of Colenso and Callaway. Colenso introduced this to counter the use of **uThixo**, which he did not like because he found it was not a Zulu word and he did not like the click. Thus, he derived **uDio** from the Latin word for God, Deus. Perhaps one should elaborate on this. The natural Zulu words eventually replaced both the neologism **uDio** from Latin

as it was totally artificial and the Xhosa ***uThixo*** although it is still used by certain people who still use the old translation, like the amaNazaretha.

In instances where culture-specific terms are concerned, the use of loan words seemed to be the only choice at the disposal of the translators, and as a consequence they adhered to the norms of the source text and thus the source culture in their translations.

4.4.4.2 Derivation

Pinchuck (1977:96) contends that through derivation, a word can move from one word category to another; e.g. words which are verbs could be nouns through the process of derivation. The translators of the Zulu Bible have also used derivation as a productive word-formation strategy. In Chapter 5 it will be shown that this word-formation process has not been used frequently in the Zulu translations of the Book of Matthew, but we do find instances of its use in earlier translations where nouns have been formed from verbs using prefixes, in instances such as those where words like ***umazisi*** (the one who makes known) and ***umlingi*** (the tempter) have been derived from verbal stems ***-azisa*** (make known) and ***-linga*** (tempt) respectively.

4.4.4.3 Semantic shift

The translators of the Zulu Bible have also used semantic shift as a productive strategy of word formation. Semanticists see semantic shift as a process of word formation where the meaning of an existing word is extended to include a new referent. This strategy is also commonly used in Zulu. The basic meanings of quite a sizeable number of existing Zulu words were extended to include referents of biblical origin.

The following table contains Zulu words with their basic meanings which were extended to express biblical shades of meaning in the various translations:

Translations	Word/stem	Basic meaning	Extended meaning
All	<i>izulu</i>	sky	heaven
All, except the 1994 & 1997	<i>ukukhuleka</i>	give greeting of respect	pray
All	<i>inkosi</i>	king	Lord
All, except 1865	<i>ukukhonza</i>	pay respect to	worship
All	<i>ukusindisa</i>	cause to escape	save from evil

Table 4.11: Semantic shift in the Zulu Bible

Semantic shift has shown itself to be a productive strategy for the translators of the Bible into Zulu in order to address the problem of a lack of an equivalent word in the target language.

4.4.4.4 On the transliteration of Greek and Hebrew names

A few Greek and Hebrew names were selected for sampling (cf. Chapter 5 par. 5.6.4). Greek and Hebrew personal names were transliterated differently in the various texts of the Book of Matthew.

Toury (1995) declares that if translators subscribe to source norms, this determines a translation's adequacy, and when they subscribe to norms originating in the target culture, that determines its acceptability. He maintains that translators, as members of a target culture, can be more or less aware of the factors which govern the prospects of texts and textual-linguistic phenomena to be accepted into, or rejected by that culture or a particular sector thereof. If they then choose to subject themselves wittingly or unwittingly to factors which enhance acceptability, and resort to strategies which promote it, the entire act of translation is executed under the initial norm of acceptability. Anyone who wishes to focus on the role of target factors in the establishment of a translation, either retrospectively or even prospectively, will find him/herself opting for a target-oriented approach, even though, in the course of its application, s/he will come back to the source text, often even establishing the target text's shifts from it (Toury 1995:173).

According to Baker (1996:178), the availability of corpus techniques are of great help, not only at looking at the functional types of translation, but also at the distinctive features of translated texts per se. The kind of distinctive, universal features that

have been proposed in the literature include *simplification* which is the idea that translators subconsciously simplify the language or message, or both; *explicitation* which is the tendency to spell things out in translation, including in the simplest form, namely the practice of adding background information; and *normalisation*, which is the tendency to conform to patterns and practices which are typical of the target language.

As Toury (1980/1995) argues, translation encompasses norm-governed activities. The concept of norms, which is central to descriptive translation studies, as explained in Chapter 2, is also a factor that plays a decisive role in informing this study. In Chapter 6, translators' linguistic choices will be judged against Toury's initial norms which suggest that translators' linguistic choices could either be source-text oriented or target-text oriented. Toury (1995:56-57) sees the adherence to source norms as determining a translation's adequacy. On the other hand, if the translators adopt the second position, the norms of the target culture are triggered and set into motion, and subscription to the norms originating in the target culture determines its acceptability.

Kenny (2001:51) contends that norms are abstract in nature; their operation is observable in regularities of behaviour. They differ from culture to culture and between groups within a culture, and they change over time. She also clarifies that norms serve as the backdrop against which behaviour is evaluated and positively or negatively sanctioned. They thus exert a kind of regulatory force on translators' activities, but they are also reinforced by translators or other agents in the translation process, by virtue of their tendency to conform to prevailing norms.

It will be shown in chapter 6 that the initial norm was at play here when the earliest translations – the 1848, 1855, 1865, 1866, 1924 and 1924 Hermannsburg translations were produced. At that stage, the translators of the Bible into Zulu were predominantly non-speakers of the language. Coming from a linguistic background which subscribed to disjunctive writing, these translators believed that writing Zulu orthography disjunctively was the best option for the language. As this method of writing proved to be unsuitable for the language, a better alternative was later sought by both translators and foreign language experts.

It will be concluded that the later translators of the Zulu Bible, that is, the 1959, 1966, 1986, 1994 and 1997 translations, including Colenso's 1897 translation of the New Testament, adopted target culture norms in the way in which they wrote Zulu.

4.5 Macro-level analysis

As allowed by the broad systemic descriptive framework, comparison could also be carried out at a macrotextual level. In this section of my study I will outline information which sets the object of study for this research within a broader cultural context. Although Lambert and Van Gorp (1985:52) distinguish aspects such as the division of a text (in chapters, acts, etc.); titles of chapter, presentations of acts; relations between types of narrative, dialogue, etc.; internal narrative structure (e.g. episodic plot, open ending, etc.) and authorial comment, as pertaining to the macrotextual level, this categorisation will not be adhered to in this study. As Kruger and Wallmach (1997:123) rightly observe, these literary categories and subcategories might not be directly of use to all researchers. They therefore suggest that every researcher should determine his/her own specific categories.

In this study, macrotextual analysis includes comprehensive information about the Zulu cultural system as given in Chapter 3. Before the translation of the Zulu Bible and the introduction of the Zulu people to a written mode, their language was predominantly oral. All their beliefs, values and thoughts were transmitted from one generation to the next by way of mouth. Their narratives, poetry, songs and wisdom lore were passed on orally. The Zulu royal lineage, as well as an outline of the first European settlers who came into contact with the Zulu people, was given. The history of the missionaries who worked amongst the Zulu people and Zulu Bible translation was outlined. This was done with a view to providing a historical background against which the Zulu Bible emerged. The first publications to appear in the Zulu language were viewed against the entire Zulu literary system.

Language-planning policies from the period of Shaka to the present dispensation were discussed in order to position the development of written Zulu against pronouncements which were promulgated by the various administrations.

4.6 Conclusion

The significance of the polysystem and descriptive translation studies were outlined. Research procedures were illustrated by explaining how the corpus-processing tools which are provided by the corpus-based approach will be used in the study. It was shown that analysis at micro-textual level will be carried out in Chapter 5, while the findings and interpretations of these will be outlined in Chapter 6.

CHAPTER 5

A CORPUS-BASED ANALYSIS OF TWELVE ZULU TRANSLATIONS OF THE BOOK OF MATTHEW

5.1 Introduction

This chapter will comprise an analysis of the language that has been used in the corpus with a view to tracing shifts that could be pointers to the development of the language. An analysis of phonological, morphological and lexical shifts will be done, as well as looking at how Greek and Hebrew personal names were transliterated into Zulu. Standardisation will also be examined, as well as how this was effected in the Zulu language.

Written Zulu as we know it went through various stages in its development before it became what it is today. What we see today as written Zulu is a culmination of years of trials that stretched over a period of almost one hundred and fifty years. When European explorers who came into contact with the Zulu people recorded Zulu words in their journals, they did this by using the alphabet of the languages they spoke. During the earliest stages of its development, written Zulu was based on European phonological and morphological patterns. Since no written records in the language existed, the explorers relied heavily on what existed in the languages they spoke, as exemplified in extracts taken from Allen Gardiner's *Narrative of a Journey to the Zoolu Country in South Africa Undertaken in 1835*.

... my interpreter, and a **Zoolu**, of whom as yet I knew nothing, I considered it would be the height of imprudence to allow even the appearance of a misunderstanding to exist accordingly, much against the inclination of my party as also of the villagers, who, by exaggerating the distance and the difficulties of walking in the dark, dissuaded me from proceeding until the morning, I immediately set out, and reached the town (**Clomanthleen**) before the **Indoona** (Nongalaza) had retired (Gardiner 1966:27).

The immediate ancestors of **Dingarn** in the supreme authority are Jama, Senzanākona, **Charka**. The latter was brought up with **Tingaswao**, king of the Umtetwa, who is reported to have been a man of great sagacity (Gardiner 1966:90).

Dingarn and **Umthlangan**, conspired against his life, assisted by **Satái**, a principal domestic of great influence (Gardiner 1966:91).

A bundle of **imphi** and a large bowl of **outchualla** (native beer) was sent to thy hut by order of Dingarn, and a messenger soon after signified his wish to see me. Crossing the area of the circular town, accompanied by the chief who had been dispatched by Dingarn to conduct me to the capital, we were desired to sit at a short distance from the fence which surrounds the **Issigordlo** (or palace) (Gardiner 1966:30).

Dingarn had expressed his desire that I should proceed, saying, that "I was his white man, and must make haste." I shall now proceed at once to my first view of **Unkünginglove** on the afternoon of the 10th. This was obtained from a rocky lull, covered with aloes and mimosas, intermixed with several large cauliflower-shaped euphorbia trees, growing to the height of sixty or seventy feet (Gardiner 1966:28).

But we had not proceeded more than ten miles, before we were again stopped by the **Umгани**, a river of some size, but inferior to the two last, which had impeded our progress, each of which are equal in width to the **Umzimvoobo** (Gardiner 1966:23).

I therefore determined to push forward with my interpreter to a small village, described to be but a short distance on the other side of the **Umzimcoolu**, and within a day's journey on horseback from the spot where we then were (Gardiner 196 6:15).

Fig. 5.1: Written Zulu in 1835

The way Zulu was written during these earliest times, as illustrated in table 1 above, differs significantly from the way it is written now. Gardiner wrote Zulu from the perspective of English phonology, as illustrated by the word **imphi**, which in Zulu is **imfe** (sweet reed), where the English **ph** has been used in a similar manner as in words such as **photo**, **telephone**. Gardiner might have used **-i** as the final vowel, due to the fact that he could not clearly deduce which final vowel the people used, or possibly because a final **-e** in English is not syllabic, as it is in Zulu, but indicates that the previous vowel is a long vowel, e.g. spine, prime, etc. He therefore used the nearest English vowel he could think of, to indicate the Zulu final syllable. Below is a comparison between Gardiner's way of writing Zulu words and the way the words are written presently:

Gardiner's 1835 Zulu	Present-day written Zulu
<i>Zoolu</i>	<i>Zulu</i>
<i>Clomanthleen</i>	<i>(U)Hlomendlini</i>
<i>Indoona</i>	<i>induna</i>
<i>Dingarn</i>	<i>(U)Dingane</i>
<i>Charka</i>	<i>(U)Shaka</i>
<i>Tingaswao</i>	<i>(U)Dingiswayo</i>
<i>Umthlangan</i>	<i>(U)Mhlangana</i>
<i>Satái</i>	<i>(U)Sithayi</i>
<i>Imphi</i>	<i>imfe</i>
<i>Outchualla</i>	<i>utshwala</i>
<i>Issigordlo</i>	<i>isigodlo</i>
<i>Unkünginglove</i>	<i>uMgungundlovu</i>
<i>Umgani</i>	<i>uMngeni</i>
<i>Umzimvoobo</i>	<i>uMzimvubu</i>
<i>Umzimcoolu</i>	<i>uMzimkhulu</i>

Table 5.1: Comparison between Gardiner's way of writing Zulu and the current written conventions in Zulu

Comparing the way Zulu was written during these earliest periods of its development and the manner it is written now, illustrates the long journey the written language travelled from its earliest inception until the present. From what we see in Gardiner's journal, it could be concluded that by the time the first book of the Bible was translated into Zulu, the language had developed greatly. By this time, the translators wrote words such as *uDingarn* and phonemes such as /oo/ according to Zulu grammatical conventions; e.g. *uDingane* and *uZulu*, wherein the phoneme /u/ is no longer written as /oo/.

The manner in which the language is written in the earliest translations of the Bible, that is, in the 1848, 1855, 1865, 1866 and, to some extent, the 1897 translations, could be regarded as representing the earliest stages of written Zulu. On observing the linguistic patterns occurring in these translations, these could be viewed as the foundation bricks in the development of written Zulu. These translations emerged at a time when most mother-tongue speakers of Zulu were still at a stage where they could not read or write. They could still not take decisions or give guidance as to how their language should be written down in the most appropriate manner. But, as more mother-tongue speakers were educated under the instruction of the missionaries, and became involved in the translation of the Bible, as well as in other sectors that pertained to the language, subsequent translations were improved with their assistance and guidance.

At this stage, there were no grammar books or dictionaries on which these translators could base their work. Furthermore, they came from different linguistic backgrounds to those of the people for whom they were to translate the Bible. Their languages of origin differed greatly in morphological make-up from Zulu. The American missionaries came from the United States, Bishop Colenso came from Britain, the Norwegian missionaries came from Norway, and the Hermannsburg missionaries from Germany. The languages of the missionaries are described in linguistic circles as isolating languages. In isolating languages, words typically consist of only one morpheme. In such languages there are few affixes that express the different grammatical functions. On the other hand, words in Zulu, which is described as an agglutinating language, consist of several morphemes, which when brought together, assign meaning to a word. Words in agglutinative languages can easily be divided into their component parts; normally, the root and affixes. In such languages, a root is clearly identifiable and typically represents a single grammatical category or meaning (O'Grady *et al* 1987:380-381).

On observing the manner in which Zulu was written in the earliest translations, it is apparent that the translators were strongly influenced by the way their own languages were written. In the next section of my discussion, I examine areas in the earliest translations that show the translators leaning on their original languages.

5.2 Disjunctive versus conjunctive writing

The disjunctive method of writing was used in the earliest translation of the Book of Matthew. What compounded the issue of disjunctive writing even more was that different forms of writing were produced by different people. As time went on, some of the missionaries and individuals interested in the Zulu language questioned the suitability of this method of writing for the Zulu language. Because of the many differences in the way Zulu was written, a great deal of debate went on during the earliest stages of written Zulu as regards the best method to represent the written language. This divided the missionaries and other individuals who had an interest in the Zulu language.

Meetings were convened and discussions held on the appropriateness of the disjunctive method for the Zulu language. From the discussions that took place in

meetings convened for this purpose, it is apparent that most non-speakers of the language who were involved in such discussions believed that the disjunctive method of writing Zulu orthography was the best. The various perceptions of the methods of writing Zulu orthography could easily be summed up in Miss Henrietta Colenso's remarks. According to Miss Colenso, the Europeans who debated the methods of writing Zulu orthography in the meetings that were convened, had difficulties in "getting into the Zulu people's mind, and into his language which expressed his mind". She suggested that it was extremely difficult for Europeans with all their linguistic preconceptions to the matter, and with their prejudices in favour of their own methods, to get themselves into the Zulu's way of approaching and expressing thoughts. This problem was at the root of many doleful misunderstandings on the issue of Zulu orthography (Stuart 1907:38).

The issue of writing disjunctively, which had been a problem for some time to those concerned with the development of written Zulu during these earlier stages of its development, led to a General Conference which was called in Durban on September 6th 1905. The Natal Government had been approached and, recognising the importance of the undertaking from the point of view of the Civil Service and in the interests of education in general, it appointed a representative to attend the Conference. With a very few exceptions, all the Missionary Societies in Natal and Zululand sent representatives. Three days were spent in discussing the subject, but it was found that, owing to differences in opinion and long-formed habits, and also to the limited amount of study that had been devoted to the subject in general, it was impossible in the time at the disposal of the Conference, to complete the work at hand (Stuart 1907:3).

The rules that were drawn up by the Zulu Orthography Committee in 1906, at the Conference's direction, also did not solve the problem of writing disjunctively, since Rule 1 of the Rules for the Writing of the Zulu language endorses a disjunctive method. This rule states that the different parts of speech are to be written separately, except as modified by the Rules: thus it gives the following examples which are written disjunctively, e.g.:

Ilanga li ya kanya. (The sun shines.)

Isinkwa ngi ya si tanda (I like bread.)

Umuti u baba kakulu (The medicine is very bitter.)

Abantu ba mpofu (People are poor.) etc.

The following examples are further illustrations of the use of the disjunctive method by the earlier translators of the Book of Matthew:

Translation	Example
1848	Be se be m zuile inkosi, ba muka: kua ti inkanyezi e ba be yi bonileyo empumalanga, ya hamba pambile kuabo, ye za ye ma gapezulu kuendawo apo u be kona umtuana.
1855	Be-se-be-zwile inKosi, ba-muka; kwa-ti, inKanyezi, e-ba-be-yi-bonileyo emPumalanga, ya-hamba pambile kwabo, ye-za, ye-ma gapezulu kwenDawo apo u-be-kona umNtwana.
1865	Se zi i zwile inkosi ze-muka; bheka, inkanyezi eza i bona zi sempumalanga, ya hamba pambi kwa-zo, ya, za yema pezu kwa lapo e kona umntwana.
1866	Se be yi zwile inkosi bemukake. Kepa inkanyezi e ba be yi bone besempumalanga, ya hamba pambi kwabo, ya ya ya fika yema pezulu kwa lapo umtwana ukona.
1924 Hermannsburg	Be-se-be-zwile inKosi, ba-muka; kwa-ti, inKanyezi, e-babe-yi-bonileyo emPumalanga, ya-hamba pambile kwabo, ye-za, ye-ma gapezulu kwenDawo apo u-be-kona umNtwana.
1924 American Board Mission	Se zi yi zwile inkosi, za hamba: nansoke, inkanyezi, eza yi bona empumalanga; ya hamba ngaphambili kwazo ya za yafika y'ema pezu kwa lapo e kona umntwana.

Table 5.2: Texts that used the disjunctive method of writing

Colenso, on the other hand, started using the conjunctive method of writing in a similar manner as the later translators in his 1897 New Testament. The following examples illustrate the use of the conjunctive method in the other translations:

Translation	Example
1897	Sebeyizwile inkosi bahamba; nanso-ke inkanyezi, abayibona, bes'empumalanga, ihamba ngapambili kwabo, yaza yaya y'ema pezu kwalapo umntwana ekona.
1959	Seziyizwile inkosi, zemuka; bheka, inkanyezi ezayibona kwelasempumalanga yahamba phambi kwazo, yaze yafika yema phezu kwalapho umntwana ekhona.
1966	Seziyizwile-ke inkosi zemuka. Nanso-ke inkanyezi ebeziyibone empumalanga, ihamba phambi kwazo, yaze yama phezu kwalapho umntwana ekhona.
1986	Inkosi yakhuluma yaqeda, izazi zemuka. Inkanyezi leyo ezaziyibone iphuma empumalanga zayibona futhi ihamba phambi kwazo yaze yema phezu kwendawo lapho umntwana ekhona.
1994	Lapho sebeyizwile inkosi, bahamba; futhi, bheka! inkanyezi ababeyibone empumalanga ngesikhathi belapho yahamba phambi kwabo, yaze yema phezu kwalapho umntwana omncane ayekhona.
1997	Seziyizwile inkosi, zamuka; bheka, inkanyezi ezayibona kwelasempumalanga yahamba phambi kwazo, yaze yafika yema phezu kwalapho umntwana ekhona.

Table 5.3: Texts that used the conjunctive method of writing

Disjunctive writing continued to be used even in earlier publications of *Ilanga lase Natal*, as illustrated by an extract taken from the paper published on 10 April 1903:

<p>'Ilanga lase Natal'</p> <hr/> <p>Ulwe Sihlanu, April 10th, 1903</p> <hr/> <p>"ILANGA LASE NATAL"</p> <hr/> <p><i>Ilanga lase Natal</i> ipepa labantu abamnyama base Natal elizo puma masonto onke. Se ku isikati eside abantu bakiti be linga ukuba nepepa ngo limi lwabo behluleka. Ase matatu amapepa ebonakala abuye acime kungakapeli namzuzu omude. Kepa e Cape Colony ku kona amapepa amabili esixoza. <i>Izimvo ne Izwi Labantu</i>, futi ku kona nelesiChwana (Mafikeng) nelesi(Sorolong) Sutu; onke lawa emi, asekeleke kahle. Kutini loku kitina base natal naba kwa Zulu? Konke nga kube ku komba ukuti abase Koloni se bekanyiswe kakulu ku nati? Ngi nge qagele into okuyi kombayo ngoba baningi abantu lapa e Natal nakwa zulu ase be fundisiwe, iningi futi imali ecitwayo, abazali no Hulumeni nama Missionary Societies kwas nje ku fundiswa abantu kepa bafunda ...</p>

Fig. 5.2: Extracts from *Ilanga lase Natal* 10 April 1903

It is interesting to note that the American Board Mission never abandoned the method of writing disjunctively even in its later publication of 1924, as can be seen by the manner of writing in the 1924 translation:

Translation	Example
1924	Se zi yi zwile inkosi, za hamba: nansoke, inkanyezi, eza yi bona empumalanga; ya hamba ngaphambili kwazo ya za yafika y'ema pezu kwa lapo e kona umntwana.

Table 5.4: Disjunctive writing in the 1924 translation of the ABM

In the recommendations of the Xhosa and Zulu Language Committees and of the Bantu Language Board contained in the Zulu-Xhosa Terminology and Spelling No.1 of 1957 (1957:4), in which the Department approved modifications in orthography, it was decided that the demonstrative pronoun be written either conjunctively or disjunctively, especially in primary school books.

The new Zulu orthography which endorsed the use of the conjunctive method of writing was introduced by the Bantu Education Section of the Department of Native Affairs in 1959 and became compulsory in schools in the Union of South Africa (Doke 1958: xii). This decision was recorded in the Zulu terminology and orthography No 2 of 1962 (1962:15) which recommended that demonstrative pronouns be written conjunctively.

The following table compares the use of different types of words in the earliest translation of 1848 and in the 1959 translation:

Text File	1848AB~1.TXT	Text File	1959B&~1.TXT
Bytes	113,755	Bytes	110,254
Tokens	21,546	Tokens	12,760
Types	3,329	Types	5,232
Type/Token Ratio	15.45	Type/Token Ratio	41.00
Standardised Type/Token	36.60	Standardised Type/Token	64.63
Ave. Word Length	4.08	Ave. Word Length	7.01
Sentences	655	Sentences	1,032
Sent.length	32.64	Sent.length	12.15
Paragraphs	32	Paragraphs	24
Para. Length	673.31	Para. Length	522.21
1-letter words	2,246	1-letter words	26
2-letter words	7,487	2-letter words	275
3-letter words	1,329	3-letter words	240
4-letter words	2,244	4-letter words	1,280
5-letter words	2,144	5-letter words	2,418
6-letter words	1,919	6-letter words	1,612
7-letter words	1,331	7-letter words	1,598
8-letter words	1,060	8-letter words	1,387
9-letter words	791	9-letter words	1,067
10-letter words	454	10-letter words	959
11-letter words	232	11-letter words	675
12-letter words	182	12-letter words	453
13-letter words	56	13-letter words	328
14(+)-letter words	34	14(+)-letter words	189

Table 5.5: Comparison of type of words used in the 1848 and 1959 translations

When we look at the type of words in terms of letters used in a word, it is apparent that the majority of words used in the 1848 translation are 1 to 8-letter words, whereas in the 1959 translation the majority of words used comprise 4 letters and above. This then means that in the 1848 translation, words were mostly written disjunctively, with different parts of a word written as a separate unit independent of the other parts, while on the other hand in the 1959 translation they were mostly written conjunctively, with all parts that form a word glued together to effect meaning.

Regarding the use of the different methods of writing, the various translations could be categorised as follows:

Translations which were written in a disjunctive manner	Translations which were written in a conjunctive manner
1848 ABM Book of Matthew	1959 BFBS Bible
1865 ABM New Testament	1966 New Testament by the Roman Catholic Mission
1855 Adaptation of the Book of Matthew by Colenso	1986 New Testament and Psalms by BSSA
1897 New Testament by Colenso	1994 New Testament by the Watch Tower Tract Society
1866 The Gospels by J L Döhne	1997 Revised edition by BSSA
1924 ABM Bible	
1924 New Testament by the Hermannsburg Mission	

Table 5.6: Translations that used disjunctive writing versus those that used conjunctive writing

A re-evaluation of the 1959 orthography led to the latest Zulu orthography which was introduced in 1989. The 1997 revised edition of the Bible which was produced to effect the 1989 changes, points to another development in the written language as far as conjunctive versus disjunctive writing is concerned. The demonstrative pronoun which was, up to now, written conjunctively with the noun that follows it, was in the 1997 revised version, now to be written disjunctively from the noun that follows it, as illustrated by the following concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
1	e khona; kuthi ukugcina kwalowo muntu	4,722	1997sa~1.txt	38
1	wi enu, anothi niphuma kuleyo ndlu	3,489	1997sa~1.txt	28
2	imimoya, yayishaya leyo ndlu ; kepha	2,420	1997sa~1.txt	20
3	imimoya, yayishaya leyo ndlu , yawa,	2,449	1997sa~1.txt	20
2	konke anakho, athenge leyo nsimu .	5,330	1997sa~1.txt	43

Fig. 5.3: Concordances of the demonstrative pronoun in disjunctive writing

The 1997 revised version follows the latest orthography at the time. However, under pressure from a portion of the reading public, the Bible Society began to republish the version in the old (1959) orthography as well, largely because certain people said that they wanted each verse to begin on a new line (Hermanson July 2006: personal interview).

In this discussion we have seen that the disjunctive writing in earlier translations gave way to conjunctive writing in later translations and to the disjunctive writing of the demonstrative pronoun.



5.3 Capitalisation problems in the Zulu Bible

The problem of which letter to capitalise, especially with regard to personal or place names, emerged as one of the capitalisation problems of earlier translators of the Book of Matthew. It was observed that the earlier translators did not know which letter to capitalise, especially when these were proper nouns which occurred at the beginning of sentences and followed the class 1(a) prefix [**u-**]. What surfaced is that intuitively the first letter of the noun was capitalised, irrespective of where the personal or place names occurred in the sentence. It is presumed that the translators followed European writing conventions, without giving sufficient thought to the particular structure of the Zulu language.

It is a known fact that European languages do not have class prefixes which correspond to those of African languages, including Zulu, whilst the African languages do not have definite articles which are characteristic of languages such as English. Capitalisation of letters, especially of proper nouns which occur at the beginning of sentences, also became a bone of contention for the earlier translators of the Bible, as illustrated in the following examples:

Translation	Example
1848 Matthew: American Board Mission	Kua ti ga leyo'mihla we za Ujoani Umbapatizi, e memeza ehlane lase Judia: Wa be e ti, P enduka ni, gokuba umbuso wezulu u sondele. G okuba lo u ngu ye U isai umazisi wa shumayela nga ye, e ti, I lizui lo memezayo ehlane, e ti, L ungisa ni inhlela yika J ehova, ni z'enze zi be lungile izinyatuko zake.
1855 adaptation of Matthew: Colenso	KWA-TI ga-leyo'miHla we-za uYoani umBapatizi, e-memeza ehlane la-s'eYudia Wa -be-e-ti, ' P enduka-ni, gokuba umBuso weZulu u-sondele. G okuba lo u-ngu-ye u lsai um A zisi wa-shumayela nga-ye, e-ti, lo-memezayo ehlane, e-ti, " L ungisa-ni in H lela ' yi-ka- YEHOVA , ni-z'enze zi-be-lungile izin Y atuko zake."
1865 Matthew – New Testament: American Board Mission	Nga leyomihla kwa fika u J ohane umbapatizi, e shumayela ehlane la se- J udia. Wa ti, P endukani, ngokuba umbuso wezulu u sondele. L owo uye a shumayela ngaye u lsaya umprofeti, e ti, I zwi lomemezayo ehlane lokuti, L ungisani indhlela ye N kosi, nenze imendo yayo i qonde.
1897 Matthew – New Testament: Colenso	Kuleyo 'mihla sokuvela u J ohane um B apatizi, ememeza ehlanga las'e J udia. eti, ' P endukani! umbuso wezulu usondele.' L owo kambe ng'uye okwashumayela u lsaya umprofete ngaye eti, ' I zwi lomemezayo ehlanga eti, L ungisani indhlela yen K osi, niy'enze imendo yayo iqonde!
1924 Matthew – Bible: American Board Mission	Nga leyo mihla kwa fika u J ohane um B apatizi, e shumayela ehlane la se J udiya, e ti, P endukani; ngokuba umbuso wezulu u sondele. N goba lowo nguyeye okwa kulunywa ngaye ngolsaya umprofeti, kwa tiwa, I zwi lomemezayo ehlane li ti, L ungisani indhlela ye N kosi, N 'enze imendo yayo i qonde.

Table 5.7: The use of capital letters in the earlier stages of Zulu Bible translation

It is apparent that the use of capital letters in these earlier translations was problematic. In the 1848 translation, the prefix [**u-**] which in effect is a class 1(a) prefix, was capitalised, and not the *j* of the personal name **Ujoani** (John), even though the noun does not occur at the beginning of the sentence. The same applied to the personal noun **Uisai** (Isaiah): the class prefix [**u-**] was capitalised instead of the vowel [**i-**] which is the initial part of the proper noun. We also find capital letters in words that are in places which should not be capitalised according to conventions of the language: for instance, [**u-**] which is the prefix of the noun **umbapatizi** (the baptizer), with **P-** in **Penduka ni** (repent) which comes after a comma and an **L-** in **Lungisa ni** (prepare) which comes after a comma.

It is interesting to note that Colenso's 1855 adaptation of the 1848 translation is different in many respects as regards capitalisation. Colenso capitalised all the words at the beginning of his chapters, e.g. **KWATI** (Chapter 3), **UJESU** (Chapter 4), **HLAKANIPA-NI** (Chapter 5) etc. He also capitalised words which he felt needed emphasis, e.g. **yikaJEHOVA**, **uJESU**, **uYIHLO**, **uKRISTU**, etc. Furthermore, he capitalised letters in the middle of words such as the **H** in **imiHla** (days); **B** in

umBuso (kingdom); **Z** in **weZulu** (of heaven), and **Y** in **inYatuko** (a path). Colenso had no definite pattern of capitalisation and it could not be concluded that this was because of his European influence.

Although it looked like the problem of capitalisation was no longer a cause for concern in the 1865 translation of the New Testament of the American Board Mission, strands of capitalisation that are found in this translation demonstrate that the translators followed the convention in the English and German Bibles with which they were familiar.

In Döhne's 1866 translation on the other hand, capitalisation occurs only after a colon, as exemplified by **P** in **Pendukani** (repent) and **L** in **Lungisani** (prepare). This trend is also seen in Colenso's New Testament, where **B** in **umBapatisi** (the baptiser); **P** in **Pendukani** (repent); **I** in **Izwi** (a word), **L** in **Lungisani** (prepare) and **N** in **yeNkosi** (of the Lord), when referring to Jesus as Lord, have been capitalised. In examining the instances of capitalisation that occur after the colon in the examples above, this could indicate that the translators regarded these as indicating the commencement of direct speech, and thus capitalised the initial vowel of such expressions as an indication of direct speech where quotation marks had been left out.

We could conclude this section on capitalisation by stating that although there were problems of capitalisation, a notable improvement was seen in subsequent translations that point to the determined effort made towards the development of the language in the area of capitalisation by the later translators of the Zulu Bible.

