

The State of Setswana in Itsoseng, a Black Township in the North West Province, South Africa

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Abstract. The objectives of this study were to (a) establish what the views of the residents of Itsoseng township in the North West province (henceforth ‘North West’) were regarding the state of Setswana there; and (b) analyze the non-standard lexical items prevalent in its residents’ utterances. A qualitative approach (through face-to-face interviews and participant observation) was employed to gather data from twenty (20) residents who were randomly selected. Participants held positive attitudes towards the use of Setswana in Itsoseng and express their wish that the language needed to be preserved and promoted, a task that should be a responsibility of speakers supported by government. They acknowledged that ‘multilingualism’ was a reality in South Africa and that, in such an environment where speakers of different home languages come into contact, ‘code-switching’ and ‘code-mixing’ were inevitable. Data from participants showed that their utterances were characterized by embedding Tsotsitaal lexical items into their Setswana, and these lexical items were drawn from those published in the literature on Tsotsitaal and those unpublished. A list of both categories of lexical items was compiled and presented in two appendices. This study not only contributed to the growth of research on ‘language use’ among speakers of Black South African languages who reside at Black townships, it also added terms to Tsotsitaal lexicon.

Keywords: Mixed Languages, Non-Standard Varieties, Black Township, South Africa, Code-Switching

Languages: Setswana, Tsotsitaal

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1.0 Introduction

In a multilingual country such as South Africa, it is inevitable that, among others, the following three scenarios would happen: (a) contact between speakers of different home languages (HLs) would produce ‘new’ varieties of languages, such as a ‘mixed language’ spoken as a lingua franca in Tshwane known as Sepitori (Álvarez-Mosquera, Bornman and Ditsele 2018; Ditsele 2014b; Ditsele and Mann 2014; Schuring 1985); (b) new styles of speaking would develop as speakers express ranges of their multilingual repertoires, such as expressing themselves in varieties of Tsotsitaal¹ (Ditsele and Hurst 2016; Gunnink 2014; Hurst 2015; Mesthrie and Hurst 2013); and (c) it would be difficult to maintain the use of standard varieties, particularly in formal settings, such as the workplace (Calteaux 1996) and schooling (Malimabe 1990; Nkosi 2008; Wagner 2018; Wagner, Ditsele and Makgato 2020).

In the case of environments where one language is dominant, such as Setswana in the North West, the first scenario is less likely to happen, while the second and third are. Setswana is a Bantu language primarily spoken in South Africa (Bennett, Diemer, Kerford, Probert and Wesi 2016:235), and, according to Ranamane (2012:27), it is spoken particularly in three provinces – North West; Northern Cape (i.e. northern parts); and Free State (i.e. central and southern parts, particularly Thaba Nchu).

Ditsele (2014a:135) adds Gauteng to a list of provinces where Setswana is a significant language, but limits its significance to three areas, namely: City of Tshwane Metropolitan Municipality (which includes Pretoria); Mogale Local Municipality (which includes Krugersdorp); and Rand West Local Municipality (which includes Randfontein). Ditsele (2014a:67) also notes that other than South Africa, Setswana is also primarily spoken in Botswana. It has official status in South Africa, Botswana and Zimbabwe, which makes it a cross-border language spoken in southern Africa.

Researchers such as Brookes and Lekgoro (2014) and Makukule (2016) have shown that speakers of Black South African languages (BSALs) tend to speak non-standard varieties in informal settings, particularly in multilingual environments. This linguistic behavior extends to less multilingual environments as well, as was shown by Ditsele and Hurst (2017) in the North West (i.e. Rustenburg, Klerksdorp and Potchefstroom) where Setswana is a dominant language, and Hurst (2008) in Cape Town where isiXhosa is a dominant BSAL. All these studies have shown that Tsotsitaal versions based on local BSAL matrix languages

¹ Mesthrie (2008:96) submits that a lower case Tsotsitaal refers to the overarching phenomenon while the upper case Tsotsitaal and alternative names (e.g. Flaaitaal) denote specific varieties previously describes in the literature (see Hurst and Mesthrie 2013:18). This study follows this naming convention.

(Deumert 2018:7) tend to be spoken at these communities, regardless of the extent of multilingualism of an environment, albeit mainly by males.

