In this book, Herbert Chimhundu examines how the Shona language adopts and adapts words and concepts from other languages in order to function in a changing society. This case study of Shona can be considered as an example of an African language which is heavily influenced by English during both the colonial and post-colonial periods, but nevertheless finds strategies to maintain its identity.

One section of the book deals with the language in use. Word and concept borrowing, as well as code-switching and diglossia, are discussed in a familiar African context in which the colonial language still predominates in many domains. A critical review of the development of Shona as a standard written language is also provided, with a description of attitudes to the mother-tongue in both colonial and post-colonial settings when no formulated language policy was available.

Written about the time that Zimbabwe gained its independence, and based on research from the late seventies, this book was originally presented as Herbert Chimhundu’s dissertation for the doctor of philology degree, which was awarded in 1983. A facsimile edition of the original manuscript is provided here, in response to demand from the tertiary education sector of Zimbabwe.

This study, while defending its place as a work of linguistic scholarship in its own right, can also be regarded as a preliminary work to the two Shona monolingual dictionaries of which Herbert Chimhundu is editor in chief, namely Duramazwi reChiShona (1996) and Duramazwi Guru reChiShona (2001).

Herbert Chimhundu is a professor of African Languages and Lexicography, and director of the African Languages Research Institute (ALRI) at the University of Zimbabwe.

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Adoption and Adaptation in Shona

Unipub skriftserier
Preface

Dr Chimhundu's doctoral dissertation is here provided in a limited facsimile edition of 100 copies, to meet insistent demand for its wider distribution, coupled with a well founded fear (expressed by the University of Zimbabwe Library) that the two existing copies will be used and studied to the point of physical disintegration. A revised and updated version incorporating later research findings and policy developments is under preparation by Dr Chimhundu, and will in due course be published as part of the ALRI series of works on the African languages of Zimbabwe.

Adoption and Adaptation in Shona was originally submitted as a dissertation for a doctorate of philology, which was awarded in 1983 by the University of Zimbabwe. The issues dealt with here have remained topical, and requests from individuals, teaching departments and libraries to have it published for wider circulation have been increasing, especially after

- the Intergovernmental Conference on Language Policies in Africa (Harare 1997)
- the Report of the Presidential Commission of Enquiry into Education and Training (Zimbabwe 1998),

all of which have contributed to make an explicit Zimbabwean language policy a matter of general public demand.

This facsimile edition is a photographic copy of a copy of the original typewritten manuscript, as its appearance testifies. It should be regarded as a combined stopgap and salvage operation. If Dr. Chimhundu had written a pioneering study of a language from the industrialised West, this effort would not have been necessary, for the book would probably have run through many printings and editions already, and been generally available. It is a sobering thought to consider how much of the scholarship expended on the less documented languages of the world, probably never reaches its proper readership. The African Languages Lexical Project (ALLEX), a NUFU funded cooperation project between the Universities of Gothenburg, Oslo and Zimbabwe, regards it as a legitimate concern to make sure that this work, at least, is given a wider circulation.

Oddrun Grønvik
Academic Coordinator of the ALLEX Project at the University of Oslo

Oslo, July 2002
ADOPTION AND ADAPTATION

IN SHONA

HERBERT CHIMHUNU

Submitted to the University of Zimbabwe for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.
To my late father,

VURAYAI CHIMBUNDU,

for his many sacrifices.
ABSTRACT

This study deals with language change. I examine the total response of Shona to its encounters with other languages, especially English, from which many elements have been and are still being adopted and used in adapted form.

Part I treats adoptives systematically in terms of their interlingual connection. English emerges clearly as the main source language, with Afrikaans, Portuguese, the Nguni group and Fanigalo as other important ones. Chapter 1 deals with lexical and semantic adoption; that is, change in vocabulary and change in meaning where these involve or derive from contact between languages. The focus is on individual lexical items, the majority of which are taken from Hamburger’s Standard Shona Dictionary and from compositions by O-level candidates. In Chapter 2, attention turns to morphology and, to a lesser extent, to syntax. The influences on, and adjustments to, Shona grammatical structures are discussed.

Part II is mainly concerned with describing patterns of phonological assimilation undergone by adoptive elements. The treatment begins in Chapter 3 with revisions in Shona phonology intended to facilitate comparison between Shona and other languages. Substitution patterns for consonants and vowels are treated in Chapters 4 and 5 respectively. This treatment leads directly to a discussion in Chapter 6 on general implications for Shona phonology. Part II is rounded off in Chapter 7 by a description of how Shona handles the original suprasegmental features of English models to yield Shona replicas in the general process of integration.

Emphasis in this study is on processes of transfer and on continuity within related processes. I have, therefore, avoided the notions of ‘borrowing’ and ‘interference’ together with their established terminology, because these are associated with the monolithic view of language. The view taken here is of language as an open system in use and in change. At the phonological level, for example, it has been found that transferred elements undergo a process of assimilation before they become fully integrated, where integration also subsumes acceptance or general usage. Adoption, assimilation and integration are viewed as different levels within a general process of linguistic adaptation. Over a period of time, this adaptation mirrors cultural evolution and is most obvious at the lexical level. For the Shona people, general linguistic adaptation is explained in terms of an increasingly complex and diversified speech community, one in which perhaps no one speaker controls the entire range of codes.

This latter aspect is brought out in Part III, which is on the speech habits of Shona speakers and on their attitudes to the different language varieties or codes within their community. Chapter 8 describes the language situation. Chapters 9 and 10, which summarise findings from research in the field, discuss the speakers' awareness of, usage of and attitudes to adoptives.
The last two chapters, on diglossia and code-switching respectively, deal with situated language use. Here various materials are used, including answers to a questionnaire, tape-recorded interviews and conversations, advertisements and notes from meetings. Speech events and speech acts are analysed in Chapter 11 to show how patterns of code-switching, involving (a) Shona varieties and (b) Shona and English, have become societal norms. Here code preference is also related to domain of use. In the final chapter, actual incidences of code-switching are discussed and these are related to the bilingual's general strategy. At this higher level of situated language use, the idea of "pure" and "mixed" language is rejected. Instead the bilingual speaker is described as drawing from a broad repertoire. Language is viewed as a bundle of codes internalized in the individual, and code-switching is seen as part of the individual's communicative competence.

In this thesis more tentative conclusions have been made than definite ones, and perhaps more questions asked than answered. As an attempt to break into a new field of socially relevant linguistic research in Zimbabwe, I consider the main contribution of this study to be the attention of scholars, language planners, educationists and administrators which, I hope, will be brought to the various live issues discussed here.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

In 1977 the Academic Committee of the University of Zimbabwe awarded me a University Postgraduate Scholarship which enabled me to do the greater part of the research for this dissertation. This assistance from the University is gratefully acknowledged.

My gratitude goes to Professor G. Fortune, formerly Head of the Department of African Languages, University of Zimbabwe, for encouraging me to take up postgraduate work in the first place, and later, as my supervisor, for his many comments and suggestions. I would also like to thank my first supervisor, Dr. H.C. Deshetezha, of the same Department, for initial encouragement to take the line of inquiry which eventually led to this study.

To Dr. J.H. Carter, of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, I am most grateful for her many useful comments, especially relating to Part II of the dissertation, and for her continued interest in my work. I am deeply indebted to Mr. R.S. Mhangwani of the Department of Linguistics, University of Zimbabwe, for general encouragement and, more particularly, for allowing me to share tape recorded material from his on-going field research.

I would also like to thank all those people, too many to mention by name, who gave up their valuable time and cooperated with me during my fieldwork, by doing the Recollection Test and answering Questionnaires.

Finally, the debt I owe to other scholars in the same and related fields is, I hope, made sufficiently plain by the references in the text, but the shortcomings of this work remain, of course, my own.

Herbert Chimbundu,

Harare,
February, 1982
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SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

< from
/> to; becomes
\ phonemic script
[ ] phonetic script; bibliographic reference
( ) cross reference
* footnote
~ variant form
{ } alternative forms
· high tone
- mid tone
-· low tone; primary or kinetic stress
pre-nuclear or pre-kinetic stress
- - secondary accent or partial stress
V vowel
C consonant
CC consonant cluster or sequence
Cc,Cc labialized consonant
depressor consonant
C\ C ligature
\ syllabic sibilant
S Shona
E English
SE Shona-accented English
LWC Language of Wider Communication
H High (in diglossic situation)
L Low (in diglossic situation)
PL Primary Language
SL Secondary Language; Source Language

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INTRODUCTION

This study aims to throw some light on current problems of language use by the mother-tongue speakers of Zimbabwe's majority language, Shona, and to indicate general directions of change.

The focus is on languages in contact and how, in that contact situation, Shona is coping. Firstly, word-forms and other elements are being transferred from various sources into Shona, thereby expanding its vocabulary. Such transferred elements as may become generally used in the language are viewed as having been adopted and are described as adoptives. The process of transfer, then, is adoption. In relation to this process, two things must be noted: firstly, that contact with, and adoption from, English has been very extensive; secondly, that adoption is not always direct. For example, it may come via another language, or it may not involve transfer of elements at all. Designations in English may influence extensions in meanings of old word-forms in Shona to match those in English. We must also point out here that vocabularies of languages are never static. Contact or no contact, they will increase over time to mirror general cultural evolution. To the extent that Shona is increasing its total lexical and semantic range, it may be viewed as adapting to change. In the chapters that follow, we will show that Shona is indeed undergoing a general process of adaptation which is explained in terms of an increasingly complex speech community (cp. Haugen, 1972), one in which perhaps the individual speakers do no necessarily control the entire range of codes.

In this study we will look at both adoptive and adaptation processes. Adoption is a process in the sense that it is going on all the time, since the language is an open system in use and in change (cp. Bell, 1976). In another sense adoption is a process because the adoptive elements have to
undergo certain changes in shape, and sometimes also in meaning, before they are deemed by the speakers to have become adopted in Shona. What happens to the phonemic shape of such elements will be described as assimilation, and their incorporation into the primary language (PL) will be called integration. Therefore, integration will subsume phonological assimilation and acceptance or general usage. Assimilation, adoption and integration are viewed as different levels within a general process.

Emphasis here is on the word process and on continuity within related processes. There is nothing absolute about the position or status of any given element at any point in time. The description of individual elements is best viewed in relation to specified continua. Accordingly, the traditional "terminology of borrowing" (e.g. "loanwords", "loanshifts", "loanblends", "borrowing", "foreign", "interference") will be discarded in this study. Their coinage was, in the first instance, based on unsound theoretical grounds. The notion of "interference", for example is associated with the monolithic view of language. The term "interference" itself may also connote undesirability in the purist sense. The general assumption made by the "terminology of borrowing" has been one of monolithic and homogeneous "donor languages" lending items to equally monolithic and homogeneous "borrowing" or "receiving languages". In the bilingual situation under investigation, this assumption was found to be false. It is more useful to look at the language varieties available to the speaker as his repertoire and as featuring together in the bilingual's verbal strategy. Indeed a different type of analysis from the one adopted in the following chapters could well end up identifying an interlanguage (cp. Selinker, 1972), that is one which must be described in terms of its own rules as opposed to those of either Shona or English.
Under adaptation we will also try to work out patterns of change in form whereby the original models in the second(ary) language or SL must undergo before their replicas in the PL are acceptable as adoptives. Phonological assimilation itself may, therefore, also be viewed as one form of adaptation. At another level, the grammatical level, we must also look at a different kind of adaptation of SL models. This adjustment is primarily at the morphological level, and secondarily at the syntactic level. Attention will be on adjustments, in, and influences on, the PL made by SL structures.

When we look at the behaviour of the bilinguals, adaptation of a different kind is observed at even higher levels: viz. diglossia involving assignment of roles or domains of use to different codes or languages, or code-switching involving shifting back and forth between them. When we examine the speech event (cp. Hymes, 1968) or the speech act as an incidence of situated language use (cp. Bell, 1976), we will reject the idea of "pure" and "mixed" language. Instead we will describe our bilingual speaker as drawing from a wide repertoire. Language will be viewed as "a bundle of codes" (Bell, 1976, 110) internalized in the individual, while code-switching is seen as part of communicative competence (Bell, 1976, 214).

This approach will involve an extension of the notion diglossia to refer not only to code-switching within a given language (Ferguson, 1964), but also to code-switching across languages (Fishman, 1972a).

From the foregoing it is clear that we are looking at external influences on the PL operating at two levels: i.e. the individual and the language. As far as the bilingual is concerned it seems possible for the analyst to postulate a balance effect hypothesis, viz: that the more proficient an
individual becomes in one of his languages, the less proficient he becomes in the other (cp. Ngara, 1977 & 1982, para. 1.2). It seems to me, however, that such a deficit or balance effect hypothesis must take the interested analyst back to basic problems of competence and performance in the Chomskian sense. (Op. N. Chomsky, Aspects of the Theory of Syntax, Cambridge: M.I.T., 1965.) If bilingualism represents competence and the bilingual exhibits variable competence, can the bilingual's competence in the SL (English) be matched with a gradual unlearning of the PL (Shona)? (cp. Haugen, 1972, 303.) In other words, is the modern Shona speaker dismantling his first language by forgetting words, complex sentence structures and subtleties of meaning, or is he simply rebuilding his language to suit changing circumstances (cp. Haugen, 1972, 304)? Whatever the case may be, I must emphasize here that this is a problem I do not investigate formally because it is outside the scope of this study. This is a problem which, in my view, needs detailed psycholinguistic studies of selected idiolects (i.e. the speech varieties of individual speakers), and this would involve a considerable narrowing of the scope of the present study.

As for the influences operating at the higher level of the language, which is what will be dealt with directly here, we must emphasize at this early stage that adoption in a language is an on-going process. On the one hand, a monolingual Shona speaker is unlikely to be aware, for example, that the word *bhadhara* (pay) is an indirect adoptive from Afrikaans because it is used by the entire speech community and is learnt from childhood. It is therefore completely integrated in the language. On the other hand, a word like *raketi* (racket, racquet) would represent a case of on-going linguistic diffusion (Diebold, 1964), an unintegrated element with no basic range in the language or competence and, therefore, only idiolectal or used by the Shona-English bilingual only. One of the pioneers of the study of languages in contact, Uriel xx/...........
Weinreich, made a useful analogy regarding the distinction between "interference in speech" as a process and "interference in language" as a system:

"In speech interference is like sand carried by a stream; in language it is the sedimented sand deposited at the bottom of a lake." (Weinreich, 1953, 11.)

If to Weinreich's and Diebold's observations we add Ferguson's notion of diglossia (1964) plus Fishman's (1972a) and Abdulaziz - Mkilifi's (1972) further modifications, it becomes interesting to determine the position for our Shona–English bilingual. The position is indicated in Chapter 8 where the language situation is described.

This language situation is fairly complex. Although, as has already been indicated, it might well be possible to postulate an interlanguage, it has been found convenient for the purposes of this study to retain the general assumption that we are dealing with discrete languages. To determine what is happening in language one must start from somewhere, from a language or languages, although the languages so identified may themselves be abstractions. These abstractions become vitally important when one examines processes of adjustment at the level of the phoneme, as in Part II of the thesis. In dealing with sounds under "Phonological Assimilation" I have also found it necessary to discuss at some length the comparative phonetics of Shona and English in order to draw a neat framework within which patterns of transfer can be observed systematically. This description is considered a must, especially in view of the deviations in the approach adopted here from the traditional interpretation of Shona phonology.

At the lower level of varieties within Shona I have found that it is inadequate to describe the situation only in terms of regional dialects representative of the mirudzi concept, e.g. ChiKaranga, ChiZesuru, ChiManyika, ChiNdau,
ChiKorekore. All these are of course interacting in the capital Harare, which city is described as a linguistic melting pot whose trends are being copied elsewhere throughout the Shona-speaking areas of Zimbabwe. But further to these dialects, I have identified and distinguished three varieties emerging from the melting pot. The first is the literary variety which is being promoted as the standard language and in which such integrated adoptives as sodva (tobacco) have become accepted as indigenous. The second is ChiHarare or the General Spoken Variety in which conventional slang is used in the non-formal, public-colloquial style. By conventional slang here is meant adoptive and other word forms in general use but not generally accepted in the formal—literary style, e.g. futi (again), manje (now), chikafu (food). Then there is non-conventional slang or Chinjamanje, which is typically used by in-groups, particularly among the youth. Its word forms may be obscure in origin or not typically Shona in phonemic shape, e.g. chuni (girl), blaan (brother, fellow) skwisha (school), dhabs (money). Vocabulary of this type is transient and the development of Chinjamanje is quite peripheral to that of the main language and therefore quite harmless to it. Indeed every living language has slang of this type and attacks by purists that "Slang is destroying Shona" are unjustified, being born of ignorance about the nature of slang.

In arriving at the position taken in this study on the various issues tackled a number of articles and books have been found particularly useful. In addition to those already cited above, I must also make particular mention of articles by Bokamba (1977), Di Pietro (1978), Fishman (1972b), Gumpraz (1972), Hymes (1972), Labov (1972) Lambert (1971) and Lipski (1976); and books by Blount and Sanches (1977), Clide (1967), Dittmar (1976), Giles and Powerland (1975) and Rayfield (1970). I also had the privilege of reading a draft copy of Ngama's Ph. D. thesis (1977).
A shortened version of this thesis has now been published in book form *, and a few points must be made here on Ngara's work in this field, especially since it will only be mentioned once or twice more in the following chapters.

The main differences between Ngara's work and mine relate to approach and scope. Ngara attempts to marry theoretical linguistics with applied or normative linguistics. How successful he is in contributing to either or to both is a matter for discussion. The point here is that his study tries "to show how descriptive linguistics can be usefully complemented by normative or prescriptive linguistics" (p. 36). In my own study I do not attempt to give prescriptive solutions because I take the position that such solutions must follow from a thorough study, aspect by aspect, of the language situation in Zimbabwe as a whole. I therefore concentrate on working towards a description of the language situation in the Shona-speaking community as a first step. I do not, for example, look at the influence of Shona on English which Ngara does, and Ngara does not look at the interaction of the various varieties within the Shona language cluster which I do. I further stress the need at the national level for a sociolinguistic survey of usage and attitudes, if policy is to be formulated on an adequate base. For my part I am keenly aware that such a national survey is too big a task for any one man with limited resources and time. However, it is possible for the individual scholar to gain some insight into, and throw some light on, the overall language situation by studying the speech habits and attitudes of selected speech communities from which current trends can be inferred. This is what I have tried to do in this study where the focus is on the Shona-speaking community in Harare.

There are, of course, a number of areas where Ngara's thesis and mine overlap and where there is agreement in very broad terms, e.g. the behaviour of adoptives at the phonological level; the comparative phonetics of English and Shona; aspects of the language situation in the country, including attitudes to Shona and English (cp. Ngara ch. 2, and Chimhundu ch. 8 and 11); and some aspects of code-switching (cp. Ngara ch. 8, and Chimhundu ch. 12). However, the types of data used were different, the findings were arrived at differently, and these findings led to different conclusions because the two researchers had their main attention on different things.

Ngara's attention is on broader, national issues and he makes some definite conclusions which lead him towards definite proposals for language use and language teaching in Zimbabwe. In this study I have not felt bold enough to go as far as Ngara does and my study is more of forms during processes of transfer. I then consider attitudes of the speakers to these forms and their source languages, and the patterns of the usage by the same speakers of these forms, whether as single items or adoptives, or as stretches during code-switching. The effect is a considerable narrowing of the scope of Ngara's study. This is why I have found a number of specific points made by Ngara which I would query in those areas that I have studied in more detail (e.g. phonological assimilation) or those he has studied in more detail (e.g. the balance effect hypothesis). However, as all these queries would relate either to mere points of detail or to matters peripheral to the core of my study, I have decided either to ignore them or at least not to dwell on them. I consider Ngara's work and mine to be different contributions in the same general direction. I hope other scholars will take up some of the outstanding issues we have raised and investigate them further, thereby further solidifying the base
on which the government can make decisions on language policy, a matter which the government will have to consider seriously sooner or later.

Finally, we must now turn our attention to the data and methodology used in this study. As far as the method of collection of the data is concerned, I took Labov's (1972) position respecting the so-called observer's paradox, whose protagonists claim that "normal" or "unobserved" or "natural" behaviour is inaccessible to the researcher. This is no problem really if it is accepted that the behaviour the researcher wants to observe never occurs in a vacuum anyway. It is always part of interaction. (The "paradox" could very well be a legacy of dialectologists who would wish to analyse hypothetical "pure" forms of language.) Therefore, all speech behaviour must be regarded as normal under the circumstances of the particular speech event. The researcher should simply go ahead and collect data and analyse it, stating the conditions under which it was obtained, and then proceed to give the (statistical) results.

Different kinds of data were collected at the research stage of this thesis. First, adoptive word lists were compiled from Haman's Standard Shona Dictionary (cp. Tables 1 and 2 on pages 11 and 28a) and from compositions by O-Level candidates (see Appendix I (b)). Analyses of the two were intended to indicate general directions in which the total composition of Shona is changing. Further, the 'O' -level data indicated frequency of occurrence plus an unavoidable minimum adoptive element in the literary style. Next, two different questionnaires were used. The first (see Appendix II(a)), which included a Recollection Test, was designed primarily to test informants' awareness of and knowledge about commonly used adoptions, and only secondarily to indicate patterns of preferences by speakers. The second (see Appendix III(a))
was designed mainly to show how the speakers handle the various codes in their common repertoire, i.e. what roles are assigned to what codes. It was also designed to indicate any correlations between such roles and the speakers’ personal backgrounds. I must hasten to explain here that I quickly found that it would be unnecessary to use a very large corpus because responses were quite uniform. Originally 150 copies of each of the two questionnaires were prepared for distribution but, as I explain in 9.1.1, I found that a limited corpus worked out from the responses of 43 informants was adequate.