Later translations seemed not to have capitalisation problems, as in the table below:

Translation/ edition	Revised	Example
1866 Matthew	:Döhne	Nga leyo 'mihla kwa vela u Yohane, umbapatizi, e shumayela ehlane' la se Yudeya; Wa ti: Pendukani, a se-duze umbuso wezulu. Lowo nguye kambe o wa e kulume nguye u Yesaya, umpolofeti, e ti : izwi lomemezelayo ehlane e ti: Lungisani inhlela yenkosi, nenze izinyatuko zayo zi qonde.
1924 Matthew – New Testament: Hermannsburg Mission		Ngaleyomihla kwafika uJohannes, umbapatizi, eshumayela ehlane laseJudia eti: Pendukani, ngokuba umbuso wezulu usondele. Nguyena lowo kambe, ashumayela ngaye umprofeti, ulsaya, eti: Kulizwi lomemezayo ehlane lokuti: Lungisani indhlela yeNkosi, nenze imendo yayo iqonde.
1959 Matthew – Bible: British and Foreign Bible Society		Ngaleyomihla kwavela uJohane uMbhapathizi eshumayela ehlane laseJudiya, ethi: Phendukani, ngokuba umbuso wezulu ususondele! Ngokuba nguye akhuluma ngaye umprofethi ulsaya, ethi: Izwi lomemezayo ehlane, lithi: Lungisani indlela yeNkosi, nenze imikhondo yayo iqonde.
1966 Matthew – New Testament: Catholic Mission	Roman	Kuleyomihla kwaqhamuka uJohannes umBhabhadisi washumayela ehlane laseJudiya. Wathi: Phendukani, ngoba umbuso wezulu usondele. Nguye belu owashiwo u-Isaya umprofethe, ethi: "Izwi lomemeza ehlane lithi: Lungisani indlela yeNkosi nenze imigwaqo yayo iqonde".
1986 Matthew – New Testament and Psalms: Bible Society of South Africa		Kuhambe kwahamba kwavela uJohane umbhabhadisi eshumayela ehlane laseJudiya ethi: "Phendukani ngoba umbuso wezulu usondele." Nguye uJohane okwabikezelwa ngaye ngomlomo womphrofethi ulsaya lapho kuthiwa: "Kukhona ozwakala enkenteza ehlane ethi: 'Cabelani iNkosi indlela niqondise nemikhondo yayo!'"
1994 Matthew – New testament: New World Translation		Ngalezozinsuku uJohane uMbhapathizi wafika eshumayela ehlane laseJudiya, ethi: "Phendukani, ngoba umbuso wamazulu ususondele." Eqinisweni, lona nguye okwakhulunywa ngaye ngo-Isaya umprofethi ngamazwi: "Lalela! Kukhona okhamulukayo ehlane, 'Lungiselelani indlela kaJehova! Yenzani imigwaqo yakhe iqonde.'"
1997 Matthew – Bible: Bible Society of South Africa		Ngaleyomihla kwavela uJohane uMbhapathizi eshumayela ehlane laseJudiya, ethi: "Phendukani, ngokuba umbuso wezulu ususondele!" Ngokuba nguye akhuluma ngaye umprofethi u-Isaya, ethi: "Izwi lomemezayo ehlane, lithi: 'Lungisani indlela yenkosi, nenze imikhondo yayo iqonde.'

Table 5.8: The use of capital letters in the later stages of Zulu Bible translation

Direct speech was introduced by a capital letter after a comma in the 1848 translation, and in others direct speech was introduced by a capital letter after a colon, as in all other translations after 1866. This follows the convention of the King James Version of the English Bible, probably the most familiar to the British and American translators, where a comma is used, and the convention of the German translation by Luther, which was probably the most familiar to Döhne, which uses a colon.

Although the 1924 translation by the American Bible Society seemed not to have followed any guidelines as regards method of writing and capitalisation in general, it seemed to have given considerable attention to capitalisation of personal names and place names, since these have been capitalised in the very same manner as in the 1997 version of the Bible Society of South Africa.

In the next section of my discussion I will look at the various shifts in phonology, morphology, the lexicon and the spelling of names of Greek and Hebrew origin.

5.4 Phonological shifts

In the earlier translations, combinations of phonemes different from those used in the later translations/versions have been observed. These unfamiliar phonemes could be attributed to the different way the various phonemes are realised in the languages of the translators. The following vowel combinations have been observed in the earlier translations.

5.4.1 The /u/ and /a/ combination

The following concordances are examples of instances of the combination of /u/ and /a/ in the corpus:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
11	nele zi tatyatue izinkua zabantuana	10,160	1848ab~1.txt	49
530	ye, zi hliwa g'abakonzi bodua . A ni fundile	7,017	1848ab~1.txt	34
531	timbeni, umnyango wa valua . Na ngemva	17,417	1848ab~1.txt	82
532	efumlo wako wonke, na ngokuAzi kwako	15,604	1855co~1.txt	73

Fig 5.4(a): The /u/ and /a/ combination

It is apparent from the examples above that the combination of /u/ and /a/ occurred in the 1848 translation and in its adaptation by Colenso. Since vowels do not occur side by side in Zulu, an advancement is seen when the /u/ in the combination was replaced by a semi-vowel, the /w/ in subsequent translations/revised editions, as illustrated by the following concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
4	Timbeni; umNyango wa-valwa . Na ngemva	17,584	1855co~1.txt	82
5	timbeni, umnyango wa valwa . Kwal	14,743	1865ab~1.txt	82
9	kanye naye emtimbeni, wavalwa umnyango.	10,394	1897co~1.txt	82
2	emtimbeni; umnyango wavalwa .	10,561	1924he~1.txt	82
7	ena naye emshadweni; kwavalwa	10,550	1959b&~1.txt	82
1	naye endlini yomshado wavalwa ke	10,820	1966ro~1.txt	82
3	myeni edilini lomshado, kwavalwa .	11,056	1986sa~1.txt	82
10	lomshado; umnyango wavalwa . Kamuva	12,371	1994ne~1.txt	82
8	ena naye emshadweni; kwavalwa emnyango.	10,430	1997sa~1.txt	82

Fig 5.4(b): The replacement of /u/ with /w/

It is interesting to note that although Colenso used the combination of /u/ and /a/ in his 1855 adaptation of Matthew, he also used /w/, as exemplified by concordance line 4 in the examples above, as a strategy to separate juxtaposed vowels. The concordance above therefore shows that /w/ was duly introduced into the Zulu language from the year 1865 to avoid the juxtaposition of vowels.

We also find instances where the above combination occurred as a result of /u/ being a prefix of a vowel-initial personal name or place name, as illustrated by the following concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
1	Kodua e zua ukuba Uarekelusi wa be e	918	1848ab~1.txt	5
2	Kodwa e-zwa ukuba uAarekelusi wa-be-e-	905	1855co~1.txt	5
1	Kepa wa t'ukuzwa ukuti uArkelawu u ya	825	1924ab~1.txt	5
2	ezwa ukuthi sekubusa uArkelawu eJudiya	581	1959b&~1.txt	4
1	odwa lapho ezwa ukuthi u-Arkelawu	755	1994ne~1.txt	5
2	ezwa ukuthi sekubusa u-Arkelawu eJudiya	597	1997sa~1.txt	5

Fig 5.4(c): Vowel juxtaposition in personal names and the use of a hyphen to separate vowels

The hyphen was used for the first time to separate the prefixal vowel [u-] and the vowel of the personal noun in the 1994 New World Translation, and the 1997 version of the Bible Society of South Africa followed suit, as illustrated in the following concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
28	waba uyise ka-Amoni; <u>u-Amoni</u> waba uyise kaJ	140	1994ne~1.txt	1
30	waba uyise ka-Abiya; <u>u-Abiya</u> waba uyise ka-	96	1994ne~1.txt	1
32	waba uyise ka-Akimi; <u>u-Akimi</u> waba uyise ka-	191	1994ne~1.txt	1
29	anase wazala u-Amoni, <u>u-Amoni</u> wazala uJosiya	114	1997sa~1.txt	1
31	owamu wazala u-Abiya, <u>u-Abiya</u> wazala u-Asafa;	79	1997sa~1.txt	1
33	Sadoki wazala u-Akimi, <u>u-Akimi</u> wazala u-Eliyudi	157	1997sa~1.txt	1

Fig. 5.5: The use of a hyphen to separate vowels in vowel-initial personal names

The introduction of a hyphen to separate vowels also points to a new development in the language. The juxtaposition of vowels in relation to personal nouns did not originally occur in Zulu, because all Zulu names began with a consonant. But with the introduction of foreign personal names in Zulu, this phenomenon began. Personal names in Zulu always begin with the personal prefixes [**u-**] (in singular form) or [**o-**] (in plural form), which are prefixed to a noun stem. These vowel-initial personal names are foreign names, which have had to be adapted into Zulu.

5.4.2 The /u/ and /e/ combination

The following concordances are examples of instances of the combination of the /u/ and /e/:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
93	odua wo tyisa amahoba <u>emlilu<u>e</u>ni</u> o nga	1,210	1848ab~1.txt	6
94	neneta e la ponsua <u>eluanh<u>e</u></u> , la wola	8,920	1848ab~1.txt	43
95	ukupenduka. Ni nga ti <u>goku<u>e</u>nu</u> ukuti,	1,109	1848ab~1.txt	6
96	ukufa. Lapo ba fela <u>ebusu<u>e</u>ni</u> bake,	19,558	1848ab~1.txt	92
97	yanua e miti g'Umoya <u>o yingc<u>e</u>le</u> . Lapo	290	1848ab~1.txt	2

Fig. 5.6(a): The /u/ and /e/ combination

From the above concordances it is apparent that the use of /u/ next to /e/ occurred in words found only in the 1848 translation. As was the case with the vowel combination /u/ and /a/, the vowel /u/ in the combination was replaced with /w/ in later translations/revised editions as illustrated by the following concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
122	ku ng'uMOYA-o YI-NGCWELE . Yena u-ya-	345	1855co~1.txt	2
109	atani wa m yisa emzini oingcwele ,	1,232	1865ab~1.txt	7
110	kunibapatiza ngomoya oyingcwele , na	1,244	1866do~1.txt	6
112	e kulelwe nguMoya oNgcwele . Kepha	268	1924ab~1.txt	2
117	wenu. Ni nga niki izinja okungcwele , ni nga	2,301	1924he~1.txt	13
105	wa ekhulelwe ngoMoya oNgcwele . Kepha	200	1959b&~1.txt	2
107	ala ekhulelwe ngomoya ongcwele	273	1994ne~1.txt	2
106	wa ekhulelwe ngoMoya oNgcwele . Kepha	225	1997sa~1.txt	2

Fig. 5.6(b): The replacement of /u/ with /w/

Although an attempt was made to avoid the juxtaposition of vowels in the 1865 translation by replacing the /u/ with a semivowel /w/, this was not done consistently, because in the same word two vowels still occur side by side, as in line 109 – **oingcwele** (Holy). Regarding personal names that begin in the vowel **e-**, this vowel and the prefixal vowel were left to occur side by side in the translations that were produced before 1994, as illustrated in the following concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
21	loni ukuti, Ko za ku fike uElija kuqala na?	9,572	1865ab~1.txt	53
6	'elika'Moses, elinye libe ng'elika' Eliya .	6,669	1897co~1.txt	53
20	Bapatizi; abanye ba ti, uElija ; abanye	8,485	1924ab~1.txt	49
22	engikushoyo, uJohane unguElija lowo	4,169	1986sa~1.txt	31

Fig. 5.6(c): Vowel juxtaposition in personal names

From the concordances below, it would seem that the introduction of a hyphen to separate the prefixal vowel /u/ and the vowel of the personal name, in instances such as u-Eliya, points to a new development in the written language in translations produced from 1959.

However, this development only occurred in the 1994 and 1997 translations. The occurrence of concordance 13 highlights a problem which can occur from scanning a text into an electronic corpus. Other occurrences of **uEliya** do not have a hyphen, but this one in Matthew 17:11, comes at the end of the line and the word is hyphenated after the initial vowel as the word is too long to fit.

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
13	ndula wathi: Nempela u-Eliya uyeza,	6,770	1959b&~1.txt	53
7	Ephendula wathi: " U-Eliya , ngempela	8,138	1994ne~1.txt	54
10	Kepha ngithi kini: U-Eliya sewafika;	6,809	1997sa~1.txt	55

Fig. 5.7: The use of a hyphen to separate vowels in vowel-initial personal names

5.4.3 The /u/ and /i/ combination

Another vowel combination seen in the earlier translations is that of /u/ and /i/. The following concordances are an illustration of the use of the vowel combination /u/ and /i/:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
273	kodua nga wo onke amazui a pumayo	1,378	1848ab~1.txt	7
274	okubonisela, e zi nga m vunyelui a zi hle,	7,000	1848ab~1.txt	34
262	e na? Ukuba wa ngena enhlui ni ka Tixo	6,989	1848ab~1.txt	33
264	Yena e-vuka wa-ya enhlui ni yake. isiXuku	4,906	1855co~1.txt	23
61	dana yake, wa ti, Ba ya kuihlonipa	12,388	1865ab~1.txt	68

Fig. 5.8(a): The /u/ and /i/ combination

The /u/ and /i/ combination found in verbal forms such as in Fig. 5.8(a) concordance lines 261, **kuihlonipa** (to revere it) and 274 – **e zi nga m vunyelui**, (which are not allowed) will be discussed later in par. 5.5.4. From the above concordance it is evident that the vowel combination /u/ and /i/ prevailed in the earlier translations. This pattern was discontinued when /u/ in juxtaposition with /i/, was replaced with /w/ in later translations, as illustrated by the following concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
30	u-nye n'aba-bini, ukuba amazwi onke	12,100	1855co~1.txt	57
22	namkeli, e nga wezwa amazwi enu,	4,906	1865ab~1.txt	27
21	izulu nomhlaba: kodwa amazwi ami	10,126	1897co~1.txt	80
27	bili kanye nawe, ukuba amazwi onke	9,618	1924ab~1.txt	55
29	eni yenhliziyu. Ngiti kini Amazwi onke	4,673	1924he~1.txt	36
18	izulu nomhlaba, kepha amazwi ami	10,286	1959b&~1.txt	80
20	izulu nomhlaba, kodwa amazwi ami	10,538	1966ro~1.txt	80
17	hlaba kuyodlula, kodwa amazwi ami	12,064	1994ne~1.txt	80
19	izulu nomhlaba, kepha amazwi ami	10,160	1997sa~1.txt	82

Fig. 5.8(b): The replacement of /u/ with /w/

The /u/ and /i/ combination which occurred as a result of the class 1(a) prefix [**u-**] and the vowel of the personal names were treated in a similar manner as the combinations discussed above in the earlier translations, and in later translations a hyphen was also used as in the combinations discussed above.

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
6	lenu. Nina bazenzisi, <u>u-Isaya</u> waprofetha ngok	7,144	1994ne~1.txt	47
1	waba uyise ka-Isaka; <u>u-Isaka</u> waba uyise kaJa	17	1994ne~1.txt	0
4	yokwalusa isizwe sami, <u>u-Israyeli</u> .' "Khona-ke uH	480	1994ne~1.txt	3
2	U-Abrahama wazala <u>u-Isaka</u> , u-Isaka wazala	14	1997sa~1.txt	0
3	yakwalusa isizwe sami <u>u-Israyeli</u> ." Khona uHero	387	1997sa~1.txt	3
5	waprofetha kahle ngani <u>u-Isaya</u> , ethi: 'Lesi sizwe	5,939	1997sa~1.txt	48

Fig. 5.9: The use of a hyphen to separate vowels in vowel-initial personal names

5.4.4 The /u/ and /o/ combination

Another vowel combination seen in the earlier translations is that of /u/ and /o/. The following concordances are an illustration of the use of the vowel combination /u/ and /o/:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
1	de a veze ukuaba ku be <u>kuokunqoba</u> .	7,289	1848ab~1.txt	35
2	nene isanhla, nomunye <u>gesokohluo</u> .	20,382	1848ab~1.txt	96
6	baningi. Na ngokuvama <u>kuokuona</u>	16,556	1848ab~1.txt	78
12	o ku bo ukuti, Nina a ba <u>nenkoluo</u>	10,563	1848ab~1.txt	51
21	e, a cuilisue ekutyoneni <u>kuoluanhle</u> . Maye	11,713	1848ab~1.txt	56
30	kuzamazama o ku kulu <u>kuomhlaba</u> :	20,900	1848ab~1.txt	98
36	ku bona a ba s'anhleni <u>sokohluo</u> ukuti,	18,090	1848ab~1.txt	86
33	i ni-gcwele gokuZenzisa <u>nokuQna</u> . Maye	16,272	1855co~1.txt	76

Fig. 5.10(a): The /u/ and /o/ combination

In some cases, the use of the /u/ and /o/ combination resulted in forms such as ***kuokuona*** (of sinning), in concordance line 6 above. I assume that the insertion of the /u/ before the vowel /o/ as found in these two early translations was due to the fact that the translators might have been hearing the /u/ being pronounced by the Zulu people, as in ***ukukhula kuomhlaba*** (the growth of the world) which later changed to ***ukukhula kwomhlaba***, which further developed into ***ukukhula komhlaba*** at a later stage. From the concordances in Fig 5.10(a), it is evident that these forms occurred in only two of the earliest translations. Subsequent translators

might have felt the unnaturalness of pronouncing such combinations resulting in the /u/ being dropped. From the 1897 translation, only the /o/ was retained and it feels natural for *kuokuona* to read as *kokona*. The following concordances are examples of instances where /u/ was dropped and the /o/ retained:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
9	esokunene sako neny <i>ngakwesokohlo</i>	11,448	1865ab~1.txt	63
11	kuponsa kwako, neny <i>kwesokohlo</i>	12,636	1866do~1.txt	63
12	unene kwayo, izimbuzi <i>ngakwesokohlo</i>	10,673	1897co~1.txt	84
8	uhlala ngakwesokunene <i>nangakwesokohlo</i>	8,244	1924he~1.txt	64
10	esokunene sako, neny <i>ngakwesokohlo</i>	10,889	1924ab~1.txt	62
5	kwesokunene nomunye <i>ngakwesokhohlo</i>	12,276	1959b&~1.txt	96
9	ngakwesokunene, enye <i>ngakwesokhohlo</i>	8,398	1966ro~1.txt	63
11	sokunene sakho, neny <i>ngakwesokhohlo</i>	8,568	1986sa~1.txt	64
6	esokunene sakho, enye <i>ngakwesokhohlo</i>	8,107	1997sa~1.txt	66

Fig. 5.10(b): Dropping of a vowel in the context of juxtaposed vowels

As indicated previously, in cases where a vowel prefix occurs before a personal name, earlier translators allowed the vowels to occur next to each other, but in later translations these vowels were separated by means of a hyphen, as indicated in the following concordances:

No	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
1	Rakabi; Uboazi wa zala <i>Uobedi</i> ku Rute;	80	1848ab~1.txt	0
2	Rakabi; uBoazi wa-zala <i>uObedi</i> ku-Rute	64	1855co~1.txt	0
6	wa zala uObedi kuRuti; <i>uObedi</i> wa zala;	69	1865ab~1.txt	0
3	u Bohose wa zala <i>u Obedi</i> ngo Ruti,	90	1866do~1.txt	0
1	wazala uObed ku'Rute; <i>uObed</i> wazala	52	1897co~1.txt	0
1	ohazi wa zala ku Rute; <i>uObede</i> wa zala;	71	1924ab~1.txt	0
2	wazala uObed kuRuth. <i>UObed</i> wazala	52	1924he~1.txt	0
1	azala uObhedi kuRuthi; <i>uObhedi</i> wazala;	53	1986sa~1.txt	0

Fig. 5.10(c): Vowel juxtaposition in personal names

Although juxtaposed vowels were not separated in earlier translations, this was done by means of a hyphen in later translations, as illustrated by the following concordances:

No	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
3	se ka-Obede ngoRuthe; <u>u-Obede</u> waba	71	1994ne~1.txt	0
4	khabi, uBowasi wazala <u>u-Obede</u> kuRuthe,	56	1997sa~1.txt	0

Fig. 5.10(d): The use of the hyphen to separate vowels

5.4.5 The /a/ and /u/ combination

The vowel combination /a/ and /u/ was also found in some of the texts, as seen in the following concordance:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
261	Kapenami, gas'eluanhle emkaulueni wase	1,542	1848ab~1.txt	8
199	Ku-te omu-nye wabo e-kauleza wa-tabata	20,761	1855co~1.txt	97
55	usuta. Ba busisiwe aba nesihau , ngokuba	1,637	1865ab~1.txt	9
53	a pendula, uYesu wa ti: Au 'sizukulwana	10,676	1866do~1.txt	53
251	mva kwensuku ezintatu ngiyauvusua .	12,362	1897co~1.txt	98
56	teto, ukuti, ukwahlulela, nesihau , nokukolwa	13,032	1924ab~1.txt	74
54	wambamba, wati kuye: Au , wena onokukolwa	5,916	1924he~1.txt	46

Fig. 5.11(a): The /a/ and /u/ combination

The vowel combination /a/ and /u/ that occurs in verbal forms such as **ngiyauvuswa** which we find in concordance line 251 in Fig. 5.11(a) above abounds in the 1897 translation, as illustrated by the following concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
46	nomuntu oy'inkosi, es'ez aub iza abantu bake	7,258	1897co~1.txt	57
47	eguqa pansi eti, 'Nkosi, hau kela indodana yami,	6,782	1897co~1.txt	54
48	'Bekani! nang'uKristo!' mhl au mbe ati, 'Nanguya!	9,973	1897co~1.txt	79
49	wa kubo ngazo; y'ikona bez aus ale bazile. Akuko	3,034	1897co~1.txt	24
52	ka ke lapo uJesusu, waya emik au lweni yas'eTuro n	6,041	1897co~1.txt	48
54	mva kwensuku ezintatu ngiy au vuswa. "Tshono u	12,362	1897co~1.txt	98

Fig. 5.11(b): Concordances of /a/ and /u/ in the 1897 translation

What has happened in the case of verbal forms such as **ngiyauvuswa** (I will be awakened) is that the vowel of the present tense form morpheme [-ya-] occurs next to the vowel of the infinitive prefix [uku-], and the initial vowel and the -k- of the infinitive has been dropped. This could be illustrated in this manner, **ngi- + -ya- + -(k)u- + -vuswa**. In later translations, the [-ku-] of the infinitive **ukuvuswa** was used, thus resulting in:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
1	ngosuku lwesitatu ke <i>i ya kuvuswa</i>	10,848	1924ab~1.txt	62
9	ha ngosukulwesithathu <i>izakuvuswa</i> .	6,913	1959b&~1.txt	54
11	ha ngosuku lwesithathu <i>izakuvuswa</i>	8,076	1997sa~1.txt	65

Fig. 5.11(c): The correct representation of the infinitive [-ku-]

In addressing the problem of the /a/ and /u/ combination, translators who worked subsequent to the 1924 translations inserted the semi-vowel /w/ between the juxtaposed vowels, as exemplified by the following:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
67	kuthini ukuthi: Ngifuna <i>isihawu</i> , hayi	3,014	1959b&~1.txt	23
69	a amehlo ethu avuleke. <i>Wazihawukela</i>	8,545	1966ro~1.txt	64
79	osi Ndodana kaDavide, <i>ngihawukele</i> ;	6,457	1986sa~1.txt	48
72	isela konke.' Kuyivusela <i>isihawu</i> lokhu,	8,820	1994ne~1.txt	58
70	komthetho: ukwahlulela <i>nesihawu</i>	9,584	1997sa~1.txt	78

Fig. 5.11(d): The use of the semi-vowel /w/

Finding solutions to the problem of vowel combinations which occurred mostly in the 1848 translation of the American Board Mission provided a crucial milestone in the development of Zulu in written Zulu after *Incuadi Yokuqala Yabafundayo* (The first book of the learners). Due to the presence of such combinations, various strategies, such as consonantalisation and vowel elision were exploited as possible means of separating juxtaposed vowels.

Although the hyphen was not used to separate vowels before the 1994 translation, however it was, used before the enclitic **-ke** in the earlier stages of the development of the language as shown in the following concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
769	ng'enamileyo ngayo.' Lapo-ke uJesu waya ehl	802	1897co~1.txt	6
794	nenza imikhuleko mide! Ngalokho-ke niyakwamu	9,435	1959b&~1.txt	73

Fig. 5.12: The use of a hyphen with the enclitic -ke

5.4.6 Aspirated sounds and the implosive /ɓ/ and the plosive /b/

There are many instances in the earlier translations where the aspirated phonemes /kh/, /ph/ and /th/ were written as non-aspirated phonemes /p/, /k/ and /t/. This is

illustrated by the following concordances of words containing the various aspirated phonemes, which are not shown as such:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
1265	uini u ya zi pa. A ni hluli kakulu izinyoni na?	3,315	1848ab~1.txt	16
1267	ini, u-ya-zi-pa. A-ni-hluli kakulu izinYoni na?	3,362	1855co~1.txt	16
1262	ule; kodwa za memeza kakulu , za ti,	11,630	1865ab~1.txt	64
1260	sa pela. Kepa abakonzi abakulu nababali	13,139	1866do~1.txt	66
1269	as'esuka ke umPriste omkulu wati kaye,	11,529	1897co~1.txt	91
1258	uJesu ukubona izixuku ezikulu zimlandela,	2,730	1924he~1.txt	21
1259	'uJesu ukubona izixuku ezikulu zi m haqile,	3,001	1924ab~1.txt	17

Fig. 5.13(a): Concordances of /k/

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
34	hla pezu kuayo, i ya ku pila . Ujesu wa	5,140	1848ab~1.txt	25
17	ku-lahla, na ye, o-lahla ukuPila kwake	6,264	1855co~1.txt	30
30	kwako. Inceku yayo ya pila kona ngaleso.	3,723	1865ab~1.txt	21
40	gi ti: ma ni nga katazeki ngokupila kwenu,	3,202	1866do~1.txt	16
32	lungileyo, ukuba ngi be nokupila okumiyo	10,263	1924ab~1.txt	58
31	ngiti kini: Ningakataleli ukupila kwenu, ukuti	2,003	1924he~1.txt	15

Fig. 5.13(b): Concordances of /p/

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
110	nanga na mi gepeni na? Tabata o kuako	13,303	1848ab~1.txt	63
104	dwa uma e nga ku zwa, tabata a be	10,187	1865ab~1.txt	56
105	Kodwa uma a-ka-ku-zwi, tabata na-we	12,091	1855co~1.txt	57
107	Kanti inxa engakuzwa, tabata omunye,	7,152	1897co~1.txt	56
108	imikuhlane yetu wa yi tabata , nezifo zetu	4,220	1866do~1.txt	21
113	ku lwesitatu. UPetru wa m tabata , wa qala	8,629	1924ab~1.txt	50
114	inika abafundi bake wati: Tabatani , nidhle,	11,281	1924he~1.txt	88

Fig. 5.13(c): Concordances of /t/

The problem of not indicating aspiration easily led to the meanings of words that contained the aspirated sounds to be confused with the meanings of words with non-aspirated ones. This comes out clearly when words such as **beka** (put) and **bheka** (look), discussed below, are written without differentiating their characteristic features. In later translations, the aspirated phonemes were duly represented, as illustrated below:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
473	ngalomntwana nguyena omkhulu	7,018	1959b&~1.txt	55
479	afwini ezulu ngamandla amakhulu	10,479	1966ro~1.txt	79
469	Akukho mfundi oke abe mkhulu kunalowo	3,752	1986sa~1.txt	28
470	lena ngokuphindwe ngekhulu , leyo	5,846	1994ne~1.txt	39
471	leyo ndlu, yawa, kwaba kukhulu ukuwa	2,453	1997sa~1.txt	20

Fig. 5.13(d): Concordances of /kh/

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
47	oni e nhle ukuba ngibe- nokuphila	7,648	1959b&~1.txt	60
48	ulungileyo ukuba ngibe nokuphila	7,932	1966ro~1.txt	60
52	sakho phezu kwayo, izakuphila ." Wasuka	3,139	1997sa~1.txt	25
53	yinceku yabenye, idele ukuphila kwayo kube	8,661	1986sa~1.txt	64
64	sandla sakho kuyo futhi izophila ." Khona-ke	3,773	1994ne~1.txt	25

Fig. 5.13(e): Concordances of /ph/

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
83	yalile ingelosi ye-Nkosi, wamthatha	281	1959b&~1.txt	2
80	endula wathi. Akukuhle ukuthatha isinkwa	6,353	1966ro~1.txt	48
82	kwathiwa: "Base bethatha amashumi ama	12,534	1986sa~1.txt	93
84	Jehova imyalezile, futhi wathatha umkakhe	375	1994ne~1.txt	2
85	ndula wathi: "Akukuhle ukuthatha isinkwa	6,130	1997sa~1.txt	50

Fig. 5.13(f): Concordances of /th/

It is clear from the six sets of concordances that earlier translations did not differentiate between the non-aspirated /k/, /p/ and /t/ phonemes and the aspirated phonemes /kh/, /ph/ and /th/, whilst in later translations this distinction was made. The 1959 translation of the British and Foreign Bible Society is taken as a landmark of this development.

Another phonological shift which has been observed in the corpus is that which occurred between the bilabial implosive /ɓ/ and plosive /b/ in words like **bala** (count) and **bhala** (write); **beka** (put) and **bheka** (look). The earlier translations do not make a distinction between the bilabials, as illustrated in the following concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
111	koliwe ngu ye: gi ya ku beka pezu kuake umoya	7,238	1848ab~1.txt	35
181	Ku nge ko umuntu o beka isiziba senduangu	5,045	1848ab~1.txt	
172	uzeleyo. Kona beza ba beka izandhla pezu kuk	16,197	1865ab~1.txt	90
142	m pefumlo wami. Ngo beka umoya wami pezu	6,182	1865ab~1.txt	34
162	mi u kolwe nguye. Ngo beka umoya wami pezu	6,837	1866do~1.txt	34
102	eqiniso ngi ti kuni: yo yi beka umbusi wezinto zo	16,040	1866do~1.txt	81
161	umpefumulo wami: Ngo beka uMoya wami pezu	5,429	1924ab~1.txt	31
165	ngowabanjalo. Wa s'e beka izandhla pezu kwa	10,242	1924ab~1.txt	58

Fig. 5.14(a): Concordances for beka (put)

In comparison with:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
157	nye wa tyo ku ye ukuti, Beka , unyoko n'abane b	7,900	1848ab~1.txt	38
156	wa tyo ku bo ukuti, Beka ni , si ya kupuka s	13,380	1848ab~1.txt	64
158	jesu wa tyo ku bo ukuti, Beka ni , ni hlananipele i	10,532	1848ab~1.txt	50
109	Cezwana eliSweni lako, beka , inGongolo i-s'eliS	3,586	1855co~1.txt	17
163	amaTalenta ama-hlanu; beka! g'elekile pezu kwa	17,777	1855co~1.txt	83
164	ukuma pezu kwake. Beka futi, kwa vela izwi	1,359	1866do~1.txt	7
319	U Yesu e pumile nje wa beka isixuku esikulu, wa	8,738	1866do~1.txt	44
146	Was'eti kuye uJesu, ' Beka! ungatsheli'muntu;	2,475	1897co~1.txt	20
61	as'ependula wati kuye, ' Beka! tina sishiye konk	7,716	1897co~1.txt	61

Fig. 5.14(b): Concordances for beka (look) (old orthography)

In later translations the distinction between the implosive /ɓ/ and plosive /b/ were duly made, with /ɓ/ represented by /b/ and the plosive /b/ being represented by /bh/ as illustrated in the following concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
182	wu yeka umoya wake. Bheka , kwa hxebuka ka	17,055	1924ab~1.txt	97
3	undi bake ba m landela. Bheka , kwa vuka isipepo	3,086	1924ab~1.txt	18
166	ehlezi ekudleni endlini, bheka , kwafika abadingi	2,975	1959b&~1.txt	23
170	leni aseTire naseSidoni. Bheka ; kwavela emikha	6,059	1959b&~1.txt	47
165	" Futhi esakhuluma, bheka! uJuda, omunye	13,506	1994ne~1.txt	90
178	eTire naseSidoni. Futhi, bheka! owesifazane ong	7,302	1994ne~1.txt	48
167	ehlezi ekudleni endlini, bheka , kwafika abanangi	2,993	1997sa~1.txt	24
168	gena esinagogeni labo. Bheka , kwakukhona um	4,263	1997sa~1.txt	35

Fig. 5.14(c): Concordances of bheka (look) (new orthography)

The differentiation between the manner of writing the implosive and the plosive, which Doke (1958: xii) associates with the new orthography of 1959, was in actual fact first initiated in the 1924 translation of the American Board Mission. This occurrence is regarded as another significant development in written Zulu.

5.4.7 The phonemes /hl/, /dhl/ and /dl/

When the use of /hl/ is examined in the earlier translations, one gets the impression that, in these translations, no distinction was made between the voiced fricative /dl/ and voiceless fricative /hl/, since only the voiceless fricative is used, as illustrated in the following concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
4	ehlane, e ti, Lungisa ni inhlela yikaJehova,	1,010	1848ab~1.txt	5
31	wa ba fundisa jeng' o n'amanhla ku nga	4,041	1848ab~1.txt	20
5	ehlane, e-ti, "Lungisa-ni inHlela	999	1855co~1.txt	5
32	wezin-Gulube wa-gijima g'amaNhla ,	4,737	1855co~1.txt	22
1	ba se be buya ngenye inhlela ukuya	779	1866do~1.txt	4
30	uTixo o ba nika abantu amanhla	4,664	1866do~1.txt	23

Fig. 5.15(a): The realisation of voiced affricate in earlier translations

What we see here is that these translators used /hl/ for both /hl/ and /dl/. This again could be attributed to a failure to 'hear' the difference between these sounds by the translators when these were spoken by mother-tongue speakers.