Research on ‘language use’ among speakers of BSALs has traditionally been skewed in favor of those who reside at black townships² located near cities, particularly in Gauteng. As such, not much is known about ‘language use’ at black townships located near towns far away from cities. Itsoseng – the hometown of one of the authors – was chosen as an ideal location to learn more about ‘language use’. This black township is located 37 km west of Litchtenburg and forty-eight kilometers south-east of Mahikeng in the North West. According to Census 2011, a total of 87.2% of the residents of Itsoseng stated that Setswana was their HL.

Because Setswana is such a dominant language spoken in Itsoseng, this study sought to achieve the following two objectives:

1. establish what the views of its residents were regarding the state of Setswana at their township.
2. analyze the non-standard lexical items in its residents’ utterances.

2.0 Literature Review

2.1 Code-Switching

Code-switching is commonly defined as the use of at least two distinct languages in the same conversation (Muysken 2011:302; Simango 2011:127). Setati (1998, in Setati 2002:13) submits that code-switches can be deliberate, purposeful and political, and that there are important social and political aspects of switching between languages, as there are between switching between discourses, registers and dialects. Setati (1998) argues that historically, code-switching in South Africa has been regarded as having an inferior status. As a result of this perceived inferior status, Setati (2002:13) argues that many people still regard it as a grammarless mixture of languages, and that some monolinguals see it as an insult to their own rule-governed language. Also, there is a general belief that people who code-switch, know neither language well enough to converse in either one alone.

According to Myers-Scotton (1993, in Simango 2011:127), code-switching is recognized as a type of skilled speech behavior practiced by fluent bilinguals. However, it is considered to be a field for serious research for linguists interested in the phenomenon of language contact; it offers linguists the closest view for observing language contact in action.

² Deumert (2016:3) notes that in South Africa, ‘township’ refers to the ghetto-like urban areas where black, colored (a colonial ethnonym for creole or mixed race) and Indian people were forced to live during the apartheid era (1948 to 1994). These areas have persisted after 1994 and South African cities continue to show high levels of segregation.

Heugh (2014:372) notes that the most significant feature of code-switching is that a speaker needs to have bilingual competence (i.e. be fairly proficient in two languages) in order to practice it. That is, a speaker needs to have the ability to produce a chunk of one language, then switch over and produce another chunk in the alternate language. Code-switching can also be understood by seeing it as an activity of taking turns with or alternating between larger units of language, such as clauses, sentences, and chunks, which are longer than sentences.

Like in Itsoseng, the majority of the residents of Gaborone (the capital city of Botswana) speak Setswana as an HL. As exemplified by Tshinki (2002:53), who conducted her study in Gaborone, the residents code-switched between Setswana and English. The example³ below comes from a sermon given by a pastor who was in his sixties.

- (1) *'Kagiso!'* *Le ke lefoko le le tlwaelesegileng thata; bangwe ba le dirisa go dumedisana. Lefoko le 'kagiso' le raya eng? What does 'peace' mean my friends?*

'Peace!' *This is a very common word; some use it to greet each other. What does the word 'peace' mean? What does 'peace' mean my friends?*

Among sociolinguists, there is a general practice of incorporating 'code-mixing' into 'code-switching.' However, as noted by Heugh (2014:372-373), the former differs from the latter in that it occurs when speakers alternate language codes within a single sentence or within a clause. As such, 'code-mixing' refers to the use of more than one language in smaller units of speech, while 'code-switching' refers to the alternation of codes using larger units of speech, such as whole clauses.

The example in (2) below³ shows code-mixing between Setswana and English and comes from a female salesperson who was in her thirties; she was engaged in a conversation with a male customer who was in his forties (Tshinki 2002:56).

- (2) **Twenty-four months e sharp ka gore o kgona go duelela bedroom suite ka lobaka lo lo leele; le fa o na le problem ya madi, o itse gore o sa ntse o na le long term.**

Twenty-four months is good because one can pay for their bedroom suite over a long period; even when one has a problem of raising money, they know that they have a long term (to settle their debt).'

³ Setswana appears in *Italics*; English, in **bold**.