At the highest level of analysis, namely situated language use, I also found it necessary to determine how the speakers handle their codes in speech. By the code here is understood any language variety that is describable different, whether this is popularly known as a language or a style (register) or a dialect. To work out patterns in which bilinguals switch back and forth between codes, tape recorded conversations were used (see Appendices IV(b) and IV(c)). I also reconstructed for analysis conversations picked up in participant–observer situations. Both types of materials represent spontaneous speech. For formal speech I used notes taken from meetings of the Shona Teaching Association during which the business was conducted in Shona. At least some of the speeches at these meetings were prepared speeches and it was clear that all the participants indulged in elaborate verbal planning before making their contributions. Finally, I examined transcriptions of advertisements in Shona, ranging from very short 15 second advertisements to much longer 15 minute sponsored programmes (see Appendix IV(a)). Commercial consumer advertising is interesting because it is a relatively new area for language use for Shona and because it is a very good example of how language can adapt for a definite social purpose. Linguistic developments in this field may well indicate directions for us in the scientific and technical fields.
PART I

ADAPTIVES IN

SHONA
Chapter One

Lexico-semantic Adoption

1.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with lexical adoption involving not only the actual importation of elements, but also changes or shifts in the meanings of both adoptive and indigenous elements in one language as influenced by another or others. Our focus is on a single aspect of change in vocabulary and change in meaning where these involve or derive from contact between languages. An obvious product of such contact are what have traditionally been called loan-words but which we will call adoptives.

The primary language (PL) in this study is Shona, and the other languages in the contact situation will be referred to as source languages (SL). Our primary concern here is with synchronic problems and historical inferences are made only in terms of inter-relationships of the language varieties involved in this contact situation. No attempt will be made at an internal reconstruction of Shona, not only because the records are lacking of earlier forms of the language needed to arrive at historical derivations via phonetic laws (op. lehmann, 1962 & Sturtevant, 1917), but also because such descriptions would have little or no bearing on current socio-linguistic problems.

One general aim throughout has been to make this linguistic study socially relevant. Our immediate attention is more on current usage of forms. The claim that we could better understand the actual use of words if we were fully aware of their history is not valid. In many cases such knowledge of a word's etymology is actually a hindrance to an understanding of its present meaning. As Sturtevant (1917, 98) points out, 'etymology is a valuable study, but we should not expect it to help us very much in understanding our mother-tongue'. In this study no reference will be made to the time of specific linguistic changes or to the state of the language of previous periods. The knowledge of intermediate
stages is not important since the essence of the study is comparison rather than re-living chains of events. No reference will also be made to genetic and structural distance between the languages in contact, which for our purposes would be largely irrelevant. Quantitative differences in adoption from the individual SLs are best explained in terms of the attitudes of bilinguals to those languages, and to the nature of contact between FL and SL, especially respecting breadth and duration [op. Hayfield, 1970, 107]. History to the linguist is change and linguistic adoption is best viewed as an aspect of cultural diffusion.

An adoptive is neither a cognate nor an accidental resemblance, but a word-form [Lyons, 1977, 19] taken or adopted from another language. When cultures are in contact, there is linguistic accommodation whereby facets of one culture are accommodated in another. Most frequently such accommodation means actual adoption of words from the language of the other cultural group. Along with objects or practices, the speech-forms by which these are named often pass from people to people [Bloomsfield, 1933, 445]. Less frequent, but also common, is semantic extension of indigenous elements. Least frequent is the actual coining of entirely new terms for the new concepts [Sallet, 1970, 1].

Adoption may be lexical or semantic. Lexical adoption involves whole items and their meanings from an SL, or the coining of new indigenous terms to designate new concepts coming from another culture via an SL. Semantic adoption involves the bringing in of new meanings which will then be associated with known words in the FL, either extending their range of meanings or actually replacing the older meanings. Lexical and semantic adoption are best viewed as twin processes, since the adoptive elements may themselves undergo changes of meaning in their adopted language. They may also influence changes of the meanings of other words with the
some general meaning [Suttente, 1917; Weinreich, 1953; 49]; Hayfield, 1970, 60]. As the vocabulary is elaborated via adoption one result may be specialization of meanings of indigenous terms. There is always a need to expand the vocabulary of a language as the culture it represents develops. Culture change has a direct relation with linguistic change. Adoption is in the main non-reductive because old and new are often used as equivalents or in differentiated senses [Allen and Day, 1974, 17]. Semantic extensions may result from this tendency to retain both old and new meanings.

Therefore, in a very real sense, semantic extensions are also adoptives although, of course, 'the first, strongest and most direct kind of interference is lexical interference and it appears that other kinds of interference are to some degree dependent on lexical interference' [Hayfield, 1970, 105]. This becomes quite obvious in such semantic fields as colour terms where, by comparison, buna tends to underdifferentiate. 'If a given semantic field has to be covered by a few words rather than many, each word must of course signify a wider range of phenomena' [Hall, 1972, 145]. Then it is found that a language is by comparison deficient in terminology in a given sphere of meaning, the speakers will try to make some adjustments.

The speakers who introduce foreign things or concepts may call them by the native or indigenous name of some related object or concept. For instance, in adopting Christianity, God was equated with Awari. Where no close equivalent can be found, the foreign object may be described in native words, e.g. by paraphrasing as in Fatumwa (lit: one sent on an errand) for 'Angel', and in Fudembe (lit: above, in the upper atmosphere) for 'Heaven'. Descriptive forms constitute many of the compound or phrasal innovations, e.g. Moco yembe (lit: cart of fire) for 'train, motor vehicle', what have traditionally been referred
to as loan translations are in effect also a type of semantic extension. But here the SL forms themselves are descriptive and the indigenous terms used to translate them involve extensions of meaning. Sometimes whole phrases or clauses are involved, as for instance in some of the literal translations heard in Shona advertisements and news bulletins (op. Chapter 12):

(1) *Zvishandu saerewo nemagudzwa aya*

(details about the competition)

(11) *Akufulwe nebaya risina kwakonengwe*

(No was hit by a stray bullet)

(111) *Kutora mataono sanaako ako*

(to take the law into your own hands)

Example (111) is typical of some of the 'Anglicisms' which can only be understood after back-translation into English (op. Van der Merwe, 1975). A sprinkling of similar translations will also be found in some of the published novels, as witness:

(111) *Ukupha mpho pavi rachwara aupa nqvimora*

(Give him enough rope to hang himself)

(v) *Nukumbwa mto wembe*

(in the twinkling of an eye),

which are used in *Jekanya* and *Ndakunudzakakwa Afa* respectively. A few which were similarly derived like *mbudha napatari retsone* (lit.; to get out through the eye of a needle) for 'a narrow escape' have become established in Shona. These examples involving whole syntactic structures are, however, exceptional rather than general.

In our context situation the influence of the main SL, English, on Shona is strong lexically, moderate semantically, weak phonologically and
minimal structurally. The greatest imprint is left on the lexicon in the
form of numerous straight adoptives. Perhaps because of the prestige
factor, such direct element transfers cover virtually all semantic fields.
Such less numerous but also important are what have been called calques
or loanshifts, loanblends and loan-translations in historical linguistics
[op. e.g. Lehmann, 1962, 213]. All involve reproduction of the
morphemes of a second language using native material.

It must be conceded here that the concept of 'loan words', which has
already been rejected in the general introduction of this study, has one
merit. It is useful in so far as it has an established terminology.
Historical linguistics distinguishes loanblends, loanshifts and loan-
translations thus:

(a) loanblends are compounds consisting of native and non-
native elements;

(b) loan-translations are compounds with native elements
but foreign patterns;

(c) loanshifts are cases where words in one language extend,
limit or otherwise change their meanings under the
influence of words in the other language with which
they are partly synonymous [Rayfield, 1970, 60, ff.5].

But to avoid inconsistency, resort will not be made to traditional
'loanword terminology' in this study.

The principal incentives for linguistic adoption are need-filling and
prestige. What has been called 'downward borrowing' follows on both
these motives while 'upward borrowing' follows only on need-filling,
involving in particular place-names and names of cultural items.

---

1 i.e. 'downward' and 'upward' in relation to the H (high) and L (low)
languages in a diglossic situation. See Ch. 8.

2 Normally place-names show a high rate of survival even in contact
situations involving conquest or political domination [op. Lehmann,
1962, 217].
But in both directions borrowing will serve as a source of uncompensated addition to the semantic arsenal of the language [Hoenigswald, 1963].

Whiteley (1962) distinguishes three stages or ranges of meaning for adoptives:

(a) The meaning of the adoptive may be comparable to the meaning of its SL - model, e.g., akitara (altar) and guava (guava).

(b) The meaning of the adoptive may be comparable but extended, e.g.,

(i) bhake (grocer's shop) as in busabaha (to, at the shopping centre) (baker);

(ii) bhuka (book, standard in school) (book);

(iii) bhokisi (box, suitcase, coffin) (box);

(iv) siki (venereal disease) (sick).

(c) The meaning of the adoptive and its model may not be comparable at all, e.g., noka (prostitute) (jockey).

In such extreme cases of deviation as (c) it is not clear whether the original meaning has been lost or whether it was never acquired. Such adoptives probably involve semantic shifts where extension of meaning is so advanced that the adoptives retain little or no relation to the SL - models. Typically the adoptive meanings are figurative, as in the case of pombi (narrow trousers), kewa/kenta (yellow maize), faiti (blow), sipidi (open space where opaque beer is sold and consumed illegally). Usually 'folk etymology' will offer some explanation for the derivations.

In the case of sipidi, for example, reference is to the speed with which both the vendors and customers must flee when the police raid these 'bars'.
Whiteley's categories may be compared with Greenberg's distinction between 'borrowing' involving meanings and sounds, and 'influence' involving only meanings or sounds. Greenberg defines 'borrowing' as the acceptance of a form both in sound and meaning from another language, usually with both phonetic and semantic modifications (Greenberg, 1971). In the majority of cases there are meaning correspondences, with the adoptives retaining about the same significance as their models. Where there are adaptations of meaning, the significance of the SI-model may be expanded or narrowed. The former have already been characterised semantic extensions. By similar logic the latter may be called semantic contractions (op. Ballet, 1970). In other words, the meaning of the adoptive is relatable only to a portion of that of the SI-model, e.g.

- E: beef > bhifi or timmed (preserved beef);
- E: pass > - pass (pass an examination);
- A: arm (arm) > arm (handle of plough).

Sometimes semantic extensions are deliberately contrived in the written literature to produce technical terms intended to match designations in English. For example, in the play Habamunini Nancy, T.S. Eeodzo uses naziro and achitambo to indicate 'scene' and 'act' respectively (op. Childress, 1960a). New semantic extensions are needed to describe new situations, e.g., - tambira (set paid, draw wage or salary; op. Lit: 'receive') and - phura (switch on, e.g., radio; op. Lit: 'open').

Others may be coined for stylistic purposes and these may be of an ephemeral existence or they may well become permanent, e.g., - tamba (trick; op. Lit: 'play?'); - dzina (be very intoxicated; op. Lit: 'extinguish'), - tmya (be broke; op. Lit: 'burn'), - nyanura (steal; op. Lit: 'relieve'), - simudzira (buy an expensive item, e.g., car; op., Lit: ...
'Lift, pick up'), and - ruwa (contract venereal disease, male subject; cp. Lit: 'be bitten'). Some semantic extensions may have obscene connotations and are regularly used idiomatically in conventional slang, e.g. - pa (be promiscuous, female subject; cp. Lit: 'give') and - baya (have sexual intercourse, male subject; cp. Lit: 'pierce'). Phrasal compounds of a similar nature are also used, e.g. - imba tsvina (trick, hoodwink) and - nyura mukinda (dress elegantly). Calques based on foreign expressions or actually containing adoptives are similarly used, e.g. - pa notisi (give notice, esp. of resignation) and - eya puresha (enjoy oneself, as when having a love affair).

A special category of semantic extensions are onomatopoeic coinages involving ideophones and deideophonic nominals, e.g.

(i) gidi (gun, esp. muzzle loader),
   op. gidhi (ideo. of resounding in the distance, e.- of thunder);
(ii) kecham (handcuffs),
    op. keche (ideo. of snapping sound, esp. of lock);^3
(iii) gundinga (tambourine),
    op. sound made by the same;
(iv) mufepfepefe (fast new car),
    op. pfepeo (ideo. of hissing loudly);
(v) mubalimbhu (motor-cycle),
    op. dim (ideo. of exploding or making heavy sound);
(vi) muborodhoro (old, slow moving motor-cycle),
    op. sound made by the same.

^3 The dictionary explanation of kecham is based on the model 'Catch him!" N.P. (ii) above is just further speculation".
1.1 CHANGES IN VOCABULARY

Sturt's account uses mainly English to show how the vocabulary of a language changes. Indeed English is one of the best examples because, of what he calls the 'cultivated languages' of Europe, it has more adoptive forms than any other [1917, 122].

Our main interest here is in the adoption of new words but, to balance the picture, one may begin by pointing out that change in vocabulary also involves loss of words. Words may become obsolete when the ideas or objects to which they refer become obsolete. For example, the only occasion for using words like chimu (calabash for storing ointment) and chama (back skin apron worn by men) is when speakers are talking about the past. In the case of synonyms like kobiri and peni (penny), one of them may eventually be lost unless they become differentiated in meaning. Words of low frequency may also be discarded or replaced. Some of these low frequency words may actually be avoided because they are taboo words. Their adoptive equivalents are often preferred, e.g. dhuti and dhota, dp. duvi (human excrement) and -mosa (defecate). The use of such preferred adoptives is in effect euphemistic. Euphemism has been described as the linguistic equivalent of disinfectant [Leech, 1974, 52].

The need to refer to something offensive or delicate in terms more pleasant or more becoming than it really is may itself lead to a multiplicity of terms as the older euphemisms get 'tackled by the same brush' [Leech, 1974, 54]. Shona sometimes resolves the problem by adopting words from English. Such adoptives will then function effectively as euphemisms in Shona, enabling avoidance of taboo words, especially those relating to sex or the excretory functions of the body.

The reasons for the rise of new words are more numerous. Words may be adopted from another language and used in those cultural spheres where the
It is found to be deficient by comparison. Our evidence from the figures based on Hanman [1974] supports the suggestion by Lehmann [1969, 216] that adoptives represent instances of cultural diffusion and acculturation. At least half of the adoptives in Hanman's Standard Shona Dictionary relate to material culture and technology. A total of 1430 adoptives involving direct transfer of morphemes to Shona were each allocated to one or another of 14 categories in relation to spheres of meaning. Some, however, especially the adoptive verbs, were difficult to categorize and these were grouped in the miscellaneous category. The categories, numbers counted for each and percentages in relation to the corpus are arranged below in descending order of quantity (see Table 1). In this table, it will be noted that those categories representing material culture and technology most directly, i.e., numbers 1 to 5, have the highest proportions of adoptives. The majority of these adoptives are from English, which is to be expected in view of the fact that English is both the language of wider communication and the language of specialised information [Chimbundu, 1975, 79 & 90 - 1; Nida & Wondeley, 1971].
Table 1: Distribution of adoptive in relation to spheres of meaning

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Educational, scientific and technical</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>13.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Work and business (including professions and trades)</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>10.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Machinery and tools</td>
<td>142</td>
<td>9.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Dress (including clothing, materials, jewellery, cosmetics and footwear)</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Household items (utensils, furniture and appliances)</td>
<td>92</td>
<td>6.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Sport, social and entertainment</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>6.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. People and kinship</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Plants, fruits and vegetables</td>
<td>77</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Transportation, location and institutions</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>5.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Food and foodstuffs (including drinks)</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>5.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Religious and other beliefs</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>4.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Animals (mainly domesticated)</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. Government (including administration, politics and law)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. Natural resources and other phenomena</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. Miscellaneous (incl. e.g. taboo, customs, habits, fashion)</td>
<td>176</td>
<td>12.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12/...
A sizeable proportion of direct morpheme transfers represent new groupings of facts or new subdivisions of class. In certain spheres of meaning like colour terms, numerals or even cuts of beef English differentiates more than Shona, hence the preference for the English terms. Each of these four Shona terms, for example, is vague by comparison with each of its English 'meanings' given here:

(i) chidima - piece, fraction, percentage
(ii) nhambwe - step, kilometre, mile, metre, yard
(iii) muva - sun, day, date
(iv) imba - hut, cabin, room, house, building

Such words representing subdivisions of class are readily adopted or used in their SL forms as isolated switches in the PL (see Ch. 12). If, however, only the concept and not the word is adopted, the general effect of such semantic adoption would be 'a broadening in the semantic function of the word in the recipient language' [Weinreich, 1955, 49].

Sometimes the new words are not need-filling at all and may in fact reflect a change of models directly related to the status and prestige enjoyed by the SL, as for example, the preference by the English to use French names for foods. Animals in the field are referred to by native English words, e.g. 'cow', 'calf', 'ox', 'sheep', 'beef', 'swine'. But the same animals on the table are referred to by adoptives from French, e.g. 'beef', 'veal', 'mutton', 'beef', 'duck'. Similarly, artisans who enjoyed relatively lower status were given English names, e.g. 'baker', 'fisherman', 'miller', 'shepherd', 'shoemaker', 'smith'. But those associated with the upper classes were given names of Norman French origin, e.g. 'carpenter', 'mason', 'painter', 'tailor'. A parallel situation obtains between English and Shona owing to the cultural
and, until recently, political dominance of the former \( \text{cp. Lehmann, 1962, 219} \). 

There is also the ever-present innovative tendency of language. 'Frequently a new word springs up from the people' \( \text{Sturtevent, 1917, 104} \).

People always have a desire for novelty, and new words are coined or adopted in the colloquial-slang style. Some of these soon become 'antiquated' but others occasionally become fully integrated in the language. Among the latest contributions to Shona are the following which have all come via the liberation struggle:

- **pouho**
  - possibly from French, **pauvre**, "poor" (the masses, or one or some of the same);

- **komuredhi** < E
  - (comrade, freedom fighter);

- **puruveva** < P?
  - (policeman of the ruling regime);

- **mutiba** < ?
  - (guerillas' informer and errant boy);

- **morari** < E;
  - 'morale' (political consciousness, revolutionary fervour, general enthusiasm, e.g. at **punwe**);

- **chimbwido**
  - Shona name for a girl (guerillas' informer and errand girl);

- **wenera**
  - an adaptation of W.N.L.A.: Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (rustling of beef cattle from European farms and ranches, the meat of cattle so rustled);

- **punwe**;
  - possibly from the two Shona ideophones **pul**, 'sleeping' and **newe**, 'beginning to dawn' ('all-night') meeting or mini-rally to politicise the **pouho**.

**Chimbwido, wenera and punwe** are actually semantic extensions which acquired additional meanings during the war of liberation.

Affective words tend to lose their expressive force and certain notions like agility, beauty and corporal punishment encourage adoption to enable a multitude of designations. There is a constant need for synonyms in the development of language in such fields as appearance, habits and mannerisms (cp. 'Miscellaneous' category in Table 1). A few may also come through caecophemistic use of 'foreign' languages.
For example, certain words from Gena and Sena used in Shona have
comic effect or carry pejorative connotations. Sometimes new words
may arise as a result of lexical aggrandizement, either stylistic or
ideologic. More rarely, adoption may be necessary to resolve a clash
of homonyms in the NL.

In the natural development of a language new words are formed through
derivation, e.g. by prefixes or suffixes, which elements are not
normally transferred across languages. The transferred elements may
be adopted as wholes, i.e. whether they are single morphemes or com-
ponds in the NL, e.g. mukhure (evangelist) and makurusibhando
(braces). Alternatively, they are used in compounds together with
indigenous elements, as in makatapirii (one in responsible or key
position). Sometimes the transferred elements are not only re-
phonologized but they are also translated, as in fungo yemasi (ground
floor), which is a hybrid phrasal compound. Many of the compounds
involving non-indigenous elements have direct meaning correspondences
with their NL-modes, e.g.:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hafuboreri} & \quad \text{(twenty-five cent piece)} < \text{half a crown;} \\
\text{hajjiyav} & \quad < \text{high jump;}
\text{vetepa} & \quad < \text{auto-harp;}
\text{hohoe} & \quad < \text{hoy beer}
\end{align*}
\]

Sometimes slight adaptations of meaning are involved, as in:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hafutani} & \quad \text{(pick-up truck)} < \text{half ten,}
\text{marangamambo} & \quad \text{(spirit level)} < \text{Pi}:
\text{pomelo} + \text{Ng : asamul}
\end{align*}
\]

Sometimes where the NL-models are phrases or compound forms of two
words, the adaptation process simplifies the model so that one of its
morphemes is not represented in the replica but the overall meaning of
the model is retained, as in:

Cardboard Box > 'card box'

Kudhimbikizo:
handle-bar > 'handle'

handura

Compounds, which are typically complex nominal constructions, are indeed an open word class in Shona. The possible combinations are described in detail by Fortune [1969, 34]. Shona is a polysynthetic, incorporating language and polymorphemic nominalizations are quite common, especially in the published literature. Some may just originate as gnomes and their total meanings may be determined from those of its constituent morphemes. Sometimes, however, this is not possible and the new nominalizations must be regarded as unique words with their own unique or lexical meanings [op. Shinhunda, 1980a, 5 - 6].

The effect of adoption on the lexicosemantic system of the PL is varied and interesting. When the new words are merely additions which represent newly invented or imported objects they have little effect as they represent entirely new contents. But sometimes some of them will become adoptive equivalents or synonyms because older terms (either indigenous or adoptive) for the same things are already in existence, hence semantic rivalry when there is full identity of content between old and new, e.g.:

fulita (window) opwindswe
chive (razor blade) opwava

The older words may actually fall out of use. They are discarded as their content becomes fully covered by the new adoptions, e.g.:
chidoconvera (discord in singing), cp. dhizibodzi.
peni (penny, cent), cp. sendi (cent).

Older PL forms may also disappear when bilinguals avoid words they are aware have phonetic resemblance to obscene words in the SL. Sometimes also such duplication and semantic rivalry may lead to specialization of content, which specialization may in turn depend on connotations conveyed, on whether the code used is restricted (e.g. slang usage), and on whether the style is considered learned. Whatever the case may be respecting the individual forms, the general effect of adoption is to expand or elaborate the lexicon of the PL.

Finally, we may also note that sometimes purely graphic forms, especially abbreviations, may lead to novel speech forms in the PL, e.g. T.B. > tiihii, V.B. > vilidhi, 3/o > hero (address). The Shona forms are used as adoptives in their own right and the average speaker may not even be aware that the SL-models are in fact abbreviations. He is even less likely to know what the SL abbreviations represent. Adoptives from written notations often deviate from the results of ordinary development. However, the literature written in the PL tends towards standardization of forms. The influence of written works, therefore, is generally conservative and regularizing.