We see a progression, though, in 1865 when a differentiation between the voiceless and voiced fricative is made. In the 1865 translation, the voiced fricative was realised as /dhl/, as illustrated in the following concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
1206	igodi, izinyoni zezulu zi nezindhlu , kepa i	3,822	1865ab~1.txt	21
1203	ngena'sikuza. Wasel'eti kwabebandhla	3,286	1897co~1.txt	26
1204	nezwe la kwa Naftali, Ngendhlela ya	1,399	1924ab~1.txt	8
1205	Ngoba wabefundisa njengonamandhla ,	2,511	1924he~1.txt	19

Fig. 5.15(b): Earlier developments of the voiced fricative

Further progress was seen when the phoneme /dhl/ was replaced with the phoneme /dl/ from the time of the 1959 translation, as exemplified by the following

concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
9	ehlane, lithi: Lungisani indlela yeNkosi,	634	1959b&~1.txt	5
11	ehlane lithi: Lungisani indlela yeNkosi	703	1966ro~1.txt	5
28	uqinisile. Ufundisa indlela kaNkulunkulu	9,546	1986sa~1.txt	71
8	nokuba nganoma iyiphi indlela uhlamvu	1,588	1994ne~1.txt	10
10	ehlane, lithi: `Lungisani indlela yeNkosi,	652	1997sa~1.txt	5

Fig. 5.15(c): Later developments of the voiced fricative

It is apparent that in the 1848, 1855 and 1866 translations no distinction was made between words with the voiceless fricative /hl/, as in **-hlala** (sit, stay), and those with the phoneme voiced fricative /dl/, as in **-dlala** (play), since the same phoneme /hl/ was used in both instances. Therefore, the meaning of words which contained the voiced fricative was compromised. Thus, in later translations, the distinction between these phonemes was made. It is worth noting here that, according to Van Huyssteen (2003:64), the earliest Zulu grammars also made no distinction between the voiceless fricative /hl/ and the voiced fricative /dl/, and that Döhne (1857:29) gave the spelling **-hlala** to mean both 'stay' and 'play' respectively.

5.4.8 The use of /y/ and /j/ in the corpus

The phoneme /y/ was used in earlier translations, especially in Colenso's adaptation of 1855 and in Dohne's translation of 1866, in places where later translations used the phoneme /j/. This is illustrated by the following concordances of **uYesu**, **uYoani** and **uYohane** respectively:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
238	yom-Gwenye. Lapo uYESU wa-jo	18,938	1855co~1.txt	88
2	memeza emiZini yabo. uYoani	6,375	1855co~1.txt	30
1	patizwe ngu-ye. Kodwa uYoani	1,222	1855co~1.txt	6
1	ngokuba ba ti bonke uYohane ,	13,427	1866do~1.txt	67
2	Ba ti, ku tjo abanye uYohane ,	10,016	1866do~1.txt	50
237	abafundi bake, beka, uYesu , wa ba	19,747	1866do~1.txt	99

Fig. 5.16(a): The concordances of /y/

This could possibly be due to linguistic influence as a result of the languages which formed the heritage of these translators. The most logical reason for writing these personal names in such a manner could be that these translators tried to get as close to the Greek pronunciation as possible, whilst other translators followed the English pronunciation of these names and used the phoneme /j/ (Hermanson: personal interview), as exemplified by the following concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
1400	ze za za m konza. UJesu e be zuile ukuba	1,520	1848ab~1.txt	7
1404	uwela emgodini zombili. uJesu wa ti,	8,520	1865ab~1.txt	47
1403	uBaraba, a bujiswe uJesu . Kepa umbusi	16,587	1924ab~1.txt	94
1407	uNklunkulu kalsrael. UJesu wasebiza	6,307	1924he~1.txt	49
1410	kaDavide, sihawukele! UJesu wema,	8,208	1959b&~1.txt	64
1405	uNkulunkulu ka Israel. Ujesu	6,429	1966ro~1.txt	49
1415	lambalaza uNkulunkulu." UJesu wakuzwa	3,010	1986sa~1.txt	23
1416	esingaka?" Khona-ke uJesu wathi kubo:	7,494	1994ne~1.txt	50
1406	Nkulunkulu ka-Israyeli. UJesu wayesebabiza	6,208	1997sa~1.txt	50

Fig. 5.16(b): Concordances of /j/

5.4.9 The use of /g/ in places where /ng/ should be used

In the 1848 translation, the phoneme /g/ has been used in situations where the nasal combination /ng/ has been used in later translations. The following examples are illustrations of the use of /g/:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
160	ng'ala pambi kuabantu, gi ya ku mala	6,111	1848ab~1.txt	29
161	emacaleni. Kodua mina gi ya tyo ku ni ,	2,158	1848ab~1.txt	11
163	Umfundisi o lungileyo, gi ya ku enza	12,697	1848ab~1.txt	61
164	ubaba wetu; gokuba gi ya tyo ku ni ,	1,118	1848ab~1.txt	6

Fig. 5.17(a): Concordances of /g/ in the 1848 translation

In the above examples, **gi-** represents a class 1 singular subject concord. This occurs only in the 1848 translation. But we do, however, also find the use of the phoneme /g/ in other instances occurring in the 1848 translation, as well as in its adaptation, such as those shown in the concordances below:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
16	u ya ku ba pendula e ti, Gokuqinisile	18,188	1848ab~1.txt	86
17	abantu be zila ukuhla. Gokuqinisile gi	3,077	1848ab~1.txt	15
18	u-ya-ku-ba-pendula e-ti, " Gokuqinisile gi-	18,368	1855co~1.txt	86
19	SU wa-jo ku-bo uku-ti, ` Gokuqinisile gi-ya	13,134	1855co~1.txt	61

Fig. 5.17(b): Concordances of /g/ in the 1848 and 1855 translations

These occurrences could also be attributed to a failure to 'hear' the exact pronunciation of these sounds. In translations produced after 1855, we find the phoneme /ng/ written in a manner that complements its pronunciation. The following examples illustrate the use of /ng/ in the other translations:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
154	Ngi ti ku we, U Petro ; ngi ya kulaka	9,175	1865ab~1.txt	51
21	gegama lako na? Lapo ngiyakupumesa ngi	3,783	1866do~1.txt	19
159	inhliziyoyami ngaye ! Ngiya`ufak' uMoya	4,331	1897co~1.txt	34
157	pambi kwabantu, nami ngi ya kumvuma	4,470	1924ab~1.txt	26
154	va kwezinsuku ezintatu ngiyakuvuka.	12,619	1924he~1.txt	98
163	lakho, na? Khona ngiyakufakaza	2,376	1959b&~1.txt	18
169	phambi kwabantu, nami ngiyakumvuma	3,888	1966ro~1.txt	29
156	omhlaba! Ngiyakubonga ngiyakubabaza	4,328	1986sa~1.txt	32
160	elelwa kwezono. Kodwa ngiyanitshela:	13,239	1994ne~1.txt	88
157	phezu kwaleli dwala ngiyakulakha ibandla	6,506	1997sa~1.txt	53

Fig. 5.17(c): Concordances of /ng/ in other translations

5.4.10 The influence of Xhosa speech sounds

5.4.10.1 The use of /ty/ and /J/

In some of the earlier translations of the Book of Matthew, Xhosa sounds have been observed, as illustrated by the following concordances of the phoneme /ty/:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
1	yi catya. E nye ya wa ematyeni apo	8,038	1848ab~1.txt	38
2	enye, ba i kanda enye ngamatye	12,361	1865ab~1.txt	68
3	nowesitatu ba m ponsa amatye.	13,640	1866do~1.txt	68

Fig. 5.18(a): The Xhosa phoneme /ty/ in earlier translations

From the concordances above, it is evident that the phoneme /ty/ was used by the American Board Mission in their 1848 translation and in their New Testament of

1865. It is also evident that Döhne also used this Xhosa phoneme. The use of this phoneme by the earlier missionaries is logical because the Americans came into contact with Xhosa people who spoke Xhosa, another Nguni language, during their brief stay in Bethelsdorp while journeying to work with the Zulu people. Döhne also ministered first among the Xhosa, before moving to work among the Zulu. This explains their use of Xhosa speech sounds in their translations. The missionaries' use of these speech sounds in their Zulu translations could also be attributed to the fact that they sometimes used Xhosa interpreters and were also given Xhosa grammars and translations to aid their language study (Booth 1967: xi, 12).

Colenso also used Xhosa speech sounds in his 1855 adaptation. The following examples are concordances of Colenso's use of a Xhosa phoneme:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
1	' ka-Dio, yi-jo ukuba la'maJe a-be iziNkwa.'	1,355	1855co~1.txt	7
2	ne-Nye ba-yi-ponsela ga'maJe . Wa-pinda	14,744	1855co~1.txt	69
3	behama abaNtwana ku-la'maJe . 'Na kaloku	1,120	1855co~1.txt	6
4	ulala abAzisi u-ponsele g'amaJe bona	16,425	1855co~1.txt	77

Fig. 5.18(b): Colenso's uses /J/ in the place of /ty/

A sound explanation cannot be given here as to why Colenso decided to use speech sounds which differed from the text from which he drew his adaptation. It is assumed that Colenso felt that /ty/ that was used by the American Missionaries was not an accurate representation of the phoneme in question, and therefore introduced his own which he wrote as /J/.

A step forward as regards the representation of the pre-palatal ejective affricate was seen when an appropriate Zulu speech sounds /tsh/ was identified, as illustrated by the following concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
15	abaprofete, ubatshaya ngamatshe	9,705	1897co~1.txt	77
19	lunkulu, yisho ukuba la matshe a be izinkwa.1,192		1924ab~1.txt	7
23	uAbraham abantwana kula'matshe . Imbazo 711		1924he~1.txt	5:
18	abaprofethi nokhanda ngamatshe	9,708	1959b&~1.txt	76
14	abaprofethe, uphohloza ngamatshe labo	10,119	1966ro~1.txt	76
20	Bazenzisindini, nibeka amatshe emadlinzeni	10,246	1986sa~1.txt	76
16	abaprofethi nomkhanda ngamatshe walabo	11,567	1994ne~1.txt	77
17	abaprofethi nokhanda ngamatshe	9,751	1997sa~1.txt	79

Fig. 5.18(c): The use of a Zulu phoneme /tsh/

Colenso's translation of 1897 could be taken as the landmark for the introduction of the phoneme /tsh/ in Zulu.

5.4.10.2 The use of the glottal /r/

The voiced velar liquid /r/, which was introduced into the language by the borrowing of foreign words, occurs in the earliest translations. The following concordances are an illustration of such occurrences:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
2	anzi, nenhlela i nkulu, e rolela ekubujisweni,	3,727	1848ab~1.txt	18
3	anzi, nenhlela i-nkulu, e-rolela ekubujisweni,	3,783	1855co~1.txt	18
1	impumpute i nga rolela impumpute zi we	9,331	1866do~1.txt	47

Fig. 5.19(a): The use of the phoneme /r/

The impression is given that some of the earliest translators borrowed the glottalic sound from the 'sister' language, Xhosa, as seen from the concordances above. Döhne also used the Xhosa phoneme /r/ in words such as **umrau** (mercy) in place of **umha(w)u**, as exemplified by the following concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
1	ku suta. Ba ya busiswa abanomrau , ngokuba	1,926	1866do~1.txt	9
2	ngukuti ni: ngi wu tanda umrau , ngi nga wu	6,670	1866do~1.txt	33
3	tini, ukuti: ngi ya tanda umrau , a ngi tandi	4,764	1866do~1.txt	24

Fig. 5.19(b): Döhne's use of the phoneme /r/

Although the phoneme used by the earlier translators is velaric, it closely resembles the glottalic /h/ in Zulu. Later translators used the glottalic phoneme /h/ in similar words, as shown on the concordances below:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
7	usuta. Ba busisiwe aba nesihau , ngokuba	1,637	1865ab~1.txt	9
5	amehlo etu.' uJesu enomhau was'epata	8,176	1897co~1.txt	64
6	kokuti: Ngenamela isihau , kungesiwo	3,081	1924he~1.txt	24

Fig. 5.19(c): The use of the Zulu glottalic /h/ in earlier translations

It is evident that, very early on, it occurred to the translators that the velaric /r/ did not exist in Zulu, and as early as 1865 the velaric phoneme was replaced by the glottalic /h/. This is also seen in later translations, as illustrated by the following concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
9	usuthiswa. Babusisiwe abanesihawu ,	1,157	1959b&~1.txt	9
6	thini ukuthi: "Ngithanda isihawu ayi	4,453	1966ro~1.txt	34
5	baneliswe. Babusisiwe abanesihawu ,	1,243	1986sa~1.txt	9
1	kuye wathi: "Ngifikeiwa isihawu ngesixuku,	7,458	1994ne~1.txt	49
8	usuthiswa. Babusisiwe abanesihawu ,	1,178	1997sa~1.txt	10

Fig. 5.19(d): The use of the Zulu glottalic /h/ in later translations

From the foregoing discussion on phonological shifts, it is obvious that great strides were taken in the orthography and spelling of words in Zulu during the later stages of the development of the language.

In the next section of my discussion I will look at the development of written Zulu through morphological shifts which occur in the corpus.

5.5 Morphological shifts

The structure of a language can also be used as a pointer towards the development of its writing. The system of categories and rules involved in word formation and interpretation is known as morphology. In morphology, the morpheme is considered the most important component of the word structure, which is the smallest unit of

language that carries information about meaning or function (O’Grady *et al* 1987:134).

Lombard *et al* (1985:16-23) define a morpheme as a structural characteristic of a group of words, which can be associated with a particular semantic aspect or grammatical function of that group of words. As mentioned previously (cf. par 5.1), Zulu is agglutinative. This therefore implies that its words are polymorphemic. Polymorphemic words are those that consist of at least two word aspects. These word aspects may also be divided into two types: namely, roots (cores or lexical morphemes) and affixes. Therefore, all polymorphemic words contain one root and one or more affixes.

The various ways morphemes are realised as the language develops can indicate developments which speakers of the language believe are accurate representations of the way the language should be written. Various deviations in morphology which have been observed in the corpus of this study are regarded as indicators of the different stages through which written Zulu developed. Discussion of morphological deviations will touch on the various grammatical categories such as the possessive, the locative, the vocative, the negative and the concords.

5.5.1 The possessive construction

Looking at how some of the possessives were formed in the earlier translations, one is positive that this category posed a problem for the early translators. The possessive in Zulu has two parts; that is, the possessive concord and the base. The possessive concord usually refers to the possessed noun and the base to the possessor, as illustrated by the following concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
2	ku bizua <u>abantuana</u> baka Tixo . Ba ya busis	1,885	1848ab~1.txt	9
4	noNina <u>wabaNtwana</u> baka-Zebedia . Kwa-ti	20,915	1855co~1.txt	97
3	ku bizwa <u>abantwana</u> baka Tixo . Ba ya busis	1,955	1866do~1.txt	10
1	yakutiwa ng' <u>abantwana</u> baka'Nkulunkulu .	1,150	1897co~1.txt	9

Fig. 5.20(a): The possessive in earlier translations

In the above examples in Fig. 5.20(a), the first part of the possessive, that is **abantwana** (children) (1848 translation), and **abantwana** (children) (1955, 1866 and 1897 translations) are possessed nouns, and **(u)Tixo** (the supreme Being), **(u)Zebedia** (Zebedee) and **(u)Nkulunkulu** (the Supreme being), are possessor nouns. The possessive concord for class 2 nouns which is **baka-**, has been prefixed to the possessor noun. The possessive concord in this case has been formed by using the subject concord of the possessive noun, **abantwana**, which is **[ba-]** which is prefixed to the possessive concord **[-ka-]** and the base. This then became **(abantwana) ba- + -ka- + Tixo > (abantwana) bakaTixo**. The subject concord is customarily dropped when the subject concord is a vowel, such as in class 1 nouns, like **umntwana**. The subject concord of **umntwana** is **[u-]**, and thus when the possessive is formed from such nouns, the subject concord is dropped and only the possessive concord **[-ka-]** is attached to the base, e.g. **-ka- + Tixo > (umntwana) kaTixo**. The principle of prefixing the subject concord to the possessive concord was used by the 1848 translators even in instances where the subject concord should have been dropped. The following examples of concordances are an illustration of possessives that have been erroneously formed by means of the subject concord, the possessive concord and the base:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
19	e fike Uherodi, <u>ingelosi yika Jehova</u> ya	871	1848ab~1.txt	4
18	Haba: gokuba <u>inGelosi yika-YEHOVA</u>	21,132	1855co~1.txt	98

Fig. 5.20(b): The possessive formed from vowel-subject concords in earlier translations

In the above examples it is assumed that since the possessed noun is **ingelosi** (angel), which has **i-** as subject concord, it therefore would be logical to a non-mother-tongue speaker who is learning the language through set rules only, to prefix **[yi-]** as subject concord to the possessive prefix **[-ka-]** to form the possessive. This tendency was discontinued in subsequent translations because it was now realised that if the possessed noun has a vowel-subject concord, that vowel is dropped in the construction of the possessive, as shown in the following concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
172	kuye Inxa <u>uyi-Ndodana</u> kaNkulunkulu ,	889	1924he~1.txt	7
158	Uma <u>uyiNdodana</u> kaNkulunkulu , yisho uku	851	1959b&~1.txt	7
169	unguKristo, <u>iNdodana</u> kaNkulunkulu	6,715	1966ro~1.txt	51
157	"Uma <u>uyiNdodana</u> kaNkulunkulu , yisho kul	915	1986sa~1.txt	7
173	uye: "Uma <u>uyindodana</u> kaNkulunkulu ,	1,111	1994ne~1.txt	7
159	"Uma <u>uyiNdodana</u> kaNkulunkulu , yisho uku	868	1997sa~1.txt	7

Fig. 5.20(c): The possessive in later translations

5.5.2 The locative construction

The locative construction proved to be another area of difficulty for the earlier translators. In Zulu, locatives are formed from various nouns through different sets of rules. Some nouns take the locative prefix [**e-**] only as in *ikhaya* (home) > **ekhaya** (at home), while others take both the locative prefix [**e-**] together with the locative suffix [**-ini**] as in *umfula* (river) > **emfuleni** (at the river). The most common rule is that of using both the locative prefix [**e-**] and the locative suffix [**-ini**]. When locatives are formed, the initial vowel of the noun is replaced with the locative prefix [**e-**], and the final vowel [**-a**] coalesces with the initial vowel of the suffix [**-ini**] to become [**-eni**], so *umfula* (river) > **emfuleni** (at the river). The 1848 translation and its adaptation by Colenso used both the prefix and suffix, even in cases where the prefix only had to be used, as shown in the following concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
4	qoko sameva, a si faka ekandeni lake,	20,224	1848ab~1.txt	95
5	e li kulu. wa wa tela ekandeni lake,	18,323	1848ab~1.txt	87
6	bata uhlanga a m tyaya ekandeni lake.	20,252	1848ab~1.txt	95
1	abata uhlanga a-mJaya eKandeni lake.	20,463	1855co~1.txt	95
2	ani eli kulu, wa-wa-tela eKandeni lake,	18,496	1855co~1.txt	86
3	Qoko sameva, a-si-faka eKandeni lake,	20,436	1855co~1.txt	95

Fig. 5.21(a): Concordances of the locative ekandeni

This tendency was set right in subsequent translations, as shown in the following concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
7	uhlanga ; a m tyaya ekanda . Se e m	17,120	1865ab~1.txt	95
6	uhlanga a m tjaya ngalo ekanda lake.	18,927	1866do~1.txt	95
5	uhlanga a m shaya ekanda . E se dhlale	16,766	1924ab~1.txt	95
4	langa, amtshaya ngawo ekanda lake.	12,245	1924he~1.txt	95
12	elikhulu, wawathela ekhanda lakhe ehlezi ek	11,047	1959b&~1.txt	86
9	aligugu, wawathela ekhanda lakhe esekudle	11,339	1966ro~1.txt	86
11	fazane wathela amakha ekhanda likaJesu	11,566	1986sa~1.txt	86
1	futhi waqala ukuwathela ekhanda lakhe	12,953	1994ne~1.txt	86
3	elikhulu, wawathela ekhanda lakhe ehlezi	10,931	1997sa~1.txt	89

Fig. 5.21(b): Concordances of the locative ekanda/ekhanda

In the above concordances we see that, from 1865 the translators realised that with certain nouns which are an exception to the rule, the prefix only has to be used in locative construction.

To form locatives from nouns such as **ipupo** (dream) also seemed to be a problem for the 1848 translators, as illustrated by the following concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
1	hlupekile kakulu nga ye epupueni namhla.	20,060	1848ab~1.txt	94

Fig. 5.22(a): The locative epupueni in the 1848 translation

At the beginning of this section on locative construction, it was stated that locatives are formed by using the locative prefix [**e-**] and the locative suffix [**-ini**]. It is clear that in **epupueni**, the prefixation as well as the suffixation rules were applied, but it is not clear what happened to the final vowel **-o**. Was it replaced with **-u** and the locative suffix added, or was it replaced with **-ueni**? This tendency is rife in this translation, as shown by the use of locatives such as **elizueni** (in the country), **enhliziyeuni** (in the heart) and **emlilueni** (at the fire). Nevertheless, some improvement was seen in subsequent earlier translations when the final vowel of the noun was replaced with a semi-vowel **-w-**, as seen in the following concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
5	hlupekile kakulu nga-ye ePupweni namhla'. 20,248	20,248	1855co~1.txt	94
2	kwabonakala kuye epupweni isigijimi 212	212	1897co~1.txt	2
7	kosi ya bonakala kuye epupweni ya ti, Josefa,298	298	1924ab~1.txt	2
3	naku! kubonakala kuye epupweni ingelosi 223	223	1924he~1.txt	2

Fig.5.22(b): The locative epupweni in the 1855, 1897, 1924 (American Board Mission) and 1924 (Hermannsburg translations)

The locative in these translations could be seen as a further development from the earliest translations. When the noun from which a locative is formed ends in vowels -**o** or -**u**, these vowels change and become the semi-vowel -**w-** as in **isango** (gate) > **esangweni** (at the gate). What happened here is that the final vowel of the noun, which is -**o**, was replaced with the semi-vowel -**w-**, and because of this, the locative suffix then became [-**eni**].

Further developments were seen in later translations when more sound changes were realised in the language. In 1959 it was noticed that when forming locatives with nouns that contain bilabial and some alveolar sounds in their final syllable, these sounds have a tendency to change into palatal in the environment of the locative suffix, as illustrated by the following concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
7	kakhulu namuhla ngaye ephusheni . Kepha 12,067	12,067	1959b&~1.txt	94
6	kakhulu ngaye namhla ephusheni Abapriste 12,393	12,393	1966ro~1.txt	94
9	pheke kakhulu namuhla ephusheni ngenxa 14,177	14,177	1994ne~1.txt	94
8	kakhulu namuhla ngaye ephusheni ." Kepha 11,963	11,963	1997sa~1.txt	97

Fig. 5.22(c): The locative ephusheni in the 1959, 1966, 1994 and 1997 translations

What happened here is that the locative suffix influenced the bilabial sound /**ph**/ in the noun **iphupho** (a dream), which then changed to the allophone /**sh**/. This phonological process is known as palatalisation. Thus palatalisation as a phonological process was identified in written Zulu with the 1959 translation by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

Locatives formed from nouns that are vowel-initial were also a problem in the earlier translations. The locative of the Zulu word derived from the English word ‘Egypt’ illustrates such a problem:

Translation	Example
1866 Matthew :Döhne	vuka, u tabate umtwana nonina, u balekele e Egipte , u hlale kona, ngi ze ngi ku tyele; sokuti u Heroda u za kufuna umtwana ukumbulala. Kona wesuka wa tabata umtwana nonina ebusuku, wa catjela e 'Egipte
1897 Matthew - New Testament: Colenso	'Suka, utabate umntwana nonina, ubaleke uye eEgipte , uhlale kona ngize ngikutshela; ngoba uHerod uzakufuna umntwana ukub'ambulale.' Was'esuka-ke watabata umntwana nonina ebusuku, w'eqa waya eEgipte .

Table 5.9: The locative e Egipte in the 1866 and 1897 translations

Since the noun ‘Egypt’ has an initial vowel, both Döhne (1866) and Colenso (1897) had a problem forming a locative from this noun. They knew the rule for locative formation and thus prefixed the locative [e-] to the noun and the resultant locative was **eEgipte**. In the translations of the American Board Mission, the 1855 adaptation of Colenso, and the 1924 translation of the Hermannsburg Mission, the problem of the initial vowel locative was resolved by discarding the initial vowel of the transliterated noun, resulting in **eGipte**, **eGipite** or **Egipite** as locatives, as in the following examples:

Translation	Example
1848 Matthew: American Board Mission	Suka u tabate umtuana nonina, baleka u ye e-Gipte , u be kona gi ze gi ku tyelile: gokuba Uherodi u ya ku funa umtuana ukuba a m bulale. Se e sukile wa tabata umtuana nonina ebusuku wa muka wa ya e-Gipte .
1855 adaptation of Matthew: Colenso	Suka, u-tabate umNtw-ana noNina, baleka u-ye eGipite , u-be-kona gi-ze-gi-ku-Jelile; gokuba uHerodi u-ya-ku-funa umtwana ukuba a-m-bulale. Se-e-sukile wa-tabata umNtwana noNina ebusuku, wamuka, wa-ya eGipite ;
1865 Matthew - New Testament: American Board Mission	Suka, u tabate u mntwana nonina, u balekele Egipite , u hlale kona, ngi ze ngi ku tyele; ngokuba uHerodi u ya kufuna umntwana ukuba a m bulale. Wesuka, wa tabata umntwana nonina ebusuku, wemuka wa ya Egipite
1924 Matthew - Bible: American Board Mission	Suka utabate umntwana nonina, u balekele Egipite , u hlale kona ngi ze ngi ku tshela: ngokuba uHerode u zo funa umntwana ukuba a m bubise. Wesukake wa tabata umntwana nonina ebusuku, w'emuka waya Egipite
1924 Matthew – New Testament: Hermannsburg Mission	Suka, utabate umntwana nonina, ubaleke uye Egipite , uhlale kona, ngize ngikutshela, ngokuba uHerodes uzakufuna umntwana, ukuba ambulale. wesukake, watabata umntwana nonina ebusuku, wabalekela Egipite .

Table 5.10: The locative eGip(i)te in the 1848, 1855, 1865 1924 (American Board Mission) and 1924 (Hermannsburg) translations

The sorting out of the problem of the locatives formed from vowel-initial place names, saw another improvement towards written Zulu. Beginning with the 1959 translation, locatives from vowel-initial place names were aptly represented in writing, as illustrated by the following examples:

Translation/Edited version	Example
1959 Matthew – Bible: British and Foreign Bible Society	Vuka uthabathe umntwana nonina, ubalekele eGibithe , uhlale khona, ngize ngikutshela; ngokuba uHerode uzakumfuna umntwana ukuba ambhubhise. Wavuka-ke, wathabatha umntwana nonina ebusuku, wamuka waya eGibithe
1966 Matthew – New testament: Roman Catholic Mission	Vuka uthathe umntwana noNina ubalekele eGibithe , uhlale khona ngize ngikutshela, ngoba kuzawufika uHerode ezofuna umntwana ukuba ambulale. Wavuka-ke, wathatha umntwana kanye noNina ebusuku wemuka waya eGibithe
1986 Matthew – New Testament and Psalms: Bible Society of South Africa	"Vuka uthathe umntwana nonina, ubalekele kwelaseGibithe , uhlale khona uze utshelwe yimina ukuthi usungabuya. Ngoba uHerodi uzomcinga umntwana uhlose ukumbulala." UJosefa wavuka, wathatha umntwana nonina, bashushumba kwesikabhadakazi beqonde eGibithe
1994 Matthew – New Testament: New Word Translation	"Vuka, thatha umntwana omncane nonina ubalekele eGibithe , uhlale khona ngize ngikunike izwi; ngoba uHerode usezohamba emfuna umntwana omncane ukuze ambhubhise." Ngakho wavuka wathatha umntwana omncane nonina ebusuku wayesesuka waya eGibithe
1997 Matthew – Bible: Bible Society of South Africa	"Vuka uthabathe umntwana nonina, ubalekele eGibithe , uhlale khona, ngize ngikutshela; ngokuba uHerode uzakumfuna umntwana ukuba ambhubhise." Wavuka-ke, wathabatha umntwana nonina ebusuku, wamuka waya eGibithe

Table 5.11: The locative eGib(h)ithe in the 1959, 1966, 1986, 1994 and 1997 translations

From the above examples it is evident that the problem of forming locatives from the noun derived from the English word 'Egypt' was eventually resolved in the later translations by dropping the initial vowel from the Zulu noun stem, so that it now has an initial vowel **iGibhithel**/**iGibithe**. The locative is formed by dropping the noun prefix [**i-**] with the locative prefix [**e-**], resulting in the locative **eGibhithel/eGibithe** (to/from Egypt, in Egypt). As shown in the concordances below, the problem of vowel juxtaposition in other foreign vowel-initial nouns such as **i-Arimatheya**, and its locative **e-Arimatheya**, has been resolved by the use of a hyphen in some of the translations:



N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
10	umuntu o cebileyo wase Arimatia e tiwa	20,707	1848ab~1.txt	97
9	o-cebileyo wase-Arimatia e-tiwa uYosefa,	20,925	1855co~1.txt	97
1	umuntu o isicebi wa seArimatia,	17,523	1865ab~1.txt	97
2	umuntu o yisicebi wase Arimatiya,	19,404	1866do~1.txt	97
4	umuntu ocebileyo wa seArimatiya,	17,166	1924ab~1.txt	97
8	umuntu ocebileyo waseArimatia, igama	12,548	1924he~1.txt	97
3	umuntu ocebileyo waseArimatheya,	12,472	1959b&~1.txt	97
6	othile ofuyileyo wase Arimatheya, uJosef	12,851	1966ro~1.txt	97
5	isicebi somuntu waseArimathiya othiwa	13,102	1986sa~1.txt	97
7	othile ocebile wase-Arimatheya, ogama	14,688	1994ne~1.txt	97

Fig. 5.23: The transliteration of vowel-initial place names

From the above examples it is evident that the problem of forming locatives from the noun derived from the English word 'Egypt' was eventually resolved in the later translations by using iGibhithe/iGibithe as the Zulu noun and prefixing the locative prefix to the noun without its initial vowel **eGibhithe/ eGibithe** (to/from Egypt, in Egypt).

5.5.3 The vocative

The vocative, which is a subcategory of the interjective, was structurally realised as a noun in the 1848 translation, as seen in the following concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
1	bonke a ba tyo ku mi, Inkosi, Inkosi, a ba	3,862	1848ab~1.txt	19
6	talenta ama hlanu, e ti, Inkosi, wa ngi nikela	17,595	1848ab~1.txt	83
8	za ba m vusa be ti, Inkosi, si sindise si ya	4,507	1848ab~1.txt	22
9	ba tyo ku mi, Inkosi, Inkosi, a ba ya ku ngen	3,863	1848ab~1.txt	19
11	Ba tyo ku ye, Yebo, Inkosi. Wa tyo ku bo uk	8,989	1848ab~1.txt	43
13	ama bini, we za wa ti, Inkosi wa ngi nikela	17,653	1848ab~1.txt	84
17	butana ku Pilati. Be ti, Inkosi si ya kumbula	20,788	1848ab~1.txt	98
23	e guqa ku ye, e ti, Inkosi, yiba nomsa ku'n	11,316	1848ab~1.txt	54

Fig. 5.24(a): The vocative in the 1855 translation

Written in this manner, it becomes difficult to distinguish **inkosi** (king, lord) as a vocative. It is in context only that it becomes evident that **inkosi** is not a noun but a

vocative. A vocative is formed from nouns by discarding the initial vowel of the noun, as seen in these concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
288	wapendula wa-ti, "Gi-ya-ya, ' nKosi :" kodwa a-ka-ya	14,592	1855co~1.txt	68
330	ekulu ya pendula, ya ti, Nkosi a ngi fanele ukuba	3,597	1865ab~1.txt	20
331	yekulu, i m nxusa. Iti Nkosi , inceku yami i lel	3,994	1866do~1.txt	20
320	uPetro wampendula wati, ' Nkosi , inxa kung'uwe,	5,745	1897co~1.txt	45
325	kuleka kuyo, ya ti, Nkosi , a k'u ngi mele	9,807	1924ab~1.txt	56
326	wakuleka kuye, wati: Nkosi , ngisize!	6,227	1924he~1.txt	48
334	ondela, bamvusa, bathi: Nkosi , sisindise, safa.	2,738	1959b&~1.txt	21
333	wakhuleka kuye wathi: Nkosi , ngisize! Yena wa	6,347	1966ro~1.txt	48
327	ukuba ayisize yathi: " Nkosi , inceku yami ilele	2,628	1986sa~1.txt	20
303	waguqa kuye wathi: " Nkosi , yiba nesihe	8,187	1994ne~1.txt	54
332	bamvusa, bathi: : Nkosi , sisisndise, safa."	2,758	1997sa~1.txt	22

Fig. 5.24(b): The vocative in other translations of the Bible

A clear structural distinction was made between nouns and vocatives in the translations that followed after 1848.