Code-switching (including code-mixing) is a very common phenomenon in South Africa as acknowledged by Finlayson, Calteaux, and Myers-Scotton (1998:395-396) when they submit:

Most urban Black South Africans know more than one language, and in their daily interactions with other township residents, they often switch from one language to another.

2.2 Tsotsitaal

Halliday (1975, in Hurst and Mesthrie 2013:3) describes Tsotsitaal as a linguistic phenomenon common to many South African urban townships, which is constituted primarily by lexical variation with anti-linguistic intentions. Mesthrie (2008:95, in Deumert 2018:8) describes this linguistic phenomenon in a generalized sense as “a loose set of varieties that flourish in South Africa’s townships”.

This linguistic phenomenon, however, has different terms given to it. According to Heugh (2014:370), one such term is Flaaitaal, preferred by Makhudu (2002), possibly because the term is used by a wider cross-section of people than the term Tsotsitaal (gangster language) would suggest. Another term in the mix is isCamtho, which, according to Heugh (2014:371) and Brookes (2014:357), is preferred by Ntshangase (2002), who argues that isCamtho is a predominantly isiZulu- and Southern Sotho-based mixed language that emerged in the informal settlements or squatter camps, rather than the freehold locations around Johannesburg from the 1950s onwards.

In addition to Flaaitaal and isCamtho, Ditsele and Hurst (2016:1) add Ringas, isiTsotsi and Kasitaal as other terms preferred by researchers working on this linguistic phenomenon. Brookes (2014:363) added another term, Setsotsi. Ditsele (2019:6) states that Setsotsi is a term used in areas where Sotho-Tswana languages (or mixed languages developed from them) are predominantly spoken (e.g. in the provinces of Free State, Gauteng, Limpopo, Mpumalanga, North West and Northern Cape).

Hurst and Mesthrie (2013:1) use Tsotsitaal to refer to all the different terms used to describe this linguistic phenomenon. Hurst (2015:143) states that Tsotsitaal can be considered as a set of language resources rather than a ‘language’ in any traditional sense of the term, and that it can be characterized as a ‘register’ or ‘style’ of speaking, rather than a ‘language’ per se. In other words, notes Ditsele (2019:6), Tsotsitaal cannot exist independent of a matrix language it is embedded in.

The following are two examples⁴ of Tsotsitaal which is based on Setswana Ditsele and Hurst (2016:4). The first example was uttered by a male in his thirties from the black township of Jouberton, near Klerksdorp,

⁴ Tsotsitaal appears underlined; Setswana, in **bold**.

and the second was uttered by a male in his thirties from the black suburb of Geelhoutpark in Rustenburg.

- (3) **Medi ga e le legaza, ga o ringe niks le yona; o vaya le yona ko wena.**

If a female has loose morals, you don't talk to her at all; you just take her to your place.

- (4) **Ke tshwere m'rapper; e re a go kgwêlê Motswako⁵.**

I am with a rapper; let him perform Motswako for you.

Examples (3) and (4) above show Tsotsitaal lexical items embedded in Setswana (e.g. *medi*, *m'rapper*, etc.); it thus makes Setswana the matrix language of Tsotsitaal, in this case. Research suggests that Tsotsitaal is and has always been preferred by males far more than females (Brookes 2004:357). All the participants in a study by Ditsele and Hurst (2016) were male; as they note, “females who were approached refused to participate in the study because they believed that they either spoke colloquial or standard Setswana and not Tsotsitaal”.

3.0 Methodology

The qualitative approach was selected for this study so as to get in-depth understanding of Itsoseng residents' views regarding the use of Setswana at their township, as well as to obtain rich data comprising non-standard lexical items in their utterances.

Creswell (2007:128) argues that ‘qualitative research’ is a generic term for investigative methodologies described as ethnographic, naturalists, anthropological, field or participant observer research, and that it emphasizes looking at variables in natural settings in which they are found. O’Leary (2010:114) notes that a ‘qualitative approach’ involves data collection; the approach strongly recognizes the value of depth over quantity and works at delving into social complexities in order to truly explore and understand the interactions, processes, experiences and belief systems that are part of the individual and their everyday life. McMillan and Schumacher (2001:16) submit that ‘qualitative research’ helps the researcher to understand human behavior and experiences particularly in a more complex system of integrated life experiences.