1.1.1 Innovations

In addition to semantic extensions involving SL-models (cp. 1.0) we have many coinages which are indigenous creations or, if they are compounds, one element at least will be indigenous, as in chibayamahure (cp. Creeping herb). Many such innovations are the product of conscious effort on the part of those speakers with an interest in language. Pride in their own language may compel them to create terms in the PL.
for the new items introduced by SL-speakers. Such terms as they may come up with are likely to approximate semantic extensions in the sense of being figurative or just descriptive, e.g.: nhurikidwa (multi-storied building), ounhi (prostitute), gurbvanhu (bus), rubvveya (ballroom dancing), mudzimwarembre (great coat), bhissutare (bicycle), harbmeta (car), -zimudza (rev car engine), chitundu-
uterezutare (rocket, space-ship). The status enjoyed by such innovations is reminiscent of that enjoyed by those bookish or learned forms in English and French which were adopted from the classical languages, Greek and Latin (op. Bloomfield, 1933, 491 – 4). These coinages are typically used in formal speech situations where the speaker has reason to avoid 'interference' from a 'foreign' language. But in ordinary conversation, the speakers, in their more relaxed and unpretentious moods, tend to prefer adoptive equivalents, e.g. hopping, hura, bhasi, shomai, jasi, bhasikoro, motokari, - revia, rokati. At the time of their introduction, such forms, which we will call preferred adoptives, had the initial advantage of enjoying direct association with their referents, whereas the innovations were created afterwards and their use may well be restricted to small groups or areas around their origin. Different groups may even coin different words for the same things. For example, bhissutare is a Žesuru creation while the equivalent Karanga creation is rumainai, but both Žesuru and Karanga speakers prefer the direct adoptive bhasikoro. Further, indigenous coinages tend to be descriptive and are therefore regarded as being 'more complicated' or 'deep Shona'. Typically these are either (i) compounds or (ii) nominalisations, e.g.:

(1) matotutare (droppings of molten iron),
   mudyandigere (pension),
   mviharadhongi (unbleached calico, garment of poor quality),
muvungu (sugar cane),
shibayamahure (sp. creeping herb),
shabvumahwaver (fines for admission of guilt).

(ii) muchinyika/chipireiso (Holy Cross),
chifuturo (comb),
chipfundze (rubber eraser),
chipfundzire (blackboard eraser),
chibavire (slaughter house),
Musoreza (Saturday),
navemberi (pick pocket).

We should also note that preferred adoptives include words that have
won a 'struggle' against indigenous forms after a period of duplication.
In every language words are always being created and shed, and, in some
cases, the natural death of indigenous forms is simply accelerated by
competition from new, adoptive forms [see Haugen, 1972]. Such
appears to be the relationship between the following doublets in which
the adoptives in the first column are taking over the content of the
indigenous forms in the second column:

- bopa < N
  poriti < E
  - vhakapha < P
  mufakasi < Mg
  obepfu < A
  santi < E
  manywa < E
  - funda < Mg
  mufutakai < A
  op. - sungeni (inspan)

  bota (porridge)
  - shanya (visit)
  shoo (witness)
  muchetura (poison)
  manyu (salt)
  mapfudze (manure)
  - drideri (learn)
  ibva, buda (go away! Get out! Stop bawling!)

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The probability of being shed is even greater for conscious coinages. Conscious coinages, even of single lexical items, seldom enjoy popular acceptance.

Language is a matter of convention and is learnt by way of imitation. This imitation may act as a conservative force in accordance with the size of the community, because 'each innovation is opposed by that part of the community which is as yet unaffected by it, and the larger the community the larger the majority, against each incipient change' (Sturtevant, 1917, 29). Nevertheless, acceptance and integration of new forms are always possibilities, a fact which purist scholars are powerless to alter.

1.2 THE CONTACT SITUATION

The most important factor in our contact situation has been British colonization, one direct result of which was the automatic establishment of English as the dominant language in Zimbabwe. During the whole colonial era Shona (along with Ndebele) has been relegated to the status of a vernacular. By vernacular here is meant the language of a group which is politically and/or socially dominated by another (Bell, 1976, 153 on UNESCO's definition of 1953). In the diglossic situation that has stabilized over the years, English and Shona have become de facto H (high) and L (low) languages respectively. One must hasten to point out that contact with the outside world and multilingualism predate colonization (op. Greenberg, 1971 e), although colonization dramatically increased that contact and led to the rapid expansion of lingua franca.
Zimbabwe is situated 'on the crossroads of cultural influence'.

In the order in which significant contact was established, these influences have been:

(a) Arabic and Oriental via East Africa (Swahili) from the north and east;
(b) Portuguese via Mozambique from the east;
(c) Afrikaans and/or Nguni (and Sotho) from the south;
(d) English.

Certain Swahili words like muungu (rice), mung (gun-powder) and mëzë (aeroplanes) have become fully integrated in Shona. A few Arabic words like matëza $^4$ (line) and Hindi words like nïma (lemon) have also come via Swahili. The Arabs also brought some words which are ultimately derivable from the classical languages Greek (e.g. palanna, 'gold') and Latin (e.g. annu, 'clothes').

Shona has some words which came from or via Portuguese. These refer to:

(i) Smoking, e.g. ŋodya (tobacco),
    kaša (snuff, tear gas),
    reše (matches);
(ii) household goods, e.g. lëdzvě (candle), gvarfa (bottle);
(iii) metals, e.g. xata (sheet tin), kobiri (copper, penny),
     ghumu (lead);
(iv) foodstuffs, e.g. sufurinya (cassava);

4. Knappert $^{1970, 81}$ has put forward an argument for the derivation of this word from Arabic. The proto-Shona word must have been the deaidephonic nominal mëtsëza.
(v) dress and textiles, e.g. jari (tasseled blanket), shari (shawl), changwa (hat), sumbureta (umbrella), tgamata (shoe).

The eastern dialect, Manyika, probably has more words adopted from Portuguese than any other Shona dialect. At least some of the adoptive from Portuguese would appear to be typically used in Manyika, e.g.

soro < sororo, sumbureta < sumbureta (hat), paran < paran, tgamata < tagamata. Others are more generally used among different dialect speakers, e.g. sedi < seko; bakavye (salted or dried fish) < basonhaya; purana (plank, gum tree) < furona; forena (brick mould) < forena; tlakusa.

(Visit, take a walk or short holiday), < tayasa; purana (farm) < pace. The Portuguese spellings given here are from Baker [1947] but some of the derivations he suggests are rather far-fetched. For example, he claims that popora (cart, vehicle) and ngarara (ship) are derivations from Portuguese popora and ngarara because the objects to which they refer must have been unknown to the Shona before contact with the Portuguese. He also suggests that ndula (lemon) can be derived from Portuguese lima by applying Grimm's Law. However, since our study is not historical, it is pointless to discuss speculative derivations of this type any further.

More words came in from Afrikamwa, some via Nguni, and also via

Famgale and Setshe. Shona has words from Afrikamwa which refer to items of clothing, e.g. bashe (shirt), bhashi (jacket), jari (greatcoat), rehwe (dress), bhuruku (trousers). There are words which refer to household articles, e.g. bhiziti (mug) and hounchi (mug), and to textiles and sewing, e.g. haroni (cotton thread), mariti (needle) and chipemita (safety pin); to foodstuffs, e.g. dabura (potato) and
tsviga (sugar); to animals, e.g. gartundu (turkey), and to parts of the house, e.g. chitina (brick) and sefitera (window). Adoptives from Afrikaans are also conspicuous in the sphere of ploughing and the handling of trek oxen, e.g. mchke (yoke-pin), knobu (turn right round, of oxen), komu (Turn), vumani (trek ox), jen'esi (trek ox still untrained or being trained), chikore/chikovhoro (cultivator).

More recently, many more words have been coming in from English. The process of adoption from English is still continuing and adoptives from English will be treated in greater detail than those from the other main SLs (op. 1,4). English occupies a very special position as the language of the former imperial power in Zimbabwe. Its influence involves all depths of language. In colonial Africa, it was the African who had to make the linguistic adjustment for reasons both of advantage and of necessity. The European, who was in the dominant position, did not have to learn the African languages. Further, the linguistic diversity of the Africans not only discouraged the European but also made the European language itself the lingua franca (Greenberg, 1971c) or the language of wider communication (op. ch. 8).

The total body of adoptives in a language gives us a fair picture of the material and other culture its speakers have acquired from outside their own group. But this requires tracing of the relative age and routes taken by various adoptives 'which have a habit of coming in waves' (Knappert, 1970, 87). In this study, however, we will not concern ourselves with this purely historical aspect but rather with the current state of the language. A few socio-historical inferences will be made but we will not dwell on the etymology of individual words, i.e. tracing ultimate origins through intermediate stages and comparing the Shona forms with those found in neighbouring languages, with the

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purpose of isolating what knappert has called travel words and establishing routes taken by various groups of words:

"Once a word has left its homeland - because the speakers of a neighbouring language found it a useful term - it may start on a journey of a thousand miles or more, not without damage both to its shape and meaning and often to the extent that it becomes unrecognizable" (Knappert, 1970, 79).

In the absence of written records, an attempt to reconstruct the earlier stages of many of the older adoptives in Shona would be purely speculative.

Nevertheless, certain general conclusions can be drawn from those integrated adoptives whose SIs have actually been identified. Although, for instance, the influence of Nguni has been mainly indirect, this cluster of South African Bantu languages has had a greater impact on Shona than the other Bantu languages of East and Central Africa such as Cewa and Sena, although the latter have been closer to Shona both structurally and geographically. The explanation is to be found in the Occupation Period. On the eve of colonisation Nguni (and Sotho) people accompanied the early white hunters and explorers, the missionaries, concession-seekers, treaty-makers and, later, the Pioneer Column. In the last century the Ndebele, a Nguni off-shoot, also established their permanent presence within the same territorial boundaries. Shona - Nguni contact has therefore enjoyed a continuous duration of more than a century. The breath of contact has also been greater than that which Shona has enjoyed with the other neighbouring languages.

The Nguni must have enjoyed considerable prestige deriving at first from the status enjoyed by the Ndebele as the ruling class of a militarily strong kingdom, and later from their association with the new European rulers. But the groups coming in from Mozambique, Zambia and Malawi
were mainly migrant workers and, for rather dubious reasons, the Shona tended to despise them. This partly explains the relative paucity of adoptives from the languages of those countries, even when we consider that their influence is probably underrated because of the greater problem of establishing the inter-lingual connection (Chinhundu, 1979, 85). This is despite the fact that Mozambicans and Malawians living and working in Mashonaland have actually been more numerous and they have had greater contact with the Shona in the socio-economic sphere.

Another partial explanation is that Fanigale, a pidgin which was imposed as the working man's lingua franca, is Shona-based. In fact, some of the fully integrated adoptives in Shona originate from Afrikaans and English but have come via Zulu and Fanigale, e.g.:

1. Chikwerere (debts) \( \lessdot \) Z : isirwele
   \( \lessdot \) A : skuld

2. - bhebhe (pay) \( \lessdot \) F : - beta
   \( \lessdot \) Z : beta
   \( \lessdot \) A : betaal

3. fashoro (shovel) \( \lessdot \) F : fosbol
   \( \lessdot \) Z : ifoshole
   \( \lessdot \) E (by metathesis) : shovel

(Cop. Cols., 1964, 550-1). There is also the factor of the prestige which was associated with the early publications (especially Christian, e.g. Bible translations) and grammars. These came from, or were done by, people from the South. Finally, some of the more enterprising Shona men went to work in South Africa where they could earn more money and when these people (vana Mavunhaka) returned, they brought with them highly colourful and exaggerated stories about life in South Africa (Kujeni).\(^5\)

5. Cop. e.g. the character Mavunhaka in the novel Ndimunwunun

speakers to be more receptive to linguistic and other influences from the south rather than from the north and east.

Contact situations such as ours tend to encourage unrestricted lexical adoption but, as later chapters will show, adoption in Shona has been far from haphazard, even at the popular variety or GS level. For this reason one may well query Richardson’s failure to find general trends whereby tribal languages, and specifically Bemba, became urbanized. Richardson was disappointed by what he called ‘the tendency to indeterminacy in most departments of language’ and by ‘the fluctuation observed in grammatical relationships, the phonology which defies systematization and the lexicon which apparently knows no bounds and is largely ephemeral’ (Richardson, 1963, 145). What he found was that Town Bemba has no real homogeneity but is merely a complex of different ways of speaking an urban lingua franca based on Bemba. Our findings for GS are different. In the first place Shona is not a lingua franca in the same sense. The lexicon, adoptive or otherwise, is not essentially ephemeral, and a systematic description of phonological assimilation of adoptive forms can be arrived at (see Part II).

It is unwise to explain away ‘copious borrowings’ in terms of ‘inadequacies’ in the SL. One must look at the tendency towards unrestricted lexical adoption in relation to broader ethnolinguistic problems. In a contact situation, there is a need to translate ideas, concepts and objects in the languages of the speakers. But languages are incommensurable and only loosely equivalent ( Sapir, 1964, 128). Language is part of culture and, as Benda has pointed out, its ‘words cannot be understood correctly apart from the local cultural phenomena for which they are symbols’. In a given language, he adds, ‘the meaning of any linguistic item must be considered in terms of the situations in...”
which it may occur [Rida, 1964, 97]. Although equivalents are
easy enough to find across languages, more often than not they are not
exact equivalents. Thus when we translate item X in language A as Y in
language B, we may find that X has another meaning which Y does not
have, or vice-versa. We may then extend the meaning of Y to include
the extra meaning(s) or shade(s) of meaning. Or we may adopt X in
language B to represent only that meaning. Alternatively, the adopted
form X may be used exactly as in its SL A so that, in language B, the
items X and Y will become partly synonymous. Yet another alternative
for language B would be to coin a new word for that extra-meaning
which X has but Y does not have, thus avoiding X from language A
altogether. The last mentioned option is the least likely. However
the case may be, adoption in B will be involved in one form or another.
The general effect is to enlarge the lexicon of B, the more so if the
speakers of B are always under pressure to learn A as well. Shona
speakers in Zimbabwe are in position B vis-a-vis English.

Even in the same language, the statement of meanings is always difficult,
since meanings are so very unstable [Chishanda, 1979, 90; Bloomfield,
1933, 140; Lyons, 1977, ch. 1]. Word meanings are generally given
by offering alternate words deemed to have the same reference but such
alternate words are never identical in meaning as each word has some
element of meaning which is unique to itself and adequately, expressed
only by itself [Allen and Guy, 1974, 96]. The total meaning of a
word is ultimately derivable from observable contexts. Over and above
the basic or conceptual meaning of an item are several other types of
meaning in semantics, notably connotative, stylistic, affective, reflec-
ted, collective and thematic. According to Leech [1974, 26],
all these seven types of meaning contribute to the communicative value

27/...
of the linguistic form. Hundred per cent precision in the statement of meanings is not possible, except where resort can be made to scientific classification as in the natural sciences.

This general lack of exact semantic equivalence partly explains the tendency for a continuous process of elaboration of the lexicon under the influence of other languages even where rough equivalents can be found in the FL. This often leads to what are popularly considered to be 'unnecessary' and therefore 'unacceptable loan words' [Chishimba, 1979, 87–9]. Neutral lexical meanings may be easy enough to arrive at but the connotations or supplementary values of a lexical item are so many it becomes difficult to give exact equivalents across languages.

Bloomfield [1933, 152–7] adequately describes these supplementary values without the technical jargon which is typical of semantics [cf. e.g., Lyons, 1977 and to a lesser extent Leech, 1974]. They include:

(i) local provenience or 'marking', e.g., dialectal.
(ii) the related learned, elegant and archaic types of connotations, e.g., the use of prefixal Latinisms in English.
(iii) indications respecting the social standing of the speaker.
(iv) seriousness or facetiousness, e.g., the conventional and unconventional slang used by most people in their relaxed and unpretentious moods. The slang forms may be foreign in origin: 'The value is largely facetious; when the slang word has been in use too long, it is likely to be replaced by some new witticism.' [Bloomfield, 1933, 154].
(v) appropriateness in terms of whether a form is neutral or strong, polite or impolite, ominous or euphemistic, obscene or taboo. For example, 

(p) naenye and puru (prostitute) are rough equivalents but the former is more polite and generally connotes little more than a tendency to mild flirtation.

(vi) intensity, including exclamations, animated flavour (e.g. changing word order), historical present, symbolic forms, and imitative or onomatopoeic forms.

Finally, one may also mention pet-names and infantile or baby talk.

Hypocoristic forms, in particular shortened or abbreviated names, are used to show intimacy. There are also nonsense forms such as 'halala' and 'tra-la-la' whose denotation is nil or vague even when they have become conventionalized.

"Any speaker is free to invent nonsense-forms; in fact, any form he invents is a nonsense-form, unless he succeeds in the almost hopeless task of getting his fellow-speakers to accept it as a signal for some meaning" [Chomsky, 1955, 157.]

1.3 THE ADOPTIVE ELEMENT

The figures in Table 2 below are intended to indicate the general direction in which the total composition of Shona is changing. More than 5 per cent of all the entries in Hannam's Standard Shona

6. This is less than the 8 per cent given in Simbundu [7979, 79.]. This time the percentage has been calculated from the totals rather than the average of percentages per alphabet column. The new method is the more accurate. The difference, however, is not big enough to alter the overall picture.

29/...
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TOTAL/AVERAGE PERCENTAGE: 39 312 | 2 099 | 5 | 1 306 | 62 | 1 672 | 80 | 814 | 49 | 444 | 27

N.B. Percentages calculated to nearest whole number.
Dictionary 2nd ed., 1974, p. 757 are of foreign origin. English is the main SL, accounting for 64 percent of all the adoptives. Among the constituent classes, the nouns are outstanding as the most hospitable to newcomers and account for 60 percent of the total adoptive entries. Most of these adoptive nouns are in classes 3, 5 and 9 where reference is non-human, and in class 1/a where reference is human. The most productive classes in this respect are 5 and 9 which account for 27 percent and 49 percent of the total adoptive nouns respectively. Reasons for this will be discussed in the next chapter. Here we will only mention the obvious, namely that the class of nouns is most hospitable to newcomers because in our diglossic contact situation, the vocabulary of the FL (Shona) proves to be most deficient in the very broad sphere of material culture and technology (cf. Table 1).

The allocation of adoptive nouns to classes will be discussed in the next chapter, but the relationship between initial phoneme or syllable and class prefix is immediately apparent from this secondary source (i.e., the dictionary) and must therefore be noted here. Where no other factors (specifically meaning) are overriding, there is a tendency to classify adoptive nouns in accordance with a direct correspondence between initial phoneme or syllable and noun class prefix. The essential facts may be summarised as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Initial phoneme or syllable</th>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Percentage of adoptive nouns in that class</th>
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30/...
A dictionary is never an exhaustive list of the lexicon. These figures only reflect proportions and tendencies but must not be viewed as showing the exact quantities for Shona.

A note must also be made here about the preference for using sounds found in or shared by both PL and SL. Adoption is more likely where there are phonemic equivalents in corresponding positions between the model in the SL and its replica in the PL. For example, about 95 percent of the adoptives under letter ɖ of the alphabet are in fact /d/ commencing and most of the remainder begin with clusters in which /d/ is the first element. Adoptives with implosive /d/ are rare, the only noteworthy examples being domani (tomato) and dapi (potato). The same comparison can be drawn respecting explosive /b/ and implosive /ɓ/. The few adoptives involving /ɓ/ are from either:

(a) Portuguese or Nguni which have a soft /b/ whose pronunciation is somewhere between Shona /v/ and /b/, e.g. biza (cloth) < P, bara (bullet) < P, and bopo (inspan) < Ng; or

(b) Cewa, which also has implosive stops, e.g. bvereke (borrow)
   - bweza (fan), bwana (chief, senior).

Phonological constraints are also evident in relation to position of phoneme or cluster. For example, the following types do not occur in initial position in English and adoptives which have them in that position are from other SLs, e.g.:

(i) affricate /ts/, as in teppata (shoe) < P, tetsi (crock, criminal) < P, -teva (dance) < Ng.

(ii) presnasalized stops /mb/, /nd/, as in mbichana (few, little)
    < P < A, mbumburu (bullet) < Ng, ndwurwani (trickster, smart aleck) < Ng.
we may also note that vowel-commencing adoptive are relatively few because, although the occurrence of vowels on this position is common in English, such usage is untypical in Shona excepting class 14 prefix / u / and the use of / i / as initial stabilizing vowel for absolute pronouns, near and far demonstratives, and for monosyllabic nouns and adjectives. Finally, one must also point out that a relatively large number of / tʃi / - commencing adoptive nouns are from Nguni. The parallel with Zulu prefix / si- / is obvious.

1.4 THE MAIN SOURCE LANGUAGES

1.4.0 Our main SLs are English, Afrikaans and Nguni. Nguni is, of course, a cluster of mutually intelligible languages, namely Zulu, Xhosa, Swazi and Ndebele (cp. Angopo, 1975). Except where necessary we shall not refer directly to these four. It is pointless, for instance, to try to distinguish adoptives which came directly from Zulu or Ndebele and those which came indirectly from Zulu via Ndebele. We will, therefore, treat Nguni as a single SL. The greater part of this study relates to the influence of English on Shona; therefore, English as an SL will be ignored in this section. Here we must first look at adoptives from Afrikaans and Nguni and via Fanigolo because their influence on Shona tends to be underrated. The explanation for this is that the interlingual connection is much less obvious than in the case of adoptives from English because these languages are not as well known in the Shona speaking community.

1.4.1 COMMON MUNIS FROM AFRIKAANS

Almost all adoptives from Afrikaans (a) are nouns. The exceptions noted were a few interjectives, adverbials and verbs, e.g.:

(i) Pfutshe (Go away! Stop barking!)

< voetsel,
(ii) mbindana (a little, few, small amount or measure or distance) < biettie.

hobho (heap, plenty) < hoop.