5.5.4 The object concord and negative of the passive

In the 1848 translation, certain vowel morphemes that occurred next to the vowels of other morphemes resulted in combinations which were ungrammatical. The following concordances are illustrations of such combinations:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
61	dana yake, wa ti, Ba ya kuihlonipa	12,388	1865ab~1.txt	68

Fig. 5.25(a): The vowel morphemes in the 1848 and 1865 translations

The /u/ and /i/ may look like sound combinations, but when closely examined, these constructions are a result of juxtaposed morphemes. In the case of **kuihlonipa** the vowel /u/ of the infinitive prefix [**uku-**], and the object concord [**-i-**] used to refer to the object **indodanana yake** (His son) in the sentence **Abantu ba ya kuihlonipa** (People will pay reverence to him), occurred next to each other. Such occurrences were resolved by inserting the semi-vowel **y** in the later translations, as illustrated by the following concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
4	andhleni zabantu; ba ya kuyibulala;	9,191	1924ab~1.txt	53
2	wa ezandhleni zabantu, bayakuyibulala,	7,048	1924he~1.txt	55
3	lwa ezandleni zabantu; bazakuyibulala,	6,909	1959b&~1.txt	54
1	lwa ezandleni zabantu; bazakuyibulala,	6,944	1997sa~1.txt	56

Fig. 5.25 (b): The object concord as represented in other translations of the Bible

Cases where the negative morpheme [-i] has been used for the passive construction abounds in the 1848 translation, as illustrated by the following concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
11	Ba tyo kodua, ma ku ng'enzui ekuhleni	18,290	1848ab~1.txt	86
28	Newani e li tya a li telui emagabeni	5,073	1848ab~1.txt	24
29	inyonana e zim bini a zi tengui gemalana	6,047	1848ab~1.txt	29
112	cipisuanga, ga i nga sindisui inyama; kodua	16,708	1848ab~1.txt	79
129	sezuluini. Ma ni nga bizui ababusi, gokuba o15,731		1848ab~1.txt	74

Fig. 5.25(c): The use of the negative morpheme [-i] in the 1848 translation

In Zulu, the negative of the active form of the verb is commonly formed by replacing the final vowel of the verb with the negative morpheme [-i]; for instance the sentence: **Umfana ubhala incwadi** (A boy writes a letter) becomes **Umfana akabhali incwadi** (A boy does not write a letter) in the negative. The passive form of this sentence, which is **Incwadi ibhalwa ngumfana** (A letter is written by a boy) becomes **Incwadi ayibhalwa ngumfana** (The letter is not written by a boy), in the negative. Thus, the 1848 translation abounds with constructions of the negative of the passive verb, formed in line with the negative of the active form.

In subsequent translations, the passive was thus aptly represented in writing, as in the following concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
136	ixo izinto zika Tixo. Ba mangaliswa pela, ukuzw	14,192	1866do~1.txt	71
132	umfo wenu. Kanti inxa engakuzwa , tabata omu	7,152	1897co~1.txt	56
133	umfo wenu. Kodwa inxa engakuzwa , tata omuny	7,330	1924he~1.txt	57
141	umfowenu. Kodwa uma engakuzwa , thatha futhi	7,193	1959b&~1.txt	56
143	ha uma usawoti uduma ungayoliswa ngani na?	1,307	1966ro~1.txt	10
135	landlele!" Kuthe insizwa ingakuzwa lokhu yaham	8,164	1986sa~1.txt	61
26	kani ukwahlulela ukuze ningahlulelwa ; ngoba no	2,611	1994ne~1.txt	17
142	umfowenu. Kodwa uma engakuzwa , thatha futhi	7,226	1997sa~1.txt	59

Fig. 5.25 (d): The use of the negative morpheme [-nga-] in the other translations

The negative of the passive construction was not a problem in subsequent translations, because the negative morpheme [-nga-] was used instead, without changing the passive ending.

5.6 Lexical shifts

Translation is an activity that aims at conveying meaning or meanings of a given linguistic discourse from one language to another, and thus relies heavily on words or rather the terminology of a language to express such discourse. With the translation of the Bible, new concepts which were foreign to Zulu culture had to be introduced into the language in order to express the 'message' carried by the Bible. In most instances the translators of the Bible were faced with the problem of a lack of equivalent words in the target language in order to express the new concepts. The translators had to employ various word-formation as well as translation strategies in order to convey the translated message into the target language.

Baker (1992:10) refers to the lack of an equivalent word in the target language to communicate a source language concept as non-equivalence at word level. She thus concurs with Nida (cf Chapter 1 par 1.2) that there is no one-to-one correspondence between orthographic words and elements of meaning within or across languages. Based on this assumption, she thus puts forward some of the most common types of non-equivalence which often pose problems for translators, and also provides attested strategies for dealing with such problems.

However, Baker (1992:17-18) cautions that the choice of a suitable equivalent in a given context will depend on a wide variety of factors. She maintains that some of the factors may be linguistic, while others may be extra-linguistic. She further highlights that the choice of a suitable equivalent will not always depend on the linguistic system or systems being handled by the translator, but will also depend on the way in which both the writer of the source text and the producer of the target text choose to manipulate the linguistic system in question.

The process of introducing new terms in the target culture will certainly enhance the vocabulary and develops the language, both in its written and spoken forms. On examining new biblical concepts deployed in the corpus of my study, the use of three main word-formation processes, namely borrowing, derivation and semantic shifts has been observed. An overlap has been noticed between the terms that Baker uses and the strategies which are at the disposal of the translator when faced with the problem of non-equivalence and the above-mentioned word-formation processes. Baker's (1992:26-42) strategies include, amongst others, the use of loanwords, use of super-ordinates, use of cultural substitutions and paraphrasing. The following section of my discussion focuses on these processes of term-creation:

5.6.1 Borrowing

Cluver (1989:270) asserts that although borrowing might not be seen as a word-creation process, it is a particularly important way in which technical languages expand their vocabularies. He further outlines that because technical languages have an international tendency, they take over words from other languages more readily than the common language. Borrowing leads to an internationally accepted terminology which makes technical communication across language boundaries easy.

Thomason & Kaufman (1988:21) refer to borrowing as the incorporation of foreign elements into the speakers' native language. Suh (2005:122) contends that lexical borrowing is the transfer of source language lexemes or lexeme combinations into the target language, normally without formal or semantic modification. He maintains that elements of one language pass into another and may, over time, become fully integrated into the target language.

One of several types of borrowing according to Hervey and Higgins (1992:250) is the lowest degree of cultural transposition of the source text feature, whereby that feature, having its roots exclusively in the source language and source culture, is taken over verbatim into the target text; that is, the transposed term is a recognisably and deliberately 'foreign' element in the target text.

A second type of borrowing is what has been referred to as cultural borrowing, whereby a source language expression is taken over verbatim from the source text into the target text and the borrowed term may remain unaltered in form or may undergo minor alteration or transliteration. A translator may resort to cultural borrowing if he/she finds it impossible to come across a suitable target language expression of indigenous origins for translation in the source text expression (Suh 2005:124).

Another type of lexical borrowing is that which is referred to as 'calque'. According to Cluver (1989:269), a calque, also known as a loan translation, occurs when the foreign word is translated morpheme by morpheme into the target language. Simply put, a calque occurs when a target text expression is shaped on the grammatical structure of the corresponding source text expression. A calque respects the target language syntax, but is unidiomatic in the target language since it is shaped on the structure of the source language expression. In essence, a calque is a form of literal translation (Suh 2005:125).

The adoption of foreign words in any language may come about in different ways. In Zulu, a large number of foreign acquisitions come about through the speech community's contact with the English and Afrikaans speech communities. Such changes in a language that are brought about by the contact of different speech communities are referred to in linguistic circles as contact-induced language changes. An enormous amount of research has been done on lexical items transferred from English and Afrikaans into the indigenous languages of South Africa, and here we will examine lexical borrowing that is not contact-induced. In this study, loanwords of Greek and Hebrew origin which entered into the Zulu language through Bible translation will be examined.

In the case of Zulu, lexical borrowing of biblical terms arose through the need to express the various terms specific to the biblical milieu. It should be remembered that the Zulu people practised a religion which differed from that which the translators of the Bible presented. As a result, words which had a biblical predisposition could not be found in the Zulu language before the translation of the Bible into Zulu.

Although a number of biblical loanwords were used in the different translations and/or versions of the Book of Matthew which forms the corpus of the study, it should be mentioned here that not all will receive the same degree of attention in this discussion. Biblical loanwords that cover the following notions will be used as samples in this study: spiritual and religious titles, religious festivals and religious practices.

5.6.1.1 Spiritual and religious titles

The translation of the Bible into Zulu necessitated the use of spiritual and religious titles which did not exist in Zulu culture. Under this section we will look at the following titles: *umprofethi* (prophet); *ingelosi* (angel) and *abaFarisi* (Pharisees).

5.6.1.1.1 *Umprofethi* (prophet)

The foreign word *umprofethi* (prophet) is a transliterated form of the Greek word *προφήτης* signifying 'one who speaks forth openly', 'a proclaimer of a divine message' (Vine 1952:222). Biblical prophets occasionally made predictions about the future course of events. Their predictions were basically extrapolations from the present state of affairs into the future, based on their knowledge of what God demanded. If the people would not change their errant ways, then the future would hold nothing but trouble for them. If they repented, then the grim scenario would be averted. The following concordances of the various realisations of *umprofethi* were drawn from the corpus:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
324	shumayela ngaye ulsaya umprofeti , e ti,	889	1865ab~1.txt	5
327	kwashunyayelwa inKosi ngomprofete	480	1897co~1.txt	4
326	abantu, ngokuba be ti ngumprofeti .	7,137	1924ab~1.txt	41
322	ela umprofethi ngegama lomprofethi	3,760	1959b&~1.txt	29
337	nabo ekuchitheni igazi labaprofethe .	10,033	1966ro~1.txt	76
27	bonke bathi uJohane waye ngumphrofethi .”	9,096	1986sa~1.txt	68
36	kwakhulunywa uJehova ngomphrofethi	652	1994ne~1.txt	4
321	nguye akhuluma ngaye umprofethi u-Isaya,	643	1997sa~1.txt	5

Fig. 5.26(a): Concordances of the loanword ‘umprofethi’

In traditional Zulu culture, the religious rank similar to that of **umprofethi** did not exist, and so neither did the term. The concept of Christianity brought with it concepts which were non-existent in Zulu culture. The concept of a prophet is one such concept. It was a new and foreign term to the people, and there was no indigenous word to express it. Thus, the translators of the Book of Matthew chose to use a foreign term to express the notion of one who proclaims the divine message.

From this loan word, various other word categories were formed so as to domesticate the terms, as shown in the following concordances:

Other nouns could be formed from the loanword **umprofethi** :

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
273	u gcwaliseka ngabo isi profeto sika Isaya	6,967	1865ab~1.txt	39
1	Ku gcwaliseka kubo isiprofeto si ka Isaya,	6,259	1924ab~1.txt	36
2	Kugcwaliseka kubo isiprofetho sikalsaya	4,902	1959b&~1.txt	38
3	Kugcwaliseka kubo isiprofetho sika-Isaya	4,916	1997sa~1.txt	40
4	umqondo wako; futhi isiprofetho sika-Isaya	5,911	1994ne~1.txt	39

Fig. 5.26(b): Nouns formed from the loanword ‘umprofethi’

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
46	nye bammukula, bathi: Siprofethele ,	11,783	1959b&~1.txt	92
13	pama ebusweni, bethi: " Siprofethele ,	13,834	1994ne~1.txt	92
54	abaProfethi noMthetho, kwaprofetha kwaze	4,792	1994ne~1.txt	32
108	gesiko lenu. Bazenzisi, waprofetha kahle	5,936	1997sa~1.txt	48

Fig. 5.26(c): Verbs formed from the loanword ‘umprofethi’

Biblical loan verbs also take the various conjugations of the verb. The following biblical loan verbs shown in the concordances below express the negative, and have been formed by means of the negative prefix **a-** and the negative suffix **-nga**:

185	hla, Nkosi, Nkosi, a si profetanga yini	2,554	1924ab~1.txt	15
55	lolosuku, 'Nkosi, Nkosi, asiprofethanga yini	2,876	1994ne~1.txt	19
129	lo suku: `Nkosi, Nkosi, asiprofethanga yini	2,371	1997sa~1.txt	19

Fig. 5.26(d): Negative loan verbs

Possessives could be formed from **umprofethi**:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
11	mhlaumbe ng'omunye wabaprofete .	6,420	1897co~1.txt	51
16	mhlaumbe ungomunye wabaprofeti .	6,575	1924he~1.txt	51
15	Jeremiya noma omunye wabaprofethi .	6,437	1959b&~1.txt	50
14	kade endulo ngomlomo womprofethi	256	1986sa~1.txt	2
12	Jemiya noma ingomunye wabaprofethi ."	7,758	1994ne~1.txt	52
14	Jeremiya noma omunye wabaprofethi ."	6,460	1997sa~1.txt	53

Fig. 5.26(e): Possessives formed from the loanword 'umprofethi'

Adverbs of association could be formed from **umprofethi**:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
72	ambelele umteto wonke nabaprofeti .	13,097	1865ab~1.txt	72
61	ngoba loku ku umteto nabaprofeti . Ngenani	2,415	1924ab~1.txt	14
147	agcwaliseka okwashiwo ngomprofethi	11,952	1959b&~1.txt	93
200	ela ngithi kini, omkhulu kunomprofethe .	4,100	1966ro~1.txt	31
101	sonke sibheka uJohane njengomprofethi	10,263	1994ne~1.txt	68
66	kuba kulotshiwe kanjalo ngomprofethi	369	1997sa~1.txt	3

Fig. 5.26(f): Adverbs formed from the loanword 'umprofethi'

Copulatives could be formed from the loanword **umprofethi**:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
33	ba ti bonke, uJohane u ngumprofeti .	11,629	1924ab~1.txt	66
103	ba bonke bathi uJohane ungumprofethi .	8,577	1959b&~1.txt	67
9	bonke bathi uJohannes ngumprofethe .	8,907	1966ro~1.txt	67
3	Xwayani labo abathi bangabaphrofethi	2,397	1986sa~1.txt	18
91	lokho okwakhulunywa ngabaprofethi :	786	1994ne~1.txt	5
102	ba bonke bathi uJohane ungumprofethi ."	8,606	1997sa~1.txt	70

Fig. 5.26(g): Copulatives formed from the loanword 'umprofethi'

Nearly all the translators of the Book of Matthew used the loanword *umprofethi*. The 1848 ABM translation and its adaptation of 1855 by Colenso use the word *umazisi* (the one who makes known) (see Chapter par. 5.6.2 below) in place of the loanword *umprofethi*.

It should be noted that in all the translations that used the word *umprofethi*, the term was adapted to the morphological rules of the language, in that in all cases the class 1 prefix [*um-*] was prefixed to the foreign stem and a final vowel *-i* inserted at the end of the word. Grammatically, *umprofethi* has the plural form *abaprofethi* (prophets). The noun *isiprofetho* (prophecy) can also be derived from this word. The term was also phonologically and orthographically adapted to the Zulu language, although the */pr/* combination is not common in the language. Doke & Vilakazi (1972:683) maintain that this combination comes into effect when full Zuluisation cannot be carried out in certain foreign acquisitions.

On the contrary, Döhne (1866), in his translation of the Gospels, used the CVC syllabic pattern, as shown in the following concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
1	be be beka yena e nga <i>umpolofeti</i> .	8,600	1866do~1.txt	43
2	ulume nguye u Yesaya, <i>umpolofeti</i> , e ti :	1,063	1866do~1.txt	5
3	nzeke okushunyayelwe <i>umpolofeti</i> ukuti:	8,113	1866do~1.txt	41
4	unyayelwe ngu Yesaya, <i>umpolofeti</i> , ukuti:	1,632	1866do~1.txt	8

Fig. 5.26(h): Concordances of Döhne's *umpolofeti*

Döhne had the structure of language in mind when he adhered to the CVC syllabic pattern, whereas the rest of the translators did not. Döhne also followed the trend that avoided the use of consonant clusters containing the sound */r/*, which was foreign to the language, and thus preferred to use the liquid *//* instead. But due to the incorporation of foreign words into the language that contain consonant clusters with the sound */r/*, these clusters are now acceptable, as in personal and place names such as *uPetro*, *u-Andreya*, *u-Arkelawu*, *i-Kapernawume*.



5.6.1.1.2 *Ingelosi* (an angel)

The word *ingelosi* (angel) comes from the Greek word *ἄγγελος* which means 'messenger', 'the ambassador in human affairs, who speaks and acts in the place of the one who has sent him' (Brown 1975:101). Angels are supernatural beings who perform various functions at God's command. The following concordances of the loanword *ingelosi* were drawn from the corpus:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
35	zinhla lezi'zinto, kua ti <i>ingelosi</i> yika Jehova	320	1848ab~1.txt	2
38	e-se-be-mukile, kwa-ti, <i>inGelosi</i> yi-ka-YEHO	698	1855co~1.txt	4
30	E sa zindhla loku, <i>ingelosi</i> yeNkosi ya	311	1865ab~1.txt	2
24	kwomhlaba: ngobapela <i>ingelosi</i> yenKosi	12,419	1897co~1.txt	98
33	ngaloko e m yale ngako <i>ingelosi</i> yeNkosi,	387	1924ab~1.txt	2
29	onakala kuye epupweni <i>ingelosi</i> yeNkosi,	224	1924he~1.txt	2
28	Sezimukile, bheka, <i>ingelosi</i> ye-Nkosi y	453	1959b&~1.txt	3
32	ngalokhu nakho ke <i>ingelosi</i> yeNkosi	262	1966ro~1.txt	2
2	lemicabango wabona <i>ingilosi</i> yeNkosi ifika	214	1986sa~1.txt	2
31	ngalezizinto, bheka! <i>ingelosi</i> kaJehova	299	1994ne~1.txt	2
45	zindla ngalokho, bheka, <i>ingelosi</i> yeNkosi	241	1997sa~1.txt	2

Fig. 5.27: Concordances of the loanword *ingelosi*

Since such supernatural beings were non-existent in Zulu culture, the translators thus used a loanword to express this concept. The word *ingelosi* has now been naturalised in Zulu; that is, it has become permanently established after being introduced, to such an extent that in the language there are now Zulu idioms and metaphors which contain the word. To refer to kind-heartedness, the idiom formed by using *ingelosi* is *ukuba yingelosi* (to be an angel) and the metaphor to refer to a kindhearted person is *yingelosi* (he/she is an angel).

5.6.1.1.3 *Abafarisi* (Pharisees)

The Book of Matthew has loanwords that are used to designate Jewish social and national responsibilities. Although words such as 'Pharisees' and 'Sadducees' signify the use of Hebrew loanwords in the Book of Matthew, only the word 'Pharisees' will be used as illustration in this study. The following concordances of the loanword *abafarisi* (Pharisees), were drawn from the corpus:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
34	Maye nina Ababali n'Abafarisia abazenzisi;	16,033	1848ab~1.txt	76
35	Maye nina abaBali n'abaFarisia abaZenzisi!	16,198	1855co~1.txt	762
55	Kona, abatile kubabali nabaFarisi ba pendula	6,528	1865ab~1.txt	36
254	kuwo.' Sebebutene abaFarisi , uJesu waba	9,198	1897co~1.txt	73
256	Maye nina, babhali nabaFarisi , bazenzisi! n	12,861	1924ab~1.txt	73
246	nixwaye imvubelo yabaFarisi naSadusi . . .	6,468	1924he~1.txt	50
245	yaseMagadana. AbaFarisi nabaSadusi b	6,269	1959b&~1.txt	49
249	nixwaye imvubelo yabaFarisi nabaSadusi.	6,592	1966ro~1.txt	50
244	laseMagadani. Abafarisi nabasadusi ba	6,659	1986sa~1.txt	50
1	weza kuJesu abaFarisi nababhali bevela e	7,064	1994ne~1.txt	47
247	nixwaye imvubelo yabaFarisi nabaSadusi."	6,360	1997sa~1.txt	52

Fig. 5.28(a): Concordances of the loanword abafarisi

It is commonly believed that the name 'Pharisee' is derived from the Hellenised Hebrew word *Φαρισαῖος* from the Aramaic word *perushim*, signifying "to separate, owing to a different manner of life from that of the general". Of the three major religious societies of Judaism at the time of the New Testament (the Pharisees, the Sadducees, and the Essenes), the Pharisees were often the most vocal and influential. (Vine 1952:181).

As can be seen from the examples in the concordances above, the earlier translations did not use the word **abafarisi** which is a transliteration of the English word 'Pharisees' in their translations, but also used **abafarisia** which is a loanword from the Greek, as illustrated by the following concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
22	njalo e-Isiraeli. Kodua Abafarisia ba ti,	5,393	1848ab~1.txt	26
23	ku nga hluli o kuababali n'abafarisia,	2,128	1848ab~1.txt	11
24	Maye nina abaBali n'abaFarisia abaZenzisi!	16,157	1855co~1.txt	75
25	e-za ku-YESU abaBali nabaFarisia ba-be b	9,874	1855co~1.txt	46

Fig. 5.28(b): Concordances of the loanword abafarisia

The word **um(aba)farisi** 'Pharisee(s)' has also been naturalised. Idioms and metaphors have been created using this word. A verbal form formed from this word is **-farisa** (act like a hypocrite), the idiom is **ukuba ngumfarisi** (to be a hypocrite) and the metaphor is **ngumfarisi** (he is a hypocrite).

5.6.1.2 Religious festivals

Like the terms which expressed spiritual and religious figures, the translators of the Book of Matthew also had to borrow Hebrew and Greek terms which referred to Jewish religious festivals such as the Passover and the Sabbath, in order to express these concepts in Zulu.

5.6.1.2.1 *Iphasika* (Passover)

The word *iphasika* (Passover) is derived from the Hebrew word *pāsach* meaning to pass over or to spare, a feast instituted by God in commemoration of the deliverance of the children of Israel from Egypt. The following concordances of the loanword *iphasika* were drawn from the corpus:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
2	ba yalele, ba lungisa <i>ipasika</i> . Kua ti	18,552	1848ab~1.txt	88
3	be-ba-yalele, ba-lungisa <i>iPasika</i> . Kwa-ti	18,725	1855co~1.txt	87
4	kukaJesu, ba lungisa, <i>ipasika</i> . Se ku	15,668	1865ab~1.txt	871
1	shoyo uJesu, balungisa <i>iPaska</i> . Kwat'uba	11,003	1897co~1.txt	87
21	gako uJesu; ba lungisa <i>ipasika</i> . Kwa ti ku	15,241	1924ab~1.txt	87
8	ebayalile; balungisa <i>iphasika</i> . Kwathi	11,186	1959b&~1.txt	87
1	Jesu kubo, balungisela <i>iPhasika</i> . Kwathi	11,480	1966ro~1.txt	87
9	yonke ngomkhosi <i>wePhasika</i> ulusibalukhul	12,597	1986sa~1.txt	94
3	lungiselephi ukuba udle <i>iphasika</i> ?" Wathi:	13,086	1994ne~1.txt	87
7	ebayalile; `balungisa <i>iphasika</i> . Kwathi	11,067	1997sa~1.txt	90

Fig. 5.29: Concordances of *iphasika*

The Zulu word *iphasika* is a transliteration of the Hebrew word. It should be noted that all the translations used one form or another of the Hebrew word because such an institution was new to the Zulu culture.

5.6.1.2.2 *ISabatha* (Sabbath)

The use of the word *iSabatha* in the Book of Matthew is derived from the Hebrew word *shābath*, a term which designates the seventh day of the Jewish week, and a day marked by the cessation of work and by religious and ceremonial observances

(Evans & Porter 2000:1031). The following concordances of the loanword *iSabatha* were drawn from the corpus:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
104	kuba u kona om kulu ku <i>isabata</i> lapa. Kodua um	7,043	1848ab~1.txt	34
103	'Ku-vunyelwe uku-polisa <i>g'amaSabata</i> na?' ukuba	7,148	1855co~1.txt	34
115	bata abapristi ba lapula <i>isabata</i> etempelini,	5,999	1865ab~1.txt	33
101	emasimini ngosuku <i>lwesabata</i> ; kepa abafundi	6,543	1866do~1.txt	33
108	kwenu kungabi ebusika <i>nangesabata</i> . 1Ngoba la	9,935	1897co~1.txt	79
102	vumekile yini ukupilisa <i>ngesabata</i> na? ukuba ba	5,314	1924ab~1.txt	31
111	kwenu kungabi ebusika <i>nangesabata</i> . Ngoba lap	10,114	1924he~1.txt	78
106	wenu kungabi-sebusika <i>nangesabatha</i> . Ngokuba	9,759	1959b&~1.txt	76
112	ungabi sebusika kumbe <i>ngesabatha</i> . Ngoba kuy	10,350	1966ro~1.txt	78
124	uba kuphiliswe ngosuku <i>lwesabatha</i> na?" Besho	4,512	1986sa~1.txt	34
114	ethempelini baphatha <i>isabatha</i> njengelinge	5,106	1994ne~1.txt	34
109	wenu kungabi sebusika <i>nangesabatha</i> . Ngokuba	9,976	1997sa~1.txt	81

Fig. 5.30: The use of the word *iSabatha* in the Zulu Bible

The borrowing of this term from Hebrew did, as a matter of fact, address the question of the lack of an equivalent word, because such a practice was not present in Zulu culture. The concept of the observance of the Sabbath after the advent of Christianity, became so entrenched in the culture of the Zulu people that a folktale emerged which explains the dark patch seen when it is full moon. According to the folktale, a woman went out to chop firewood on the Sabbath when her young child did not stop crying because of hunger pangs. Her act made the Creator angry, and as a result the Creator stuck her onto the moon as punishment.

5.6.1.3 Religious practices

The religious practices of the Zulu people differed greatly from those of Christianity. A person does not have to profess acceptance of Zulu traditional religion by means of some act, as is the case with Christianity. Therefore, terms which designate such acts had to be carried over from the source text. The word *ukubhaphiza* (to baptise) will offer a suitable example in this case.

5.6.1.3.1 *Ukubhaphiza* (to baptise)

In Zulu traditional religion, a child is born into the religion and has to practise it his/her whole life. On the other hand, a person accepts Christianity by being baptised. Thus, baptism as an institution was introduced to the Zulu people by means of the translation of the Bible and, by confession, to accept Christ as their Saviour. Thus, all religious practices which came into the Zulu culture with Christianity were new to the people. We find examples of the word **-bhaphiza** (baptise) in the following concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
3	dise izizue zonke, ni zi bapatiza egameni	21,225	1848ab~1.txt	100
4	iziZwe zonke, ni-zi-bapatiza eGameni loYIS	21,459	1855co~1.txt	100
7	icatulo zake; yena u ya kunibapatiza	1,041	1865ab~1.txt	6
6	Mina kambe ngi ya ni bapatiza ngamanzi	1,217	1866do~1.txt	6
1	emlilweni. Mina kambe nginibapatiza	704	1897co~1.txt	6
5	ukuzitwala: yena u ya kunibapatiza	1,054	1924ab~1.txt	6
3	izicatulo z.ake, yena uyakunibapatiza	744	1924he~1.txt	6
1	izicathulo zakhe; yena uzakunibhaphiza	741	1959b&~1.txt	6
1	izicathulo zakhe, yena uzakunibhabhadisa	817	1966ro~1.txt	6
2	izono zabo, uJohane abesebabhabhadisa	735	1986sa~1.txt	5
5	ngakolwami uhlangothi, nginibhaphiza	923	1994ne~1.txt	6
2	izicathulo zakhe; yena uzakunibhaphiza	760	1997sa~1.txt	6

Fig. 5.31: Concordances of ukubhaphiza

All the translations used the loanword for baptism. No Zulu word could have been used that conveys such a meaning. The Zulu word **ukucwilisa** (to dip, to emerge) does not contain the same semantic content as the word **ukubhaphiza** (to baptise). The latter contains additional religious nuances that include the changing of past sinful ways and accepting Christ as personal Saviour.

It could be concluded that biblical loanwords did in a way develop and elaborate the language. Through the translation of the Bible, biblical loanwords from Greek and Hebrew helped in expressing concepts which did not exist in the language.

5.6.1.4 Words of Xhosa and Khoi origin in the Zulu Bible

In addition to words of Hebrew and Greek origin which were introduced into the Zulu language through the translation of the Bible, we also find Xhosa words that came into the language through the same process. The following concordance is an illustration of this:

5.6.1.4.1 *Unyana* (a son) in earlier translations

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
114	ekupupeni, i ti, Josefa, unyana ka Davida,	331	1848ab~1.txt	2
115	odua maye ku lomuntu Unyana womuntu	18,625	1848ab~1.txt	88
116	odwa maye ku-lomuNtu uNyana womuNtu	18,802	1855co~1.txt	88
117	Yena u-ya-ku-zala uNyana , wo-biza iGama	351	1855co~1.txt	2

Fig. 5.32: Concordances of *unyana*

From the concordances above, it is evident that only the American Board Mission in their 1848 translation of the Book of Matthew used the Xhosa word **unyana** (son) which was also used in Colenso's adaptation of this book. It is not known why the Americans preferred the Xhosa word over the Zulu one because the Zulu language had a word that could express this concept. Nevertheless, subsequent translations used the **indodana** for son as illustrated in the following concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%	
450	kuka Yesu Keristu, indodana ka Davida,	10	1866do~1.txt	0	
451	indodana ka'David, indodana ka'Abraham.	11	1897co~1.txt	0	
273	kepa maye lowo muntu iNdodana yomuntu	15,309	1924ab~1.txt	87	
449	oNgcwele. Uyakuzala indodana , igama	242	1924he~1.txt	2	
452	indodana kaDavide, indodana ka-Abrahama.	8	1959b&~1.txt	0	
457	bukaBaba, osezulwini. INdodana yomuntu	7,407	1966ro~1.txt	56	
274	UMariya uyoza indodana uyiqambe iga	237	1986sa~1.txt	2	
454	indodana kaDavide, indodana ka-Abrahama: 8		1994ne~1.txt	0	453
	indodana kaDavide, indodana ka-Abrahama. 8		1997sa~1.txt	0	

Fig. 5.33: Concordances of *indodana* in the later translations

It could be assumed that from the time the 1866 translation of Döhne was produced, it had already been decided that the Xhosa word should be dropped in favour of the already existing Zulu word. Both words carried the same connotations in both languages.

5.6.1.4.2 Words of Khoi origin: the term for the Supreme Being

Another term which entered the Zulu language through the translation of the Bible into Zulu, and which is still in popular use, is ***uThixo*** for the Supreme Being. Although it is claimed that this is a Xhosa term, in fact it is not. There is some disagreement amongst scholars of African traditional religion as to the meaning of the term ***uThixo***. Van der Kemp, who first worked amongst the Khoi, and became the first missionary among the Xhosa people, from 1799 to 1801, is widely quoted as saying that the Xhosa people had no word in their language by which they expressed the notion of the Deity and that they had received the word from neighbouring nations, and therefore ‘borrowed’ the word from the Khoi. Although the missionaries agreed on the Khoi derivation of ***uThixo***, their differences in opinion as to its original meaning were as many and varied as was their spelling of the word: ***uThixo***, ***uTikxo***, ***uTixo***, ***Thiko***, ***Utika***, ***uTikla***, ***uTikwa***, ***Tuika***, ***Thuuicke***, etc. (Hodgson 1982:42).

The following concordances of the use of the word ***uThixo*** were drawn from the corpus:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
29	zi bona: za dumisa <i>uTixo</i> ka Isiraeli.	10,268	1848ab~1.txt	49
28	nemure. Kepa zi yaliwe <i>uTixo</i> ngepupo	620	1865ab~1.txt	3
30	o bu ponswe eziko nje, <i>uTixo</i> u bu vatisile	3,322	1866do~1.txt	16

Fig. 5.34: Concordances of *uThixo*

From the above concordances it is obvious that the American Board Mission and Döhne preferred to use the term ***uThixo***. In the earliest translations of the Bible, the Zulu traditional terms for the Supreme Being were cast aside in preference for a word not known to the people because the missionaries felt that the use of these terms would mean the contamination of the Christian concept of the Supreme Being by Zulu religious practices, such as worship of the ancestors. The American missionaries rejected the word ***uNkulunkulu*** (the Great-Great One) which was used by the Zulu people to refer to the Supreme Being in their religious practices because, in addition to its association with creation myths which differed from the biblical account of creation, it seemed to have been the word used to refer to some sort of beetle, which travels about encased in bits of wood (Hermanson 2002:3-4). Therefore, the missionaries did not want to cause confusion by giving the impression

that the God they were proclaiming was an insect. On the other hand, the use of **uMvelinqangi** (the First-To-Appear), another term which the Zulu people used to refer to the Christian God, would suggest that He was the first of all created beings, whereas in reality, He is eternal (Hermanson 2002:3-4).

5.6.1.4.3 Colenso's coinage of **uDio**: The term for the Supreme Being

Trying to steer clear of vernacular words made Colenso use the word **uDio**, derived from the Latin term for the Supreme Being, *Deus*, in his adaptation of the American missionaries' translation of the Gospel of Matthew which appeared in 1855. Henry Callaway, a colleague of Colenso and later the Anglican Bishop of Kaffraria, also used **uDio** in his translations. He wrote extensively, both in books and letters to the newspapers, on what he understood to be the true meanings of the words already mentioned and various other terms used in Zulu religion and folklore, based on interviews with scores of informants over many years (Hermanson 2002:4).