⁵ According to Ditsele (2017), ‘Motswako’ is a Setswana-oriented hip hop genre which developed in Mahikeng in the 1990s; its lyrics are mainly code-switches between Setswana (i.e. standard and non-standard varieties) and English.

Semi-structured interviews were used to gather data from 20 participants who were randomly approached. According to Berg (1998:61, in Ditsele 2014a:123), in the semi-structured interview, participants are asked pre-determined questions, and the researcher is allowed the freedom to deviate; in other words, they are allowed to probe far beyond the expected scope of answers to their prepared questions. One of the authors conducted face-to-face interviews with participants and used a tape recorder to record the conversations. The study was granted ethical clearance (Reference: FCRE/APL/STD/2014/14) by Tshwane University of Technology on November 20, 2014.)

4.0 The Participants

As Appendix 1 shows, eighty percent (16/20) of the participants spoke Setswana as an HL, while twenty percent (4/20) spoke a Nguni language (i.e. isiZulu or isiXhosa). As indicated earlier, Census 2011 puts the population of Itsoseng residents who speak Setswana as an HL at 87.2%. As such, in this study, the eighty percent (80%) of participants who spoke Setswana as an HL is representative of the residents of Itsoseng. Male participants accounted for sixty-five percent (13/20) of the total sample population, while female participants accounted for thirty-five percent (7/20) of the total sample population. In line with the study's second objective, the skewedness of this variable (i.e. 'sex') in favor of male participants was meant to elicit as much non-standard varieties as possible because they tend to communicate in these varieties, for example Tsotsitaal, as was noted by Brookes (2004:357).

5.0 Findings and Discussions

One of the authors conducted face-to-face interviews⁶ with the twenty (20) participants and posed the following seven questions:

Question 1: Do you think it is important for an individual to be proficient in his/her HL?

All of the participants stated that it was very important for a person to be proficient in an HL. They argued that language is a carrier of culture, thus in order to understand, appreciate and practice one's culture, being proficient in one's HL was important. These are some of the views they expressed:

⁶ They were conducted in Setswana, and all the participants were happy and comfortable responding in this language. The interviewer allowed them to use language freely, that is, 'code-switches' and 'code-mixes' between Setswana and other languages, including using tsotsitaal lexical items.

SM-2: By being proficient in your HL, you would know your customs, and it shows that you are proud of yourself and your roots. Every language spoken in the world represents a specific culture, melody, color and assets.

SM-9: To everyone, an HL is certainly one of the most precious treasures in our lives. It is a duty and responsibility to preserve it and pass it down from generation to generation. An HL is an indicator of cultural identity.

Question 2: Do you see any need for Setswana to be taught⁷ at schools and institutions of higher learning?

Some participants submitted that there was a need for Setswana to be taught at schools and institutions of higher learning because that had the potential to improve the Setswana vocabularies of learners and students. Two such views were as follows:

SM-1: Teaching Setswana broadens the mind-sets of learners and students. This would encourage them to speak the language during break time, thereby learning more Setswana words.

SM-4: It is important for the language to be taught and teaching it at school increases the chances of expanding our vocabularies. This would increase our proficiency in our language, leading to the use of more technical terms in Setswana.

Other participants felt that Setswana needed to be taught only as a subject, that is, not as a language of learning at teaching (LOLT); they felt that using Setswana as an LOLT would stand in the way of mastering English, a language which learners and students need to master because it is used in the corporate world. Here is one such view:

XF-1: It is better to be taught a language that you know you will use in the coming future. For example, interviews are conducted in English and if you cannot express yourself in this language, things will be difficult for you.

They added that teaching Setswana as a subject should stop at high school level (i.e. Grade 12) and not extend to institutions of higher learning, again emphasizing the importance of being taught in English in preparation entering the workplace.

⁷ Setswana is taught as a home language and a second language at schools and institutions of higher learning in provinces where the language is predominantly spoken (e.g. North West) and where it has significant numbers of speakers (e.g. Gauteng).