(iii) - kwereta (borrow, lend) < skulz,
     - bashara (pay) < betaal,
     - dhura (be expensive) < duur,
     - korobha (scrub floor) < krap,
     - raicha (load, be fully loaded) < lani.

Note that the verb forms are not derived from verb forms in the SI, e.g., the A-model duur is an adjective. Strictly speaking they are derivatives of nominal adoptives, having come indirectly via Nguni and/or Fanigalo.

The adoptive nouns from A cover a wide range of spheres of meaning and all tend to be direct adoptives, both respecting meaning and structure.

In the examples, both SI-models and their replicas in Shona are represented orthographically. The sources of the A items and spellings are Eunene [1963], Nhlabinde [1968], Bello [1970] and Marnan [1974].

Some of the most commonly used adoptive nouns referring to items of clothing and to saving are of A origin, e.g.:

bhuruku (trousers) < broek
bhachi (coat, jacket) < baadlie
bhanda (belt) < band
lasi (overcoat, greatcoat) < jas
hembela (shirt) < hemb

7. Cf. chikwereta < via Ng: isikweleti (debt), and - kwereta < via Ng: - kweleti (owe).
komondo (button) < knob
rokha (dress) < rok
harani (cotton thread) < garing
damku (head scarf) < doek
mariti (needle) < naald
keza (ladies' stockings) < hose

There are words relating to buildings and building materials, e.g.

kerke (Church) < kerk
kameri (room) < kamer
fafetema (window) < venster
chidming, chitina (brick) < steen
jaradha (long building, block of flats, tumble-down building)
zen'e, zonga (metal roofing sheet) < sink
siraha (butchery, slaughtering place) < slager

Some common adoptive nouns from A. refer to household goods and utensils, e.g.:

komichi (cup, mug) < kommetjie
mbong'e (small bowl generally used for drinking) < beker
bhikiri (tin cup, mug) < beker
karu (comb) < kam
chari (shawl) < tijjie
chitura (stool) < stoel

5. Possibly also < P: xala.
6. Possibly also < S: 'stool'
From Nama, we also have names for certain fruits and foodstuffs (including grain), e.g., 1:

- koroni (wheat) < korin
- goroni (barley, wheat) < gera
- chephu (poison) < gif
- nereki (milk) < melk
- nauchi (naartje) < naartjie
- pitiki (peach) < perkse
- taniri, capuru (potato) < oorapal
- guhava (guava) < kosjavel

A notable contribution from Nama are also words relating to farming, in particular domesticated animals, implements, ploughing and the handling of trek oxen, e.g., 1:

- dhoni (donkey) < donkie (< Z)<
- houmi (pig) < otiie
- garikuni (turkey) < kalkoen
- jon'osi (untrained trek ox) < jong ox
- guajani (trek ox) < kass man (angry man)
- chambeke (whip, switch) < stembok
- chihuepi, chihupepa (whip) < lepel
- kara (rake) < hark
- ngorwahni (small cart, trolley, cocopan) < bruiva (wheelbarrow)
- chikoro, chikororo (cultivator) < skáföl (hoe; to hoe, weed)
- ghasihcumu (dieselboom, draught-pole) < dieselboom
- chishi (dish of plough) < dis

35/3
There are also several other adoptives from A, belonging to no specific category, e.g.:

Kungani (Englishman, white person) < Engela

Sikiti (pound for stray cattle) < skut

Sitembo (much) < sterk

Pose (post office, postal service) < pos

Chorebha (town) < dorp

Rekeni (catapult) < rek

Chitarafu (punishment) < straf

Muneri (missionary of the Dutch Reformed Church) < meester (sir)

Vhakwepi (gospel) < evangelie

Bhobhoni (baboon; shifting spanner) < bobbejaan

Chipikiri (mail) < spyker

Tselele (sugar) < Sotho: tselele [Ng < A : suiker]

Sibhim (brother- or sister-in-law) < A : suiker

Sometimes it is not clear whether the SL is A or E, or whether adoption was indirect from E via A, as in the case of the following:

Mwara < cp < B : male

Mwiri < E : male

Raidi < cp < E : rice

Tiki < cp < E : tickey

Tungi < cp < E : tank

A : taak
muforo  cp  E : furrow
       A : *roorka* (first ox in span)

dirani  cp  E : glass
       A : *glas*

kapu    cp  E : cup
       A : *koppie*

chikero cp  E : scale
       A : *skaal*

In other cases it is easier to decide that the model for the Shona adoptive
is Afrikaans rather than English when the pronunciation of the adoptive is
closer to the A than to the E equivalent. The following, for example, are
most probably derivations from A:

pondo   <
       cp  E : pound (sterling)
       A : *pond*

pombi   <
       cp  E : pump
       A : *pump*

chikoro <
       cp  E : school /skul/
       A : *skool /sko:l/*

chipoke <
       cp  E : spook /spok/.
       A : *spook /spok/*

hure    <
       cp  E : whore
       A : *huur (hure)*
       or *hoer (prostitute)*

whiki   <
       cp  E : week /wiek/.
       A : *week /wik/*

bhauchi <
       cp  E : belt
       A : *boult*

kopisi  <
       cp  E : cap
       A : *kapa*
sipo  \(\lessdot\)  A : sleep
    cp  E : soap

hidheni  \(\lessdot\)  A : heiden
    cp  E : beast

svondo  \(\lessdot\)  A : sondag
    cp  E : Sunday

whiri  \(\lessdot\)  A : wiel /vil/
    cp  E : wheel

nyuwe  \(\lessdot\)  A : nieuwjaar
    cp  E : New Year

sometimes we have alternate forms each of which is traceable to a different
model, as in :

(i)  sindelo  \(\lessdot\)  E : Sunday
    cp  svondo  \(\lessdot\)  A : sondag

(ii)  bhesi  \(\lessdot\)  E : bus /b\&s/
    cp  bhesi  \(\lessdot\)  A : bus /bes/

The influence of Afrikaans seems to be greatest in Karanga. Words like
mariti, bhesi, karani/karani, mumiri, keroke, whiti, chitarfu, konombo
are considered to be 'marked' Karanga forms and are actually being discarded
in GS. The explanation seems to be that the Dutch Reformed Church concentrated
their missionary activities among the Karanga, operating from their head-
quarters at Korgnester near Fort Victoria.

The general conclusion one may draw from the examples of adoptives from
Afrikaans given here is that the Afrikans have had more intimate contact
with the Shona than political histories may care to admit. But a word of
cautions must be added here. Inappert (1970) has been too bold in actually
stating, in a most superficial study, that Shona has so many words from
Afrikaans and so many from Portuguese. Such figures are impossible to
arrive at as some of the derivatives of adoptives are mere speculation or
unknown. Even a dictionary does not contain all the words of a language; let alone reveals all its adoptives. Even when adoptives can be identified, the above examples show that it is sometimes difficult to determine the immediate SL. Some of the words are also derived indirectly and the ultimate SL may be indeterminate.

1.4.2 ADAPTIVE PAGES 161

1.4.2.1 Adoptive nouns from Xhosa also occur in a variety of semantic fields but they appear to be most prominent in naming people in terms of their qualities, activities and relationships, e.g.: tombi (young girl), nufana (younger person), mchhara (old man), gogo (grandmother, paternal aunt), mposi (king, boss), mparakata (physically strong person or animal), mdhurupani (smart aleck, trickster), mvetel (lawyer), iha/lava (young man of marriageable age), mmbara (mischievous person).

There are also nouns from Xhosa which refer to implements, tools, utensils and other objects in common use, e.g.: goja/goja (plough), leena (oven bag), shuara (heater, brazier), muware (crowbar), mshaba (small bag, pocket), manda (hammer), myva (ship), mvunonono (key). Quite a few refer to animals, especially domesticated, e.g.: mchhi (horse), mbongoro and mmbhoco (donkey), kuni/nouni (bull). Even less refer to foodstuffs, e.g.: chingwa (bread) and mafasi or mafake (rice boiled and flavoured with peanut butter and salt).

In that may be called the miscellaneous category one finds the odd taboo word, e.g.: mhadhidi (amun) and several quite innocent adoptives, e.g.: mbemborga (mixed gathering, fourth class railway carriage), mfunikisa (picture = fanita, *like*), mban (railway line), mwanichi (mine), mbon'oro (barrel or cask, very long chimney), mhadit (letter), shone (near).
A comparison with adoptive nouns from Afrikaans shows that the latter are more numerous and refer more to material culture than those from Shona.

1.4.2.2 However, whereas adoptives from Afrikaans are almost all nouns, Shona has more verbs than nouns incorporated in Shona. This is interesting since verbs are not as hospitable to newcomers as nouns are. It would seem that verbs are more readily adopted from another Bantu language. Here an immediate comparison can be made with Cbwa from which relatively fewer adoptives but relatively more adoptive verbs have been derived, e.g.

-putu (fear), -kutora (borrow), -penda (rob by cheating or with violence). Such verbs need little phonetic adaptation and fit very well into the existent semantic system of Shona. Full integration is therefore easier and quicker.

The following transitive verbs all come from Shona and are commonly used in Shona:

-chiza (iron), -chora (write), -chava (strike, beat),
-chinda (stamp, press, print), -chereva (bully),
-chongo (pull), -funya (learn), -vonga (thank, esp. religious), -vera (close), -vhura (open), -zagha (ride),
-kata (select), -kohra (lead inspanned oxen, act as bus conductor),

-chiira/-tvira (drive inspanned oxen or vehicle), -kuta (miss target), -kata (nurse),

-rura (fish), -kusa (incite, urge on), -risa (herd livestock), -chvha and -shupa (bother, trouble, tire),
-tura (surrender, submit, pay taxes), -zava (try hard),
-zonda (hate), -hora (earn money), -fakaza (witness).  

10. cp mukokeri (conductor of a bus)
11. cp muboti (nurse)
There are also many intransitive verbs from Iguni, e.g.:
- shuruva (face, wear out), shuma (preach),
- kwa (have, illicit sexual relations), chata (wed),
- chivikha (be active, industrious), shivuna (mix),
- shamba (grow, tired, tame or loose), tsava (dance, esp. twist),
- rivuna (be absent-minded, preoccupied), nuiva (report, complain formally),
- nira (be used to), jomba (break down), jupamba (be contented, relax, enjoy oneself).

1.4.2.3 One problem with adoptives from other Bantu languages is that sometimes it is difficult to state categorically whether a given form is indeed an adoptive or just a cognate. Shona nouns, which could well be adoptives from Iguni, are: mudanda (string of beads worn by women around the waist), munyana (lot of one dogged by misfortune), muposo (harmful medicine or spell), nyakanyaka (general disagreement, chaos). Examples of verbs in the same category are: noda and kupuka (be rich),
- ndva (complete set task), posa (bathe, have menstrual discharge),
- era (gather, esp. rubbish for disposal), posa (cast a spell or use harmful magic against someone), niva (stall).

Perhaps if Guthrie's (1967-70) Common Bantu approach were pursued further, it could prove useful in resolving such problems. The structural distance between Shona and Iguni, for example, is not great.

Another complicating factor in our contact situation is the historical connection between Iguni and Nda, one of the Shona dialects. At the lexical level at least, many items are found in both Nda and Iguni

(Khangami 1973, 48). One line of inquiry which could be also rewarding would be a systematic study of the role played by the Nda (or more specifically, the Shangaan) as agents of linguistic transfer (Chishimba, 1979, 82).
A further complication in determining the precise nature of Nguni influence is the possible mediation of Fanigalo in the process of adoption of certain words, e.g. *sapingi* (many, much), *saphugwaze* (set task, piece work), *saphuma* (complete set task), *phungamansani* (spirit-level). During the prelude to European occupation and during the early days of European settlement, Nguni and Sotho people came with the Europeans and worked for them as domestic servants, evangelists and interpreters. These people must have used Fanigalo rather than English. It must be pointed out that Fanigalo is an artificial, Nguni-based contact language, which the Europeans also imposed on all other African workers in the country. Perhaps even some of those forms which appear to have been derived from Nguni actually came via Fanigalo. Fanigalo, however, has never enjoyed ethnolinguistic vitality, autonomy or even historicity (e.g. Bell, 1976, 150 - 177) because it has never had a living community of native speakers. Because they were few and scattered, it is unlikely that the Nguni who came with the settlers used their own languages except among themselves. In fact they were forced to learn Shona because of the numerical superiority enjoyed by the latter. Therefore, before education became widespread in Zimbabwe, the influence of the Nguni could very well have been considerable as agents of transfer of elements from English and Afrikaans into Shona. The older Shona adoptives from these languages must have been introduced, not directly by the Europeans themselves, but rather indirectly by their Nguni assistants. Subsequently, as the Shona enjoyed greater contact with the Europeans and as educational facilities developed, adoption from English became more direct. Shona migrant workers also went to the Rand mines and elsewhere in South Africa, and this, plus increasing contact with the Ndebele at home, increased the probability of more direct linguistic adoption from both Nguni and Afrikaans.
Adoption may be indirect in the sense that elements come via another language. To this extent, all the languages that the Shona have been in contact with, English itself included, must have acted as vehicles of transfer from other languages, as witness the following examples:

- **gwaya**: S: guava, L: Spanish: guayaba
- **pondo**: A: pond, E: pound
- **pijama**: R: pyjamas, F: Persian: pae jamsa
- **ngirozi (angel)**: Ng: Latin, L: Greek
- **ngwezi (Englishman)**: A: angels, E: English
- **sibura (brother- or sister-in-law)**: Ng: A: suwer
- **bhudhi (brother)**: Ng: A: beetie
- **tsegiri**: Sotho: tsekerere, A: sniker
- **chikweroti**: F: sikveleti, Zulu: isikveleti
- Ng: A: skuld

- **-rikicha (undertake, casual labour for payment)**

  cp. rikicho, marikicho and maricho

  (casual work, as in another's field, done for a fee)

- **rikicha**

The last example must have been brought to South Africa at the beginning of the century by indentured Chinese labourers.

1.4.3 **SL AND ACCEPTABILITY**

Few, if any, speakers consider words like maricho, ngirozi, tsegiri, -sama, -shumaia, mugodhi, guwa, mianji and mukoti to be 'foreign'.

Most speakers are not even aware that they are adoptives. These words are fully integrated into and fully accepted as Shona. For many of the adoptives there seems to be a direct relationship between SL and acceptability. In other words, speakers are more likely to find a word acceptable in the PL if its SL is unknown or obscure. In fact one finds
situations where, for example, tsvigiri is preferred to shunga because the latter is known to be an adoptive from English 'sugar', while the former is believed to be 'true' and therefore 'good' shona. There is a tendency to reject or avoid adoptives from English because many Shona speakers have a knowledge of English and can therefore identify them as 'foreign'. On the other hand, adoptives from the less known neighbouring languages tend to become fully integrated. The origin of words like chituta < Ng. -hwerata < A, -bweza < Ceva, chikai < A, febya < F. ndenge < Swahili, shumi < Ng. chikana < A and kanyoto < isi is only of interest to the academic. The average speaker believes them to be indigenous shona forms.[Cp. Chishunda, 1975, 82-3]. We have many words from Arabic, Swahili, Portuguese, Bana, Ceva, Bemba and even Afrikaans and Nguni which are in this category.

Lack of prestige or dislike of a particular SL may also result in the rejection of adoptives from it. For example, certain words from or via Fanigalo such as manje (now) citerki and Fanigalo (like) are otherwise integrated except insofar as they may be considered 'unacceptable' to some of the speakers simply because they are known to be from Fanigalo. This contact pidgin enjoys low prestige because it has been associated with master - servant relationships and has actually been sometimes referred to as 'kitchen Kaffir'. Fanigalo has also been notorious for 'corrupting' indigenous forms.

Sometimes such unfavourable attitudes may affect regional adoptive synonyms. For example, karani/karani (cotton thread) < A is considered a 'marked' Karanga form and GS prefers the Zemuru form shinda. This is a result of the extension of the simple prejudices of speakers who regularly ridicule even such indigenous Karanga forms as avangastera (pray), barwe (mealie), avanyu (run) whose only 'imperfection' is that they happen to differ from Zemuru.
GS may even prefer an adoptive form such as *nhuva* (sweet potato) < Ng to common indigenous forms which just happen to be non-Zesuru, e.g. Karanga *bina* and Manyika *dima*. The Zesuru coinage *bhisautara* (bicycle) is preferred in GS to the Karanga coinage *runzina*. The latter form seems to have been discarded even in Karanga. We also find cases where the dialectal synonyms are both adoptive, e.g. *chikovhoro* (cultivator) < A, cp. *karovheta* < E, and *nyiri* (potato) < Ng, cp. *mbatata* < Ng < E. Here we find that it is those forms like *karovheta* and *mbatata* which are regularly used in Zesuru which will win a place in GS. Even in the classification of adoptive nouns, where ambivalence is related to dialect, GS follows the same patterns as Zesuru, e.g. compare:

- *kavha* Zes. 5 and Ka. 9
- *bhuku* Zes. 5 and Ka. 9
- *tsotsi* Zes. 9 and Ka. 5
- *rebba* Zes. 9 and Ka. 5

This is only part of the evidence of Zesuru dominance in the current language situation (see Ch. 8).

A more general tendency respecting acceptability relates to age. In any language there will always be the older, fully integrated adoptives and the more recent, controversial ones. These groups represent two extremes of a continuum, so that it is not possible at any point in the development of a natural language to draw up a list of acceptable 'new' words. (Haugen, 1972, 393). Although definite criteria for acceptability can be determined, these are not easy to apply because they must relate not only to structural adaptation but also to frequency of use and to judgements of native speakers which cannot be measured, (cp. Greenberg, 1971, 187 – 8).
speakers tend to reject the latest importations and innovations on
pragmatic grounds. But given time, some of the 'rejects' will gain
general currency and become fully integrated in the PL, even to the
extent that their original source becomes forgotten.

1.5 FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE
This section is a frequency analysis of adoptives in written compositions
by 526 candidates in the 1979 Cambridge School Certificate (C.S.C.)
O-Level Shona examination. The data is confirmatory rather than
fundamental (cf. 1.3), and represents a literary style in which writers try
to use Shona with a minimum of non-indigenous forms. From this source
it was concluded that the unavoidable minimum adoptive element used by
the Shona speaker-writer is about 3 percent. As Chapter 12 will show,
the spoken language has a higher adoptive element.

Of course, our C.S.C. data is not really code-related (cf. Allen and Guy,
1974, 132) in the same way as our data from commercial consumer advertising.
The candidates were writing on a variety of topics (see Appendix 1a) and
our vocabulary list (see Appendix 1b) cannot really be used as a means of
assessing appropriateness of verbal output to the requirements of social
setting in the same way as the language of advertising which has to be
persuasive. Appropriateness can only be indicated in relation to
acceptability within the constraints of a literary style which the
candidates were emulating. Written language is artificial insofar as it
is 'a specialised form of language which has been cleansed of fragments
and grammatical errors' (Allen and Guy, 1974, 99; cf. 12.2.1) because of
the strong influence of formal conventions of style. On the other hand,
it is precisely such data which gives us an indication of the spheres in
which the more integrated adoptives are used most frequently and of the
types of high and low frequency adoptives. One would also expect non-
conventional slang to be minimal.

46/...
that we refer to as conventional slang, e.g. *manje* (now) and *futi* (again), may be distinguished from fully integrated adoptives, e.g. *chitore* (store) and *mark* (money), because the former do not enjoy the full acceptance enjoyed by the latter /cp. Allen and Guy, 1974, 104/. They must also be distinguished from ordinary, i.e. non-conventional, slang because they are not limited to use by small in-groups and they are not essentially ephemeral /cp. Bloomfield, 1933, 359-60; Chimhundu, 1980b, 46/.

One may take one of the four positions tabulated below in the categorization of non-indigenous forms which are not isolated switches:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Popular Simplistic View</th>
<th>Narrow Analytic Categorization</th>
<th>Broad Liberal Categorization</th>
<th>Extreme Permisseive View</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Adoptives</td>
<td>Adoptives</td>
<td>Adoptives</td>
<td>Adoptives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Slang</td>
<td>Conventional Slang</td>
<td>Slang</td>
<td>Adoptives</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Non-Conventional Slang</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Code-Switched Elements</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

My own position in the greater portion of this study is between liberal and extreme permissive, and at this stage we are not interested in whether adoptive forms are considered slang or not.

The total number of items recorded from our G.S.C. data was 427. Of these 8 were indigenous coinages and the number of times each was used is given in brackets after the gloss: *rurhere* (telephone, 27), *kambautere* (motor vehicle, 23), *khizantare* (bicycle, 15), *mahhita* (horses, 4), *nhavu* (football, 2), *putuwadike* (tea, 1), *jaka* (district headquarters, capital city, 1), *makeli* (old man, 1). Five were semi-indigenous compounds each containing a non-indigenous morpheme: *pepanhau* (newspaper, 9), *zikumaro* (pickpocket, 1), *nurvinachitere* (store owner, 1), *nurvinambahwa* (bar owner, 1), *...
Not only were innovations of these two types much fewer than straight adoptives involving direct transfer of elements, but such innovations were used much less frequently, viz. 74 and 13 times respectively. The total number of straight adoptives recorded was 415 and these were used 5604 times. Then we add the figures for the 5 semi-indigenous compounds we have 420 items involving non-indigenous elements and these were used 5617 times.

It was estimated that the average length of the candidates' compositions was 350 words. The 3 percent figure for the adoptive element in the data was calculated as follows:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Number of candidates} &= 526 \\
\text{Average length of composition} &= 350 \text{ words} \\
\text{Approximate length of data} &= 526 \times 350 \\
&= 184100 \text{ words} \\
\text{Number of times the adoptives were used} &= 5617 \\
\text{Adoptive element in data} &= \frac{5617 \times 100}{184100} \\
&= 3.05 \text{ percent}
\end{align*}
\]

On average, out of each candidate's 350 words, only 10 or 11 were adoptives. Again this yields an average of about 3 percent. Table 3 below shows that the pattern was quite regular for all the nine centres whose examination scripts were marked.