The following concordances of the use of the word **uDio** were drawn from the corpus:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
1	a-nye. Ni-nge-konze uDio noMamona.	3,294	1855co~1.txt	16
2	Velo yenu na? Gokuba uDio wa-yaleza	9,922	1855co~1.txt	47
3	"gokuba gi-ya-jo ku-ni, uDio a-nga-vusela	1,113	1855co~1.txt	6

Fig. 5.35: Concordances of uDio

As shown on the concordances, it was Colenso only who used the term **uDio** for the Supreme Being. According to Hermanson (2002:6), this was the most disagreeable thing to do, since vowels do not occur side by side in the Zulu language and to avoid such an occurrence a semi-vowel is usually inserted to separate the vowels. Therefore, if this happens in this case, the word would completely change its meaning and become **udiwo** (a drinking pot).

5.6.1.5 Zulu terms for the Supreme Being

Although earlier translators preferred words outside the Zulu linguistic repertoire to refer to the Supreme Being, words pertaining to such a being

existed in Zulu long before the advent of the missionaries and their mission amongst the Zulu people. This section will focus on such words.

5.6.1.5.1 *UNkulunkulu* (the Great-great-One)

It is interesting to note that while the earliest missionaries had feared that the existing vernacular terms for God would convey unbiblical connotations about the Christian God to the people, Colenso concluded that they in fact conveyed the exact meaning of the Hebrew terms! In his translation of the New Testament, probably first to appear at the end of 1876 (Hermanson 1991:145) and republished in 1897, Colenso uses the term *uNkulunkulu* for God.

The following concordances illustrate the use of the term *uNkulunkulu* in the corpus:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
123	ngoba ngiti kinina, <i>uNkulunkulu</i> angavusela	680	1897co~1.txt	6
122	ngoba ngi ti kini, <i>uNkulunkulu</i> u namandhl	997	1924ab~1.txt	6
140	Jesu: Wotanda iNkosi, <i>uNkulunkulu</i> wako,	9,360	1924he~1.txt	72
136	Woyithanda i-Nkosi <i>uNkulunkulu</i> wakho	9,197	1959b&~1.txt	72
133	zakhe ethi UJivazile <i>uNkulunkulu</i> ;	12,060	1966ro~1.txt	91
124	khanda ngamatshe labo <i>uNkulunkulu</i>	10,342	1986sa~1.txt	77
125	ovivinyweni uJehova <i>uNkulunkulu</i> wakho.'	1,143	1994ne~1.txt	7
126	enza kwenu? Lokupela <i>uNkulunkulu</i> wati,	5,867	1897co~1.txt	46

Fig. 5.36(a): Concordances of *uNkulunkulu* in the Zulu Bible

The above concordances show that the term *uNkulunkulu* was first used by Colenso in his 1897 translation of the New Testament, the first edition of which, although undated, probably appeared at the end of 1876. The American missionaries, however, continued to use *uThixo*, not only in their 1848 translation of the Gospel of Matthew and their New Testament published in 1865, but also in their Bible which was published in 1883. However, in their extensive revision of the New Testament in 1917 and the complete Bible in 1924, they changed to *uNkulunkulu* (Hermanson: 2002:5).

When the British and Foreign Bible Society took charge of Zulu Bible translation, they also used *uNkulunkulu* in their 1959 translation. The Bible Society of South Africa, after they took responsibility for publishing the Zulu Bible, continued to use the word

uNkulunkulu in their reprint of 1977 and in the 1997 editions which use the term **uNkulunkulu** in the new orthography. The term **uNkulunkulu** is also used in the Catholic New Testament published in 1966 (Hermanson 1991:80; Hermanson 2002: 6).

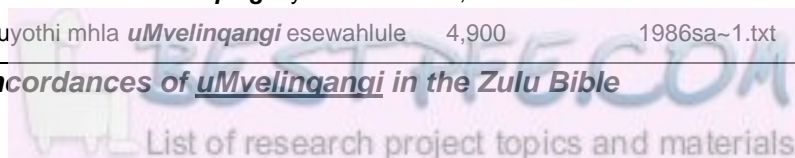
It is apparent from the foregoing discussion that the earliest missionaries attempted to replace the traditional Zulu word for the Supreme Being, **uNkulunkulu**, with **uThixo**, a Xhosa word derived from a Khoi or San language. They did this because they feared that the word **uNkulunkulu** carried connotations which were incompatible with the God revealed in the Bible. In spite of this, **uNkulunkulu** continued to be used by the Zulu people until it replaced **uThixo** in the Bible. However, the concept of **uNkulunkulu** which the people have today is quite distinct from the idea the people originally had before their encounter with Western missionaries, as its sphere of meaning has been completely changed to include the attributes of the Supreme Being of the Bible, showing that the missionaries' fears which initially made them reject the word, were totally unfounded. The word **uThixo** is also still used by many Zulu people today, and it is my feeling that, in the mind of the people, this word carries more weight when referring to the Christian God. Therefore, in a way, the translation of the Bible into Zulu did contribute to the development of modern language.

5.6.1.4.5.2 **uMvelinqangi** (the First-to-Appear)

The traditional Zulu are a people without a written past. They conducted their religious practices orally, and in their appeals to a Supreme Being they used the words **uNkulunkulu** or **uMvelinqangi** interchangeably. The following concordances of the use of the word **uMvelinqangi** were drawn from the corpus:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
1	aBaba osezulwini. Mhla uMvelinqangi esehlulela	2,474	1986sa~1.txt	18
2	okhu, besaba badumisa uMvelinqangi onike aban	3,057	1986sa~1.txt	23
3	umzwilili oshaywa uwe, uMvelinqangi engazi. Ka	3,831	1986sa~1.txt	29
4	gempela, mhla wosuku uMvelinqangi ayokwahlul	4,274	1986sa~1.txt	32
5	githi kini, mhla wosuku uMvelinqangi ayokwahlul	4,832	1986sa~1.txt	36
6	uku bazo. Kuyothi mhla uMvelinqangi esewahlule	4,900	1986sa~1.txt	37

Fig. 5.36(b): Concordances of uMvelinqangi in the Zulu Bible



With the arrival of Western missionaries and the subsequent translation of the Bible into Zulu, the concept of the Supreme Being as was originally known by the Zulu people, was changed and cast in a Christian mould. The earlier translations into Zulu adopted terms for the Supreme Being that were far removed from, and foreign to, the Zulu culture, such as ***uThixo*** which supposedly is a Khoi word which came into the Zulu lexicon via its Xhosa Bible translation meaning, and ***uDio*** loaned from the Latin word, 'Deus', (as explained in par. 5.6.1.4.2 and 5.6.1.4.3 respectively), for fear of using vernacular terms which might convey unbiblical connotations about the God revealed in the Bible.

All the translators of the Bible used borrowing to address the problem where there was a lack of an equivalent word in Zulu. According to Baker (1992:34), this strategy is commonly used by translators when dealing with culture-specific items. Through this process, biblical words entered the Zulu lexicon.

5.6.2 Derivation

Derivation is another term-formation process which was used by the translators of the Bible into Zulu. This is a method of word formation which mostly draws on the internal resources of a language, adding affixes (prefixes and suffixes) to the root. Prefixal morphemes are morphemes that are added to the beginning of other morphemes, and suffixal morphemes are morphemes that are added after other morphemes. Such morphemes are referred to as derivational morphemes. Derivational morphemes represent one of the important means whereby a language expands its vocabulary (Cluver 1989:258).

5.6.2.1 *Umazisi* (the one who makes known)

In Zulu, through derivational morphemes, new terms are created that belong to the same or to a different word category as the derived word. Nouns may be formed from other nouns by changing the prefix of the noun in question, and nouns may be formed from verbs by adding a noun prefix and replacing the final vowel of the verb with ***-i*** to denote personal nouns and with ***-o*** to denote impersonal nouns. The following concordances of derivation may be listed:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
17	hunayelua gu Jeremia umazisi ukuti,	19,865	1848ab~1.txt	93
18	shunayelua g'Ujeremia umazisi , ukuti	838	1848ab~1.txt	4
19	hunayelwa g'uYeremia umAzisi , uku-ti,	821	1855co~1.txt	4
20	hunayelwa guYeremia umAzisi uku-ti,	20,056	1855co~1.txt	93

Fig. 5.37: Concordances of umazisi

The 1848 translation by the American Board Mission and Colenso's adaptation of 1855 used derivation to create the term **uMazisi** (the one who makes known) to refer to a prophet, while the other translators used a loanword to refer to this concept. The noun, **uMazisi**, was formed from the causative verb **-azisa** (cause to know). This has been done by adding the class 1 prefix **[um-]** to the causative verb **[-azisa]**, and changing the final vowel to become the suffix **[-i]**. The use of this term fell into disfavour in subsequent years since it did not convey the exact sense of the foreign concept. As a result, the translators of subsequent translations preferred to use the loan word **umprofethi** or its other variants.

5.6.2.2 **Umzenzisi** (a pretender)

The earliest translation has used the word **umzenzisi** (a pretender), from **[-zenzis-]** (to make oneself) derived from the verb **[-enza]** (to do) with the causative extension **[-is-]** and the reflexive prefix **-z-** to refer to a Saducee. The following concordances are an illustration of the use of this derivation:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
1	liSweni lako na? Wena umZenzisi, qala u-gibe i	3,593	1855co~1.txt	17
2	'elisueni lako na? Wena umzenzisi. qala u gibe	3,539	1848ab~1.txt	17

Fig. 5.38: Concordances of Umzenzisi

5.6.2.3 **Umlingi** (a tempter)

In order to express the concept, 'tempter' in reference to the devil when he was tempting Christ, almost all the translations used the word **umlingi**, derived from the verb stem **[-linga]** (to test) as illustrated by the following concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
5	humi amane, wa lamba. Umlingi eza ku ye	1,341	1848ab~1.txt	7
1	humi amane, wa-lamba. umLingi e-za	1,338	1855co~1.txt	7
3	kulamba. Kwa. fika umlingi kuye, wa ti,	1,189	1865ab~1.txt	7
8	lamba kamva. Kepa umlingi we za kuye wa	1,401	1866do~1.txt	7
4	kulamba. Kwa fika umlingi wa ti kuye, Uma	1,180	1924ab~1.txt	7
9	walamba. Kweza kuye umlingi wati: Inxa	851	1924he~1.txt	7
10	walamba. Kwafika umlingi , wathi kuye:	846	1959b&~1.txt	7
2	lamba. Wayesesondela umlingi wathi kuye:	926	1966ro~1.txt	7
7	elambile. Kwafika lapho umlingi onguSathane910		1986sa~1.txt	7
6	azizwa elambile. Futhi, uMlingi weza wathi	1,064	1994ne~1.txt	7
11	walamba. Kwafika umlingi , wathi kuye:	863	1997sa~1.txt	7

Fig. 5.39(a): Concordances of umlingi

Deducing from the concordances above, it becomes apparent that Colenso, in his translation of the New Testament, did not use the term **umlingi** (a tempter), but instead used **olingayo** (the one who tempts), which is a qualifying word derived from the same root as **umlingi**, as shown in the concordance:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
1	lambile-ke. W'eza kuye olingayo wati, 'Inxa uy'in	822	1897co~1.txt	7

Fig. 5.39(b): The concordance of olingayo

It is evident that the translators of the Book of Matthew did not find derivation to be a very productive method of term-formation, as shown from the few examples of derivation which were drawn from the corpus.

Other words which acquired new meaning because of derivation are words derived from the verb stem **[-funda]** (learn, read) which through the use of the class prefix **[um-]**, became **umfundi** (a learner). Through the process of semantic extension (see par 5.6.3 below), the plural form of this word **abafundi** (learners) acquired a different meaning from that of learners to refer to Christ's disciples. A number of such instances occur in most translations, as illustrated by the following concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
570	a z'ahlula, wa zi nika ku abafundi bake, n'abafund	10,370	1848ab~1.txt	50
582	a zi hlepula, wa ba nika abafundi izinkwa, abafun	8,058	1865ab~1.txt	45
569	ona. Ba ti ukuzwa loku abafundi ba wa ngobuso	10,489	1866do~1.txt	53
571	eJerusalem, wa tabata abafundi aba ishumi na	10,803	1924ab~1.txt	61
583	Israel. UJesu wasebiza abafundi bake, wati: Ngi	6,309	1924he~1.txt	49
584	ona kwase kufika kuye abafundi bakaJohane, ba	3,029	1959b&~1.txt	23
566	kanjalo. Basebeqonda abafundi ukuthi kanti	7,061	1966ro~1.txt	53
565	kwabafileyo." Nokho, abafundi bambuza lomb	8,123	1994ne~1.txt	54
585	ona kwase kufika kuye abafundi bakaJohane, ba	3,047	1997sa~1.txt	25

Fig. 5.40: Concordances of abafundi (disciples)

Derivation was also instrumental in forming words such as **umbhalo** (writing). The class prefix [**um-**] has been prefixed to the verb stem [**-bhala**] (write), and the final vowel has been replaced with an impersonal suffix [**-o**]. The following instances of **umbhalo** were drawn from the corpus as illustrated by the following concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
1	pezulu kuekanda lake umbalo wecala o wa tiw	20,360	1848ab~1.txt	96
2	pezulu kweKanda lake umBalo weCala o-watiw	20,572	1855co~1.txt	96

Fig.5.41: Concordances of umbalo (writing)

The word **UMsindisi** (the Saviour) is another example of a derivative which came into the Zulu lexicon through Bible translation. **UMsindisi** has been formed by the use of the personal [**um-**] prefixed to the verb stem [**-sindisa**] (save from danger), and the final vowel replaced with a personal prefix, [**-i**].

5.6.3 Semantic shifts

It has been observed that the translators of the Book of Matthew into Zulu also used existing Zulu words with their meanings extended. This occurrence is commonly referred to as semantic shift. According to Stern (1931:163), semantic shift refers to the habitual modification among a comparatively large number of speakers of the traditional semantic range of the word, which results from the use of the word to denote one or more referents which it has not previously denoted. Baker (1992:31) refers to replacing a culture-specific item or expression with a target-language item which does not have the same propositional meaning, but is likely to have a similar

impact on the target reader as cultural substitution. She further maintains that the use of this strategy gives the target reader a concept with which he/she can identify something familiar and appealing.

As regards semantic transfer, Mtintsilana & Morris (1988:110) distinguish between semantic specialisation and semantic generalisation. Semantic specialisation means the narrowing of the original meaning of a word in the general language and semantic generalisation means that a word from the general language acquires a more general, extended meaning without losing its original meaning, that is, meaning-extension.

Stern (1931:340) sees meaning-extension as the unintentional use of a word to denote another referent than the usual one, owing to some similarity between the two referents. Both Wendland (1987:71) and Baker (1992:31) are of the opinion that another type of meaning-extension is the use of a cultural substitute in the translating the unfamiliar term, which refers to a well-known object or event in local or traditional setting of the receptor language. They maintain that this strategy involves replacing a culture-specific item or expression with a target language item which does not have the same propositional meaning, but is likely to have a similar impact on the target reader. The main advantage of using this strategy is that it gives the reader a concept with which s/he can identify something familiar. *izulu* (the sky); *ukukhuleka* (to give greetings of respect); *inkosi* (king); *ukukhonza* (to pay respect to) and *ukusindisa* (to save from danger) are the focus of this part of my discussion.

5.6.3.1 *izulu* (the sky)

To the Zulu people, prior to their encounter with Christianity, *izulu* (the sky) referred to a solid 'blue rock' which completely encircles the earth (Krige 1936:410) This meaning was extended to include the meaning of a different referent, 'heaven'. The following concordances illustrate the use of meaning-extension as a productive word-formation process used by the translators:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
50	ku ni; ku ze ku hlule izulu nomhlaba, a ku yi	2,052	1848ab~1.txt	10
51	ku-ni; ku-ze-ku-hlule izulu nomhlaba, a-ku-yi-2,	086	1855co~1.txt	10
64	kusa, ngokuba li beja izulu . Kusasa ni ti, li i z	8,909	1865ab~1.txt	49
53	kwalo. Futi o funga izulu , u funga isihlalo s	14,917	1866do~1.txt	75
36	pakati kwalo: nofunga izulu ufunga isihlalo	9,502	1897co~1.txt	75
27	konke. Ku ya kudhlula izulu nomhlaba,	13,865	1924ab~1.txt	79
56	ngohlezi kulo. Nofunga izulu ufunga isihlalo	9,697	1924he~1.txt	75
44	nakanye, noma izulu , ngokuba liyisihlalo	1,507	1959b&~1.txt	12
45	nakanye, noma izulu , lokhuphela liyisihl	1,608	1966ro~1.txt	12
47	nakanye! Ningalifungi izulu , ngoba liyisihlalo	1,624	1986sa~1.txt	12
43	nhlobo, noma izulu , ngoba liyisihlalo s	1,903	1994ne~1.txt	12
42	nakanye, noma izulu , ngokuba liyisihlalo	1,530	1997sa~1.txt	12

Fig. 5.42: Concordances of izulu

The concordances show that all the translations used the word **izulu** in reference to 'heaven' and 'heavenly things'. As a result, words such as **ezulwini** (in heaven) also acquired biblical connotations and we also find other words that collocate with the extended meaning of the word, **izulu**, acquiring biblical connotations: for instance, words such as **umbuso wezulu** (the kingdom of heaven), **inkosi yezulu** (the king of heaven), **ubaba osezulwini** (Our father who is in heaven), etc.

5.6.3.2 **Ukukhuleka** (give greetings of respect)

The basic meaning of the stem **[-khuleka]** is to 'give greetings of respect'. In Zulu traditional settings, the word **ukukhuleka** was usually used as a form of greeting by someone visiting a homestead. In doing so, the visitor announces his/her presence at the entrance of the homestead. The following concordances illustrate the use of the root **[-khulek-]** in the corpus:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
75	ezinyaweni zayo, ya yi kuleka , i ti,	12,247	1848ab~1.txt	58
104	elo'Cala gokuba wa-ngikuleka ; "Ga-u-nga-d	12,471	1855co~1.txt	58
90	ngobuso bake, wa kuleka, wa ti, Baba, um	16,003	1865ab~1.txt	89
91	ngobuso bakhe, wa kuleka , wa ti: Baba, uk	17,672	1866do~1.txt	89
100	lake, 'Hlalani lapa, kengiyekukuleka lapaya.	11,201	1897co~1.txt	89
99	wati mbo ngobuso, wakuleka , wati: Baba, u	11,437	1924he~1.txt	89
109	Ba ti ukumbona, ba kuleka kuye; kepa aban	17,606	1924ab~1.txt	100
67	unina, zawa phansi, zakhuleka kuye, zavula	429	1959b&~1.txt	3
66	iyakuthiwa yindlu yokukhuleka! Kepha nin	8,705	1966ro~1.txt	66
65	unqotshwa kuphela ngokukhuleka nokuzila	7,304	1986sa~1.txt	55
110	futhi wenze isenzo sokukhulekela kimi."	1,172	1994ne~1.txt	7
107	Kepha wena, nxa ukhuleka , ngena ekamel	1,772	1997sa~1.txt	14

Fig. 5.43: Concordances of ukukhuleka

The basic meaning of the stem [**-khuleka**] had nothing to do with Christian religion before the advent of the missionaries and the translation of the Bible into Zulu, but when the Bible was translated, the basic meaning was extended to express the biblical notion of praying or supplicating which is used interchangeably with the stem [**-thandaza**] (beseech, beg).

5.6.3.3 **Inkosi** (king)

The word **inkosi** (king) is a term of respect for royalty, rightly applicable to the one who may perform the **umkhosi** ceremony, that is, the ceremony of the first fruits, performed by the king or paramount chief and including medicinal stimulation of the chief, a review of all his soldiers and a blessing of the new crops (Doke & Vilakazi 1972:405). The following concordances illustrate the use of **inkosi** in the corpus:

	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
506	Tandaza ni ngako ku inkosi yokuvuna,	5,467	1848ab~1.txt	26
507	Tandaza-ni ngako ku-inkosi yokuVuna,	5,529	1855co~1.txt	26
516	Wa tula. Kona inkosi ya ti ezincekwini,	12,729	1865ab~1.txt	70
502	nabadakweyo; Kwo fika inkosi ya leyo,	16,072	1866do~1.txt	81
503	ofundisayo, umuntu kayidhlul' inkosi yake	3,575	1897co~1.txt	28
526	ni bone indawo lapa inkosi i bi lele kona.	17,421	1924ab~1.txt	99
504	uwe na? Ibisibapendula inkosi ngokuti;	10,919	1924he~1.txt	85
514	Kepha wathula. Khona inkosi yathi	8,973	1959b&~1.txt	70
508	esihlakaniphile, inkosi esibeke phezu ko	10,654	1966ro~1.txt	81
511	ngatheka akaphendula. inkosi yathi	9,500	1986sa~1.txt	71
515	namazwi. Khona-ke inkosi yathi ezincekwini	10,712	1994ne~1.txt	71
512	leziyo ekudleni. "Kuthe inkosi ingena	8,981	1997sa~1.txt	73

Fig. 5.44: Concordances of inkosi

In the Zulu Bible, the meaning of **inkosi** has been extended to express the notion 'Lord' in New Testament usage (Doke & Vilakazi 1972:405).

5.6.3.4 Ukukhonza (pay respect to)

Similarly, **ukukhonza** (to pay respect to), is a word which was used when a person wanted to subject him/herself to someone superior, or to show dutiful reverence to a king or senior member of society. The following concordances illustrate the use of **ukukhonza** in the corpus:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
21	Ku ngeko umuntu o nga konza amakosi	3,220	1848ab~1.txt	16
20	wasuka, wa-be-konza . Kwa-ti kwokuHLA	4,396	1855co~1.txt	21
1	su be vela eGalile, ba m konza. Wa e kona	17,501	1865ab~1.txt	97
27	A u ko umuntu o nga konza izinkosi ezimbili; 3,164		1866do~1.txt	16
23	loko; kodwa ofunga ngokwokukonza okupez9,469		1897co~1.txt	75
28	setilongweni, ka sa ku konza na? I bi si ba	14,901	1924ab~1.txt	85
22	ukukonzwa; ize kukonza pela nokdnikela	8,306	1924he~1.txt	64
2	uJesu bevela eGalile, bemkhonza ; phakathi	12,459	1959b&~1.txt	97
1	kusukela eGalileya, ababemkhonza . Phakat	12,832	1966ro~1.txt	97
3	"Akukho muntu ongakhonza amakhosi a	2,078	1986sa~1.txt	15
4	izingelosi zeza zaqala ukumkhonza . Manje	1,206	1994ne~1.txt	8
5	ukukonzwa kepha ukukhonza nokunikela	8,198	1997sa~1.txt	66

Fig. 5.45: Concordances of ukukhonza

In the Zulu Bible, the meaning of this word was extended to express the notion of 'worship', the practice of showing respect for God. The impersonal noun, *inkonzo*, 'church service', is derived from the verb, [-*khonza*]. The different types of services conducted in church would then be qualified accordingly as *inkonzo yesilo senkosi* (Holy communion service); *inkonzo yokubhaphathiza* (baptismal service); *inkonzo yomngcwabo* (funeral service); *inkonzo yesikhumbuzo* (memorial service), etc.

5.6.3.5 *Ukusindisa* (to save from danger)

The word *ukusindisa* (to save from danger) appears several times in the Book of Matthew. The basic meaning of *ukusindisa* as described by Doke & Vilakazi (1972:758) is saving or rescuing from danger. We do find in the Book of Matthew instances where *ukusindisa* has been used to denote the basic meaning of saving from danger, as illustrated by the concordance below:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
166	uEliya u-ya-ku-za <i>a-m-sindise</i> na?' Wa-ti	20,792	1855co~1.txt	97
160	bamvusa, bathi: Nkosi, <i>sisindise</i> , safa.	2,739	1959b&~1.txt	21

Fig. 5.46(a): Concordances of *ukusindisa*

With the introduction of Christianity amongst the Zulu people, this meaning acquired biblical overtones. The following concordances illustrate the use of *ukusindisa* in the corpus:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
163	womuntu u fikile <i>u ku sindisa</i> loko	11,844	1848ab~1.txt	57
154	sindisa abanye, <i>a nge zisindise</i> yena. Uma	17,288	1865ab~1.txt	96
153	wa kala wa ti: <i>ngi sindise</i> , Nkosi. Wa tjetja	9,029	1866do~1.txt	45
159	ukutemba kwako <i>kukusindisile</i> .' Owesifaz	3,132	1897co~1.txt	25
155	sindisa abanye: <i>a nge zisindise</i> yena.	16,915	1924ab~1.txt	96
137	ukuti uEliya u za <i>kuza kumsindisa</i> na?	17,040	1924ab~1.txt	96
158	ukukholwa kwakho <i>kukusindisile</i> .	3,332	1966ro~1.txt	25
161	Wakhala wathi: "Nkosi, <i>ngisindise!</i> " UJesu	6,150	1986sa~1.txt	46
157	aba sekupheleni nguye <i>oyosindiswa</i> .	11,771	1994ne~1.txt	78
172	ukukholwa kwakho <i>kukusindisile</i> ." Wasinda	3,179	1997sa~1.txt	26

Fig. 5.46(b): Concordances of *ukusindisa*

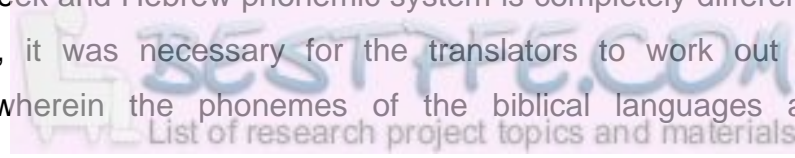
Ukusindisa (to save) and **usindiso** (salvation) as biblical concepts deriving from extending the basic meaning of saving, mean more than just saving, because these terms now mean the state of being saved from the power of evil. **UMsindisi** (Saviour) is another word which came into the lexicon of Zulu through the translation of the Bible into the language, by using meaning-extension as a strategy for a lack of equivalence.

5.7 The transliteration of Greek and Hebrew names

The spelling of personal names that are encountered in the various translations of the Book of Matthew points to the development of Zulu orthography when we look at the many different spellings of the same name which occur in the various translations. Among the many and varied problems which have faced the translators of the Book of Matthew has been the issue of transcribing Hebrew and Greek proper names, some of which were also derived from Latin, into Zulu. In this section of my discussion, I will examine a few personal names found in the book of Matthew.

In Zulu traditional settings, a new-born was given a name according to the circumstances of his/her birth, but, with the advent of Christianity, Christian converts gave their offspring names after prominent biblical personalities. This was motivated by the character of the personality. When a biblical name was used, it would either be kept as it is in the source language, or be transliterated, so that it may be pronounced in a way which sounds as close to the receptor language as possible. As a result, the translation committees which had to work on the dynamic of functional equivalent translations in the languages of southern Africa, including Afrikaans, each found it crucial to revise the spelling of biblical proper names (Hermanson 1991:4-5).

Seeing that the Zulu language is written in Roman script, the names in the Old Testament in Hebrew script and those in the New Testament in Greek script, Hermanson (1991:9) emphasises that the Zulu translator has to have some means of transliterating the names, for s/he cannot simply match a letter in the Greek or Hebrew script with one in the Roman script. The other factor is that of the phonemic system. The Greek and Hebrew phonemic system is completely different from that of Zulu: therefore, it was necessary for the translators to work out a system of transliteration wherein the phonemes of the biblical languages are not only



represented by the nearest approximations in Zulu, but where the structure of the phonemes also conforms to the normal Zulu phonemic structure.

Hermanson (1991:13) maintains that of the 357 personal names which he examined in the nine translations that formed the corpus of his study, no more than ten have been spelt consistently throughout, even if allowance was made for changes in the orthography. In the next section of our discussion we will look at the different ways in which biblical proper names were written in the different texts, as illustrated by the following concordances:

Of all the Greek and Hebrew personal names that have been transliterated into Zulu used in the Book of Matthew, a few will be used to sample their use as markers towards the development of language.

5.6.4.1 *UPetro* (Petrus)

Hermanson (1991:69) has observed the following regarding Zulu personal names: all Zulu personal names are nouns belonging to class 1(a), and have the prefix [**u-**]; and all Zulu personal nouns end with an open syllable and thus in a vowel. From this fact, it follows that personal names derived from other languages require the prefix [**u-**] or [**o-**] (for plural) in order to function as a personal noun in line with all other Zulu personal names. If the name does not end in a vowel, a vowel should be supplied so that the personal name conforms to the structure of other Zulu nouns.

The Greek name Πέτρος derived from the word πέτρος which has as its root the meaning 'rock' has been transliterated in different ways in the Zulu translations of the Book of Matthew. It is interesting to note that two of the earlier translations, that is, the 1848 translation by the American Board Mission and its adoption by Colenso, tried to transliterate this personal name by taking into consideration the syllabic structure of the Zulu language which is CV, as illustrated in the concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
31	o ku tyayileyo na? <i>Upiterosi</i> wa be e hlezi	19,580	1848ab~1.txt	92
32	ngi mi, ni nga sabi. <i>Upiterosi</i> wa m pendula	9,590	1848ab~1.txt	46
30	o-ku-jayileyo na?' <i>uPiterosi</i> wa-be-e-hlezi	19,775	1855co~1.txt	92
33	ngi-Mi, ni-nga-sabi.' <i>uPiterosi</i> wa-m-pendula	9,717	1855co~1.txt	46

Fig. 5.47(a): Concordances of Upiterosi

The translators of subsequent translations chose not to use the representations that were used by the two earlier translators, but to introduce a new phonemic combination in the language, as shown in the concordances below:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
184	Wa penduka wa ti ku Petro , Suka, Satani,	9,280	1865ab~1.txt	51
183	wa pendula wa ti ku Petros : suka Satana,	10,208	1866do~1.txt	51
187	izelamani, uSimon okutiwa uPetro , noAndru	996	1897co~1.txt	8
188	ezibili, uSimon, otiwa uPetrus , noAndreas,	1,029	1924he~1.txt	8
195	yimina, ningesabi. UPetrus wasependula,	5,871	1924he~1.txt	45
185	zimbili, uSimoni othiwa uPetru noAndreya	1,027	1959b&~1.txt	8
1189	uSimon, othiwa ngu Petrus , no Andreas	1,110	1966ro~1.txt	8
198	okushayile?" Manje uPetru wayehlezi	13,840	1994ne~1.txt	92
86	zimbili, uSimoni othiwa uPetru no-Andreya	1,047	1997sa~1.txt	8

Fig. 5.47(b): Concordances of uPetru

As can be seen, different representations of the Greek personal name Πέτρος are realised as **uPetro**, **uPetros**, **uPetru**, **uPetrus** in the various translations. Inferring from the concordances above, one is inclined to assume that **uPetro** and **uPetros** were used during the earlier stages in the development of the language and **uPetrus** and **uPetru** during the later stages. In instances where the final /s/ was dropped, the principle stating that all Zulu personal nouns end with an open syllable applied.

The principle that was advanced by the translators of the 1986 New Testament and Psalms regarding the final vowel, is that if the name derives from Greek, the final vowel should be **-o** and if the name derives from Latin, the final vowel should be **-u** (Hermanson 1991:126-127,178). On the other hand, the 1986 translation took into account the phonological system of the target language, Zulu, and came up with a phonologically different personal name, as illustrated by the following concordances:

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
1	nguSimoni okuthiwa nguPhetro nomfowabo	3,494	1986sa~1.txt	26
2	yethempeli basondela kuPhetro bambuza	7,334	1986sa~1.txt	55
3	wabona umkhwekazi kaPhetro elele phansi,	2,744	1986sa~1.txt	20
4	usungiphike kathathu." UPhetro waphendula	11,889	1986sa~1.txt	88
6	ngithi kuwe: Wena unguPhetro . Kulelidwala	6,893	1986sa~1.txt	52

Fig. 5.47(c): Concordances of uPhetro

The 1986 translation, in its representation of the Greek personal name Πέτρος, allowed for the foreign phoneme /p/ to have the pronunciation that it would have naturally in Zulu when the name was transliterated into Zulu. Thus, the use of the aspirated /ph/ was used.

The transliteration of the Greek personal name Πέτρος into Zulu introduced phonemes and phonemic combinations that are new and unfamiliar to the Zulu language. Before the Bible was translated into Zulu, the phoneme /r/ was non-existent in the language, as was the phonemic combination /tr/. We can therefore construe that new phonemes and phonemic combinations which came about in Zulu are also important milestones in the development of the language.

5.6.4.2 U-Emanuweli (Emmanuel)

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
1	wo biza igama lake Umanoeli , e li'kukumsha	401	1848ab~1.txt	2
1	wo-biza iGama lake UIMANUELE , eli'ku-	395	1855co~1.txt	2
1	kuqamba igama layo uEmanueli , oku ukuti,	382	1865ab~1.txt	2
2	yi bize ibizo eli ngu Imanuweli , oku, ngakuti,	473	1866do~1.txt	2
2	bayite igama layo, bati uEmanuel ,	263	1897co~1.txt	2
5	yiqamba igama layo ngokuti ulmanuweli ,	368	1924ab~1.txt	2
1	igama layo ngokuti ulmanuel ; oku ukuti	274	1924he~1.txt	2
3	uyiqamba igama lokuthi uEmanuweli oku	267	1959b&~1.txt	2
1	yiqamba ngokuthi ' u Emmanuel ', oku	316	1966ro~1.txt	2
1	bayibize ngelokuthi ngulmanuweli '	267	1986sa~1.txt	2
1	iqamba igama lokuthi u-Emanuweli ," elisho	356	1994ne~1.txt	2
2	iqamba igama lokuthi u-Emanuweli ," oku	290	1997sa~1.txt	2

Fig. 4.48: Concordances of uEmanuweli

Several variants of the Hebrew personal name, 'Emmanuel', which, according to the Bible, means 'God is with us', have been used by all the translators of the Book of Matthew. It has evolved from being **Umanoeli**, the first time it was used in the 1848 translation, to **u-Emanuweli** in the latest 1997 version.