Ditsele (2014a:264) notes that when it comes to the different roles performed by language, many people cannot draw a line between them. That is, they are unaware that language as a ‘transmitter of knowledge’ (e.g. used as an LOLT) differs from it being a ‘communication tool’ (e.g. used to convey a message). Clearly, some participants in this study could not draw a line between these different roles of language, as evidenced by this view:

SF-1: Learning in Setswana at institutions of higher learning will delay the process of learning because some students will struggle to understand what is being taught.

Question 3: The residents of Itsoseng tend to speak Setswana that is not standard. That is, one which comprises non-standard varieties as well as other languages. Why do they speak like this?

Many of the participants suggested that the media (viz. radio and television) influenced the manner in which the residents of Itsoseng used language. They singled out the youth as a group that was prone to emulating what they heard on radio and saw on television. Thus, the lyrics used in a music genre such as Kwaito⁸ influenced how they communicated. Here is one such a view:

SM-1: The media is playing a huge role in our lives especially now. Whenever you text your friends you always try to move with the times, so you use the language which other people use and understand. On chatting sites, you cannot find someone speaking their HL without mixing it with other languages, and this will influence you to also do the same. For example, instead of saying ‘dumela’, which is how one is supposed to greet you in Setswana, some male friends would say to you ‘fede’ or ‘heita’, just to sound ‘cool’.

Some participants submitted that people wanted to be accepted by social groups and thus communicated in ways perceived as superior. For example, speaking Tsotsitaal was perceived as being streetwise and informed about the arts and contemporary ways of interacting. During the interviews, the interviewer observed how comfortable participants of all age groups were in communicating in Tsotsitaal.

Question 4: What do you think should be done to preserve and promote the use of Setswana in Itsoseng?

⁸ According to Satyo (2008:92), Kwaito is “a new type of music which is an amalgam of elements of a wide variety of genres. It includes elements of jazz and reggae, and so is a type of creolization of music”. Ditsele (2017:3) submits that Kwaito lyrics are mainly written in Jozi Sotho or Jozi Zulu.

Many participants said that the residents of Itsoseng should try to communicate in standard Setswana in everyday conversations. That is, they should not use non-standard words or code-switch between Setswana and other languages. They also recommended that parents should take their children to schools that offered Setswana, as opposed to those that did not offer the language at all. They noted that, while it was important to preserve and promote the use of Setswana, the residents of Itsoseng did not have to neglect the learning of English, because it is the language they would need to use at work and in business environments, a point also raised by participants in a study by Macucwa (2019).

Some participants suggested that cultural activities (e.g. traditional dance events or competitions) needed to be promoted in Itsoseng because they would encourage the use of Setswana. They felt that such activities would create a climate of unity and togetherness and instill a sense of pride among the residents.

Question 5: When a language is not spoken enough by its HL speakers, it starts to decline as older generations do not pass it down to newer ones. Do you think that the residents of Itsoseng are aware of the concept ‘language decline’?

Most of the participants were oblivious to phenomena such as ‘language attrition’ and ‘language death’. They said that the residents of Itsoseng spoke other languages to enable them to communicate with those who did not understand Setswana. A few of them were aware of ‘language attrition’ and ‘language death’; they argued that while they wished that Setswana should never experience these phenomena, multilingualism was unavoidable, not just to the residents of Itsoseng, but to many South Africans as well, and, due to many languages sharing the same space, it was virtually impossible for speakers to avoid ‘code-switching’ and ‘code-mixing’ between their HL and other languages. Such communication patterns might lead to a decline in the use of HLs, as argued by two of them.

SM-9: When people understand each other, they do not care about the rest. They are not aware that if they do not communicate in their HLs, they contribute to the fading of their cultures, and this is where the government should step in to prevent a decline.

ZF-1: People only remember the importance of their HLs and preservation of their cultures on Heritage Day. Thereafter, they forget about these and wait for the next Heritage Day⁹.

⁹ This is a public holiday in South Africa, which is celebrated on September 24th. On this day, South Africans celebrate their diverse cultural heritages, which includes languages.

Question 6: How important do you think it is for the youth of Itsoseng to communicate more in Setswana as opposed to how they are communicating at this stage?

Most of the participants said that it was important for the youth of Itsoseng to communicate more in Setswana because that would demonstrate that they embrace who they are. More significantly, by doing that, this generation would pass down Setswana to the next generation – their children. Three of them captured their thoughts as follows:

SM-11: By speaking Setswana, the youth would be promoting their language.