**Table 3 (overleaf)**
Table 3: Figures per Centre

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total times recorded</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>348</td>
<td>464</td>
<td>564</td>
<td>709</td>
<td>611</td>
<td>805</td>
<td>901</td>
<td>1093</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Times recorded for indigenous coinages</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Times recorded for adoptives, incl. semi-indigenous compounds</td>
<td>195</td>
<td>340</td>
<td>462</td>
<td>551</td>
<td>701</td>
<td>606</td>
<td>801</td>
<td>875</td>
<td>1085</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of candidates</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>49</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average recorded per candidate</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From the vocabulary list yielded by our C.S.C. data English was clearly the biggest SL. The SLs and the figures for each are listed below in descending order:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Source Language</th>
<th>Number of Items</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>290</td>
<td>69*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nguni</td>
<td>67</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afrikaans</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Panigalo</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swahili</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cewa</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sotho</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unknown/obscure</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>420</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Compare the figure 64 percent given for the dictionary entries in 1.3.**
A list was also made of high frequency adoptives recorded (see appendix 1b). Any lexical item used more than 20 times in the C.Y.C. data was considered a high frequency word, and these items are listed here in descending order:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word (and gloss)</th>
<th>Times recorded</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bhuku * 12 (book, standard)</td>
<td>645</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mari (money)</td>
<td>637</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chikoro (school, education)</td>
<td>422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-tenga (buy)</td>
<td>259</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mupurina (policeman)</td>
<td>186</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>motokari (motor car)</td>
<td>184</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bhazi (bus)</td>
<td>172</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-vuura * (open)</td>
<td>160</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhorobha (town, city)</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chitoro (store, shop)</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chipata (clinic, hospital)</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-sewensa (vork)</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sadhuku (headman)</td>
<td>94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wig * 12 (wig)</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wapi * (skin lightening cream, cosmetics)</td>
<td>59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purasi (farm)</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>mbatya (clothes)</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>vhiti (week)</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sisi (sister)</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>jodya (tobacco)</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhoro (dollar)</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-gaza (wash, bath)</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12. Here starred forms were actually key-words in set topics (cf. Appendix 1a).
One may divide these high-frequency words further into smaller groups of those used most often, those used often, and so on, and draw various conclusions respecting frequency and spheres of meaning. For example, if one looks at the only four items used more than 200 times each, one cannot fail to observe that these relate to education and money, which makes a lot of sense when one considers that C.E.C. candidates are students in their late teens.
when we compare the above list with Appendix 1(b), it also becomes evident that adoptives used in Shona are many and varied but only a relative few enjoy high frequency. Among those whose frequency is relatively high the only grammatical categories represented are nouns and verbs and when one considers the overall numbers, the verbs are very well represented. This seems to suggest that less verb forms are needed or adopted or coined, but once admitted into the lexicon, new verb forms are used quite often. The nouns, on the other hand, are an open-ended list, and virtually any noun from another language is a potential adoptive in the FL. However, when one compares the figures based on the dictionary entries (cp. 1.3) and those given in this section, one is persuaded to agree that patterns of adoption are very stable, respecting both types of adoptives and quantity. In a contact situation, "it appears that a saturation point is reached at a fairly early stage, after which each of the resulting languages remains almost unchanged."

Mayfield, 1970, 53 - 54. The fears of purists that 'interference' may lead to the 'extinction' of the FL seem quite unwarranted.

One definite statement which can be made at this stage is that our C.S.C. data confirms Zipf's Law of Abbreviation Allen and Guy, 1974, 101-2 and 128/ that the longer the word the less likely it is to be used. This law may be extended here in respect of adoptives: the longer the model in the SL, the less likely it is to be adopted in the FL. Both in our entire list from the C.S.C. compositions (Appendix 1b) and in the list of high frequency words given above, most of the items are only di- or tri- syllabic. Adoptives of four syllables are much fewer and those longer than four syllables are rare. The tendency of decreasing length may itself result from an increase in relative frequency, hence the popular shortening of forms. The principle which seems to explain this is conservation of effort in articulation Sturtevant, 1917, 61-5; and 12.247. As Allen and Guy point out, 'This is not to suggest that the shortest possible alternative

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is always selected but rather that there is a constant tendency to
use the shortest alternatives consistent with the objectives of the
speaker (1974, 128). And, as I point out elsewhere, Shona does seem
to have a tendency in its own natural development to introduce reduced
forms of longer ones, some of which grow to enjoy popular usage, e.g.
nyamba (and yet, even though) cp. nyambiswa and nyambisirwa cp.
Chirimbu, 1980a, 137. The total adoptive vocabulary list from our C.S.C.
data (cp. Appendix 1b) is 433. These are mostly unique words (word
fragments being rare in formal compositions anyway) but proper names were
excluded from the list. Of these 433 lexical items, 189 or about 44 percent
are disyllabic and 144 or about 33 percent are trisyllabic. Items of only
two or three syllables, therefore, add up to 333 or 77 percent of the
entire list.
PART II

PHONOLOGICAL ASSIMILATION
CHAPTER TWO

ELECTRICAL ADAPTATION

1.0 GENERAL

In this chapter we will outline what for convenience will be called
grammatical adaptation of adoptive forms. Grammar here is taken to refer
broadly to both morphology and syntax, although very little attention will
be paid to the latter. Our attention is on the influence on, and adjustments
in, the PL made by PL structures at levels other than the purely phonological,
lexical and semantic, although some reference to meaning may become necessary.

Under the title grammatical adaptation are subsumed these aspects:

(a) the morphological adjustments made by adoptive forms;
(b) the use in the PL of structures which are more appropriate
   or typical in the SL;
(c) the adoption and use of function words such as prepositions
   and conjunctives;
(d) the distribution of adoptive forms in the constituent classes
   of the PL;
(e) the grammatical integration of adoptives, especially with
   regard to conjugation in the case of verbs and gender
   (class and number) in the case of nouns.

In short, the most interesting aspect, and therefore the only topic that
will be examined in some detail, is the allocation of adoptive nouns to
noun classes. This topic involves a discussion of (a), (d) and (e). Only
a superficial treatment will be made of (b) and (c), especially since this
whole study is primarily concerned with individual lexical items traceable
to various SLs in the contact situation.

In general terms, the adoptive form is subjected to the grammatical system
of the PL, both:
(a) as to syntax, e.g.

(i) Iye resi uyi unosisive here?
(This nurse, do you know her?)

(ii) Iye muana uyi unosisive here?
(This child, do you know him?)

in which the nouns resi < & and muana are substituted for each other; and

(b) as to morphology, whether

(i) as to the indispensable inflections, e.g. noun prefixes in Mupurisa (policeman), Nhupurisa (policeman), Miquyuna (guava trees), Chituro (stool); or

(ii) as to word formation kuvakahara (to lecture to them) and kuvatavira (to tell them) where an adoptive and a native verb radical are similarly inflected; or

(iii) as to the prevailing constructional patterns of compounds, as in these examples where a noun prefix is added to a complex stem consisting of a verb phrase with an object complement: mbatakiyi (one in key position), mchayenyoka (unemployed layabout), murumbunguri (dress of cheap quality), chimamakari (wealthy person, esp. spendthrift), chihomubaita (jalopy).

(op Bloomfield, 1933, 25.6; Fortune, 1959, 3.4-3.9) It is just possible that when many forms are adopted from one language, these may exhibit their own grammatical features or relations (Bloomfield, 1933, 454), although I have not actually found this to be the case in Shona.
Each language handles adoptives on the basis of its own structures and systems \( \text{cp., e.g. Mosha, 1971, 106} \). As Hoenigswald \( \text{1962,3} \) puts it, 'the learners master the morphic content of the upper language but still carry with them their own morphemic and phonemic system. The result is that the new forms assume the distribution of the morphs of the lower language ... ...'. In Shona, as in other Bantu languages, basic morphological adjustments involve the suffixing of terminative /at/ to the adoptive verb radicals and the conversion of certain initial phonemes of the SL - models for the adoptive nouns into prefix-classifiers, e.g. English /s/ often becomes Shona /
{\text{\v{e}f}i}/ of class 7 (\text{cp. Kunene, 1963; Whiteley, 1963; Mosha, 1971}.

I have already indicated in the last chapter that the impact of SLs on the PL is greatest lexically but all to minimal structurally. The imprint left by English, for instance, is limited to the sort of anglicisms (see Ch. 12) described by Van der Merwe \( \text{1973} \) and by Mhlanga \( \text{1975} \), e.g. when PL elements are made to follow SL patterns or when literal translations are offered of idiomatic English. One negative factor in our contact situation is the structural distance between English and Shona. This tends to minimize transferability of morphological and syntactic structures, but it does not inhibit adoption. The minimal impact of SL on PL at the grammatical level may also be explained in terms of what is more basic to language and the stages in which language is acquired. According to Rayfield \( \text{1970, 104} \), the individual has mastered the phonemic pattern of his language by the age of 3. Although unable to pronounce all the sounds correctly, he already understands the phonemic distinctions. By the age of 5 he has mastered the syntax, and a little later the morphology, but he continues to expand his vocabulary throughout his lifetime.
of course, the influence of SL on PL at various levels of language does not consist of separate processes. When change occurs in the PL due to contact with the SL, the process begins with the lexical system and semantic system. Then the phonemic system is affected by new phonemic sequences in adoptive and by imitation of the original accentual patterns of the adoptive forms. The structural system is then affected from both ends by lexical adoption which may necessitate syntactic and morphological adjustments, and also by adaptation of accentual patterns which may involve imitation of SL stress and intonation patterns [cp. Hayfield, 1970, 105]. Still, the total impact on the structural system remains very limited, despite copious lexical adoptions. Indeed, one may well query the very suggestion that the grammatical system of the PL is penetrable at all. Examples of some specific questions which need answers, but which I have not made a systematic study of, are:

How much, if any, evidence is there of the application of grammatical relations of English in Shona? How, if at all, are such features as word order, agreement and dependence, compounding sequences of tenses, and accentual patterns affected by English in the Shona speech of the bilingual? Are they misapplied or neglected, and with what semantic effect? Is there any evidence that Shona grammatical relations which have no prototypes in English are being neglected? How many and how significant are any changes in the functions of Shona morphemes, either reduction or extension, through the identification of English morphemes? That morphemes are transferred across languages is not disputed, but what exactly is the relationship between the grammatical function of morphemes and their likelihood of transfer? It would seem, however, from the very general observations made in this chapter, that this line of inquiry cannot prove to be very fruitful.
2.1 EXTENSION OF SYNTACTIC AND SEMANTIC LIMITS

sometimes we find that on the basis of SL - models, the semantic and syntactic limits of PL - structures are extended. "New collocations are frequently heard, which are literal translations of English idiomatic expressions, or syntactic restructuring to achieve certain semantic dimensions." [Hikangwai, 1973, 10-11]. In Shona such Anglicisms fall into three broad categories [cp. Kayfield, 1970]. The construction may still be new and controversial or 'unacceptable', e.g. kurima nyama (animal husbandry), which was heard on a Radio Two Farming programme. Then there are constructions which may still be recognizable as non-indigenous but have become so common that speakers use them in spite of their efforts to avoid them, e.g. kubindura pfungwa (to change one's mind).

There are also those constructions which have become so habitual that they, or the ideas or images they convey, are no longer recognized as non-indigenous, e.g. kubusa napatari retsone (to have a narrow escape).

There are also those Anglicisms which are non-idiomatic, e.g. magumani akamata (good morning), kunyora pasi (to write down), kufashetiga makanwa (to freshen the mouth, e.g. with toothpaste). Anglicisms may also be literal translations of such utility phrases as 'the following' which is rendered in Shona as -fi hutevera. Also not uncommon are literal translations of prepositions and other redundant features, as in:

Kudziviriri Kurwa kuchivire (to prevent FROM disease); and in Ruzvidzi
Antitera Pachidzidzo ichi (the teacher who takes us FOR this subject).

In this way new idiomatic meanings are transferred to old words, e.g.
-tora (take) is used as transitive verb with object complements like
birita (pill), mamebo (place), mwava (time), mubita (train) and
Musii (bus). Other instances where an English figure of speech is transposed literally into Shona are:

- bata dzidzwa (catch a cold)
- bata bhashi (catch a bus)
- dorhessa mageo (drop one's eyes)
- shandika pfungwa (use one's brain)
- pa rusivo (supply intelligence, give knowledge or information)
- pa rekicha (give a lecture)
- damhura runyagore (break silence).

Van der Merwe [1975] gives some interesting examples from Shona written texts, school readers and novels written by first-language speakers, which show the influence of English even at the syntactic level. One conclusion he draws is that "If Shona is written by a Shona-speaking person, it does not necessarily follow that it is correct and comprehensible" [p.11]. The author may think of English usage and then extent it to Shona forms, so that "elements of English surface structure are carried over into Shona, affecting word order, sentence construction, etc." [p.3].

A good example is the use of the interrogative form sei? (how?) in poetry, e.g. zvinofasha sei? (how pleasant it is!). Sei is also used as interrogative after English "why" in sentence - or clause-initial position, as in:

Sei uchindituka masuva ose?
(why do you scold me everyday?)

cp. idiomatic Shona:

Usanditikizai masuva ose?

English patterns are also used in the following instances:

(a) the use of prepositional reference, as in:

(i) Ruvenzo PATATI PAzitaai mabude
(Hatred BETWEEN Tsitsi and Rudo)

(ii) Everai Kuvabondsai
(Write TO parents).

(b) The use or misuse of connectives, as in:

MUSIUWE mokutaura nen
(after talking to me)

cp. Apedza kutaura nen
(lit: having finished talking with me) which is more idiomatic Shona.
(c) the use of infinitive verb 'to be', as in:

Akarudza kuvu mazvo
(He was chosen T: B. chief)

cp. Akarudza kuti uve mazvo.

(d) extension of the semantic range of *na* - of resemblance to indicate inclusion as well, as in:

Noshanda mungwiridzi
(He works as a teacher)

which in idiomatic Shona means that the subject works like a teacher but is not a teacher.

(e) the use of possessive prefix to translate 'one, some of', as in:

Akatora imwe Vemari iyi
(He took some of this money)

where idiomatic Shona would drop the *V* - and say *Akatora imwe mari* because the money must have already been mentioned in the conversation.

The use of English patterns may actually extend to simple literary conventions. For instance, when listing items the comma is now used in Shona instead of conjunctive *na-*, *ne-*, *no-*, as in:

Faiwa nyasikana, vakomana, chembera, harahwa....
(There were girls, boys, old women, old men....)

cp. Faiwa nyasikana navakomana nechembera neharahwa

### 2.2 TRANFERABILITY AND DISTRIBUTION

From the point of view of meaning it seems that, in general terms, the more abstract the significance of the element concerned the less likely the transfer across languages [cp. Heine, 1983, 35]. A second factor limiting transferability is relative boundness of the morpheme concerned. Transfer of bound morphemes is rare because the morphemes are so dependent on grammatical function that it would be useless unless there was a ready function for it. Inflecting morphemes, for example, are often translated,
c.g. 'statuette' becomes kasitche, where -etto' is equated with ka-

An exception seems to be English plural suffix /s/ which may be repeated
in Shona as in mopotetesi (potatoes). Often, however, this may be
viewed as incomplete phonological assimilation, as in mabuku (books).

Depending on how close the pronunciation is to that of the SL model,
the replica may indeed be just an inflected, isolated suffix, which may
also be deviant grammatically.

Transferability also has a direct relationship with form class or
constituent class. Nouns are by far the most hospitable to newcomers,
and non-auxiliary verbs are only a poor second. In relative terms,
connectives and interjectives are also open to new membership. So are
adverbials, although these are typically nominals in adverbial function.

But auxiliary verbs, prepositions, adjectives and other qualifiers or
modifiers seem so much more integrated in the Shona system that there
is no likelihood of transfer. No less than 379 items, or 90 percent,
of the adoptive vocabulary list from our C.E.C. data (op. 1.5 and
Appendix 1(b)) are nouns, while only 43 items or 10 percent are verbs,
8 items or 2 percent are adverbials, and 6 items or 1 percent are conjunctives
and interjectives. (Note that the resultant totals of 436 and 103 percent
are greater than those already given in 1.5 because some of the items
belong to more than one grammatical category. For example, the nouns
huseki and pachumwa are functionally adverbs of place. Others belong to more
than one noun class, e.g. chuku and firimu are both class 5 and class 9,
and hune and tumu are both classes 1a and 9. The figure 436, therefore,
represents the total number of possible grammatical categories, but the
percentages are calculated on the basis of 436 adoptives. Hence the
total percentage in excess of 100).

Adoptive nouns enter one or other of the Shona noun classes and have the
same distribution as the indigenous nouns in those classes. Non-auxiliary
verbs, transferred as monomorphemic verb radicals (Ks) behave like any other k in the PL. Particularly in the case of verbs, the constituent class of the model in SL and the replica in PL are not necessarily the same. Compare, for example:

A : duur, adj. and - dhura, v.i.
B : short, adj. and - shota, v.i.
A : skuld, noun and - kvereta, v.t.

Adverbs, when transferred, occupy positions similar to those occupied by indigenous forms, e.g. fani (much) < F, siteroki (much) < A,
fanika (like) < F, Futi (again) < F/NG, manje (now) < F/NG.

SL - adjectives, however, feature in PL - possessives, as in imba veyero
(a yellow house) although such possessives remain adjectival in function.
All adoptive adjectives may be treated as 'weak' adjectives which take no
adjectival prefix [cp. Kumere, 1963, 374]. In Shona they occur as
constituents in possessive phrases, e.g. shizha regirini (green leaf) and
ruvara rwemaiti (white color), or as constituents in relative clauses,
e.g. imba inodhura (an expensive house), where the Afrikaans model duur
has initially yielded the Shona verb -dhura (be expensive). Indigenous
adjective stone in Shona are themselves very limited [Fortune, 1969, 385].
Sometimes an adjective normally associated with a given noun is eventually
used as a noun to represent the whole idea conveyed, e.g. komienzi;
'condensed milk'.

Sequence signals, especially conjunctives, are freely adopted, e.g. ende
(and), bhuti (but), manje (now, so), Futi (again, moreover). Adoption
of such function words is limited insofar as the actual number transferred
across languages is small, but, in relation to the total function words
in both SL and PL, the number so adopted is large. Phonologically
unassimilated forms of the same are also used frequently as one-word
switches, e.g. 'still', 'even', 'yet', 'since'. Here one may also mention:

62/...
(i) adoptive interjictives, e.g. nikisi (no) \ll\text{A nika},

hynec (yes) \ll\text{A: isesi (yes) \ll\text{E: 'yes'};

(ii) adoptive swear words like futachi (go away, stop

barking) \ll\text{A: veetiek, bhurati shiti \ll\text{E:

'bloody s. it', dhometi \ll\text{E: 'damn it', hbasteti \ll

E: 'bastard'; and

(iii) adoptive exclamations like no-gi (Stop!), ngenz (Easy!

Stop!), go-gi (Goal!), hei (Hey!). A further note must

also be made of the preference for monomorphemic structure, especially

with regard to the system of counting. English numerals are generally

preferred because Shona ones are more complex. The latter involve root

plus variable affix, as in:

(1) mubon nenwe (one person)

dombo Rene (one stone)

chigaro chimwe (one chair)

imba inse (one house)

rwizi rimwe (one river)

cp. munhu hvani

dombo hvani

chigaro hvani

imba hvani

rwizi hvani

(ii) vanhu vanomwe (seven people)

matombo manomwe (seven stones)

svigara svimwe (seven chairs)

dzimba nomwe (seven houses)

nzizi nomwe (seven rivers)

cp. vanhu sevheni

matombo sevheni

svigara sevheni

svigara sevheni
The adoptive numerals allow for concordial agreement simplification (e.g. Bokamba, 1977). Also, after muni (ten) the system resorts to addition to ten or tens, to a hundred or hundreds, and to a thousand or thousands which produces constructions far more complex than the English ones, e.g.:

vanhu gumi navatatu (thirteen people)
vanhu makumi matatu navatatu (thirty three people)
vanhu pana makumi mana navashamu (one hundred and forty five people)
vanhu nzunga mana mukumi masere navache (four hundred and eighty seven people)
vanhu sviru nzunga mzungu mukumi maviri novumwe (five hundred thousand and twenty one people).

It is not so much the length of the constructions which makes the Shona system more complex but the noun class system which requires that appropriate concords must be used with noun headwords of different classes. In particular, corresponding prefixes must be used in the first and last words, even as the constructions get longer and longer.

The distribution of adoptive nouns and verbs is as for the indigenous ones (e.g. Ballot, 1971, 69-80). For instance, adoptive nouns are inflected in the same way as indigenous nouns to form locatives (e.g. murukisheni, 'in the township'), possessives (e.g. wa Mukhota, 'the doctor's') and copulatives (e.g. rosheni, 'it is a township', and sishokota, 'it is the doctor'). Derivatives are formed from adoptive nouns in the same way as they are formed from indigenous nouns, e.g. by using secondary prefixes to form diminutives like kumokoni (little car), or augmentatives like simokoni (big car). Adoptive nouns may be
reduplicated, as in *svikatanikatani* (carton by carton), or incorporated into compounds, as in *mahatabtivi* (key figure, responsible authority). Nouns may also be derived from adoptive verb radicals in the normal manner, i.e. noun prefix plus verb radical plus nominalizing suffix, whether the radicals are simple, as in *na-sevong-i* (worker) and *pa-chair-i* (driver), or extended, as in *ma-hurir-e* (type of prostitution) and *ma-furay-in-o* (method of frying). Finally, adoptive nouns may also be formed from phrases, e.g.: 

- *furairimahina*  
  *flying machine*
- *makuru (zi) bhande*  
  *cross-belt* (braces)
- *sodiraini*  
  *side lane*
- *spirikoti*  
  *appeal court*
- *bharuraiti*  
  *blue light* (lamp of cycle, headlamp)
- *siya bakisi*  
  *gear box*
- *jerigadhi, gahitaye*  
  *jail guard* (prison warden).

Adoptive verb radicals are subject to the same derivational processes, both substrate and superstrate, as indigenous Rs. They take the same extensions, e.g.: 

(1) -fury-<i><i>-a</i></i> (fry)
- *furyir-i-a* (fry for)
- *furyir-i-a* (be fried)
- *furyir-i-a* (cause to fry)
- *furyir-i-a* (be capable of being fried)

(11) -jair-<i><i>-a</i></i> (be used to)
- *jair-i-a* (spoil, cause to come to expect always)
- *jairir-i-a* (be quite used to)
- *jairir-i-a* (be capable of becoming familiar or used to)

65/...
Adoptive Rs take the same inflections in the same conjugations as indigenous Rs, e.g.