5.6.4.3 *URakheli* (Rachel)

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
2	lokukalela o ku kulu; URakela e kalela	850	1848ab~1.txt	4
1	elokuKakela `oku-kulu; uRakela e-kalela	832	1855co~1.txt	4
1	nokudabuka okukulu ; uRakeli e kalela	759	1865ab~1.txt	4
2	nezinsizi kakulu : u Rakele e kalela abantwa	918	1866do~1.txt	4
1	kulila nokukala nesililo, uRakele ekalela	523	1897co~1.txt	4
1	ukala nokulila okukulu, uRatsheli	761	1924ab~1.txt	4
1	abuka nokulila okukulu, uRahel ekalela	538	1924he~1.txt	4
3	hala nokulila okukhulu, uRakheli ekhalela	538	1959b&~1.txt	4
1	kumbongoza okukhulu: uRakhel ekhalela	609	1966ro~1.txt	4
1	lokhalayo ekhahla isililo. URasheli	591	1986sa~1.txt	4
1	kubangalasa okukhulu; kwakungu Raheli	705	1994ne~1.txt	4
2	hala nokulila okukhulu, uRakheli ekhalela	552	1997sa~1.txt	4

Fig. 5.49: Concordances of uRakheli

Although I could not get the Hebrew way of writing this personal name, it is remarkable how differently it was rendered in the different translations of the Book of Matthew. Inferences made from Hermanson (1991:181) are that translations which used ‘h’ or ‘k/kh’, follow the velar or glottural sound of the Greek, which is similar to the Hebrew, while those that used ‘tsh’ or ‘sh’ were probably influenced by the English pronunciation of Rachel. Thus, translations which settled for **uRatsheli**, **uRahel**, **uRasheli** and **uRasheli**, namely being the 1924 New Testament of the American Board Mission; the 1924 New Testament of the Hermannsburg Mission; the 1986 New Testament and Psalms by the Bible Society of South Africa and the New Testament of the New World Translation therefore largely followed the English spelling of the personal name.

5.6.4.4 *U-Abrahama* (Abraham)

N	Concordance	Word No.	File	%
2	uluana zonke zi qala ku Abehama zi fika	227	1848ab~1.txt	1
3	Iwana zonke, zi-qala ku- Abehama zi-fika	218	1855co~1.txt	1
40	zindhli ngokuti, Si noAbrahama ubaba wetu	978	1865ab~1.txt	6
2	ka Davida, indodana ka Abahame .	15	1866do~1.txt	0
32	ka'David, indodana ka'Abraham . uAbraham	12	1897co~1.txt	0
45	zonke zisuka ku Abraham zi ye ku David	212	1924ab~1.txt	1
46	NginguNkulunkulu kaAbraham , noNkulunkulu	9,318	1924he~1.txt	72
41	wenu ukuthi: Sinobaba uAbrahama ; ngo	702	1959b&~1.txt	5
26	kaDavid, indodana ka Abraham .	17	1966ro~1.txt	0
3	zonke kusukela kuAbhrahama kuze kufik	149	1986sa~1.txt	1
43	ukuthi, 'Ubaba wethu u-Abrahama .' Ngoba	896	1994ne~1.txt	6
31	indodana ka-Abrahama. U-Abrahama	10	1997sa~1.txt	0

Fig. 5.50: Concordances of u-Abrahama

Although the translators of the Book of Matthew had to work in such a manner that the phonemes of the biblical language are represented by the nearest approximants in Zulu and that the structure of the phonemes conforms to the normal Zulu phonemic structure, this was not the case with the transliteration of 'Abraham' in the two earliest translations. Perhaps, the knowledge that the phoneme /r/ did not exist in the language might have been a determining factor for the earliest translators to render this name as **Abehama**.

Hermanson (1991:169) is of the opinion that when transliterating biblical names into Zulu, the translators were more interested in transposing from Greek or the language of the missionary, than in reproducing the name in the way in which a Zulu person would find it most natural to pronounce. Thus 'Abraham' was rendered in different ways that included, **uAbelama**, **uAbehama** and **uAbahama** before becoming **uAbrahama**. The most striking point which he highlights is the fact that this personal name was never written as **uAbhulahama**, although many Zulu speaking people over the years have pronounced it this way, or as **uAbhulahamu**. He further alleges that many problems of transliteration could have been averted, had the translators closely studied the way in which the Zulu people themselves adopt words from English and Afrikaans into their language.

Although one may concur with Hermanson's argument, there had to be a starting point. Thus, the various improvements which were made over the years on the best manner of transliterating Greek and Hebrew personal names into Zulu were in fact landmarks towards the development of the written language.

5.6.5 Standardisation

As it has been shown in the discussion above, the major difficulty that faced the translators of the Book of Matthew into Zulu was the lack of one standard form. The process by which one standard form is established is referred to as standardisation. Crystal (1985:286) defines standardisation as a natural development of a standard language in a speech community or an attempt by a community to impose one dialect as standard. This concurs with Hudson (1980:32) who states that standardisation is a direct and deliberate intervention by society to create a standard language where before there were just 'dialects', that is, non-standard varieties of the language.

This means that one variety is elevated among the various dialects to become a standard language, used especially in education and in some selected official and socio-cultural communications. The elevated dialect automatically gains prestige over other dialects, and will subsequently be regarded as a 'language' while the other varieties remain dialects. This not only elevates the status of the dialect, but also that of its speakers, its terminology, its orthography, etc. As a result of standardisation, more attention is paid to the development of the elevated variety with regard to linguistic and literary development, while other dialects are deliberately neglected, in a manner to discourage people from using these varieties (Mojela 1999:8-12). A process of development follows after a specific variety has been selected or when the newly created variety is arrived at (Ansre 1971:371).

Van Huyssteen (2003:38) brings to light the fact that the Zulu language was unified by Shaka through his conquests of other tribes and that he decreed that the language to be used in his presence, by other tribes, such as the *Lala*, be his Ntungwa variety only. The graphisation of the language was done by the American Board Mission (cf. Chapter 3 par. 3.7). According to Van Huyssteen (2003) in Nguni languages graphisation was characterised by orthographical changes due to language development. She points out that in some of the earliest Zulu orthographies

phonetic symbols were used alongside roman symbols. This was not seen to be the case as regards the Zulu Bible. The Zulu language was codified when dictionaries, grammars, readers and newspapers were published (cf. Chapter 3 par. 3.8.1). The Zulu literary system also developed (cf. Chapter 3 par. 3.8.2).

On the issue of elaboration which Van Huyssteen (2003) refers to as implying the expansion of technical vocabulary and the establishment of formal writing conventions so that the new standard can be used in law, health care, government, etc., there is still a shortage of technological terminology in educational and public sector. Van Huyssteen further highlights that Zulu is used only in the primary schools as medium of instruction for scientific technical subjects and as a subject Zulu is taught up to matric. Mother-tongue speakers are presently taught Zulu through the medium of Zulu only at a few South African universities. In most universities both Zulu and English are used: Zulu, for literature and English for Zulu linguistics. In cases where Zulu is offered to non-mother tongue speakers, the medium of instruction is Afrikaans or English depending on the language(s) of tuition chosen by the specific institution. Regarding term development in the indigenous languages of South Africa, especially in Zulu, no clear-cut policy has ever been formulated by the South African policy makers.

5.6. Conclusion

Written Zulu has come a long way, from the time it was first based on European grammatical standards, through disjunctivism to conjunctivism and on to conjunctivism with some disjunctivism. Major developments have occurred in the phonological, morphological systems of the language, in the lexicon and in the way Greek and Hebrew words are transliterated into the language. Although deviant forms still exist standard forms of the written language have been fixed.

CHAPTER 6

FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATION

6.1 Introduction

In this section my primary aim is to establish to what extent the shifts identified in the various translations of the Book of Matthew in Chapter 5 measure the development and growth of written Zulu. I will also establish the predominant norms and translation strategies used by the various translators of the Book of Matthew into Zulu and, if possible, determine whether these strategies provide evidence of universals of translation behaviour, or whether they should be considered to be specific stylistic interventions on the part of Zulu Bible translators.

First, I will provide a brief background to the various translations, as well as their contributions to the development and growth of written Zulu. This will lead to establishing the strategies which the translators used in rendering various new concepts in Zulu, and then to an examination of the predominant norms to which the translators subjected themselves. In presuming the source texts used by the translators, it should be understood that various translators used the original Hebrew and Greek and/or the text in their own language as their source. It should be noted that even if they used the original Hebrew and Greek as their main source text, the Bible text in their own language with which they were most familiar, obviously influenced their decisions in many cases. This, thus makes establishing 'source text orientation' difficult at times.

Given the fact that the translators of the translations in my corpus came from different linguistic and theological backgrounds, the Zulu Bible translations have revealed a number of lexical developments which I consider either to have been successful (because they have been absorbed into the Zulu lexicon), partly successful (because they are now used within certain communities, such as the Catholic Church), or which

failed and never became part of the Zulu lexicon. In addition, it is evident that some translations used archaic Zulu words which have completely fallen into disuse, while the 1986 translation shows that some of the vocabulary, neologisms, extensions and other linguistic features used in earlier translations were not really necessary, because there were adequate Zulu terms to convey the meaning of the source text to the target audience.

The discussion of the interpretation of my findings will follow the chronological order of the translations themselves. Therefore, the sequence will be as follows: the translations of the American Board Mission; Colenso's translations; Döhne's translation; the Hermannsburg translation; the translation of the British and Foreign Bible Society; the translation of the Roman Catholic Mission; the translation of the Bible Society of South Africa, which was based on the principle of dynamic equivalence, the revised edition of the 1959 translation by the Bible Society of South Africa and lastly the New World translation by the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society.

6.2 The translations of the American Board Mission: the 1848 translation of the Book of Matthew: the 1865 translation of the New Testament and the 1924 translation of the Bible

As mentioned previously in Chapter 1 par 1.3 and in Chapter 3 par 3.7, the American Board Missionaries produced the 1848 translation of the Gospel of Matthew, the 1865 translation of the New Testament and the 1924 translation of the entire Bible, which have been used as part of the corpus of this study. It should be remembered that the American Board Missionaries were amongst the first to set the Zulu language to writing starting with *Incuadi yokuqala yabafundayo* (The first book of the learners).

During the period of their production, the translations of American Board Missionaries, could be assumed to have occupied a primary position in the polysystem of Zulu literature, acting by and large as innovatory forces and introducing features into the Zulu literary system which did not exist before, such as the use of the Roman alphabet in writing the Zulu language. Their choice of the Roman script could be attributed to the fact that this alphabet was the one they used in writing their own home language. They

also decided on writing the Zulu language in a disjunctive manner because this was the way in which words were written in English, the language they spoke, read and wrote.

Since the Zulu literary system was not in existence during the period of the American Board Missionaries, no major literary texts in all genres and types could be created immediately: thus, for such purposes, the Zulu literary system drew from the translation of the Bible for details and also relied on the experiences of other literatures. As a result, early Zulu writers devoted their works to biblical themes. In this regard, the first translations of the Bible by the American Board Mission played a very significant ground-breaking role in the Zulu literary system, in that they made it possible for the Zulu language to begin to function as a literary language.

The American Board Mission translators could be said to have based their initial norm on the concept of formal equivalence. They demonstrate to a great extent that they subjected themselves to the norms of the original text, with its textual relations and the norms expressed by it and contained in it. Their translations focused on the message conveyed by the source text both in form and content. The concern of these translators was that the message which would be received by the Zulu people who had no knowledge of God's message, should match as closely as possible the different elements of the source text, and consequently the source text language.

This tendency is highly prevalent in the 1848 translation which reveals an inclination towards the source text, and therefore the source culture. A number of elements observed in this translation are a demonstration of this. Listed amongst these items is the way in which capitalisation was effected in this translation. Capitalisation was done in a manner that shows source-text orientation in personal names, since the initial vowel which in modern Zulu is a prefix and not part of the personal name, is capitalised, as in the following example:

Kua ti Ujesu wa ya ehlane e rolelua g'Umoya ukuba a lingue g'Usatani.

(Then Jesus was led to the wilderness by the Spirit to be tested by the Devil.)

The translators of the 1848 translation held the view that was also held by early Zulu grammarians such as Grout (1893) and Bryant (1905) as alluded to by Van Huyssteen (1993:85), who contended that, in Zulu, capitalisation should occur in:

- sentence initial letters, e.g. ***Lungisa ni inhlela yikaJehova, ni z'enze zi be lungile izinyatuko zake.*** (Prepare the way of the Lord, make his paths straight.)
- initial letters in personal names, e.g. ***Kua ti ga leyo'mihla we za Ujoani Umbapatisi.*** (In those days John the Baptist came); and in
- letters that occur in Class 1 as exemplified by the noun ***Umbapatisi*** (the Baptist)

The most significant improvement on this tendency was seen in the 1865 translation when, in addition to capitalising the sentence initial letters, the initial letter of the personal noun was capitalised, e.g. ***uIsaya*** (Isaiah) and not the vowel of the noun prefix as was done by the 1848 translators. Another significant improvement seen as a milestone in the development of written Zulu in the 1865 translation is that of distinguishing indirect from direct speech. After the expression ***-ti*** (saying), the letter which indicated the beginning of direct speech is capitalised, as in ***zi ti, U pi lowo o zelwe e inkosi yabaJuda na?*** (saying, Where is the one born king of the Jews?)

Phonological shifts which I consider to be greatly problematic, particularly for the 1848 translators, also attest to the fact that the translators of the 1848 translation were oriented mainly towards the source culture. Vowel combinations such ***ua, ue, ui, uo*** and ***au*** which are not familiar in the Zulu language, abound in this translation as exemplified in words such as ***abantuana*** (children), ***bodua*** (alone), ***wa valua*** (it was closed), ***emlilueni*** (on the fire), ***o yingcuele*** (*the* Holy one), ***amazui*** (words), ***enhluni*** (in the house), ***kuokunqoba*** (conquering), ***kuokuona*** (sinning), ***aba nesihau*** (who are merciful), ***au*** (oh), etc.

The use of the semi-vowel ***w***, and the dropping of the other vowel in the combination to avoid juxtaposition of vowels, which was introduced in the 1865 translation, proved to be a significant development towards written Zulu. In this translation, the vowel, ***u***, in the combination was replaced with the semi-vowel, as in words such as ***abantwana***

(children), **amazwi** (words), **emilweni** (on the fire), or the vowel **u** in the combination is dropped, as in **kokona** (sinning). Despite this development which is also endorsed by use of the object concord [-yi-], in instances such as **Ni ya kuyiswa kubabusi, na semakosini** (You will be taken to rulers, and to kings) contradicts the use of vowel combinations such as **ui** which also still occurs in the 1865 translation, as exemplified by **Ba ya kujhlonipa** (They will respect him).

No evidence of vowel combinations is evident in the 1924 translation. It could thus be assumed that the most significant improvements as regards juxtaposed vowels were set right in the 1865 translation. The tendency to replace the first juxtaposed vowel with the semivowel **w**, was established with the 1865 translation. Subsequently, one of the strategies used by the translators of the Bible into Zulu was to use semi-vowels to separate juxtaposed vowels.

Another phonological feature which reveals source-text orientation in the translations by the American Board Missionaries is the lack of aspiration in all evidently aspirated sounds, as exemplified by words such as **ukupila** (to live); **ezikulu** (big); **tabata** (take); **ucoko** (leprosy), **igude** (a cock). Sound changes which clearly occur with aspirated plosives prefixed before prefixes that contain a nasal are found in noun classes 9 and 10, e.g. the noun prefixes **iN-** or **iziN-** and the adjective prefixes **eN-** or **eziN-**. When stems which begin with aspirated sounds are added to these prefixes, a phonological process known as nasalisation occurs. This can clearly be seen when we look at words which have, or do not have, the nasal prefix, **iN-**; **iziN-**; **eN-** and **eziN-**, such as the following:

Amadoda amakhulu (big men)

Izincwadi ezinkulu (big books)

Amakhosikazi aseGibhithe (Women of Egypt)

Inkosikazi yaseGibhithe (A woman of Egypt)

It is also apparent that the earlier translators obviously did not realise that this phonological process also occurs with the adjective of class 8, in spite of the fact that

there is no nasal present in either the class 7 noun or adjective prefixes, nor in the class 8 noun prefix. So, not seeing a nasal in the singular adjective, they logically formed the plural adjective without a nasal also. So, in the 1848 translation of the American Board Mission, we find: *wa bona isixuku e si kulu* (he saw a large crowd) in the singular and *izixuku ezi kulu za m landela* (large crowds followed him), which should have been *izixuku ezinkulu zamlandela* (large crowds followed him) in the plural. In later translations, such as that of 1959, we find that the translators recognise both that there is no nasal in the singular class 7 adjective prefix, *wabona isixuku esikhulu* (he saw a large crowd), but that there is a nasal in the plural class 8a adjective prefix, *izixuku ezinkulu zamlandela* (large crowds followed him), and they indicate the resultant change from the aspirated /kh/ to the nasalised /nk/, of the first phoneme of the adjective stem [-khulu]. Another noun in the class 7 found in the 1848 translation is *isipepo* as in *kua vuka isipepo e si kulu eluanhle* (a great storm arose at sea). Firstly, the /p/ should have been aspirated /ph/. Unfortunately there is no example of this word in the plural in the corpus, although it is likely that the translators would have treated the qualifying adjective stem [-khulu] in the same way.

The use of the bilabial /b/ without distinguishing whether it is the implosive /ɓ/ or the plosive /b/ has been observed in the 1848 translation. The difference between these two sounds is not in the manner of articulation, because both sounds are produced when both lips come together, but by the manner in which the airstream which comes from the lungs is released to the outside after the closure of the lips. When the implosive /ɓ/ is produced, air from outside the mouth rushes into the mouth, whereas with the plosive the air explodes to the outside. This is another demonstration by the authors of the 1848 translation of subjection to the source-text culture, most probably because the implosive /ɓ/ does not exist in English. In this translation, the bilabial implosive /ɓ/ has been used indiscriminately in contexts where both the implosive and the plosive should be used, as illustrated by the use of a word such as *-beka* in the following examples to translate both *-beka* (lay on) and *-bheka* (look):

1848 translation

- i) *Wa beka izanhla pezu, kuabo, wa muka kua lapo.* (He laid hands on them, and left the place.)

ii) **Beka, abafundi bako ba ya ku enza o ku nga vunyelui uku enzua gesabata** (Look, your disciples are doing what is not allowed on the Sabbath.)

It should be noted that the use of the implosive and the plosive show differences in meaning. It takes a person who knows the language to make out that, in the 1848 translation, the stem **-beka** in sentence i) (lay on) means something different from what it means in sentence ii) (look). But for a person who does not know the language, the different meanings are not manifest.

There was, however, some progress in the 1865 translation as regards the different bilabial sounds, which, in similar contexts, are written in a distinctly different manner in order to demonstrate their differences, as in the following:

1865 translation

i) **Wa beka izandhla pezu kwabo, wemuka lapo.** (He laid his hands on them, and left the place.)

ii) **Bheka, abafundi bako ba yenza okungafanele ukwenziwa ngesabata.** (Look, your disciples are doing what is not allowed to be done on the Sabbath.)

1924 translation

i) **Wa s'e beka izandhla pezu kwabo, w'emuka lapo.** (He laid his hands on them and left the place.)

ii) **A u bheke, abafundi bako b'enza oku nga vumekile ukwenziwa gesabata.** (Look, your disciples are doing what is not allowed to be done on the Sabbath.)

Examples taken from both the 1865 and 1924 translations show a distinction in the manner of writing the implosive /b/ which was written as **b** and differentiated from the manner of writing the plosive /b/ which was realised as **bh**, as illustrated in examples such as **bekani ijoka lami phezu kwenu** (put my yoke on your shoulders) where the implosive has been used; and **bhekani, kukhona lapha okukhulu kunoJona** (look, there is something greater here than Jona).

Another feature observed in the 1848 translation, which also conveys source-culture orientation, is the lack of a distinction between **nhi** and **ndi**, as exemplified by **inhlela** (a

way), *inhlu* (a house), etc. On the contrary, the translators of the 1865 and 1924 translations, realising that *nhl* and *ndl* are different sounds, represented them differently in writing, as exemplified in words such as *inhlamvu* (a piece), and *indhlu* (a house).

The use of *gi-* in the 1848 translation could be attributed to source culture orientation. Lack of an 'ear' for the Zulu language could have contributed to the failure on the part of the translator to 'hear' the velar nasal combination when these sounds are spoken by the speakers, as exemplified by numerous examples encountered in this translation, some of which are

- i) Kodua mina gi ya ni tyela.* (But I tell you.)
- ii) Gokuba gokuqinisile gi tyo ku ni* (because I truly say unto you)

Although this tendency prevailed in the 1848 translation, it is interesting to note that in certain instances the velar nasal combination was aptly used, as in the following examples:

- i) Gi fanele gi bapatzue ngu we* (I must be baptised by you)
- ii) ni nga fungi na kanye; na ngeZulu, gokuba li yi'sihlalu sobukosi sika Tixo*
(Do not swear at all, by heaven, because it is the sovereign seat of God)

The tendency of using the velar only in an apparent velar nasal combination was set right in the subsequent translations of the American Board Mission.

In the 1924 translation, a distinction was made in the manner of writing the voiceless palatal fricative *sh* in contexts such as *koba kuboshiwe nasezulwini* (will be bound in heaven) as against the use of the voiceless palatal affricate, *ty*, in previous translations, as exemplified by *ku ya kubotywa na sezulwini* (it will be bound in heaven) in the 1865 translation.

We have seen that the American Board Missionaries had to grapple with a number of Zulu sounds, but, through their translation of the Bible into Zulu, the foreign sound, *r*,

was introduced into the language through biblical place and personal names such as **ezweni la seKesarja** (in the land of Kesaria) and **uPetru**, 'Petrus'.

The American Board Missionaries also encountered problems with the structure of Zulu words. This could also be attributed to the norms that prevailed in the source culture. Coming from languages which can be described as isolating languages, the translators of the American Board Mission employed grammatical conventions which were applicable to their language to Zulu, which is an agglutinative language, and which uses a number of morphemes to form meaningful words.

The fact that several morphemes are glued together to form meaningful units, renders Zulu and all other indigenous languages of South Africa structurally different from isolating languages like those spoken by the missionaries who worked amongst these people. As a consequence, the formation of several word categories became problematic for the American Board Missionaries, especially the translators of the 1848 Book of Matthew, as revealed by their use of the noun, **umtuana** (a child) which they wrote without the nasal **n** which forms part of the stem, while this nasal was retained in the plural form of the word, e.g **abantuana** ((children).

We find in both the 1865 and 1924 translations of the American Board Mission the nasal that forms part of the stem being used in the word **umntwana** (a child), as well as in the plural, **abantwana** (children). However, the problem is that the nasal **n** which is part of the noun stem was not used in these translations when vocatives were formed from the noun, **umntwana** (a child), which is part of a possessive, as exemplified by the following:

- i)* **e m bona, wa ti, Mtanami, yima isibindi** (Seeing her, he said, my child, have courage)
- ii)* **Mtanami, tokoza, u tetelelwe izono zako** (My child, be cheerful, your sins are forgiven)

In the 1848 translation, we also find class prefixes which are deviant from the norm, as illustrated by the following phrases:

- i) **be puma ezincuabeni** (coming from the graves)
- ii) **Beka ni, gi ya tuma intunyua yami** (Look, I will send my messenger)
- iii) **Ba m ncengela ukuba ba pate isipeto sengubo yake**
(They pleaded with him that they should touch the hem of his garment)
- iv) **uku azi imifihlakalo yombuso weZulu** (to know the secrets of the kingdom of heaven)

These underlined class prefixes are ungrammatical. However, they were rectified in subsequent translations. **Ezincuabeni** (at the graves) was replaced **ematuneni**⁷ (at the graves) in the 1865 translation. In this translation, this locative was derived from class 3 noun, **amatuna** (graves), hence **ematuneni** (at the graves). Therefore, if a similar prefix had been used in the 1848 translation, the outcome would have been grammatical, **emancuabeni** (at the graves) In both the 1865 and 1924 translations, as exemplified by **Bheka, ngi ya tuma isitunywa sami** (Look, I will send my messenger) and **Ba m ncenga ukuba ba pate nje umpeto wengubo yake** (They pleaded with him that they should touch the hem of his garment), **isitunywa** (messenger) and **umpeto** (hem) have used in the contexts where in examples ii), **intunywa** and iii), **isipeto** have been used respectively, in the 1848 translation. Here, we also find that in the 1848 translation, ungrammatical noun prefixes have been used. In example iv) the use of the ungrammatical class prefix, **[imi-]**, resulted in the use of the possessive concord, **[ya-]**, as in **imifihlakalo yombuso**, in the place of **izimfihlakalo zombuso**, where the grammatical class prefix, **[izim-]**, produced the possessive concord, **[za-]**. In a similar manner, **intunyua yami** (my messenger) should have been **isithunywa sami** (my messenger) and **isipeto sengubo** (the hem of the garment), should also have been **umpetho wengubo** (the hem of the garment). Incorrect use of class prefixes resulted in incorrect possessive concords being used. This tendency was resolved by 1865.

Another setback in terms of Zulu morphology experienced by the 1848 translators was in the formation of the possessive from class 1(a) nouns. This is revealed by the use of a deviant subject concord, **[yi-]**, used with class 1(a) possessor nouns, as exemplified by **ingelosi yikaJehova** (the angel of Jehova) in the 1848 translation. In this context, the 1865 translation circumvented this problem by using **ingelosi yeNkosi** (the angel of the

Lord), a case in which the formation of possessive concord on the class 9 noun, *inkosi*, follows the conventional way of possessive construction where the subject concord of the possessive noun, *ingelosi*, which is [*i-*] is prefixed to the possessive [*-a-*]; which are in turn both prefixed to the possessor noun, *inkosi*, in this manner: *i-* + *-a-* + *inkosi*. The subject concord, [*i-*], changes to *y-* to avoid the juxtaposition of vowel, and the possessive, [*-a-*], coalesces with the vowel of the noun, resulting in *yenkosi*. It is interesting to notice that although the translators of the 1848 translation had a problem with the formation of the possessive from class 1a) nouns, instances such as those we find in the 1865 translation were also found as in *gokuba u ngu'muzi wenkosi* (because it is the house of the Lord), in which case vowel coalescence has been aptly applied.

A significant development in the formation of the possessive from class 1a) nouns was made in the 1865 translation, as exemplified by the possessive used in these sentences:

i) ni nga fungi iZulu ngokuba li isihlalo sika Tixo.

(you should not swear by heaven for it is the throne of God.)

ii) kodwa ba njengezingelosi zika Tixo ezi sezulwini.

(but they are as God's angels in heaven.)

iii) Lo wa ti, Ngi nga cita itempeli lika Tixo.

(This fellow said I am able to destroy the temple of God.)

As regards locatives, it is apparent that although the formation of locatives which are deviant from the general rules were problematic for the 1848 translation as exemplified by their use of words such as *ekandeni* (on the head), significant developments made in 1865 reveal that this locative was replaced with *ekanda* (on the head). Development was also seen in other deviant forms of the locative formed from *ipupo* (a dream), progressing from *epupueni* (in a dream) in 1848, to *epupweni* (in a dream) in 1924. The 1865 translation circumvented the problem of forming a locative from the noun, *ipupo* (a dream), by using the adverbial form, *ngepupo* (by a dream). Another form of locative construction which has been observed in the 1848 translation is that which uses

the morpheme, [**ku-**]. This was prefixed to nouns, but what rendered the constructions ungrammatical is that the initial vowels of the noun were retained, as in the following phrases:

- i) **lapo wa tyo ku iparaluti** (Then he said to the paralytic)*
- ii) **hamba ni kakulu ku izimvu e zi lahlekileyo zenhlu yase Isiraeli.** (Go to the lost sheep of the house of Israel)*
- iii) **Lapo wa tyo ku abafundi bake** (Then he said to his disciples)*

Rather than using the locative morpheme, [**ku-**], with the noun, both the 1865 and 1924 translations used this morpheme together with the pronoun, **zo(na)**, in the context of example ii) above; e.g. **ni ye kuzo izimvu ezilahlekileyo zendhlu ka Isiraeli** (Go to them, the lost sheep of the house of Israel). In this manner the use of this morpheme with the noun was avoided. On the other hand, in the context of example i) above, the 1865 and 1924 translations used a relative construction, together with the allomorph [**k-**] prefixed to words with an initial vowel, as in **wa ti ko iparalio** (he said to the one who is paralysed); **wa ti ko fe uhlangoti** (he said to the one whose one side was dead). The 1865 and the 1924 translations avoided using the locative [**ku-**], and instead used other constructions to convey the same meaning.

Other locatives that are formed from nouns that have the initial vowel did not pose a great problem for the American Board Missionaries because from the very first translation they replaced the vowel of the noun from which the locative is formed with the locative prefix, [**e-**]. The American Board Missionaries used the following locatives – **e-Gipte** in their 1848 translation and **Egipite** in both their 1865 and 1924 translations. We can conclude that the formation of the locative from nouns such as **Egypt** by replacing the initial vowel of the noun with the locative prefix, [**e-**], was established by 1848. This is the trend that is followed even today where we find locatives from words such as America, England, Italy being **Emelika**, **eNgilandi** and **ENTaliyane** respectively.

Morphophonemic changes that occur when locatives are formed from nouns that have a bilabial sound in their final syllable have been indicated in the 1924 translation in locatives such as **emlonyeni** (in the mouth); **empushini** (in the flour) and **engutsheni**

(on the cloak). Such sound changes, commonly referred to as palatalisation, take place when bilabial sounds that occur in the final syllable of the noun change into palatal sounds. In the examples specified above, the bilabial **m** in the noun, **umlomo** (mouth) changed into the palatal **ny** in **emlonyeni** (in the mouth), and the bilabial **ph** in the noun **impuphu** (flour) changed into the palatal **sh** in **emphushini**, (in the flour) and the **b** in the noun, **ingubo** (cloak) changed into the palatal, **tsh**, in **engutsheni** (on the cloak).

The vocative was another problem for the 1848 translation. As used in this translation, it was impossible to distinguish between a noun and a vocative. Both word categories carried a similar form, as exemplified by the following instances:

- (i) **Indodakazi, temba, ukukolua kuako ku ku sindisile** (Daughter, trust, your faith has saved you)
- (ii) **Yebo, Inkosi** (Yes, Lord)
- (iii) **Unyana ka Davida, yiba nomsa ku ti** (Son of David have mercy on us)

In these examples, the initial vowel of the noun is included in words intended to be vocative, whereas the initial vowel of the noun is dropped in the formation of the vocative in Zulu. This is corrected in subsequent translations by the American Board Mission, as exemplified by **Yebo, Nkosi** (Yes, Lord) and **Si haukele, Nkosi, Ndodana ka Davida** (Have mercy upon us, Lord, Son of David). The distinction between the noun and the vocative in writing was made explicit from 1865.

The formation of negatives was another difficulty which was experienced by the 1848 translators. The negative formation rule that stipulates that when forming the negative the ending should be the vowel, **-i**, was applied even to passive constructions, even when this rule did not apply. Although most verbal extensions were not used in this translation, this cannot be used as an explanation for the lack of knowledge of extensions on the part of the translators, because instances of the positive of the passive have been used in the 1848 translations in words such as **Ni ya ku yisua** (You will be taken to); **Ni ya ku zondua** (You will be hated); **u ya ku sindisua** (You will be saved), etc. The negative of these passive verbs was formed in the same manner as negatives of active verbs are formed, and this resulted in forms such as:

- i) ***Izinyonana e zim bini a zi tengui gemalana enye na?***
(Are little birds not sold with some little money?)
- ii) ***amalepero a ya hlanjululua, n'abangezui ba yezua; abafileyo ba ya vusua*** (Lepers are cleansed, the dumb hear; the dead are risen)
- iii) ***ba ya ku enza o ku nga vunyelui uku enzua gesabata***
(they do what is not allowed to be done on the Sabbath)

The deviant morphological shifts in the 1848 translation could be attributed to the lack of clear knowledge of Zulu morphological rules by the translators, so that they did not take into consideration that some of these rules do not apply in all cases.

How the negative of the passive was written in the 1865 and 1924 translations show a significant development of the written language. The past negative morpheme of the passive, **[-nga]**, which is added after the passive verb was used in both the 1865 and the 1924 translations as exemplified in ***A ni kolwanga uye*** (You did not believe him) and the present tense negative morpheme of the passive, **[-nga-]** or **[-nge-]**, with vowel verb stems is inserted between the subject and the verb stem as in ***ni nga kolwa*** (do not believe) and ***Bhekani, ni ngedukiswa umuntu*** (Look, do not be deceived). This is evidence that the negative of the passive was correctly established in written Zulu by 1865.