SF-1: The youth should speak Setswana because it is through Setswana that our culture will be transferred to the next generations.

XF-1: As the youth, we are the ones who can bring change in our community, so if we do not speak our language, then who will?

Question 7: Do you think that the government of South Africa is doing enough to preserve and promote the use of BSALs in the country?

The majority of respondents felt that government was not doing enough to preserve and promote the use of BSALs in the country. They had an array of suggestions on how government could improve efforts to ensure that BSALs are preserved and promoted. One of the suggestions was that government should work with communities in organizing campaigns meant to show the importance of using BSALs beyond Heritage Day. Below is another suggestion from a participant.

SM-4: I think that government can introduce ‘cultural studies’ as a subject in the curriculum right from primary school. That would make a significant difference because it would ensure that from an early age, children learn about the importance of preserving their cultures and promoting their HLs.

A few participants, such as SF-2, disagreed with the majority view; she felt that government was doing enough to preserve and promote the use of BSALs in the country. She submitted that speakers of BSALs did not play their part in preserving and promoting their languages. Another participant shared this view:

SF-3: People only show interest in their HLs and cultures on Heritage Day.

6.0 Summary of the Findings

This study sought to achieve two objectives, the first being to establish participants' views regarding the state of Setswana in Itsoseng.

Participants confirmed that Setswana was the majority or dominant language spoken in Itsoseng, and generally held positive attitudes towards the use of Setswana. They were adamant that the language, as well as other BSALs, needed to be preserved and promoted, a task that should be a responsibility of speakers supported by government. They acknowledged that multilingualism was a reality in South Africa and that, in such an environment where speakers of different HLs come into contact, code-switching and code-mixing were inevitable. Whereas code-switching and code-mixing would be between different languages at more multilingual townships, particularly in Gauteng (e.g. Soweto, Tembisa, Soshanguve, etc.), this was not the case in Itsoseng, because Setswana was by far the majority or dominant language.

As observed by the interviewer, code-switching and code-mixing in Itsoseng took place between varieties of Setswana (i.e. standard and non-standard), and between Setswana and English, which was consistent with other Setswana-dominant areas such as Gaborone, Botswana (Tshinki 2002) and elsewhere in the North West (Ditsele and Hurst 2016).

Participants added that non-standard varieties gained popularity through being used on radio and television by musicians and celebrities in general, and that elevated varieties such as Tsotsitaal over standard varieties, particularly in social settings. Be that as it may, they felt strongly that it was important for schools to teach standard varieties of BSALs.

The second objective was to analyze the non-standard lexical items in participants' utterances. As indicated earlier, the interviewer conducted the interviews in Setswana, and allowed the participants to engage her in languages and/or varieties of their choice. This approach was meant to achieve a spontaneous response, as opposed to requesting participants to stick to one language. In that way, it was inevitable that they were going to use lexical items they ordinarily used.

An overwhelming majority of non-standard lexical items drawn from participants' utterances were Tsotsitaal. As Appendix 2¹⁰ and Appendix 3¹¹ will show, Tsotsitaal is characterized by semantic shift or a shift in meaning from original terms from which they were sourced or derived.

¹⁰ It presents Tsotsitaal lexical items that the authors were able to trace from other researchers' studies, i.e. those which are already available in peer-reviewed literature.

¹¹ It presents Tsotsitaal lexical items that the authors were unable to trace from other researchers' studies, i.e. those which are unavailable in peer-reviewed literature. The authors concede that such Tsotsitaal lexical items may have been presented in peer-reviewed sources which they could not access and/or unaware of.

7.0 Study's Contribution

This study not only contributed to the growth of research on 'language use' among speakers of BSALs who reside at Black townships, it also added terms to Tsotsitaal lexicon. Ditsele and Hurst (2016:6) argue that at a provincial level, many innovations of Tsotsitaal lexicon are derived from locally dominant languages. However, in this study, the dominance of Setswana was not evident, probably because it indirectly obtained Tsotsitaal lexical items from participants, unlike in Ditsele and Hurst's (2016), where they directly obtained them.