-ndinafuraya (I fry)
-havanakutifuravira (they did not fry for us)
-tichafuraya (We will fry)
-kanuchafuraya (you will no longer fry)

They can be reduplicated like any other Rs, e.g.:

-kufuravafuraya (to fry nicely)
-kubharabhara (to write all over)
-kutsavatavaya (to keep dancing, to dance nicely)
-kupendapenda (to paint all over)

They are also used in the derivation of deverbal nouns, e.g.

-mutavinya (one who frites), and mulaupiri (driver). Adoptive verbs may themselves be derived from nouns by suffixing a verbalizer to the noun stem, e.g. -hedhukwa (revert to pagan practices) ≤ muhedheni (heathen), cp. -hafurwa (halve) ≤ hafu (half). They can also be derived by eliding noun prefix and final vowel to produce a radical, e.g. piti (pick-axe) > -piki (dig with pick-axe, serve prison term); kivi (key) > -kiywa (lock); superrifita (prophet, seer) > -suprita (prophesy). Finally, adoptive verbs may also be derived from constituent classes other than nouns, e.g.

-chipwa (be inexpensive) ≤ adjective, 'cheap'.

2.3 ALLOCATION TO NOUN CLASSES

Nouns in Bantu languages are characterized by a system of prefixes, according to which they may be divided into a number of classes.
these languages share a number of noun prefix-classifiers which are
well defined morphologically, although not semantically [Mokumbi, 1977;
164. cp. Guthrie, 1970; Greenberg, 1971(d); Colo, 1964]. The most
important feature in the morphological integration of adoptives is the
extent to which nominals are assimilated into existing classes [Whiteley,
1963, 159]. All adoptive nouns are accommodated in one or another of
these noun classes. Once admitted, the individual noun conforms to the
system of the gender of which its class is a member. The classes are
either singular or plural or neutral respecting number, and by gender
here we refer to groups or short series of related classes. Single class
genders are possible, especially where reference is to non-countable items,
e.g. mopi (honey) and peturo (petrol). But the commonest regular short
series is the two-class gender representing singular-plural oppositions,
e.g. mu-konde (fig tree) and mi-konde (fig trees), mu-orenji (orange tree)
and mi-orenji (orange trees). We also have multi-class genders, e.g.
bensi (fool), ma-bensi (fools) and u-bensi (folly), xotsi (criminal),
ma-xotsi (criminals), and u-xotsi (criminal behaviour). One result
of the admission of adoptives is that rules are relaxed and new genders
may be created, e.g.:

(i) mu/mao- as in mu-purisa (policeman) and
ma-purisa (policeman);
(ii) u, la/mao- as inensi (nurse) and ma-ensi (nurses);
and
(iii) 6, 9 /ma- as in susupensi (sixpence, five cents) and
ma-susupensi (five-cent pieces).

Most of the adoptive nouns enter the zero-prefix classes, i.e. 1a if
reference is human and 5 or 9 if reference is non-human. The pattern
respecting relative receptivity of the individual classes which emerges from
our dictionary data (see 1.3) is closely similar to the one which emerges
from our C.S.C. data (see 1.5). 49 percent of the adoptive nouns in the
dictionary are in class 9 and 27 percent are in class 5. The figures from
the C.A.C. vocabulary list are given below for what we will call the
primary or productive classes:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Adoptives</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>168</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1а</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1*</td>
<td>15</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The remaining 4 percent is shared by classes 6 (total number 9), 11,
13 and 17 (total 2 each), and 16 (with 1 only).

More than anything else, it is the allocation of adoptive nouns into
the existing classes which shows us which of those classes are productive in
terms of potential new membership. These are classes 1, 3, 5, 7 and 9,
which might also be regarded as the primary classes of the language.

Classes 2, 4, 6, 8 and 10 are merely the plural forms of these primary
classes. Sometimes, however, we do have nouns coming in which are
typically class 6 but have no corresponding singular forms, e.g. matemeti
(maternity dress), mahara (free, non-payment), manyosa (manure), or whose
singular forms are rarely used, e.g. majarini (margarine), megesi
(electricity), maphora (dark glasses). Class 15 might also be included
among the primary classes because, although its members are nomino-verbals,
it is a very productive class in terms of potential new membership. These
classes are primary classes because membership of nouns in primary function
is unlimited and, as open classes, they offer the natural channels of
expanding the language's noun vocabulary. The remaining classes, 11 to 21,
have each only a limited number of native primary stems (except 19 and 21
which have none), and do not seem to be receptive to adoptive nouns.

* Treated here as a composite class.
They are therefore unproductive in the sense that they are almost closed to new members in primary function. Their prefixes are essentially commentary because they are usually associated with secondary ideas, roughly as follows: classes 11 to 14 plus 15, diminutive; class 21, augmentative second degree; classes 16 to 18, locative (cp. fortune, 1965, 3.2.6). From the point of view of both productivity and significance one may, therefore, divide the Shona noun classes into primary and secondary classes. The primary classes would be 1 to 10 plus 15, and the secondary classes 11 to 21 minus 15. The latter groups are closed, although perhaps not entirely, except when in secondary function.

Three alternatives are available for allocation of adoptive nouns to classes, namely (a) conversion of initial element to independent prefix, (b) addition of a noun prefix, and (c) allocation to a zero-prefix class. The basis for classification may be semantic, e.g. mupurica (policeman) is class 1 because reference is human but mupurana (gum tree) is 3 because reference is to a tree. It may also be phonological, especially where the initial sound corresponds with an independent prefix (IP).

Where the first element of an adoptive noun, either single consonant or syllable, is similar in phonological shape to one of the recognised IPs, then very often that element is converted into a Shona noun prefix (np) and the word is allocated to the class of which that np is a mark (Whitley, 1963, 16; Guthrie, 1970, 54; Ballot, 1971, 64-5). For example, mumari (missionary of the Dutch Reformed Church) is class 1, msumini (machine) is 3, rumhenda (remainder) is 11, and kanyoto (arm-lock in wrestling) is 13. These straightforward allocations are possible where the initial CV of the model is not only similar to the np but is also

1. In secondary function, class 5 indicates augmentation of first degree. The prefixes of class 5 (and therefore 6) and class 7 (and therefore 8) may also be used in secondary function for augmentation and diminution respectively, but they are productive in primary function.
unstressed. If say, an English or Afrikaans model has stressed initial syllable, this is unlikely to be converted into Shona even because Shona would interpret such stress as high tone but all the IPs have low tones.

If the initial element of the SL model is a consonant cluster (CC) and the initial C of CC is similar to the C of an IP, then the V corresponding to that of the np is inserted between C₁ and C₂ to produce a syllabic np, as

store > chitore
station > chiteshi
school > chitore
skip (a)  > chikupe (boat, ship)

where /u/ or /o/ > s /tʃi/.

But when adoption is from or via another Bantu language, there may be a simple substitution of prefixes, as in these examples from Zulu, where:

(i) isi-    >    chi- (class 7)
c.g. isiinkwa > chingwa (bread)
    isikeleti > chikwesi (debt)

(ii) um-    >    mu- (class 1)
c.g. umfana > mufana (junior fellow)

(iii) um-    >    mu- (class 3)
c.g. umphoco > mumpho (spell, harmful medicine)

(iv) i-      >    g (classes 1a, 1b, 9)
c.g. iisha > jaga (5) (young man)
    intombi > tombi (1a, 9) (little girl)

Alternatively, an adoptive noun may be associated with class gender by the simple addition of the appropriate prefix. Appropriateness here is in terms of meaning, e.g.:

(iv) mu-, class 1, when referring to people as in mumurise (policeman), mumunwoni (agricultural demonstrator), mumurisiti (priest), mumurisito (Christian), and mumhina (Chinese person).
(11) mas, class 3, when referring to trees, as in mupichisi (peach tree), musgavha (guava tree), muskhatana (banana tree), muswoni (lemon tree), and musorenji (orange tree).

The third and mostly used alternative is allocation to a zero-prefix class, where there is no initial element which can be related to an H. The choice of the particular zero-prefix class may be influenced by meaning or some element of meaning, e.g. 1a if human as in the case of mezi (nurse), chokora (doctor) and rica (teacher); or 5 if 'big' or 'rough' as in the case of dharamata (dynamite), bhari (bus) and bachi (horse); or 9 if 'animal' as in the case of bachi (pig), popi (puppy, short-legged dog) and kobura (cobra). It would be misleading to suggest that all noun classes have general meanings, but they do have certain common semantic features which may help in the classification of new members. The reference of an individual class may be exclusively or predominantly personal, animate, abstract, diminutive, augmentative, pejorative, or verbal infinitive. Also names of animals, plants, artefacts, natural phenomena, anatomical parts, languages, peoples, and so on, may occur predominantly in one or other noun class. For example, names of fruits are mostly class 3, e.g. oreni (orange), banana (banana), guava (guava), remeni (lemon), and pichini (peach). There are exceptions, of course, e.g. mburovi (mulberry) is 9, and mango (mango) is 5 and 9.

In addition to meaning, it seems that phonological criteria also apply in the choice between allocation to class 5 or 9. The majority of adjectives commencing with nasals or voiceless consonants enter class 9, e.g.:

(i) mapu (map), misi (minced meat), bidhi (long skirt), betiresi (mattress), bahu (heater), bweka (member, important person), misheni (mission), mite (meter), motokari (motor car), mephi (mask), mendari (mental arithmetic).
(ii) nariti (sewing needle), nemoko (aeroplane), nhamba (number),
ndururuni (crook, trickster), nesari (nursery), nika (panties),
notisi (notice), ndaya (offence, matter for concern),
natinegi (army), nyumi (news).

(iii) chizi (cheese), chiziri (chisel), chumi (ten shillings, one
dollar), cheni (chain), fonii (telephone), furawa (flour),
fensi (fence), fumi (firm), hosi (course), hure (address),
karu (colour), krava (choir), kudriti (quilt), posevo/postiti
(post office, postal system), nitiboti (petticoat), potu (pot),
powi (pay, wage, salary), saini (sign, signal), sikina (t-shirt,
shirt, sweater), shangu (shoe), timu (team), taimu (time),
tenini (tennis), tesiti (test).

The majority of adoptive nouns commencing with /h/ and some vowel-
commencing ones are also class 9, e.g.:

(i) hara (narrow, rake), hati (hat), hama (hammer), hachi (pig),
hositeri (hostel), humainde (government), hambu (shirt).

(ii) aini (pressing iron), iore (ink), iajini (engine),
echisere (axle), asini (ice), sisiskirimu (ice-cream),
semu (aim), seburusi (ambulance), ojha (order), oprisi
(oral exercise).

Adoptive nouns commencing with voiced or voiced depressor conseants
generally enter class 5, e.g.:

(i) bhashi (jacket), bhuca (butchery), bhatiri (battery),
bhaxi (bus), bhake (bag), bhaliheri (Bible), bhiva (bear),
bhiskiti (biscuit), bhavhude (birthday).

(ii) chasenu (date), chotiri (dolly), choti/chedi (mess, human
excrement), chereba (town), chiziri (diesel), choti
(date), chasizinimu (dress), chishi (dish), chirezi
(dress), chinha (dinner).
There are exceptions, of course, e.g. dhutau (shoe), dhvav (eye), jini (gin), jipi (jeep) and ronoriya (gonorrhoea) are class 9.

We also have nouns which are ambivalent in classification, e.g. gacheni (garden), shuku (head scarf) and bhibho (type haircut) which are 5 or 9.

Adoptive nouns commencing /r/ and /w/ may be class 5, e.g. raki (luck), raiti (light), remoni (lemon), rhor (lorry), whobhu (verb), whiri (wheel), varanda (veranda). They may also be class 9, e.g. rekodi (record), ravhatiri (lavatory), rononedi (lemonade), rin'ri (ring), wihu (vim), whisa (visa), whoiri (veil). But many are ambivalent and take either 5 or 9 concords according to speaker's preference, e.g. rega (razor blade), rivhi (leave), rual (rice), robhoti (robot, traffic light), rejimoni (regiment), vhoti (vote), vhasi (verse), vhasi (vest), whiki (weak).

In the case of /r/ commencing adoptive nouns, the explanation may be offered that in many cases the /r/ of the Shona replica replaces an /l/ in the SL - model. In fact, /l/ is heard often in the casual- colloquial style and the 1-sound would seem to be harmonious with class 9 concords as in lavhatiri iyo (that lavatory), lori lipo? (which lorry?), livhi yamwe (my leave).

One or two explanations may be offered here for the definite preference of adoptive nouns to enter the zero-prefix classes. In the first place,
Shona prefers adoption of monomorphic forms and very often these do not have initial elements corresponding to existing IPs. Secondly, addition of IPs to adoptive models is not resorted to very much, exceptions being mu-class 1, mu-class 3 and mu-class 6. A reason for this is that the prefinal syllable so added would unnecessarily increase the length of the adoptive noun. So this alternative is only used consistently where there is good reason, e.g. the use of zero-prefix of class 5 and mu-of class 3 to distinguish between tree (class 3) and fruit (class 5), as in:

- guvha (guava) vs. mguvha (guava tree)
- orenji (orange) vs. murenji (orange tree)
- bhanana (banana) vs. mubhanana (banana tree)
- mengo (mango) vs. mumengo (mango tree)
- mupichisi (peach) vs. mumupichisi (peach tree)
- mubhurosi (mulberry) vs. mumubhurosi (mulberry tree)
- remoni (lemon) vs. muremoni (lemon tree)
- opora (apple) vs. maopora (apple tree)

This pattern is exactly as per native usage. A further point is that a general tendency towards simplification of forms may actually mean sweeping substitution of phonemes, as in tapita < 'interpreter'. Even more frequently, this may mean the dropping of elements, particularly the initial vowels of PL - models, as in: zamanishoni (examination), sipakisheni (inspection), sipikitizana (inspector), tapura/dapura (potato) < AA: eretapela, njanji (railway line) < Nj: njanjana, mopasi (king, boss) < Ng: intokisi, m'nyachi/mwachi (letter) < Ng: intokisi. The forms that result after the SL - models have shed some of their elements do not show similarity of initial syllable with one or other of the Shona IPs. Under these circumstances, the zero-prefix classes are the most attractive.
Therefore in Shona, as in other Bantu languages [Guthrie, 1970, 55], by far the most common kind of adoptive noun is one that is found in a class that has a zero prefix. And in Shona this makes classes 5 and 9 the most productive. Examples of both classes have already been given. However, ambivalence in classification between 5 and 9 is common, particularly where no definite association can be made with an existing IP or with some general class meaning. The use of different concords by different speakers may or may not reflect dialectal variation. More examples in this ambivalent category are: *tsete* (thug, criminal), *tangii* (tank), *karenda* (calendar), *jerimani* (blue soap, dark printed cloth), *kitibhegi* (kit-bag), *fachi/pfachi* (barrel, cask), *memon* (mango), *patepata* (sandal), *rabha* (rubber eraser). Similar fluctuation also occurs between classes 1a and 9 in the case of numerals and letters of the alphabet, e.g. *mwan* (one), *two* (two), *maini* (nine), *echi* (h), *wayi* (y), *ebizi* (z); and between 1a and 5 in the case of certain human references, e.g. *gachi* (guard), *gadziere* (prison warden), *fusi* (stooge, fool). It has actually been suggested in the case of Town Bemba [Richardson, 1963, 132] that similar fluctuation in the class assignment of adoptives may well be the beginning of a trend which might eventually lead to a general levelling of the class system. For Shona, however, any chances of such levelling seem extremely remote.

A related deviation in the class system which must be mentioned is the incidence of irregular singular - plural pairings. Members of national, social, occupational or organizational groups have singular forms in class 1/1a and plurals in 6, e.g.:

1) *matarirana* (Italian) > *matarirana*
*mufesi* (Englishman) > *mufesi*
*muputukesi* (Portuguese) > *muputukesi*
(ii) Members of church denominations are similarly classified, with singular forms taking prefix ma- and plurals ma-, as in mafoma (Roman Catholic), maphachi (Dutch Reformed), mafostori (Apostolic Faith), mazivoni (Zionist), mabata (Seventh Day Adventist), maphiriandi (Anglican).

(iii) Mapirisiti (priest) > mapirisiti
mubedheni (heathen) > mubedheni
mahure (prostitute) > mahure

But this category has many exceptions, e.g. muchiri (driver) > vachiri, and mafundisi (teacher, preacher) > vafundisi, particularly where the nouns are deverbal.

(iv) Ticha (teacher) > maticha
bhiri (-da) (builder) > mabhiri(-da)
kapeda (carpenter) > makapeda
salem (sergeant) > masaimi
mela (major) > manela
mensa (manager) > manensa
tera (tailor) > matera

We also have a few non-conventional slang words whose singular forms are 1 or 9 but whose plurals are 6, e.g. these three which all mean ‘girlfriend’:

chuni machuni
chulukasi machulukasi

76/...
class 10 plural forms with zero-prefix are also used for the same. Such irregular singular–plural pairings may indeed be viewed as examples of new genders and, therefore, as evidence of an expansion of the native class-number-gender system.
PART II

PHONOLOGICAL ASSIMILATION
CHAPTER THREE

DEVIATING FROM TRADITIONAL PHONOLOGY

3.0 INTRODUCTION

3.0.1 Subject matter

Part II of this study is an exercise in comparative linguistic phonetics. The aim is twofold:

(a) to examine the patterns whereby adoptive forms, in particular those from English, are adopted via native Shona phonology; and

(b) to show how, if at all, the numerous adoptives affect Shona phonology.

The greater attention is on segmental phoneme transfer, although suprasegmentals are treated in Chapter 6.

The term Shona shall be understood to refer to any one or more of the many varieties which are collectively called Shona. However, the bases for comparison throughout will be Received Pronunciation (RP) for English on the one hand, and, on the other, what we will call General Spoken Shona (GS) in Chapter 8. By GS is meant the Shona-based variety of Shona which is generally used in Salisbury and which in relation to all the other varieties (Zezuru itself included) appears to be emerging as the predominant or popular variety [Chishinda, 1979; cp. Greenberg (b), 1971, 183].

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1. The term 'native' is preferred to 'indigenous'. To those who, for reasons which have nothing to do with linguistics, may object to the use of the word 'native', the writer must emphasize that that is not used qualitatively. Indeed all descriptive terms in this study are used in a strictly technical sense and nothing evaluative or emotive is implied.
3.0.2 Theoretical bases

For such a comparative study, some background in general phonetics and in both English phonology and Sanskrit phonology is an obvious prerequisite. Further, because GS is a spoken variety in a fluid language situation, some sociolinguistic comment is inevitable although focus will be retained on the linguistic aspect. Accordingly the study tends to be both comparative and interdisciplinary and the references are necessarily scattered. A note on the bibliography is therefore necessary at this point to indicate the theoretical bases adopted, because no previews are given for either aspect.

3.0.2.1 General linguistics

Almost any work on general linguistics will be of some relevance. Even from Gleason alone, the essential problems dealt with here can be isolated. Although in his An Introduction to Descriptive Linguistics [revised edition, 1961], very little is said on 'borrowing' [pp.357-8], Gleason discusses English phonetics [Ch.20] in some detail. Other useful introductory works are A.H. Robins' General Linguistics [1964], and Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics by John Lyons [1968]. The essays by joint authors Halliday, McIntosh and Strevens in their Linguistic Sciences and Language Teaching [1969] were also found useful.

3.0.2.2 General and Minimal-Phonetics

Our general topic 'Phonological Assimilation' implies that phonemes are comparable across languages. But all writers on the subject are agreed that each language is a self-contained system of phonemes and contrasts between phonemes. Gleason actually points out that it is fortuitous that a symbol like /b/ may occur in more than one language. The statement that languages A, B, C have /b/ phoneme would be comparable to saying that, 'This hat, this dress and this pair of shoes are all the same size, since they are all sevens' [Gleason, 1961, 390-1].
The problem is resolved by general phonetic theory which considers the total sound-producing potential of man and categorizes all sounds that are physiologically possible to realize. Phonemic theory then makes it possible, from that categorization, for comparative statements to be made about given languages since all languages draw from the same resources. Thus if we say the English gliding /r/ or [w] or the lateral /l/ have been adopted in Shona phonology, we are not suggesting that exactly the same sounds invariably occur in both languages.

On general and functional phonetics, the theoretical bases for this Chapter are the *introductory* surveys by O'Connor, Abercrombie and Pike, all of whom follow the De Jones and L.L. Pike tradition. O'Connor's *Phonetics* [1973] has readable and well illustrated discussions on articulatory phonetics and on the description and classification of speech sounds (esp. Ch. 2 and 5). However, Abercrombie's treatment [1967] although he gives no diagrams of the organs of speech, is more concise. Catford's [1977] anthropophonemic or very general phonetic approach was found to be particularly useful respecting the revision of some old concepts, e.g. on the one-tap-trill and on murmur. Therefore, Abercrombie's *Elements of General Phonetics* and Catford's *Fundamental Problems in Phonetics* have formed the theoretical bases for the deviations from the traditional interpretation of Shona phonemes that are made in 3.1 and 3.2, and many references will be made to these works.²

It is only against such firm theoretical bases that the numerous statements which will be made later about patterns of phonological assimilation of English sounds in Shona can be fully appreciated. Indirectly, therefore, what will be compared are the phonologies of languages in contact.

² More reference will be made to O'Connor [1973] in Chapter 6 where his treatment of prosodic features will be especially relevant.
no preview of English phonology will be given but something must be said
about 'that English' will be used, especially since:
(a) the writer is not a native speaker of English;
(b) English has many spoken varieties the world over; and
(c) most Shona people do not learn their English from Englishmen
and, for that reason, it may be argued that the English models
from which Shona replicas are derived as adoptives are in fact
'not English'.