Under lexical shifts, the translators of the American Board Mission have used various word-formation processes and translation strategies to address the problem of the lack of equivalence at word level in the target language; that is, the translators had to find suitable ways of expressing new and foreign concepts in the target language. Amongst these, they used loanwords (borrowing) and the derivation of new words from existing Zulu words by changing the morphemes of the words or by extending the meaning of the words to include new biblical referents.

Loanwords which were used by the American Board Missionaries in the 1848 and 1865 translations have been divided into three categories and include words which, amongst others, refer to

Hebrew religious ranks

umpristi (priest)

umprofeti (prophet)

abaFarisi (Pharisees)

Hebrew religious festivals and practices

ipasika (Passover)

isabatha (Sabbath)

ukubapathiza (baptism)

Diseases from which people suffered during biblical times

iparaluti/iparalio (paralytic)

ilepero (leper)

amademoni (demons)

Although more categories could have been identified, these three will suffice to highlight the point that loanwords as a translation strategy were used by the translators of the American Board Mission in dealing with culture-specific items. Biblical concepts which had no ready equivalents in Zulu culture, such as those that refer to Hebrew religious ranks, festivals and practices and those which refer to diseases which the people suffered from and which Jesus healed, were all expressed by means of loanwords in these translations.

The freedom with which translators use loanwords often depends on the norms of translation prevailing in their societies. As can be seen with the use of words which refer to the diseases from which the people suffered during biblical times, translations subsequent to the 1848 translation moved away from using loanwords and used other strategies such as paraphrase to refer to these diseases: e.g.

umuntu onocoko (A person with leprosy) for *ilepero*

umuntu ofe uhlangoti (A person who has a dead side) for *iparaluti/iparalio*

As mentioned in Chapter 2 par. 2.4.3, linguistic features which typically occur in translated texts and are thought to be the almost inevitable by-products of the process of mediating between two languages rather than being the result of the interference of one language with another are termed universals of translation. Baker (1992:38) asserts that paraphrase is commonly used when the concept expressed by the source item is lexicalized in the target language, but in a different form. The use of paraphrase in the 1865 and 1924 translations by the American Board Mission are illustrative of explicitation, a type of the universals of translation identified by Baker (1996) as a tendency on the part of translators to spell things out rather than leave them implicit in translation. This means that translators spontaneously simplify the language of translation. This can also be done by adding background information; that is, by inserting explanations. If foreign concepts have to be conveyed in the target language, translators usually use explicitation, in order to simplify the foreign and unknown concept. The examples used above clearly illustrate this point.

Another word-formation process or translation strategy used by the American Board Missionaries in all their translations to counter the lack of an equivalent word in the target language is semantic transfer, which Baker (1992) calls cultural substitution. Biblical concepts or expressions have been replaced with existing Zulu words which do not have the same propositional meaning, but which are likely to have a similar impact on the target reader. Simply put, this means that the range of meanings of existing Zulu words are extended to include biblical concepts as referents. This strategy is exemplified by the use of words such as *izulu* (sky); *inkosi* (king); *ukukhuleka* (to give greeting of respect); *ukukhonza* (to pay respect to) and *ukusindisa* (to help escape) in the translations of the American Board Mission. In Chapter 5 par. 5.6.3, it has been shown that the meanings of Zulu words such as those mentioned above, acquired biblical nuances in addition to their basic meaning. For instance, further to its basic meaning, *izulu* (sky) also came to mean 'heaven', *inkosi* (king) also means 'the Lord, God', *ukukhuleka* (to give greeting of respect) also means 'to pray', *ukukhonza* (to pay respect to) also means 'to worship' and *ukusindisa* (to help escape) also means 'to save from sin and condemnation'.

In the 1848 translation, a number of Xhosa words have been used to address the problem of the apparent lack of equivalent words in Zulu. Xhosa words that have been used in the 1848 translation include **Utixo** to refer to the Supreme Being. It is interesting to note that this word was also used in the 1865 translation with the same implication, but the 1924 translation used **uNkulunkulu** in its place. The Xhosa word, **unyana** (son) was used in the 1848 translation, but the 1865 and 1924 translations used **indodana** (son) as an alternative. Some other Xhosa words which were used in the 1848 translation are found in the following phrases:

- i)* **Ga m zisa ku abafundi bako** (I brought him to your disciples)
- ii)* **unqamlezo luake** (his cross)
- iii)* **u ya m rexezisa** (he lets her fornicate)
- iv)* **uJoani umninawe wake** (John his brother)

These words were also replaced with their Zulu equivalents in both the 1865 and 1924 translations of the American Board Mission, as exemplified by the following phrases:

- i)* **Nga i leta kubafundi bako** (I brought him to your disciples)
- ii)* **isipambano sake** (his cross)
- iii)* **u ya m pingisa** (he makes her fornicate)
- iv)* **noJohane umfo wabo** (and John his brother)

In the 1848 translation, the writing of numerals also displays Xhosa influence. This is illustrated by the use of numerals which have the stem, **-bini** (two), and **tatisitupa** (six). In the 1865 and 1924 translations, these numeral stems have been realised as **-bili**, (two) and **-situpa** (six). These numerals, together with others such as **gamashumi a tatisitupa** (sixty), **izinkulungwane e zin hlanu** (five thousand), **e zi yi'kulu** (a hundred) and **e zi'mashumi ashiyangalolunye aneshiyangalolunye** (ninety-nine) are a demonstration of the fact that in 1848 there were words in Zulu which they could have used to express all these different numerals.

In the 1848 translation, new words have also been derived from existing Zulu words. We find coinages such as the following:

- **etelonueni** (the place where taxes are paid) , assumed to be derived from **-tela** (pay tax)
- **abateloni** (tax collectors); and
- **isitelono** (tax)

In the context where these words have been used in the 1865 and 1924 translations, we have the paraphrase **endaweni yokutela imali** (at the place where money is paid) and **abatelisi** (those who cause tax to be paid). In this regard the 1865 translators could be lauded for using the derivative, **abatelisi** for tax collectors, a new concept to Zulu and a term which is still presently used.

With regard to the transliteration of Greek and Hebrew personal names, the 1848 translation had the most problems. The Gospel itself is referred to as **Umatu**, whereas in the 1865 and 1924 translations it is referred to as **uMateu**, a name by which this Gospel is known even today, although now spelt as it is pronounced as **uMatewu**. Another example that attests to a progression in the development of written Zulu is the precise manner in which proper names were written in the 1865 translation by the American Board Missionaries:

1865	ulsaya, uJohane
1924	ngolsaya, uJohane

From the table above, it is apparent that the apt coding of biblical personal names was introduced during the 1865 translation. This translation was incorporated into the first complete Bible in Zulu published by the America Bible Society in 1883.

A facsimile of the revision of the 1883 translation, first published by the American Bible Society in 1894, is still printed by the Bible Society of South Africa. This version is used by groups such as the Amanazaretha Church, founded by Isaiah Shembe.

6.3 Colenso's translations: the 1855 adaptation and the 1897 translation of the New Testament

In 1855, Colenso adapted and reprinted the 1848 translation of the American Board Missionaries, with some alterations, with the intention of producing his own translation. He also produced a translation of the New Testament, probably at the end of 1876, although the edition used in the corpus is that published in 1897.

It is evident that Colenso, in his adaptation of 1855, was also influenced by the Greek source text as well. This could not only be derived from the fact that he reprinted the 1848 translation with alterations which also used the Greek source text, but also by the fact that he showed tendencies towards source text-orientation as exemplified by his use of disjunctive writing and his peculiar use of capitalisation. Colenso capitalised words that occur at the beginning of all the chapters, and letters in nouns which I presume he thought were demarcating the stems of such nouns, e.g. **eGameni** (in the name), **yamaDemoni** (of demons), **isiZukulwana** (descendants), etc., as well as capitalising all the letters in those words that referred to the Trinity such as **UYESU, UKRISTU, UDIO, UJEHOVA, UMOYA-o-Yi-NGCWELE**.

Changes which Colenso introduced in his translation were his avoidance of the use of juxtaposed vowels from the onset, using the semivowel, **-w-**, to separate the vowels, as exemplified by words such as **i-ya-nqunywa** (it is cut), **i-ponswe** (it is thrown), **emLilweni** (in the fire). Another difference regarding phonological shifts observed in Colenso's translation is that he used the phoneme, **y**, in all instances where the American translators used **j**, particularly in personal and place names, in examples such as **uYoani, ba-s'eYudia**, and **la-s'eYoredani**. Where the American translators used the Xhosa voiceless palatal **ty**, Colenso used the voiced palatal, **J**, as in **amaJe** (stones) and in **ku-lo-Jiwe** (it is written).

In relation to the structure of the Zulu language, no changes were made by Colenso in his translation to the way the American translators treated the structure of Zulu words. Changes seen in the lexicon used indicate his rejection of the word, **uTixo**, used by the American translators to refer to the Supreme Being. Instead, Colenso coined the word

uDio, from the Latin word Deus 'God', to refer to the Supreme Being in his 1855 translation of the Book of Matthew.

It was in his translation of the New Testament which was probably first produced at the end of 1876, that Colenso introduced some form of conjunctive writing in Zulu. Morphemes that form a word are brought together and in some instances a hyphen, or apostrophe is used to separate a particular morpheme from the rest of the word, as exemplified by the following sentence: ***Kuleyo'mihla sokuvela uJohane umBapatisi*** (In those days John the Baptist came). It could therefore be said that a deliberate effort towards writing the Zulu language conjunctively was first initiated by Colenso in this translation. Because of this, it could be said that Colenso subjected himself to the linguistic norms active in Zulu and in the target literary polysystem or a certain section of it, although at this stage one could still not talk of an Zulu literary system in its own right.

Although Colenso also disregarded the marking of aspiration in this translation, he nevertheless moved away from the use of the Xhosa sound, **ty**, in places where its Zulu equivalent, **tsh**, should be used, such as in:

- i) ayipe itshe na?* (and give him a stone?)
- ii) 'Beka! ungatsheli'muntu; hamba nje uye'kuziveza ku'mpristi*
(Look! Do not tell anyone; go and show yourself to the priest)
- iii) bahlala pans*i*, b*ak*etela okuhle ezitsheni* (they sat down and sorted the good into dishes)

This tendency is also seen when he uses **sh** in places where previously the Xhosa, **ty**, was used, such as in:

- i) Washiya iNazarete, waya wahlala eKapen*a*me ngas'elwandhle*
(He left Nazareth, and went to stay in Capernaum by the sea)

But, although no concrete motive for this could be arrived at, in certain instances Colenso retained the Xhosa sound, **tsh**, instead of the Zulu, **sh**, as in the following:

- i) ***yitsho ukuba la'matshe abe izinkwa*** (Speak that these stones become bread)
- ii) ***Akuko'muntu obek'isiziba esitsha engutsheni endala.*** (There is no person who puts a patch in an old piece of clothing)

Another significant contribution which could go to Colenso's credit is the use of quotation marks to denote direct speech, as in the following utterance: ***'Suka, utabate umntwana nonina, ubaleke uye eEgipite, uhlale kona ngize ngikutshele; ngoba uHerod uzakufuna umntwana ukub'ambulale.'*** ('Get up, take the child and his mother and escape to Egypt. Stay there until I tell you, for Herod is going to search for the child to kill him.')

Ideophones and interjectives also started to appear for the first time in Colenso's translation. Some of the ideophones and interjectives found in this translation are the following:

Ideophones:

- i) ***ngize'kukuqinisa ngi*** (I will hold very firmly)
- ii) ***sebewudhle nya umvuzo wabo*** (they have completely eaten their reward)

Interjectives

- i) ***Po! utshani bas'endhle*** (Well then! The grass of the veld)
- ii) ***A! kanti nani ning'ababi nje*** (Oh! So you are also as bad)
- iii) ***Ai-ke ! umfo wabo uyakuyisa umfo wabo ekufeni*** (Well! His brother will take his brother to death)

In the 1897 translation he used the Zulu word ***uNkulunkulu*** (the Great-Great-One) interchangeably with the Hebrew word, ***uYahwe***, to refer to the Supreme Being. It was Colenso who explored names which the Zulu people used to refer to the Supreme Being, and concluded by choosing to use the name which the Zulu people had been using when practising their traditional religion, ***uNkulunkulu***, actually the name which had the same connotation as the Hebrew word, ***uYahwe***. Therefore, Colenso's use of the Zulu word, ***uNkulunkulu***, to refer to the Supreme Being was a positive development not only towards the development of the written language, but also for the Zulu biblical

lexicon. It will be remembered that, prior to this, the missionaries used new words foreign to Zulu culture to refer to the Supreme Being (cf Chapter 5 par. 5.6.1.4.3 and par. 5.6.1.4.4).

Although Colenso made such significant contributions to the Zulu language in general and to the written mode of the language in particular, he used words in his New Testament translation which suggest that he may have utilised more than one source text. Different words such as ***iPaska*** (Pascha); ***uMaria was'eMagdala*** (Mary of the land of Magdala) and ***uJudas was'eSkara*** (Judas of the land of Scara), and ***uAndru*** (Andrew) convey that more than one source text was used. Colenso might have used the Greek source text to account for Greek words such as ***iPaska*** (Passover), with the English King James Version as the intermediary source text to account for English words such as ***uAndru*** for Andreas, although he also used Greek names ***uJakobo noJohane*** to refer to James and John, the sons of Zebedee.

Various word formation and translation strategies were used by Colenso to counter the lack of equivalents in Zulu. He derived words from existing Zulu words to express foreign biblical concepts in words such as ***isigijimi seNkosi*** to refer to God's angel. Colenso also used Dutch/Afrikaans loanwords such as ***etronkweni*** (in die tronk), that is, 'in prison', in addition to biblical loanwords that refer to Hebrew religious concepts. Colenso's use of translation strategies should be considered to be his specific stylistic interventions, because he used paraphrasing and loanwords in instances where he previously used ***ingelosi*** (angel) and ***e-s'ehlwini yokuBopela*** (lit. in the house of arrest).

Colenso contributed significantly to the development of written Zulu. He is the one who established that Zulu should be written in a conjunctive manner, marked direct speech by means of quotation marks and used ideophones and interjectives in written speech. It could be assumed that Colenso's translations were also produced during a period when the Zulu literary system was young, and as such they also contributed, in part, in modelling the Zulu literary system.

As mentioned before, according to polysystem theory, when a literature is weak or young, the translators tend to lean a lot on the conventions of the source text. It is for this reason, therefore, that the 1848 translation, as well as the 1855 translation, adopted source text norms because there was no model in Zulu on which they could model their efforts.

6.4 Döhne's translation of the Gospels

J. L. Döhne produced a translation of the four Gospels, presumably in 1866. He seems to have used the German, Greek and Xhosa translations when producing his translation. In this translation the Book of Matthew he follows the same inclination as the other translators discussed earlier in this chapter. His writing was disjunctive and he also disregarded the marking of aspiration and used the Xhosa, **tj**, a lot in his translation, as exemplified by words such as **a wa tjise** (and burn them); **u tjayeke** (you will not be hit) and **wa tjo** (he said).

Other phonological shifts observed in Döhne's translation which also reveal his initial norm as being source oriented are his use of the phoneme, **y**, in all instances where the American translators have used **j**, as in examples such as **iyokwe** (yoke); **uYesaya** (Isaiah); **inkosi yaba Yuda** (king of the Jews) and **iYerusaleme** (Jerusalem). His use of words such as **aba Sayeli** (Israelites); **uAndrese** to refer to Andreas would seem to indicate that Döhne was influenced by a German source text. His use of **uYuda** (Juda); **u Sharoti** for Judas Iscariot could also have been influenced by his German linguistic background, as well as his use of the word, **ivini**, from the German equivalent for wine.

In addition to the use of loanwords to refer to Jewish religious ranks, customs, practices and places, Döhne was the first translator to use the loanword **emasinagogeni** (in the synagogues). It has been observed that Xhosa words abound in Döhne's translation, probably because he had first worked among the Xhosa for about ten years before moving to Natal, and would have had a Xhosa New Testament (1846), if not a complete Xhosa Bible, published in 1859. We find Xhosa words such as **kwipolise** (to the police); **entolongweni** (in jail) and the Xhosa phrase used in **Be ni pume ukuya kubuka 'ntoni pofu?** (What have you gone out to

see?) Döhne is amongst the earliest translators to have used the Khoi word **uTixo** to refer to the Supreme Being. The fact that the earliest American missionaries also had the Xhosa New Testament and had originally had Xhosa interpreters could also explain the Xhosa influence on the 1848 translation since these translators were working independently of each other.

Döhne has also used a lot of dialectal words which could mean that he worked amongst a speech community which spoke a different dialect, as seen from words such as **u ku banesisu** (to be pregnant), when all the other translators used **ukukhulelwa** (to be pregnant), a more ameliorative form also meaning to be pregnant. Other words used include **inkwezi** (the morning); **isiqebeta** (fruit basket) and **imilandu** (offences).

Although Döhne worked amongst people who spoke a dialect of Zulu, as demonstrated by his use of dialectal variations, he nevertheless subjected himself to norms of the source culture. He employed translation strategies which demonstrate his own specific stylistic elements.

6.5 The 1924 translation of the New Testament by the Hermannsburg Mission

The 1924 translation of the Hermannsburg Mission followed Colenso's path in writing the language conjunctively, although the American Board Mission's translation of the same year was still written disjunctively. The issue of what to capitalise which seemed to have been a problem in the past had now ended, but the indication of aspiration in aspirated sounds was still lacking, while the use of the voiced alveo-lateral affricate, **dhl**, in words such as **endhlini** (in the house); **indhela** (a way), and the voiceless palatal affricate, **tsh**, in words such as **okwatshiwo** (that which was said); **ubotshiwe** (he has been imprisoned) etc. still persisted.

Although instances of the use of the semi-vowel, **-w-**, occur in this translation, to separate juxtaposed vowels as exemplified by words such as **wafunyanwa** (she was found); **iyakukulelwa** (she will become pregnant), the tendency of using juxtaposed vowels still prevailed, as in **Aubheke** (just look); **bazausale** (they will remain); **Yaisiti** (and he said); **Yaisipuma** (and he went out), **kungangembeu** (equal to a seed), etc.

German influence in personal names such as *uJeremias*, *uZebedues*, *uRahel*, *uJohannes*, *uJonas*, *uSalomo*, *iTirus neSidon*, *umfazi waseKanaan* (the Canaanite woman) etc. attest to the use of a German influence on the source text by the Hermannsburg translators and consequently to their choice of the source text's cultural norms.

Included amongst the translation strategies used by the Hermannsburg translators we can identify paraphrase which has been used in words such as *ezikoleni zabo* (in their places of learning), to refer to the synagogues. Dialectal variations also occur in words such as *wabapulukisa* (he healed them), *eziyinkota* an archaic term used to refer to seven, although in certain instances the regular term for this Zulu numeral is used in cases such as *kube kamashumi ayisikombisa kasikombisa*, (it should be seventy times seven).

In addition to derivation, in words such as *inkokiso* (payment); *abatelisi* (tax collectors) and *izoni* (sinners), the Hermannsburg translators also used loanwords to refer to Hebrew religious ranks, customs and practices and also used transliterated loanwords such as *etilongweni* (in jail) and *indibilishi* (penny) from a Dutch term 'dubbeltjie', used to refer to a form of currency and which marked a period of Dutch/Afrikaner influence over the Zulu speech community.

6.6 The 1959 translation of the Bible by the British and Foreign Bible Society

The 1959 translation of the British and Foreign Bible Society could be regarded as having the most influence on written Zulu. Shortcomings in writing conventions which previous translators experienced were set right in this translation. From the time of the 1959 translation, numerous distinctions were made in the manner of how different phonemes were to be realised.

Although conjunctive writing was introduced by Colenso in his New Testament translation and followed through by the Hermannsburg Mission in their 1924 translation,

this was reinforced by the British and Foreign Bible Society translators in their 1959 translation. Disjunctive writing ceased to be an issue, and from the 1959 translation onwards all translations henceforth were written conjunctively. The problem of aspiration, which was overlooked for a period of almost a century, was attended to and set right, as illustrated by words such as *isikhathi* (time), *ngephupho* (by means of a dream), *onochoko* (a leper) and *iqhude* (a cock), amongst others in the 1959 translation. A distinction was also made between the lateral voiceless affricate, /hl/, and the lateral voiced affricate, which is represented by /dl/, and no longer by /dhl/, as it was between 1865 and 1924, as illustrated in words such as *wahlala phansi* (he sat down) and *indlela* (a way).

The fact that words were now duly written in a manner that reveals the agglutinative nature of the language, that is, in a manner that glues together the various morphemes of which words are comprised, it could be said that the 1959 translators subjected themselves to the norms of the target language.

As regards foreign names of biblical origin, we see the following names illustrating the standardisation of place and personal names in the 1959 translation:

1848	<i>uAndiria</i>	<i>Uarekelusi</i>	<i>Urakela</i>	<i>Abaisiraeli</i>	<i>ka Zebedia</i>
1855	<i>uAndiria</i>	<i>uArekelusi</i>	<i>uRakela</i>	<i>abalsiraeli</i>	<i>ka-Zebedia</i>
1865	<i>uAndrea</i>	<i>uArkelau</i>	<i>uRakeli</i>	<i>abalsraeli</i>	<i>ka Zebedi</i>
1866	<i>uAndrese</i>	<i>u Akelause</i>	<i>u Rakele</i>	<i>aba Sayeli</i>	<i>ka Zebede</i>
1897	<i>uAndru</i>	<i>uArekela</i>	<i>uRakele</i>	<i>ulsraele</i>	<i>ka'Zebedi</i>
1924ABM	<i>uAndrea</i>	<i>uArkelawu</i>	<i>uRatsheli</i>	<i>ulsraeli</i>	<i>ka Zebedi</i>
1924HERM	<i>uAndreas</i>	<i>uArkelaus</i>	<i>uRahel</i>	<i>abalsrael</i>	<i>kaZebedeus</i>
1959	<i>uAndreya</i>	<i>uArkelawu</i>	<i>uRakheli</i>	<i>ulsrayeli</i>	<i>kaZebedewu</i>

Table 6.1: Foreign names of biblical origin

The form that was taken as the standard in the 1959 translation is the form that still prevails even today.

Word formation and translation strategies such as borrowing, derivation and semantic transfer were also used by the 1959 translators to express Greek and Hebrew concepts of biblical origin. Although the translators of this translation subjected themselves to the norms prevailing in the target language, the use of borrowing may be considered a stylistic intervention on the part of the translators because some influence of the source culture can be traced in loanwords such as:

- i) ukhiphe ifadingi* (you will take out a farthing)
- ii) evumelene ngodenariyu ngosuku* (they agree on a denarius per day, i.e. the normal day's wage for a labourer)

From these examples, two loanwords that refer to currencies of different cultures have been used in the 1959 translation. In the first example, English currency has been used because at the time when this translation was produced, the English currency was in circulation. A 'farthing', which was the smallest amount, was then a familiar coin among the Zulu people. On the other hand, in the second example, Roman currency has been used, because of the Roman occupation at the time of Christ. This has been utilised in the context of the parable of the workers which Christ told to his disciples. Different currencies have been used by different translators in the same context, as illustrated in the following:

- i) b'amkela bonke ipeni* (They all received a penny) (1848; 1855)
- ii) kwa ba ilowo wamkeliswa udenario* (Each one received a denarius) (1865)
- iii) bamkeliswa bonke upeni ngabanye* (they were received a penny each) (1866)
- iv) kepa nabo banikwa ngabanye openi* (They were also given a penny each) (1897)
- v) kepa nabo ba tola kwa ba ilowo usheleni.* (But they also got a shilling each) (1924 ABM)
- vi) kepa nabo bamkela ngabanye udenario.* (But they each received a denarius) (1924 Hermannsburg)

It should be noted that in the 1959 Bible, under *Isithasiselo III*, *udenariyu* is defined as 8½d. In the 1997 revised edition, this definition has been updated to *iholo lomsebenzi wosuku olulodwa* (payment for one day's work). The rationale behind this is because of

inflation, giving monetary equivalents in different currencies cannot continue to describe the monetary value of the currency in question accurately: however, during Christ's time, a labourer was paid a denarius for a day's work, which gives us some idea of its value in any currency in the world today, i.e. a daily paid labourer's wage.

6.7 The 1966 Roman Catholic Mission translation of the New Testament

The translation of the New Testament which was produced by the Roman Catholic Mission is considered to be oriented towards the source text and the norms contained in it both because they probably used the Latin Vulgate as their source, and also because of what the Roman Catholics stress doctrinally, as illustrated by the use of words such as *ivirigo* (a virgin) instead of *intombi* (a young maiden). The word *ivirigo*, although not popularly used in everyday speech, has been entered in Doke and Vilakazi's (1972:836) dictionary which they define as a virgin, but highlight the fact that the term *intombi* is mostly preferred. They also define the word as a 'Roman Catholic theological term for Mary, the Mother of Christ'. The Holy Spirit is designated *uMoya Ocwebileyo* instead of *uMoya oNgcwele*: both expressions mean the same thing.

Another outstanding doctrinal factor in this translation is the capitalization of the first letter of the stem in expressions that refer to the Mother of Jesus as demonstrated by *uNina* in the following examples:

- i) Kwathi uNina, uMaria, eseganile uJosef* (When his Mother, Maria, was married to Joseph)
- ii) zamfumanisa umntwana kanye noMaria uNina* (they found the child and his Mother, Maria)
- iii) Vuka uthathe umntwana noNina ubalekele eGibhithe* (Wake up, take the child and his Mother and flee to Egypt)

The translation of the expression, 'blessed', into *banenhlanhla* (they are lucky) in the beatitudes, could be interpreted as showing the stylistic preferences of the translators rather than being doctrinal. The manner in which personal names are written reveals

source-text orientation. Personal names such as *kuPilatus*, *uJosef*, *u-Ezekias*, *kuKristo*, etc. point to the use of a Latin source-text influenced by German culture

Although, in the preface to the Doke-Vilakazi (1972: xiii) dictionary, acknowledgement is made to a list of Roman Catholic theological terms contributed by a Rev. W. Kick, a very small number have been identified in the entries, and none of these terms have been used in the Book of Matthew.

6.8 The 1986 translation of the Bible Society of South Africa based on the principle of dynamic equivalence

The translation of the New Testament and Psalms based on Nida's (1964) principle of dynamic equivalence and published by the Bible Society of South Africa in 1986, differs immensely from the translations discussed so far, which were based on formal equivalence. In adopting the principle of dynamic equivalence, the translators of the 1986 translation sought to provide the readers in the target language with a meaning equivalent to that of the source language. This type of translation also has to express that meaning naturally in a way that an Zulu speaker would have spoken or written. The meaning has to be naturally expressed in a way that is as close as possible to the way the source language expressed the meaning.

The above aspect, which distinguishes a dynamic equivalent translation from a formal or literal translation, suggests that the translators of the 1986 translation had to subject themselves to the norms prevailing in the target language and therefore also in the target culture. It is in this translation that we see biblical meaning which is foreign and unfamiliar to the Zulu people being expressed in a manner which is the closest to what they know.

In this translation, Zulu sounds have been written in exactly the same manner as they are pronounced, e.g.

- i) ukub**h**abhadiswa* (to be baptised)
- ii) emzini wase**B**hetlehema* (in the city of Bethlehem)
- iii) u**M**atewu* (Matthew)

- iv) *ingilosi*** (an angel)

Various forms of the Zulu language repertoire have been used to effect an impact which is similar to that made on the original readers. Amongst the various forms employed by these translators, for the purposes of this discussion the focus will be only on cultural substitutions, idioms, and synonyms.

6.8.1 Use of cultural substitutions

The following culture-specific terms have been used in this translation:

- i) *Yamema imbizo*** (He called an assembly)
ii) *zathukulula imixhaka* (They opened their bags)
iii) *bashushumba kwesikabhadakazi* (They walked at night)
iv) *ikhetho* (The bridegroom's party at a wedding)

6.8.2 Use of idioms

The following idioms have been used in this translation:

- i) *wakhala ezimathonsi*** (he cried tears)
ii) *ukumthela ngehlazo* (to pour shame on him)
iii) *yangenwa yitwetwe* (fear entered him)
iv) *wathukuthela wabila* (he boiled with anger)

6.8.3 Synonyms

Some of the synonyms used in this translation include:

izindimbane; izinkumbi; isixuku; izihlwele (large numbers); and
amaqoma; iziqabetho (baskets)

6.8.4 Domesticating foreign concepts

It is only in this translation where the term ***uMvelinqangi*** (the First-to-Appear), a term used in traditional Zulu religion to refer to the Supreme Being, has been used for God. In addition to this, we also find other terms for God such as ***uNkulunkulu*** (the Great-Great-One), ***uSomandla*** (the Most Powerful) and ***uSimakade*** (the Everlasting). Christ is designated as ***uMgcotshwa*** (the Anointed One). This also explains the notion of domesticating concepts that are foreign and unfamiliar to the people.

Loanwords as a translation strategy have been used to a much lesser degree in this translation. Where these have been used, it shows the translators' stylistic preferences, as illustrated by the use of ***nesenti*** (and a sent) in the following example:

uyikhokhe yonke inhlawulo ngisho nesenti layo
(you will pay all the fine even its last cent)

6.9 The 1994 New World Translation of the New Testament

The New World Translation of the New Testament produced by the Watchtower Tract Society (Jehovah's Witnesses) is a translation of which the source text is probably the English New World Translation, rather than the Greek. Differences that have been observed in this translation are doctrinal in nature, and therefore influence the language used in the translation. Although ***uNkulunkulu*** (the Great-Great-One) is used to a certain extent to refer to the Supreme Being in this translation, the term used most commonly is ***uJehova*** (Jehova) an English derivation of the Hebrew term, ***Yahwe***. Similarly, although the term ***uSathane*** (Satan) has also been used to a certain extent, the term most commonly used is ***uDeveli***, (devil).

It is presumed that the use of ***amazulu*** (heavens) is also doctrinal. The following examples are an illustration of the use of ***amazulu*** in this translation:

i) ***Umbuso wamazulu uye waba njengomuntu owahlwanyela imbewu***
(The kingdom of the heavens was like a person who planted seeds)

- iv) ***Umbuso wamazulu unjengohlamvu lwesinaphi***
(The kingdom of the heavens is like a mustard seed)
- v) ***Umbuso wamazulu unjengemvubelo*** (The kingdom of the heavens is like yeast)
- vi) ***Umbuso wamazulu unjengomcebo ofihlwe*** (The kingdom of the heavens is like a hidden treasure)

The use of ***bayjabula*** (they are happy) as a translation of the expression 'blessed are they', in the beatitudes, could be interpreted as showing the stylistic preferences of the translators rather than being doctrinal.

The use of a hyphen to separate vowels as a significant milestone in the development of written Zulu could be attributed to this translation as demonstrated by the following examples:

u-Abrahama

ka-Uziya

u-Israyeli

ngo-Isaya

6.10 The 1997 revised edition of the Bible by the Bible Society of South Africa

The 1997 revision of the Bible which was done at the request of the Zulu Language Board by Dr E. A. Hermanson, with the assistance of Rev C. T. Ntuli and Mr A. Mtshali was written in the orthography that was introduced by the Zulu Language Board in 1989. The Language Board wished the Bible to be in the same orthography as that which was taught in the schools (Hermanson July 2006: personal interview).

The demonstrative pronoun had been written conjunctively with the noun, since, in 1959, it was decided that the language should be written conjunctively. According to the new orthography of 1989, the demonstrative pronoun was to be written disjunctively from the noun with which it occurs. This is reflected in the 1997 revision of the Bible, as in the following examples:

- i) kulo lonke lelo zwe (in that whole land)*
- ii) ngaso leso sikhathi (at that time)*
- iii) uzakubenze njani labo balimi na? (what will you do with those farmers?)*

Although it is maintained that the new orthography of 1989 also introduced the use of the hyphen to separate juxtaposed vowels, it is apparent that this venture was first undertaken by the 1994 translators of the New World translation, as shown above.

6.11 Conclusion

Translations of the Bible into Zulu, beginning with the Book of Matthew, could be regarded as the mainstay of written Zulu. The language was reduced to writing through this translation and developed over the years through the various translations to what it is presently. The 1865 translation by the American Board Mission, the 1876 translation by Bishop Colenso, the 1959 translation by the British and Foreign Bible Society could be regarded as the main bastions of the development of written Zulu.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a summary of the main aims of the study including the approaches adopted. This is followed by issues that have had an influence on the central research problem, the findings arrived at and the insights derived. Finally the chapter concludes with an assessment of the contribution of the study and an outline of perceived implications for further research.

7.2 Synopsis of the chapters

The aim of the study as expressed in Chapter 1 is to chronologically define shifts that occur in twelve translations/versions of the Book of Matthew and to determine to what extent these shifts measure the development and growth of written Zulu. The research problem which forms the focus of inquiry in this study is discussed in Chapter 1 in terms of the role the translation of the Bible played in the development of written Zulu. This is contextualized within a broader theoretical and empirical framework.