Data from Hurst and Mesthrie (2013) showed that Tsotsitaal lexical items used nationally were derived mainly from Afrikaans and English. In this study (see Appendix 3), while the two languages feature significantly, there were lexical items derived from Sotho-Tswana and Nguni languages.

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Appendix 1: *Participants' Profiles*

Participant	Home Language	Age	Sex	Occupation
SM-1	Setswana	22	Male	Student
SM-2	Setswana	25	Male	Student
SM-3	Setswana	26	Male	Student
SM-4	Setswana	29	Male	Student
SM-5	Setswana	41	Male	Unemployed
SM-6	Setswana	42	Male	Unemployed
SM-7	Setswana	48	Male	Security Officer
SM-8	Setswana	51	Male	Self-Employed
SM-9	Setswana	55	Male	Doctor
SM-10	Setswana	56	Male	Priest
SM-11	Setswana	59	Male	Self-Employed
SM-12	Setswana	64	Male	Self-Employed
SF-1	Setswana	23	Female	Student
SF-2	Setswana	50	Female	Self-Employed
SF-3	Setswana	52	Female	Domestic worker
SF-4	Setswana	63	Female	Self-Employed
ZM-1	IsiZulu	61	Male	Gardener
ZF-1	IsiZulu	37	Female	Administrator
XF-1	IsiXhosa	25	Female	Student
XF-2	IsiXhosa	49	Female	Domestic Worker

Appendix 2: *Lexical Items Used by Participants*

Tsotsitaal	Contextual Meaning	Cited in	Setswana
authi	similar-aged male; male peer	Ditsele and Hurst (2016:5)	monkane
da	there	Ngwenya (1995:79)	kwa
dese	pretty	Ditsele (2019:21)	montle; bontle
dladla	house	Ntshangase (2002:412)	ntlo
entlek	actually	Mulaudzi and Poulus (2001:7)	sentlentle
gaya	to give	Brook (2010:3)	naya
gidla	sleep	Msimang (1987)	robala
heita	hello; hi	Hurst (2008:169)	dumela
hosi	hospital	Ngwenya (1995:54) as 'ihhosi'	bookelo; sepetlele
jaife	trouble; problem	Ditsele (2019:21)	bothata
kasi	township	Mulaudzi and Poulus (2001:5)	motsesetoropo
mara	but	Deumert et al. (2006)	mme; fela
mense	people	Brookes and Lekgoro (2014:153)	batho
nyuku	money	Slabbert and Myers-Scotton (1996:337)	madi; tšhelete
phapha	too forward	Ditsele (2019:21)	fasoga; fafamoga
sgela (<i>< geleza</i>)	school	Ngwenya (1995:52)	sekolo
spana	to work	Slabbert and Myers-Scotton (1996:336)	dira
zozo	food	Ngwenya (1995:135)	dijo
zula	to want; to seek	Ndlovu (2018:139)	batla; senka

Appendix 3: *Lexical Items Used by Participants*
(Previously Unpublished)

Tsotsitaal	Meanings	Derived from	Original	Setswana
chaela; tšhaela	tell; inform	Nguni	tshela	bolelela; itsise
daai man	that man	Afrikaans	daardie man	monna yole
dintshang?	what is going on?; how are you?	Sotho-Tswana	di ntsha eng?	go diragala eng?; o kae?; le kae?
fede?	how are you?	Afrikaans	verder	o kae?; le kae?
gedlele	car; vehicle	Nguni	igedlela	sejanaga; koloi
gereza	hustle	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	kgaratlha
jampas (<i>< jump tyd</i>)	evening	English and Afrikaans	jump and tyd	maitseboa
lechesa	coffee; tea	Southern Sotho	chesa	kofi; teê
legata	police officer	Sotho-Tswana	(from a verb) gata	lepodisi; letseka
lezothi	beautiful girl	<i>Unknown</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	mosetsana yo montle
ncozi	baby; child	Nguni	ncane	leseae; ngwana
skaars	scarce	Afrikaans	skaars	sa bonale thata
sliza	to get away; to leave; to escape	English	slicer	tshaba; tsamaya; nyamela
zwaap	all	<i>Unknow</i>	<i>Unknown</i>	tsotlhe; gotlhe