Considering that the writer is African who has never been to England,
a bold decision has been made here to use Received Pronunciation (RP) as
the basis for comparison. RP is, by implication, the accepted or standard
variety. Two assumptions made implicitly by this choice are: (a) that
whatever variety of English the Shona speaker learns, that English is
readily identifiable with RP, which itself is a variety that contains all
'the necessary differences between the basic sounds which are found in all
kinds of English' [O'Connor, 1967, 8]; and (b) that however unfaithfully
the Shona speaker may reproduce English sounds in English conversation,
the sounds he interprets before introducing innovations in his own language
are closer to English RP than the sounds he actually utters in English
conversation. The latter assumption is especially probable since adoptives
are more likely to be introduced, directly or indirectly, by the more
proficient bilingual than by the monoglot Shona. In sociolinguistic terms,
his conditioning by Shona phonology (almost all Shona speakers learn their
English as a second language) makes it impossible for him to pronounce
English sounds accurately, although auditorily he is quite capable of
interpreting the sounds produced in RP like anybody else. Perhaps more
importantly, RP has been chosen because that is the practical thing to do.
Being a non-native English speaker, the writer had to choose a variety that is well documented. The transcriptions of English models throughout part II are based on the description of RP given by a few writers on the subject. The volumes by B. Jones, *The Pronunciation of English* [4th edition, 1956] and *An Outline of English Phonetics* [1956] are quite comprehensive surveys from both the theoretical and the practical viewpoints. Descriptions of the articulations are well illustrated with numerous diagrams and examples in RP and other English varieties. However, his numerous cross-references are not necessary for our purposes here. To that extent these works can be said to be too detailed. For this reason, the simpler, because more practical, approach taken by A.C. Gimson in his *Introduction to the Pronunciation of English* [1962] and by J.P. O'Connor in *Better English Pronunciation* [1967] is preferred. For the present study O'Connor's smaller and more recent book is considered quite adequate, although some of his phonetic transcriptions have had to be revised, e.g., to substitute the float symbols [ɪ] or [ɛ] and [ɔ] or [ə] for the cardinal vowels [i:] and [u:] which O'Connor uses in diphthongs. Denysse Rockey's *Phonetic Lexicon* [1973] has also been found to be very useful for reference because her list of entries (especially monosyllabic) is comprehensive and she gives alternative pronunciations within RP itself.

3. Initially I was tempted to use 'Rhodesian' or 'South African' English as the basis for comparison. This temptation was resisted because the very existence of these varieties (and especially the former) cannot be taken for granted. It is not enough merely to point out items of vocabulary. As far as pronunciation is concerned no serious work has been done on 'Rhodesian English', and only very little work has been done on 'South African English'. Cps L. L. Lasham and A. Traill [1962]; and L.W. Lasham [1967].
3.0.2.4  Shona Phonology

No preview as such will be given of Shona phonology. Reference has been made to Doke's *Report on the Unification of the Shona Dialects* (1931) and to his *Comparative Study in Shona Phonetics* (1931). More reference will be made to Doke in later sections. A number of later outlines are also available although they all have a dialectal bias. Fortune's *Shona Grammatical Constructions* (Part I, 1969, 1.1 - 1.40) is Ndzuru-based, although some cross-references are made relating to dialectal variation.

Our treatment of Shona phonology here is more general, the attempt being to treat Shona as a whole, or more specifically, to treat Shona as represented by what the writer considers to be the common forms in GS. But as both Doke and Fortune realized, it is convenient to base one's treatment of Shona phonology on Ndzuru because this is the central town dialect, because all the features that must be considered for a unified Shona orthography occur in Ndzuru and because the Ndzuru-speaking area has the least variation in pronunciation (Doke, 1931a, 35). Therefore, for comparative purposes in this study, Fortune's later treatment has been found to be the most useful.

Another useful volume from the point of view of wide coverage is the collection of essays, *Shona Dialects and the Development of Standard Shona* (——).

The other two works consulted are, being dissertations, narrower in scope. Dembetembe's *Verbal Constructions in Ndebele* begins with a brief outline of Ndebele phonology (1970, 8-17). Mkanganwi's *Outline of the Morphology of Ndebele Substantives, with a Preliminary Note on Ndebele Phonology* (1971) devotes the whole of Part I to phonology. Mkanganwi's and Doke's interpretation of consonantal sequences is, as later references will indicate, more in line with the treatment given in this study.

The interpretation of Shona phonemes in all these volumes, excepting Doke's and Mkanganwi's, is basically the same. They are basically adaptations of Fortune's treatment, and the charts for consonants and clusters are made
in the same way. However, this traditional treatment is unsatisfactory
in one or two major aspects and on the whole not suitable for comparative
linguistic phonetics. I have therefore found it necessary, before treating
the subject matter as outlined in 3.0.1, to explain the areas where
deviations will be made from the traditional interpretation of Shona phonemes.
These deviations will be the subject of 3.1 and 3.2, but the general approach
which will be followed will be indicated in 3.0.3.

3.0.2.5 Languages in Contact

A basic assumption made in this study, and in particular in Chapters 4
and 5, is that discrete languages are in contact, and that Shona is treated
as one such discrete language adopting items from the languages with which
it is in contact. Terms such as Shona, English, Afrikaans, Portuguese and
Gesa are taken for granted. It must be pointed out that all such terms
are abstractions. It may be argued in sociolinguistic terms that the
notions of adoption or 'borrowing', transfer of elements, 'interference'
and switching fail to explain fully the linguistic behaviour of the Shona
speaker. Indeed it may even be argued that there is no such thing as a
language Shona, or a dialect of Shona (e.g. Mnyika), or a sub-dialect of
Shona (e.g. Jindui, Bocha); and that not one of these can be claimed to
have a separate existence except in people's minds.

The problem of what the speaker actually does or that the language in the
speech community can be demonstrated to be will be discussed elsewhere. Here
our general position may be indicated as follows. Change in LANGUAGE is
systematic, not haphazard, whatever the number of influences that may be
operating. To determine the general direction of change in LANGUAGE and
the underlying patterns of that change, the analyst must start from somewhere
and the best place to start is from a LANGUAGE or LANGUAGES. These
abstractions are necessary for any systematic analysis. To that extent
this study confirms the traditional view of bilingual speakers being agents
of transfer of elements from one language to another. This is the process that has produced SL. It may be found necessary, of course, to use a different approach to describe the linguistic behaviour of the individual Shona speaker.

Therefore, for our purposes here, our position on languages in contact has been based on the following:

(a) Leonard Bloomfield's treatment of "Cultural Borrowing" in Language (1933, 444 - 95);
(b) Uriel Weinreich's Languages in Contact (1953, 1 - 70);
(c) the essays of Charles Ferguson, Harry Hoijer, Richard Diebold and Eugene Nida in Languages in Culture and Society, edited by Dell Hymes (1964);
(d) Linna Haugen's Ecology of Language (1972).

Although J.R. Hayesfield's Languages of a Bilingual Community (1970) is a case study, it has also been found to be valuable on both the theoretical and the methodological aspects.

3.0.3 General Approach

Paramount in the writer's mind has been the need for simplicity of distributional statements throughout. The total effect of the deviations outlined in 3.1 and 3.2 should be:

(a) to produce an interpretation of Shona phonemes which fits into the framework of general phonetic theory as summarized by the International Phonetic Alphabet;
(b) to produce a unit consonantal phoneme chart which does away with discritics and whose format is more in line with the International Phonetic Association's (IPA) chart, so that comparison across languages will be easier and new phonemes that may be introduced from source languages (SL) can easily be fitted into the 'pigeon-hole' system.
A simpler system, however, does not necessarily involve a reduction of
distinctions in every case. For example, the decision to treat the distinction
between plosive and implosive oral stops as being phonemic means that /ɡ/
and /d̠/ will appear on the chart as phonemes in their own right, together
with /b/ and /d/.

IPA symbols will be used as far as possible. For example (y) will be used
only in the current orthography and will be replaced in the phonemic and
phonetic transcriptions by /j/ and [j] to represent palatal approxi-
mant or 'semi-vowel'. It must also be pointed out here that neither gloss
nor orthographic representation is given with either the SL models or their
shoms replicas in the lists of examples, where the current orthography may
be considered obvious or where gloss is considered unnecessary.

3.0.3.1 Transcription

Since different types of transcription are needed for different purposes,
an explanatory note is needed here on the type that will be used in this
study. The general principles followed are as outlined by the IPA in 1949
and by Daniel Jones ([1956a, Appendix A, esp. 332-4]). In order to keep
the number of symbols used to a minimum a broad transcription is preferred
to a narrow transcription. One problem, of course, is that 'broad' and
'narrow' are relative terms. What we have opted for in this study is a
relatively broad transcription which combines accuracy with simplicity, one
that is practical for comparison across languages. For comparative
statements about dialects or varieties of the same language a narrow trans-
scription would be more suitable ([Jones, 1956b, 29].

However, whereas a broad transcription may be adequate to illustrate
substitution patterns for consonants, the situation is different for vowels.
For that reason, transcription of the English models is narrowed, even to
the extent of (a) using float symbols like [ə, ɪ] to show how the large
number of vowels and diphthongs of English is reduced to only five
cardinal vowels in Shona; and (b) indicating length [ː] for some of the
monosyllabic ideophones in Shona that will be given as examples when
v Harun is discussed. Therefore, for consonants at any rate, 'simple phonemic'
transcription will be used to represent only the phonemes of the languages
Jones, 1956a, 332]. Diacritics and symbols for allophones will be
avoided except where they may be necessary to represent particular sounds
without ambiguity, e.g. for English voiceless lateral [f] as syllabic in
final position, or for English silent [w], when diversity in patterns of
phonological assimilation is discussed in relation to proficiency in English
and the related tendency to gravitate towards the sociological out-group
Lambert, 1971, 104].

2.0.3.2 IPA Principles
The IPA provides a phonetic alphabet with a strong phonological bias.4
Its stock of symbols is intended to provide a single symbol, without
diacritics, for any given phoneme in any language. This basic principle
is followed closely here.

The working definition for phonemes has been given by the IPA as 'families of
related sounds which count linguistically in a language, as if they are one'.
Therefore, different symbols / B, d, n / and / b, d, n / will be used in
Shona transcription, and, as will be explained later, the depressor
consonants marked / . . / will not appear on the unit phoneme chart, since,
according to the IPA, when two sounds belong to two separate phonemes in
a given language, they may distinguish one word from another in that
language, and separate letters must be assigned to them in phonetic trans-
scriptions]. IPA 1949, 4.

4. General phonetic theory and phonemic interpretation are different
things. The IPA is a phonetic system of notation which, in being
relatively free from diacritics, is more suitable than other systems,
e.g. the Lepsius alphabet.
However, the IPA system is not without deficiencies (e.g. Abercrombie, 1967, 127). To accommodate these some modifications will have to be made, particularly respecting the labialized alveolar fricatives /ʃ, z/ which are phonemes in Shona, and would otherwise be represented with the diacritic /ω/ as /ʃ, z/. Accordingly, additional symbols will appear in the alveolar column to accommodate the labialized alveolar fricatives and their affricate counterparts to avoid leaving an entire row empty, row for each set.

3.1 SINGLE-SEGMENT C-ELEMENTS

3.1.1 Implosives

It will be noted from the following minimal pairs that voiced bilabial and alveolar implosives /ɓ, d̄/ contrast significantly with voiced bilabial and alveolar explosives /b, d/.  

| /ɓára/  |  | P : 'bullet'  |
| /ɓára/  |  | E : 'wheelbarrow' |
| /ɓísi/  |  | 'branch' |
| /ɓási/  |  | E : 'bus' |
| /ɓọdo/  |  | inter : 'Ho' |
| /ɓọdo/  |  | E : 'three-legged metal pot' |
| /ɓọda/  |  | Slang: 'ample well rounded thighs and hips (female)' |
| /ɓọda/  |  | E : 'border' |
| /dọra/  |  | 'sp. edible caterpillar' |
| /dọra/  |  | E : 'dollar' |
| /dúku/  |  | 'Small', clt: 5 & 9 |
| /dúku/  |  | E : 'head-scarf' |
| /ɓíja/  |  | 'wear expensive clothing' |
| /ɓíja/  |  | E : 'beer' |
| /ɓíza/  |  | P : '(length of) cloth' |
| /ɓíza/  |  | 'horse' |
| /ɗída'/ |  | 'Continually go to. Frequent' |
| /ɗída'/ |  | 'Swim. Play in water' |
In this study we will treat the implosives /b, d/ and the explosives /b, d/ as separate phonemes, and then treat the explosives as having ordinary voiced allophones /b, d/ and voiced depressor allophones /b, d/ as single consonantal (C) segments or onsets in syllables, the implosives /b, d/ are more commonly used in indigenous Shona words and the explosives /b, d/ are similarly used in adoptives. In indigenous Shona words, the explosives are used in coarticulations, typically homorganic compounds /mb, nd/ involving prenasalization, and in the affricates /bv, dz/ [cp. Doke, 1931b, 45].

The difference between implosive and explosive has always been treated as basic since Doke [cp. 1931b, Ch.III & IV, esp. 48 - 53]. Doke also points out that the Shona speaker does not readily associate /b/ with /d/ or /d/ with /b/. He further grouped the single explosives and the prenasalized explosives as varieties of the same sounds [1931b, 37-8]. But Fortune [1969] grouped the implosives /b, d/ and prenasalized /b, d/ as allophones. Although Stevick does not seem to come to any definite decision, he also finds such an arrangement of the material preferable [Stevick, 1960, 91]. The general argument in favour of this arrangement is that the articulatory difference between /b/ and prenasalized /b/, for example, is due to phonological conditioning but the two are sufficiently phonetically alike to be allophones. Fortune then identifies as phonemically distinct the depressors /b, d/, which are also explosive. By implication it is deemed that the difference in the directions of the air-stream on which the two sets are produced is only a question of phonetic detail, the only difference being in direction of air-flow [Fortune, 1969, 1,8; cp. Stevick, 1960; cp. also Mkhanganwi, 1973, 35].

5. The phonetic relation between English voiced explosions and the Shona voiced explosives of all kinds needs to be tested instrumentally. The evidence we have gone on so far is only effect on tone and native speaker reaction. The native usually does not call sounds the same if they are phonetically different /cp. Fries and Pike, 1949, 36/.
Even if we assume that the essential difference is direction of air-flow, such a difference cannot be minor. Abercrombie considers that one of the deficiencies of the IPA Charts is that only the segments produced on a pulmonic egressive air-stream are represented; even general diacritics referring to air-streams are absent [Abercrombie, 1967, 126-7]. In trying to resolve the problem, or at least to obviate it, I have found it most convenient and economical to give the implosives phoneme status in Shona and to make the same distinctions as Doke [1931a & b].

One or two reasons may be suggested here. Firstly, as the pairs of examples given above show, the difference between /b, d/ and /b, d/ in Shona is more basic than has been suggested, e.g. by Fortune or Stevick. Secondly, comparison, e.g. of /b/, in foreign models and in their Shona replicas suggests that the two are readily identifiable phonetically, although Stevick would suggest otherwise. The /b/ and /d/ which are realised in adoptives are ordinary voiced explosives and not murmured or depressor. A glance at /b/- initial and /d/- initial adoptive lists reveals that we have no adoptives with /b, d/ from languages like English which do not have the implosives. The very few examples of adoptives recorded which have implosives are from Ceva, e.g. /šwērzâ/ for 'borrow', /šwaâ/ for 'chief' and /šwēzâ/ for 'fear, hesitate'. Ceva is a language which also has implosives. Further, there is no evidence to suggest that ordinary voiced /b/ and /d/ in English models are realised in Shona as depressor sounds, an assumption made by Fortune and others.6

E.g. English /bɔdʒ/ becomes Shona /bodʒi/
    /dr̩s/    /diresi/
    /kl̩n̄b/    /kirebu/
    /glo̩b/    /girobu/
    /fɪd̩/    /fida/

6. See esp. the examples in Fortune [1969, 1.12-13] and his charts [1969, 1.24]; Cps., e.g., Desmondhe [1970, 9].
An even more compelling reason for the special treatment of implosives has been suggested by Catford who maintains that / b, d, g / are not pulmonic ingressive but rather glottalic suction sounds. Catford uses direction and location as the two major parameters in initiation. The terms "egressive" and "ingressive" he uses to refer to air-flow and not to initiation types or sounds, while "pressure" and "suction" are used to refer to the basic initiation types themselves, that is, in relation to pressure built-up (p.b.u.). On that basis the implosives are characterized as glottalic suction sounds and the plosives as pulmonic pressure stops.

Catford's general phonetic approach may be compared with Boke's language specific description. Boke observed that:

*Implosion has nothing whatever to do with lung action.*

it is purely a local phenomenon due to rarefaction of the air in the mouth and throat * / 1931b, 49 /.

The rarefaction is formed during a stoppage whereby the air passage is enlarged above the larynx and the larynx is moved down:

'*...on releasing the stoppage, instead of there being pent-up air forced outwards, there is a momentary inrush of air to fill the rarefied space, and the plosion is inwards. Implosives b and d may be considered practically as inverted b and d ... Implosives are in fact a type of clicks' / Boke, 1931a, 43 /.

The crucial difference between the two types of sounds is the relative absence of initiator activity in implosives. But the egressive - ingressiveness of plosives and implosives is minimal if anything. Therefore, the direction of air flow is neither a distinctive feature of either, nor can it be a crucial contrasting feature. In Catford's own words, the argument may be summed up as follows:

'*...in pulmonic pressure voiced plosives a moving column...'
of air flows upward through a (nearly) static glottis;
in glottalic suction voiced implosives a moving glottis
slides downward over a static column of air /1977, 79/.

Therefore, from a purely phonetic point of view, Catford’s argument further
supports the writer’s decision to include the implosives as discrete
phonemes on the Shona consonant chart and, like boke, to use ɓ and ɗ in
both phonemic and phonetic script.

As a final note on the implosive-explosive contrast, it must be emphasized
that there is no controversy as to the existence of three ranges of
phonetic variation in Shona, namely:

(a) implosive, plus or minus preceding glottal stop /ʔ/, and
with degree of implosion varying from slight to very strong;
(b) explosive without either implosion on h-like quality;
(c) explosive with h-like quality, varying from slight to very
strong /cp. Stevick, 1960, 91-2/.

The problem is, when we try to arrange the material, whether to give the
greater consideration to voicing and group (a) and (b) together in phonemic
interpretation, or whether to give greater consideration to plosion and
group (b) and (c) together. The decision is rather an operational one, and
in this study we take the latter position.

3.1.2 Whispery Voice

The term ‘whispery voice’ will be used here instead of what others have
referred to as ‘breathy voice’. The latter term will be avoided. The
term ‘murmur’ and depressor, although retained to refer also to ‘whispery
voice’, will therefore be used in a different sense from that which it is
understood by, for example, Fortune [1969, 1-5] and Ladefoged [1971, 8].

7. The exact distinction is rather academic, involving as it does
arguments about what happens in the glottis. At the phonological
level, the main thing is that there is a distinctive feature other
than mere voice which also causes depression.
breathy voice as defined by Ladefoged appears to be very similar to what Catford's work is a later refinement. An even later general phonetic refinement is John Laver's treatment. Our position here is that when, for example, depressor / m / is pronounced in / muru / or / nhuru (calf), there is a combination of two phonatory stricture types: whisper and voice are heard simultaneously. Somewhat relaxed vocal cords vibrate to generate voice with continuous, simultaneous, richly turbulent air escaping through a chink and generating whisper (Catford, 1977, 101).

Abercrombie (1967, 26) summarizes the four states of the glottis as follows:

- open ———> breath state or voicelessness;
- in vibration ———> voice;
- narrowed ———> whisper;
- closed.

From this 'breathy voice' would appear to be a contradiction in terms: the vocal cords cannot be drawn apart ('breath state') and be in vibration ('voice state') at the same time.

Abercrombie's four states of the glottis are directly comparable with Laver's notion of 'setting' of the vocal apparatus over which the individual segments are superimposed during articulation. The three relevant settings here are all laryngeal, namely the phonation types of modal voice, whisper and breathiness. The problem here is deciding which of the latter two combines with the first in Shona when we pronounce segments characterised by an intrusive / h / sound, as in / ṣẹne, ṣepe, ṣeka, ṣepe / which are spelled shene, shene, shuka, shuka. Modal voice is the neutral mode of phonation involving the full glottis, with both the ligamental and cartilaginous sections functioning as a single unit.

*Modal voice is the type of vocal fold vibration which phonetic theory assumes takes place in ordinary voicing.*
Thus when reference is ordinarily to 'voice' without explicit mention of phonation type, it can be assumed that modal voice is implied. But when the term 'whispery voice' is used, reference is to modal voice with whisper.

The physiology of whisper and breathiness settings is not controversial. My two problems in this study both relate to interpretations: (a) from an auditory viewpoint of what is actually perceived; and (b) the establishment of the physiological relationship of (a) with the phonatory mechanism. My chief problem was lack of training in instrumental phonetics. Although a number of recording sessions in the University's Linguistic Research Laboratory produced data mainly in the form of kymograph tracings, I was unable either to interpret them myself or to get someone else to give a considered opinion on the same. I have been forced therefore to rely on impressionistic description rather than a proper scientific base [cf. Laver, 1979, 31]. This is clearly an area of Shona phonetics which needs more experimental work by a specialist.

In formulating my own opinion, I have had simply to compare general phonetic arguments without the aid of language specific data. Accordingly, only the physiological characteristics of whisper and breathiness are noted here.

During whisper there is a triangular opening (an inverted letter 'Y' in shape) of the cartilaginous glottis and the characteristic 'whisper' sound quality is produced as the air flows past the edges of the open cartilaginous glottis. In the compound phonation type whispery voice, either: (i) the inverted 'Y' opening of the cartilaginous section is retained while regular oscillation of the vocal folds takes part in the ligamental part of the glottis, thereby giving voice; or (ii) the oscillation involves the full glottis but the vocal folds, rather than meet completely in the mid line, leave a space through which there is continuous transglottal airflow [Laver, 1979, 46].
During breathiness the mode of vibration of the vocal folds is inefficient (i.e. as when compared with modal voice) and is accompanied by slight audible friction. The folds do not meet on the mid line and the glottis remains open along most of its length because muscular effort is low. Quite understandably high pitched breathy voices are rare. Breathiness, like whisper, combines also with modal voice. When this happens muscle tension adjustments are necessary for breathy voice - just enough to effect 'a very inefficient vibration' which is super-imposed on the outflowing air, but the vocal folds do not meet at the centre line (Laver, 1979, 47-8).