The role played by the translation of the Bible in developing the literatures of the various African languages in general is generally acknowledged by South African scholars, including Ntuli and Swanepoel (1993), but little has been done to account for the contribution that Bible translation has made to the development and growth of written Zulu. Van der Walt (1989) gives an account of the scientific studies done on the Zulu language, and Wilkes (2000), traces the development of Zulu orthography from the period of the American Board Missionaries to 1993. Other relevant studies in the area of Zulu Bible translation include those of Hermanson (1991; 1995), where he explores the problems of transliterating biblical names of Greek and Hebrew origin into Zulu and where he also examines the problems of translating metaphor in the book of Amos.

The language used in the various texts of the Zulu Bible abounds with shifts in orthography, morphology, the lexicon and the manner in which proper names have been transliterated from Greek and Hebrew. These shifts are considered to be milestones that show the development and growth of the written language.

This study is corpus-based and corpus analysis tools were used for data analysis. The corpus studied was provided as were the tools that were used for the analysis.

Chapter 2 dealt with the theoretical framework against which the study was conducted. Translation approaches which were prevalent during the period of Bible translation in general were outlined, which also included the period of the translation of the Bible in the indigenous language of South Africa. During this period, prescriptive approaches prevailed. This meant that a translation was compared with its originals and was not to be found lacking as it was supposed to be 'faithful' to its origin, and was to be equivalent to its original in both form and content. As regards the translation of the Bible, Nida (1964/1969) further distinguished between formal and functional equivalence.

Disenchantment with prescriptive approaches led to the emergence of descriptive translation studies. Descriptive theorists started from the position that a translation is a text which functions in a particular culture. Equivalence and the importance of the source text were viewed differently. A polysystem approach, investigation of norms and the idea that translation should be seen as a primary, and not as a secondary, derivative activity are aspects held in high esteem by the proponents of descriptive translation studies.

In this chapter we also saw how corpus-based translation studies drew from target-oriented descriptive translation studies with regard to its object of study, as well as on the insights and analytical tools of corpus linguistics to study and analyse translated corpora.

Chapter 3 maps the life of the Zulu people from the period when their language was predominantly oral, through the stages during which it acquired its written form. This

chapter also looked at actions and decisions that accompanied the use of language throughout the various stages of the life of the people.

In essence, in this chapter we looked at the Zulu people before their encounter with the white man. The life the Zulu people under the various Zulu monarchs was delineated and it was shown how they relied on their oral tradition to transmit knowledge, wisdom, feelings and attitudes from one generation to the next by word of mouth. The various art forms which the traditional Zulu people made use of, such as prose narratives, didactic narratives and traditional poetry, were discussed.

An outline of the earliest European traders and missionary groups was given. Francis Henry Fynn and a group of fellow adventurers that included Lieutenant Farewell, arrived at what was then called 'Port Natal' in 1824 and established a base for trade in ivory with the interior (Hexham 1987:10). The first evangelist to seek permission to work with the Zulu people from within the king's court was the retired British naval captain, Allen Gardiner, in 1835. On his first visit to Dingane, in 1835, he was told that no missionary could settle in Zululand, so instead he set up a station at Port Natal. A few months later, the king changed his mind and told Gardiner that he could have a missionary station in Zululand (Dinnerstein 1971:18).

The next group of missionaries to enter Zululand with an aim to evangelise the people was that which was sent by the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in the name of Daniel Lindley, Dr Alexander Wilson, Henry Venable, Aldrin Grout, George Champion, Dr Newton Adams and their wives. Dr Newton Adams, Aldrin Grout and George Champion were instructed to work among the Zulu of Chief Dingane in the Zulu country. On their first visit to Dingane, the American missionaries were refused permission to establish a station in Zululand. They set up a missionary station in Natal near the Umlazi River. On their second visit in Natal in May 1836, Dingane had changed his mind. A site for a mission station was selected with his approval north of the uThukela River and they named it Ginani (I am with you) (Switzer 1971:4).

Adams was chosen to work at Umlazi and Champion at Ginani. The missionaries now began a serious study of the Zulu language. Schools were established and several

pamphlets and tracts were translated and printed on a small press at Umlazi, despite the fact that there was no established Zulu orthography, dictionary of grammar (Switzer 1971:4-5). There were other missionary groups, churches and individuals who also worked amongst the Zulu people such as the Norwegian Missionaries, the Hermannsburg Missionaries, the Church of Sweden, Colenso and Callaway.

The translation of the Bible into Zulu is also discussed in Chapter 3. The first book of the Bible to be translated was the Book of Matthew by George Champion and Rev Newton Adams and printed in 1848. Bishop Colenso made use of the 1848 translation by the American Missionaries and reprinted this publication in England in 1855 with some alterations. The New Testament translated by the American Zulu Mission appeared in 1865 with the first edition of the New Testament by Colenso appearing in probably at the end of 1876, although the edition in the corpus is that of 1897. The first complete Bible in Zulu, translated by the missionaries of the American Zulu Mission, was published in 1883. A facsimile of the revision of this translation, which was published in 1893, is still produced by the Bible Society of South Africa, and proves popular among the older readers as well as members of the Shembe AmaNazaretha Church (Hermanson 1991:87; Hermanson 1995:145).

A revised translation of the New Testament done by the American Zulu Mission, and another of the Bible, were published by the American Bible Society in 1917 and 1924 respectively. The Hermannsburg Mission also published a New Testament and Bible in 1924. The British and Foreign Bible Society produced a new translation of the Bible in Zulu in 1959 which is currently still in popular use. In 1967, the Word of Life publisher, produced and published a New Testament, *Amazwi Okuphila – Testamente Elisha Ngolimi Lwanamhlanje*. The complete New Testament and Psalms in dynamic equivalence was published by the Bible Society of South Africa in 1986 (Hermanson 1991:71-72; 1995: 146-148).

The development of an Zulu literary system is also outlined from the first literary work produced by Magema Fuze in 1922, entitled *Abantu Abamnyama Lapa Bavela Ngakhona* (Where the black people came from) through to literary works produced up until the 1997 revised edition of the Zulu Bible which is included in the scope of this

study. It has been shown that the Zulu literary system developed greatly during this period. As regards language-planning policies outlined in this chapter, the Zulu language spread to countries such as Tanzania, Malawi and Zimbabwe by means of Shaka's military actions, through the upheavals termed *Difaqane*, with larger populations subjugated by and assimilated into the Zulu tribe. The missionaries promoted the use of the Zulu language in their schools so that people were able to read the word of God in their own language. During the colonial period, English was the language to be used at schools and in public service. This trend continued into the period of the Union of South Africa. During the period of the Republic of South Africa, Afrikaans was elevated to a status equal to English and became an official language together with English. In 1976, an attempt to elevate the status of Afrikaans even higher, by enforcing it as a medium of instruction in Black secondary schools, resulted in riots. The new dispensation is promoting the policy of multilingualism which, in practice, does not seem to be completely attainable.

The analytical framework and research procedures used to achieve the aims set out for this study are discussed in Chapter 4. A monolingual single corpus which comprised twelve Zulu translations of the Book of Matthew was used to achieve the aims of this study. In Chapter 5, data is analysed using a concordances. Data is interpreted and findings drawn in Chapter 6.

7.3 Limitations of current research

The study outlined has so far provided important insights into the role the translation of the Bible played in the development of written Zulu, and has thus contributed to our understanding and appreciation of the written language as it occurs presently.

The limitation of this study, as is the case with most studies that deal with old publications, is that it becomes restricted in scope due to the fact that such publications are often not readily obtainable. This has been the case with the earliest written publication such as *Incuadi yokuqala yabafundayo* (The first book for learners) and *Incuadi yesibini yabafundayo* (The second book for learners).

The universal features of translation could not be investigated in this study. According to Baker (1996), translators have the tendency to spell things out rather than to leave them implicit in translation (explicitation) or to simplify the language used in translation, (simplification) or exaggerate features of the target language to conform to its typical patterns (normalization). Since, in this study, monolingual texts have been compared, such features that look at how translators have translated into the target language could not be assessed.

7.4 Contribution of the present research

The most significant contribution of this work is to the Zulu language. This study has methodically traced the development of written Zulu since its earliest stages up to and including its present state. Through the various shifts in phonology, orthography, morphology, the lexicon and the manner in which Greek and Hebrew words were transliterated into the Zulu language, the study has shown that subsequent translations were in fact produced with the intention of improving on the grammatical conventions of the language. Thus, this study will enhance understanding into the origin and background against which written Zulu developed over the years.

The use of corpora and a corpus-driven methodology to map the development of Zulu biblical data demonstrates that corpus-based research is feasible for linguistic analysis in the indigenous languages of South Africa. Through the concordances, the various shifts in the corpus were displayed showing that improvements were made in subsequent translations of items which were seen not to be following the phonological, morphological or writing convention of the Zulu language.

This study will also contribute to other linguistic fields. The compilation of the monolingual corpus used in this study is an invaluable resource to the Zulu language. Any Zulu language practitioner working with corpora can draw from the corpus that has already been assembled. Lexicographers may use the corpus for compiling term lists and dictionaries.

Insights into the development of written Zulu will provide researchers with large amounts of information about ways in which the earliest as well as the latest translators of the Zulu Bible solved both linguistic and cultural problems. Terminographers will gain invaluable insights into terminology elaboration strategies used by the translators of the Bible into Zulu, as revealed in this study. When the translators of the Zulu Bible were faced with a lack of an equivalent word in the target language, they used both internal and external word-formation strategies to address problems of non-equivalence. This study will also be of benefit to lexicographers in search of new terms to include in their dictionaries. Several new terms of Greek and Hebrew origin which entered the lexicon of the Zulu language through the translation of the Bible into Zulu could prove worthy of this undertaking.

7.5 Implications for further research

According to the polysystem theory there is a constant state of flux between the different strata of the polysystem, which causes the position of translated literature not to be fixed. Translated literature may occupy a primary or a secondary position in the polysystem. Against this backdrop, research could be carried out in Zulu, as well as in other languages of South Africa, Afrikaans included, to examine the positions which the various translated texts occupy in the polysystem of these languages.

As mentioned in Chapter 2 (par. 2.1), there are a very small number of corpus-based studies in the indigenous languages of South Africa. The availability of a variety of types of corpora of both translated and non-translated texts and corpus-driven methodology would provide an invaluable resource for scholars in these languages to carry out research in any linguistic field, as demonstrated in this study.

Moropa (2005) has investigated the universal features of translation in a parallel corpus of English-Xhosa texts. Such an investigation on the universal features of translation could be carried out in other languages of South Africa, using parallel corpora of original and translated texts.

Research into Zulu biblical terminology could be undertaken using the corpus that has been compiled for this study, as well as one that includes other books of the Bible. The use of a term-formation process has been dealt with very superficially in this study. In-depth research could be conducted on the term-formation processes used by the translators of the Bible to counteract a lack of equivalence at word level.

Although extensive research has been done on the Nazarite Church, it has not been established why this religious group still uses the 1883 revised edition of the Bible published in 1893. Research into this area could also benefit linguistic enthusiasts.

Bibliography

- Andrzejewski, B. W., Pilaszewicz, S. & Tyloch, W. 1985. *Literatures in African languages: theoretical issues and sample surveys*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ansre, G. 1971. Language standardisation in Sub-Saharan Africa. In Sebeok, T. (ed.) *Current trends in linguistics*. Vol 7: 680-698.
- Baker, M. 1992. *In other words: a coursebook in translation*. London: Routledge.
- Baker, M. 1993. Corpus linguistics and translation studies: implications and applications. In Baker, M., Francis, G. & Tognini-Bonelli, E. (eds). *Text and Technology: In Honour of John Sinclair*. Amsterdam and Philadelphia: John Benjamins: 233-250.
- Baker, M. 1995. Corpora in translation studies: an overview and some suggestions for future research. *Target* 7(2):223-243.
- Baker, M. 1996. Corpus-based translation studies: the challenges that lie ahead. In Somers, H. (ed.) *Terminology, LSP and translation studies in language engineering: in honour of Juan C. Sager*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Baker, M. 1998. Investigating the language of translation: a corpus-based approach. *Meta* 43 (2): 281-298.
- Baker, M. 1999. The role of corpora in investigating the linguistic behaviour of professional translators. *International Journal of Corpus Linguistics* 4(2):281-298.
- Baker, M. 2000. Towards a methodology for investigating the style of a literary translator. *Target* 12 ((2):241-266.
- Bascom, W. R. 1965. Four functions of folklore. In Dundes, A. (ed.) *The study in folklore*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Beauchat, P.D. 1965. Riddles in Bantu. In Dundes A (ed.) *The study in folklore*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Beekman, J., Callow, J. & Kopesec, M. 1981. *The semantic structure of written communication*. Texas: SIL.

- Berglund, A-I. 1976. *Zulu thought-patterns and symbolism*. London: C. Hurst.
- Biber, D., Conrad, S. & Reppen, R. 1994. *Corpus-based approaches in applied linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Biber, D. 2004. Representativeness in corpus design (1992). In Sampson, G. & McCarthy, D. (eds). *Corpus linguistics: readings in the awaking discipline*. London: Continuum.
- Blum-Kulka, S. 1986. Shifts of cohesion and coherence in translation. In House, J. & Blum-Kulka, S. (eds). *Interlingual and intercultural Communication: Discourse and cognition in translation and second language acquisition*. London: Longman.
- Booth, A.R. (ed.) 1967. *Journal of Rev. George Champion, American missionary in Zululand 1835-1839*. Cape Town: C. Struik.
- Brain, J.B. 1975. *Catholic beginnings in Natal and beyond*. Durban: T.W. Griggs.
- Brookes E. H. & Webb, C. de B. 1987. *A History of Natal*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal.
- Brown, C. (ed.) 1971. *New Testament theology*. Exeter: The Paternoster Press.
- Callaway, C. 1913. *Nursery tales, traditions and histories of the Zulus*. London: Trübner and Co.
- Canonici, N.N. 1996. *Zulu oral traditions*. Durban: University of Natal.
- Catford, J. 1965. *A linguistic theory of translation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Champion G. & Adams N. 1848. *Umatu American Zulu Mission*.
- Chesterman, A. 1998. *Contrastive functional analysis*. Philadelphia: J. Benjamin.
- Chesterman, A. and Arrojo, R. 2000. Shared grounds in translation studies in *Target* 12(1):151-160.
- Christofersen, A. F. 1967. *Adventuring with God*. Durban: Robinson & Co.
- Cluver, A.D. de V. 1989. *A manual of terminography*. Pretoria: Human Sciences Research Council.



- Colenso, J.W. 1855. *Umatu*. London: Richard Clay.
- Colenso, J.W. 1897. *Izindab'ezinhle ezashunyayelwa ku'bantu ngu'Jesu-Kristo iNkosi yetu kanye nezincwadi ezalotywa ng'abaPostole bake*. Pietermaritzburg: P. Davis & Sons.
- Cope, A.T. 1978. Towards an appreciation of Zulu folktales as literary art. In Argyle, W.J. and Preston-Whyte, E. (eds). *Social system and tradition in Southern Africa*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Crystal, D. 1985. *A dictionary of linguistics and phonetics*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- De Villiers, S. 1979. *Folklore in the indigenous South African languages*. Unpublished honours article, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- De Waard, J. & Nida, E.A. 1986. *From one language to another: functional equivalence in Bible translating*. New York: Thomas Nelson Publishers.
- Dinnerstein, M. 1971. *The American Board Mission to the Zulu*, Unpublished Ph.D thesis, Ann Arbor University, Michigan.
- Döhne, J.L. 1857. *Zulu-Kafir dictionary*. Cape Town: G.J. Pike's Machine Printing Office.
- Döhne, J.L. 1866. *The Gospels*. [S.l. : s.n.]
- Doke, C. M. 1947. Bantu wisdom-lore. In *African studies* Vol 6 (3): 101-120.
- Doke, C.M. & Vilakazi B. W. 1972. *Zulu-English Dictionary*. Johannesburg: Wits University Press.
- Doke, C. M. 1958. Scripture translation into Bantu languages. *Africa Studies*. Vol 17 (2), 82-99. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Duminy A. & Guest B. 1989. *Natal and Zululand from earliest times to 1910: a new history*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.
- Dundes A. (ed.) 1965. *The study in folklore*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Du Toit, B. 1976. *Content and context of Zulu folk-narratives*. Gainesville: University Presses of Florida.

- Etherington, N. 1989. Christianity and African society in the nineteenth-century Natal. In Duminy, A, & Guest, B. (eds). *Natal and Zululand from the earliest times to 1910: a new history*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.
- Evans C.A. & Porter, S.E. 2000. *Dictionary of the New Testament background*. Leicester: Intervarsity Press.
- Even-Zohar, I. 1978. The position of translated literature within the literary polysystem. In Holmes, J.S., Lambert, L. & Van den Broeck, R. (eds). *Literature and translation: new perspectives in literary studies*. Leuven: Acco.
- Even-Zohar, I. 1990. Polysystem studies. *Poetics today*. Vol 11(1):1-94.
- Finnegan, R. 1970. *Oral literature in Africa*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Frawley, G. 1984. Prolegomenon to a theory of translation. In Frawley, W. (ed.) *Translation: literary, linguistic and philosophical perspectives*. London: Associated University Press.
- Gardiner, A.F. 1966. *Narrative of a journey to the Zoolu country in South Africa*. Cape Town: Struik.
- Gauton, R. & De Schryver, G-M. 2004. Translating technical texts into Zulu with the aid of multilingual and/or parallel corpora. *Language Matters* 35(1):148-161.
- Gentzler, E. 1993. *Contemporary translation studies*. London: Routledge.
- Gérard, A.S. 1981. *African language literatures: an introduction to the literary history of Sub-Saharan Africa*. Washington D.C.: Three Continents.
- Hartshorne, K. B. 1992. *Crisis and challenge: black education, 1910-1990*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- Hermans, T. (ed.) 1985 *The manipulation of literature: studies in literary translation*. London: Croom Helm.
- Hermans, T. 1999. *Translation in systems: descriptive and systematic approaches*. Manchester: St Jerome.
- Hermanson, E. A. 1991. *The transliteration of New Testament proper nouns into Zulu*. Unpublished MA dissertation, University of South Africa, Pretoria,

- Hermanson, E.A. 1995. *Metaphor in Zulu: problems in the translation of biblical metaphor in the book of Amos*. Unpublished D Litt thesis, University of Stellenbosch.
- Hermanson, E.A. 2002. A brief overview of Bible translation in South Africa. In Naudé, J.A. & van der Merwe, C.H.J. (eds) *Contemporary translation studies and Bible translation: a South African Perspective. Acta Theologica, Supplementum 2*: 6-18.
- Hermanson, E. A. 2006. Personal interview. Cape Town.
- Hervey, S. & Higgins, I. 1992. *Thinking translation: A course in translation method*. London: Routledge.
- Heugh, K., Siengrühn A. & Plüddemann, P. (eds). 1995. *Multilingual education for South Africa*. Johannesburg: Heinemann.
- Heylen, R. 1987. *Theories of translation: From normative approaches towards socio-cultural description*. Unpublished Ph.D thesis, University of Iowa, Ann Arbor.
- Hexham, I. 1987. *Texts on Zulu religion: traditional Zulu ideas about God*. Queenston: The Edwin Mellen Press.
- Hlongwane, J.B. Growth of the Zulu language and its structural changes. *South African Journal of African languages*. 15(2):60-65.
- Hodgson, J. 1982. *The God of the Xhosa*. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- House, J. 1981. *A model for translation quality assessment*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr.
- Hudson, R.A. 1980. *Sociolinguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- IBaibele Eli Ingcwele*. 1924. American Bible Society.
- IBhayibheli Elingcwele*. 1959. British and Foreign Bible Society.
- IBhayibheli Elingcwele*. 1997. Bible Society of South Africa.
- Ilanga lase Natal*. 1903.
- INguqulo Yezwe Elisha Yemibhalo YamaKristu YesiGriki*, 1994. New York: Watchtower Bible and Tract Society.

IsiZulu, Terminology and Orthography No. 4, 1993. Pretoria: Government Printer.

I Testamente Elitya Lenkosi uJesu Kristu. 1865. American Bible Society.

I Testamente Elitsha Lenkosi Umsindisi wetu uJesu Kristu. 1924.

Moorleigh: Hermansburg Mission Press.

I Thestamente eliSha namaHubo. 1986. Bible Society of South Africa.

Izincwadi Eziyingcwele Zethestamente Elisha Lenkosi Umsindisi wethu

uJesu Kristo NgesiZulu zahunyushwa, zachazwa ngabafundisi

. bebandla Lamakhatholika. 1956. Mariannhill: Catholic Mission

Press.

James, C. 1980. *Contrastive analysis*. London: Longman.

Johansson, S. 1998. On the role of corpora in cross-linguistic research.

In Johansson, S. & Oksefjell, S. (eds). *Corpora and cross-*

linguistic research: theory, method and case studies. Amsterdam:

Rodopi.

Jordan, A.C. 1973. *Towards an African literature: the emergence of*

literary form in Xhosa. London: University of California Press.

Junod, H.P. 1938. *Bantu heritage*. Johannesburg: Hortors Limited.

Kennedy, G. 1998. *An introduction to corpus linguistics*. London:

Longman.

Kenny, D. 2001. *Lexis and creativity in translation: a corpus-based study*.

Manchester: St Jerome.

King, R.T. 1974. *Modern semantic theory: a critical analysis and*

an application to the study of German prepositions. Michigan:

Rice University Press.

Krige, E. J. 1936. *The social system of the Zulus*. London: Longmans,

Green & Co.

Kritzinger, D. 1995. The religious field. In Webb, V.N. (ed.) *The LiCCa*

(SA) Report: language in South Africa: an input into language

planning for a post-apartheid South Africa. University of Pretoria.

Kruger, A. 1996. "Bless thee, bottom, bless thee. Thou art translated!"

The Shakespearean phase in South Africa: a socio-cultural

- perspective. *South African Journal of Literary Studies* 12(4):408-428.
- Kruger, A. 2000. Lexical cohesion and register variation in translation: "The merchant of Venice" in Afrikaans. Unpublished D. Litt. et Phil. thesis, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- Kruger, A. 2002. Corpus-based translation research: its development and implications for general, literary and Bible translation. In Naudé, J.A. & Van der Merwe, C. H. J (eds). *Contemporary translation studies and Bible translation: Acta Theologica: Supplementum 2*: 70-106
- Kruger, A, & Wallmach K. 1997. Research methodology for the description of a source text and its translation(s) – a South African perspective. *South African Journal of African Languages*. 17(4):119-126.
- Lambert J. & Von Gorp, H. 1985. On describing translations. In Hermans, T. (ed.) *The manipulation of literature*. London: Croom Helm.
- Larson, M.. L. 1984. *Meaning-based translation*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America.
- Lauridsen, K. 1996. Text corpora and contrastive linguistics: which type of corpus for which type of analysis? In Aijmer, K., Altenberg, B. & Johansson, M. (eds). *Languages in contrast: papers from a symposium on text-based cross-linguistic studies*. Lund: Lund University Press.
- Laviosa, S. 1997. How comparable can comparable corpora be? *Target* 9 (2): 289-319.
- Laviosa, S. 2002. *Corpus-based translation studies: theory, findings, applications*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Laviosa, S. 2003. *Corpus-based approaches to contrastive linguistics and translation studies*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Laviosa, S. 2004. Corpus-based translation studies: where does it come from? Where is it going? *Language Matters* 35(1): 6-27.
- Laviosa-Braithwaite, S. 1996. Comparable corpora: towards a corpus linguistic methodology for the empirical study of translation, in Thelen, M. & Lewandoska-Tomaszczyk, B. (eds). *Translation and*

- meaning* (Part 3). Maastricht: Hogeschool Maastricht. 153-163
- Laviosa-Braithwaite, S. 1997. *English comparable corpus (ECC): A resource and methodology for the empirical study of translation*. Unpublished Ph.D thesis, Centre for translation and Intercultural studies UMIST, Manchester.
- Lestrade, G.P. 1937. Traditional literature. In Schapera, I. (ed.) *The Bantu-speaking tribes of South Africa*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller.
- Lombard, D.P., Van Wyk, E.B. & Mokgokong, P.C. 1985. *Introduction to the grammar of Northern Sotho*. Pretoria: Van Schaik.
- Lugg, H.C. 1949. *Historic Natal & Zululand*. Pietermaritzburg: Shuter & Shooter.
- Madiba, M. R. 2000. *Strategies in the modernisation of Venda*. Unpublished D. Litt. et Phil. thesis, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- Madiba, M.R. 2004. Parallel corpora as tools for developing the indigenous languages of South Africa, with special reference to Venda. *Language Matters* 35(1):133-147.
- Marivate, C. N. 1992. The evolution of language policy for Africans in South Africa. Unpublished Ph.D thesis, Harvard University.
- Masubelele, M.R. 2004. A corpus-based appraisal of shifts in language use and translation policies in two Zulu translations of the Book of Matthew. *Language Matters* 35(1):201-213.
- Matšela, Z.A, & Mochaba, M.B. 1986. Development of new terminology in Sesotho. *South African Journal of African languages* 6, Supplement: 136-148.
- Messenger, J. C. 1965. The role of proverbs in a Nigerian judicial system. In Dundes, A. (ed.) *The study in folklore*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.
- Mojela, V. M. 1991. *Semantic changes accompanying loan-words in the Northern Sotho lexicon*: Unpublished MA dissertation, Vista University, Mamelodi.
- Mojela, V.M. 1999. *Prestige terminology and its consequences in the*

- development of Northern Sotho vocabulary*. Unpublished D. Litt. et Phil. thesis, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- Moropa, C.K. 2004. A parallel corpus as a terminology resource for Xhosa: A study of strategies used to translate financial statements. *Language Matters* 35(1):162-178.
- Moropa, C.K. 2005. *An investigation of translation universals in parallel corpus of English-Xhosa texts*. Unpublished D. Litt. et Phil. thesis, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- Mtintsilana, P.N. & Morris, R. 1988. Terminology in African languages in South Africa. *South African Journal of African languages*. Vol 8 (4):109-113.
- Munday, J. 2001. *Introducing translation studies: theories and applications*. London: Routledge.
- Mutasa, D.E. 2003. *The language policy of South Africa: what do people say?* Unpublished D. Litt. et Phil. thesis. University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- Naudé, J. A. 2002. An overview of recent developments in translation studies with reference to the implications for Bible translation. In Naudé, J.A. & Van der Merwe, C. H. J. (eds). *Contemporary translation studies and Bible translation: Acta Theologica: Supplementum 2*. 44-64.
- Naudé, J. A. 2004. Representation of poetry in Afrikaans Bible translations: A corpus-based analysis. *Language Matters* 35(1):226-247.
- Ngcobo, M. N. 2002. *A survey of Zulu literature from 1970-1990*. Lewiston: The Edwin Mellen Press.
- Nida, E. 1964. *Toward a science of translating: with special reference to principles and procedures involved in Bible translating*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Nida, E. 1969. *The theory and practice of translation*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Ntuli, D. B & Makhambeni, N. M. 1998. *Izimpende*. Pretoria: Unisa Press.
- Ntuli, D.B. & Swanepoel, C. F. 1993. *Southern African literature in*

- African languages: a concise historical perspective*. Pretoria: Acacia.
- New World Translation of the Christian Greek Scriptures (Zulu)*. 1994. Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society.
- Nyembezi, C. L. S. 1961. *A review of Zulu literature*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.
- Nyembezi, C. L. S. 1963. *Zulu proverbs*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Olohan, M. 2004. *Introducing corpora in translation studies*. Oxfordshire: Routledge.
- O'Grady, W., Dobrovolsky, M. & Katamba, F. 1987. *Contemporary Linguistics: an Introduction*. London: Longman.
- Phaswana, N.E. 1994. *African language planning policies at the university of Venda and the medium of instruction question*. Unpublished M A dissertation, University of Cape Town.
- Pinchuck, I. 1977. *Scientific and technical translation*. London: André Deutsch.
- Ries, J.H. 1957. *Die Zoeloe vertaling van die Bybel - In besonder, die evangelie na die byskrywing van Johannes hoofstuk 1*. Unpublished MA dissertation, University of Stellenbosch.
- Sager, J. C. 1994. *Language engineering and translation: consequences of automation*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Schapera, I. 1937. (ed.) *The Bantu-speaking tribes of South Africa*. Cape Town: Maskew Miller.
- Scott, M. N. 1998. *Normalisation and readers' expectation: a study of literary translation with reference to Lispector's A Hora da Estrela*. Unpublished Ph.D thesis. Liverpool: AELSU University of Liverpool.
- Shuttleworth, M. & Cowie, M. 1997. *Dictionary of translation studies*. Manchester: St. Jerome.
- Sinclair, J. 2004. Corpus creation. In Sampson, G & McCarthy, D. (eds). *Corpus linguistics: readings in a widening discipline*. London:

- Continuum.
- Stern, G. 1931. *Meaning and change of meaning*. Gothenburg: Goteborgs Hogskolas Arsskrift.
- Stavem, O. 1918. *The Norwegian Missionary Society: a short review of its work among the Zulus*. Stavanger: Norwegian Missionary Society.
- Stevenson, I. A. (Compiler) 1992. *Sociolinguistics for applied linguistics: reader for HSOP6R-U*. Pretoria: Unisa.
- Stine, P.C. 2004. *Let the words be written: the lasting influence of Eugene A. Nida*. Leiden & Boston: Brill.
- Stuart, J. 1907. *Zulu orthography*. Pietermaritzburg. [S.l. : s.n.]
- Suh, J.C. 2005. *A study of translation strategies in Guillaume Oyomo Mbia's plays*. Unpublished D. Litt. et Phil. thesis, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- Switzer, L. E. 1971. *The problems of an African mission in a white-dominated, multi-racial society: The American Zulu Mission in South Africa 1885-1910*: Unpublished Ph. D. thesis, University of Natal, Pietermaritzburg.
- Taylor, J.D. 1911. *The American Board Mission in South Africa: a sketch of 75 years*. Durban: John Singleton & Sons.
- Temu, C.W. 1984. Kiswahili terminology: Principles adopted for the enrichment of the Kiswahili language. *Kiswahili* 51(1/2):112-127.
- The Orthographical Rules for IsiZulu. Circular 6/2/2, dated 31 October 1989 of the IsiZulu Language Board of The Department of Education and Culture: Ulundi.
- Thomason S.G. & Kaufman, T. 1988. *Language contact, creolization and genetic linguistics*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Thuynsma, P. N. 1980. *The oral tradition in Southern African literature*. Unpublished Ph.D thesis. Ann Arbor University: Michigan.
- Tognini-Bonelli, E. 2001. *Corpus linguistics at work*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Toury, G. 1978. The nature and role of norms in literary translation. In.

- Holmes, J. S., Lambert, J. & van den Broek, R. (eds). *Literature and translation: new perspectives in literary studies*. Leuven: Acco.
- Toury, G. 1980. *In search of a translation theory*. Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University.
- Toury, G. 1995. *Descriptive translation and beyond*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Tyler, J. 1891. *Forty Years Among the Zulus*. Cape Town: Struik.
- Van den Broeck, R. 1985. Second thoughts on translation criticism. In Hermans, T. (ed.) *The manipulation of literature; studies in literary translation*. London: Croom Helm.
- Van der Walt, 1989. *Die bydrae van sendelinge tot die vestiging van Zulu as skryftaal*. Unpublished MA dissertation, PUCHO, Potchefstroom.
- Van Huyssteen, L. 2003. *A practical approach to the standardisation and elaboration of Zulu as a technical language*. Unpublished D. Litt. et Phil. thesis, University of South Africa, Pretoria:
- Vanderauwera, R. 1985. *Dutch novels translated into English: The transformation of a "minority" literature*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Venuti, L (ed.) 2000. *The translation studies reader*. New York & London: Routledge.
- Vine, W.E. 1952. *Expository dictionary of New Testament words with precise meanings for English readers*. Michigan: Zondervan Publishing House.
- Wallmach, K. 1998. Difference/derivation: feminist translation under view. Ph. D. thesis, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.
- Webb, V. 2002. *Language in South Africa: the role of language in national transformation, reconstruction and development*. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishers.
- Wehrmeyer, J. E. 2001. *A critical examination of translation and evaluation norms in Russian Bible translation*. Unpublished MA dissertation, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- Wehrmeyer, J. E. 2004. CTS and Bible translation: A study in belling the

- cat? *Language Matters* 35(1):214-225.
- Wendland, E.R. 1987. *The cultural factor in Bible translation*. London: United Bible Societies.
- Wilkes, A. 2000. The history and development of Zulu as a literary medium. *Journal for Language Teaching* 34 (4): 402-415
- Wilson M. & Thompson L. 1969. *The Oxford History of South Africa. Volume 1. South Africa to 1870*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- Winckler, W.G. 1964. *The life and writings of Bishop Colenso*. Unpublished M.A dissertation, University of South Africa, Pretoria.
- Wylie, D. 2000. *Savage delight: white myths of Shaka*. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.
- Zulu-Xhosa terminology and Spelling No. 1 1957, Pretoria: Government Printer.
- Zulu terminology & Orthography 1962. Pretoria: Government Printer.