Although the physiological relationship between whisperiness and breathiness is distant, there is a close auditory relationship between whisphery voice and breathy voice:

"Both involve the presence of audible friction: to the extent that such friction is concerned, the transition from breathiness to whisperiness is part of an auditory continuum, and the placing of the borderline between the two categories is merely an operational decision" (Laver, 1979, 49).

Not surprisingly, therefore, "Many writers have used the label 'breathy' to describe components in given voice qualities that should rather be called 'whisphery'" (Laver, 1979, 48). For practical purposes, John Laver has suggested the use of the term 'breathy voice' for those sound qualities produced with little laryngeal effort and where only a slight amount of glottal friction is audible, the modal voice element being markedly dominant. The term 'whisphery voice' can then be used for those sound qualities where a greater degree of laryngeal effort is involved and the friction component is more prominent. The latter can actually be sub-divided into more audible increments than for breathy voice, and may even be dominant as in 'extremely whisphery voice'.

These observations by Laver tend to support our decision here to use the term 'whisphery voice' for the phonatory-type combination which sometimes
occurs as a distinctive feature in Shona. A further supportive observation from Laver relates to the mutually exclusive prerequisites of 'breathiness' and 'harshness'; so that whereas the label 'harsh whispery voice' is acceptable, 'harsh breathy voice' is an improbable and therefore unacceptable label. Harshness may be viewed as a modification of modal voice whose effect is to boost the values produced by modal voice. This involves, among other things, over-contraction of the muscle systems responsible for adductive tension and medial compression in modal voice (cp. Laver, 1979, 47). All the depressor sounds in Shona can be compounded with harshness as a phonetic quality and must therefore be whispery.

Ladefoged's interpretation of murmur can therefore be criticised insofar as it fails to consider breath as a phonation type. His brief description of the state of the glottis does not in fact rule out the possibility of the superimposition of whisper on voice, and the photographs given to illustrate this could very well involve whisper as described by Laver and Catford (cp. Ladefoged, 1971, 8 & 12). The vocal cords are shown as being apart between the arytenoids, and the section that is held together or narrowed during whisper could very well be made to vibrate and produce simultaneous voice by relaxing the ligamental cords, especially since murmur involves 'an extra puff of air' (Ladefoged, 1971, 13). But Ladefoged says that because of the high rate of flow of air during the articulation, the term 'breathy voice' is also appropriate (1971, 12), and Fortune states quite categorically that what he calls depressors are sounds of which breathy voice is a component (1969, 1-6). Fortune, like Ladefoged, does not consider breath and whisper as different phonation types.

Another phonetician who gives a good description of breathy voice and whispery voice as distinct, double phonatory processes is Catford. He characterises whispery voice as a combination of whisper and voice but during the
production of breathy voice, he says, the glottis is considerably less open than for voiceless but not narrowed enough to produce whisper. The vocal cords are 'flapping in the breeze' to produce a sigh-like mixture of breath and voice.  

In this study, we will therefore use the terms 'murmur' and 'depressor' to describe whispry-voiced nonsyllabic contoids (onsets in syllables) like \(/h, \partial, \mu, \nu, \mathfrak{b}/\) in the ideophones \(/ba:\, ga:\, ga:\, no:/\) spelled \(/b\hat{a}a:, \hat{g}a:, \hat{m}a:, \hat{\nu}ho:/\) and \(/ga:/\) are 'heavier' or lower in pitch and longer than the ordinary voiced \(/ha:/\; \text{and} /ga:/\). Semantically, murmur indicates greater intensity.

\[\text{e.g., (i) } /ba:/ = \text{blow (e.g., on face), or sound of door closing},\]

\[\text{cp. } /\hat{h}a:/ = \text{ heavy/thunderous blow, or resounding noise of heavy door closing (e.g., of prison)};\]

\[\text{ (ii) } /ga:/ = \text{ striking (light action)},\]

\[\text{cp. } /\hat{g}a:/ = \text{ striking (heavy or hard)}.\]

In the case of oral stops (for confusion is less likely elsewhere) the distinction between ordinary voiced and voiced depressor must be kept clear.  

\[\text{cp. Ladeoged, 1971, 14.}\] Examples of voiced oral stops in initial position are \(/b, \partial, \mu, \nu, \mathfrak{b}/\) in \(/b\hat{a}\hat{a}r\hat{a}:/, /\hat{\mathfrak{b}}/\) in \(/d\hat{e}\hat{g}\hat{d}m\hat{a}/; \text{and} /g/\) in \(/g\hat{o}\hat{r}\hat{o}/. \text{Voiced } /b, \partial, g/ \text{ and depressor } /\mathfrak{b}, \hat{\partial}, \hat{g}/ \text{ are treated in this study as allophones of } /b, \partial, g/, \text{ although symbols } /\hat{b}, \hat{\partial}, \hat{g}/ \text{ will also be used in phonemic script for practical convenience.}\]

It may be noticed from the last three examples above that what we here describe as ordinary voiced oral stops have been described by others as voiced depressor. Fortune \[1969, 1.12.\] gives the following as containing voiced depressor plosives:

---

8. Catford \[1977, \text{Ch.6} \] discusses fully the different types of phonation in terms of: (a) stricture-type, i.e., degree and type of approximation of the vocal cords; and (b) location, i.e., which parts of the larynx are involved.
tabùra / "we have hit",
/ tādūra / "we have become extravagant or scarce",
/ tagūra / "we have stopped doing wrong",

Pebetembe [1970, 10] gives similar examples for Korekore:
/ būra / 'flog',
/ dāra / 'a duck',
/ gume / 'a leg'.

In the present writer's view, both Fortune's and Pebetembe's examples are ordinary voiced. Similarly, prenasalized stops / nd / and / mb / and / j g / in / mīrō / 'plate', / mbo j guro / 'donkey', and plosive / g / in / gōra / 'vulture' are ordinary voiced sounds [cf. Fortune, 1969, 1.12].

That / b, d, g / are more commonly non-depressor becomes clear when native forms are compared with adoptives. Examples of adoptives with these plosives are:
/ būra / < E: ball
/ būru / < E: ball
/ tfiberum / < A: borgat (borehole)
/ dā'jge / < A: dankie (Thank you)
/ doirī / < E: dolly
/ dāra / < E: dollar
/ garāfa / < P: garrafa (bottle)
/ gāmēni / < E: garden
/ gārikum / < A: kalīoen (turkey)

In these examples, as in / bāgūra, dəgēdzə, gorōro /, there is nothing in the pronunciation of the segments / b, d, g / to suggest either a sigh-like mixture of breath and voice (breathy voice) or simultaneous whisper and voice (whispery voice). These sounds must clearly be distinguished from the 'heavier' depressor sounds in the ideophones / ba/, dairū, ga/ or,
after prenasalization, in mbura, mdari, ganumu.

The same argument may be extended to the treatment of voiced fricatives (also called spirants, e.g. by Fortune). From the charts given by Fortune and Saturdays, for example, it is clear that the contrast is between voiceless /f, z, ʃ/ and voiced depressor /v, z, ʒ/. The suggestion implicit in this categorization is that voiced fricatives are inherently depressor.

This is not correct. Ordinary voiced fricatives /v, z, ʒ/ do occur in Shona, and according to our treatment here, these contrast as allophones /v, z, ʒ/ with /v, z, ʒ/. The two sets of examples below, one of native Shona words and the other of adoptives, show that there is nothing inherently depressor about the phonemes /v, z, ʒ/ or about /h/ which will be described as an approximant in §3.1.4

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Native Shona Words</th>
<th>Adoptive Words</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/vair/) / <em>boil</em></td>
<td>/vair/) / <em>close</em> (≤ Ng)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/vij/) / <em>skin</em></td>
<td>/viri/) / <em>wheel</em> (≤ K)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/zor/) / <em>smear</em></td>
<td>/zombi/) / <em>zombie</em> (≤ K)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ziv/) / <em>know</em></td>
<td>/zip/) / <em>zip</em> (≤ K)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gwega/) / <em>noise</em></td>
<td>/puroza/) / <em>pleasure</em> (≤ E)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/gega/) / <em>summer</em></td>
<td>/pijuza/) / <em>peugeot</em> (≤ Fr)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hun/) / <em>firewood</em></td>
<td>/hure/) / <em>prostitute</em> (≤ A/ uy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/hosor/) / <em>fatso</em></td>
<td>/hositer/) / <em>hostel</em> (≤ E).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

That the fricative sounds in these examples are non-depressor becomes even clearer when, as a group, the above are compared with the following ideophones. It may also be noted that in all the following examples the tone patterns are low (L).

/xa:/  
L  (of Rising of the sun)

/xa:/  
L  (of Coming slowly into sight, e.g. rising sun)

* For the verbs the tone patterns given here are those of their imperative forms.
Here the fricative sounds are voiced and depressor. The tendency towards the depressor allophone appears to be greatest in low tone ideophones.

The remainder of the Shona phonemes which have depressor allophones are the alveolar roll or trill /r/, the non-syllabic approximants or semivowels /j, w/, and the nasals /m, n/ . The following examples show voiced and voiced depressors compared in phonemic script and the current orthography.

/r/ as in /rara/  cp. rara (sleep)
/j/ as in /jeki/  rori (lorry)
/y/ as in /yemura/  yemura (admire)
/ʃ/ as in /ʃesili/  Yesiil (Hello)
/w/ as in /wana/  wana (find)
/h/ as in /hwehwa/  hwehwa (beer)
/m/ as in /marii/  marii (money)
/n/ as in /mane/  mane (hero, brave man)
/n/ as in /nambo/  nambo (beeswax, sticky latex)

These observations on voiced and voiced depressor consonants show that the distinction between the two may easily be confused and that none of them is inherently depressor. For the latter reason, and because the distribution of whispy voice is so wide, depressors will be excluded from the phoneme chart.
These will be indicated by the IPA diacritic /ə/, [ ] in both phonemic and phonetic transcription to distinguish them from their ordinary voiced equivalents.

3.1.3 Flaps

The varieties of flapped sounds described briefly here do not occur very often but they cannot be described as rare. Usage tends to be regional, but they are noteworthy here because they have found their way into GS.

3.1.3.1 Labial Flaps

Three labial flaps occur, at least in the writer's own variety of Karanga.

These may be treated as allophones of /ɔ/ \(^{10}\), and may be transcribed phonetically as /<\, ɔ, ɔ, ɔ/, representing voiceless, voiced and voiced depressor respectively. The labial flaps may be produced in two ways:

(i) bilabially, by flapping the outer lower lip against the inner upper lip to produce an exolabiodental flap; or

(ii) labiodentally, by drawing the lower lip further inward and flapping it against the upper teeth to produce an exolabiodental flap.

This may be compared with Doke’s distinction between bilabial [u] and denti-labial [b]. Here, as in Doke, the former is taken as basic and the symbol ɔ is used for both phonemic and phonetic transcription [Doke, 1931b, 83; cp. also 3.1.4 below]. There is no essential difference in the quality of the sounds produced, i.e. whether bilabially or labiodentally, and we will refer to both as labial sounds for simplicity.

The voiceless labial flap /ɔ/ occurs, for example, in the ideophone /ɔɔɔ/ of *closing firmly* or *slapping hand* and in the verb /rɔɔɔ/ especially in the imperative form, e.g. /nuroɔɔ/ *Beat him/her up!*

---

10. This symbol is used by Fortune [1969, 1.19]. The other two are new.
The allophone [u] is essentially a more forceful pronunciation of the approximant [u] and in [u] it means slapping harder than with aspirated voiceless bilabial stop in [u] but sharper than with aspirated voiced bilabial stop in [u]. In [mu] it shows emphasis of fury. It may also be used in the threat [mudokuro] 'I will beat you severely!'

Voiced labial flap [u] and depressor labial flap [u], like their oral stop counterparts described in 3.1.2, refer to heavy resounding noises (e.g. made by the closing of a heavy door, or by a terrific smack across the face). The difference between [u] and [u] is one of intensity but both indicate violent actions or noises. However, the sounds represented semantically in [u] and [u], for example, are less heavy or violent than those indicated by voiced depressor plosive [u] in [ba].

3.1.3.2 Alveolar flap

Some speakers use [u], the flapped allophone of /r/, when they pronounce certain adoptive words in which the flapped [u] in the replica has replaced lateral [e] in the English model as in:

\[
\begin{align*}
[u] & \text{ 'life' } \quad (e.g. 'life') \\
[u] & \text{ 'liver' } \quad (e.g. 'liver')
\end{align*}
\]

It may also replace the English post-alveolar frictionless continuant /l/ or /j/, as in:

\[
\begin{align*}
& /tu\acute{e}\text{n}/ \quad \text{'train'} \quad \quad \quad /\text{tr}e\text{e}n/ \\
& /\text{f}a\text{i}\text{s}/ \quad \text{'rice'} \quad \quad \quad /\text{f}a\text{l}s/
\end{align*}
\]

Especially during 1977 to 1979 the flap [u] was often used cacophonically in Gus\textsuperscript{11} when other dialect speakers wished to mimic Hukurekore or 'Hutoko' and deliberately exaggerated the latter's pronunciation for comic effect.

From a purely functional point of view [u] is clearly an allophone of the Shona alveolar roll /r/\textsuperscript{12}. However, we will enter it separately on the

\textsuperscript{11} More specifically, reference here is in fact to a subvariety variously called 'slang', 'Chishanezane' and 'Chishane' (see Ch.8).

\textsuperscript{12} For the flapped variety, the symbol [u] is preferred to [u] which is not on the IPA Chart.
phoneme chart although in the examples it will be used only in phonetic transcription.

Three reasons may be suggested for this decision. The first is purely phonetic. It has been established that a roll is not made by a series of flaps. After observing the aerodynamics imposed on the articulatory -stupa-, Catford has noted, like semivowels, flaps are uniquely and specifically characterized by the fact that their articulatory postures cannot be maintained. In that respect, flaps differ essentially from stops, fricatives and resonants which can be prolonged. Therefore, 'any idea that 'a trill is a rapid succession of flaps', or that a flap is an 'ultra-short trill' is quite wrong' because, while a flap is a 'single ballistic or hit-and-run gesture', a trill is a maintained and prologable gesture (Catford, 1977, 49).

The second reason is to allow greater simplicity when comparison is made with other languages, the whole study being essentially a comparative one, especially since flaps and trills are entered separately on the IPA chart. Finally, separate entry is more in line with the treatment that will be given later when diversity in the phonological shape of Shona replicas derived from single foreign models is discussed because, as has already been indicated, /L/ features prominently at the GS level. It may therefore be necessary later to view it as a new phoneme /L/ or as an allophone of a new phoneme /J/ coming into Shona phonology via adoption. Therefore, like other foreign elements that will be shown to have been, or to be in the process of being adopted in Shona phonology, thereby enlarging it, this /L/ would be for most GS-speakers a new sound in the system (See 3.2.5 and Ch. 4 and 5).

3.1.4 Approximants ('semivowels')

It may have been noticed that in 3.1.2 /J/ and /w/ have already been described as non-syllabic approximants. The term approximant describes more accurately, the articulation of /w, y, J/ which are often referred to as
frictionless continuants or, more popularly, as semivowels. From a purely phonetic point of view, voiceless glottal / h /, which is commonly treated as an aspirate or as a fricative, is also an approximant. The essential difference between approximants and fricatives (or spirants) is the size of the articulatory channel. In fricatives this is very small and air-flow is turbulent, whether the sound is voiced or voiceless. In approximants, the channel is slightly larger and the air-flow is turbulent only when voiceless, but non-turbulent when voiced as in /w, u/, j / [Catford, 1977, 119-122].

3.1.4.1 Non-syllabic Vocoids
Approximation is the typical articulatory posture for the vowels like / i / and / u /. This is why /w, u/, j / may also be described as semivowels and / h / may be described as a voiceless vowel [Abercrombie, 1967, 59]. But all four are commonly described as consonants in the phonology. The terms vowel and consonant are, therefore, ambiguous in phonetics. Hence the need to use unambiguous terms for the Shona approximants / w, u, j, h / here.

The terms 'vocoid', 'contoid', 'syllabic' and 'non-syllabic' were invented by Pike to resolve the clash that arises when 'vowel' and 'consonant' are used in both the general phonetic and the phonological senses, i.e. respecting form and function. A vocoid is a segment produced with open approximation, with or without velar closure, and with a central passage of the airstream. (In Shona vocoids are / i, e, a, o, u, w, u/, j, h /). All other segments are contoids. This is at the general phonetic level. At the level of phonology the situation is best illustrated with an example, since permissible patterns of syllable structure differ from language to language. In Shona the pattern CV (releasing consonant or onset plus nucleus) as in / doro / is typical. In English CVC (i.e. CV plus arresting consonant) as in / bat /
is very common. The C-element is the syllable-margin (commonly consonants) and the V-element is the syllable nucleus (commonly vowels). The term 'syllabic' refers to the syllable nucleus or V-element while 'non-syllabic' refers to the syllable margin or C-element. In syllables, the syllabics are vocoids but certain contoids, e.g. [ŋ], [ɲ], [ŋ] in final position as in [ɔn, ɔŋ, ɔɲ] also function as syllabics. For these the disambiguating term 'syllabic contoid' is used. Non-syllabics are commonly contoids but in Shona, for example, the vocoids /w, ʰw, j, h/ always function as non-syllabics, as in /vága, haʰtʃi/ both CVGV. Hence the need for the disambiguating term 'non-syllabic vocoid' /Abercrombie, 1967, 75-80/. In such cases the use of the terms 'vowel' and 'consonant' would be misleading. Accordingly, it will sometimes be necessary to use the disambiguating terms. However, these will be used only where they serve to clarify the position. Where there is no possibility of confusion or ambiguity arising from their use, the traditional terms vowel and consonant will continue to be used in both phonetic and phonological description.

3.1.4.1.1 Non-syllabic /w/

/w/ is a non-syllabic, bilabial approximant, rather similar in articulation to /u/, but unlike /u/ it is always used as a C-element or part thereof in a syllable. This non-syllabic vocoid is normally voiced but may also be voiced depressor /w/. The two contrast significantly as the following minimal pairs show:

/véne/ quantitative class 3
/vóse/ quantitative class 14
/vání/ inter. of Contradiction, surprise or persuasion
/vání/ 'one'
/véi/ ide. of Pulling out
/véi/ ide. of Breaking of day
/vái/ ide. of Pouring
/vái/ ide. of Getting finished
/vavá/ "You have fallen"
/wava/ "beer".
Although orthographically /w/ is represented as hv it is not correct to suggest that /h/ and /w/ form a cluster. This is not physiologically impossible but it does not make phonetic sense: vocoids are just not co-articulated as C-elements although /w/ may be preceded in clusters by virtually any contoid in Shona.

3.1.4.1.2 Voiceless Vowoid /h/

As a syllabic, glottal approximant /h/ is initially voiceless in Shona (cp. Hlangamwi, 1975, 39). Therefore, in syllables with /h/ as onset the airflow is initially turbulent before the succeeding vowel is voiced, as in the pronunciation of /hope, huni, here, hapana/. It is this initial turbulence or friction that explains why /h/ is commonly classified with the fricative contoids. The same process has been observed in English. As early as 1840, Brodie stated:

"H ... has no particular seat or place of formation, being,
in fact, merely a hard breathing before or after a vowel,
while the mouth is in the position which the vowel requires".

([J. Brodie, quoted in Abercrombie, 1967, 169 note 11]).

Or, as Abercrombie put it more recently, /h/, where it is pronounced in English, "represents a voiceless version of the vowel which follows it" ([1967, 59]). The glottis opens briefly at the start of the chest-pulse before it assumes the position for voice and voicing only comes with the succeeding vowel. Accordingly, /h/ will be classified with approximants in this study.

3.1.4.1.3 Non-syllabic /?y/.

This is a voiced labio-dental approximant. (It may also be produced by bilabial approximation with spread lips. This distinguishes it from bilabial approximant /w/ produced with lip-rounding.) It will be represented here

13. By chest-pulse is meant recurrent and syllable-producing movement of the respiratory muscles. At least one chest-pulse must be involved in any utterance, since the syllable is the minimum utterance.
by the IPA symbol / u /, [u] in both phonemic and phonetic script. The symbol [?] used by Fortune and sometimes by Doke [cp. 3.1.3.1 above], and which Fortune transcribes phonemically as /V/, in fact represents on the IPA chart a voiced bilabial fricative which does not occur in Shona [cf. Fortune, 1969, 1.18].

Approximant /u/ contrasts phonemically with fricative /V/ in Shona, as these minimal pairs show:

/ râ'ra/ cp. rova, 'beat'
/ rovâ/ rova, 'be absent'
/ wâ'wâ/ vari, 'spot'
/ varâ/ vara, 'close'
/ wâ'jâ'ga/ vanga, 'scar, bruise'
/ vajâ'ga/ vanga, 'mix (ingredients)'
/ wâ'vâ'e/ vveve, 'empty groundnut shell'
/ vveve/ vheve, 'trickster'

/ ù/ will therefore be used in both phonemic and phonetic script to contrast with /V/. A further point may also be noted in this connection.

/ V/ has been described by others as the voiced depressor version of voiced labiodental fricative /V/, i.e. the voiced counterpart of /f/. There is a voiced depressor labiodental fricative /y/ of course, and the complete set of labiodental fricatives is / f / voiceless, / V / voiced, / y / voiced depressor.

3.1.4.1.4 Non-syllabic /i/

This is the voiced palatal approximant that has hitherto been represented phonemically as /y/ in Shona. For consistency in transcription, the latter symbol will only be used here in the current orthography, e.g. :

14. cf. Fortune, 1969, 1.18. Even accepting Fortune's symbols, voiced approximant /V/, here / ù /, cannot have voiced fricative /V/ as depressor counterpart. The difference between voiced and voiced depressor is in phonation type and not in articulatory stricture type.
/ jáŋgu / cp. vangu. ‘mine, cll.4,9’
/ jòse / yose. ‘all, whole’, cll.4,9
/ sija / sìya. ‘leave, v.t.’
/ kujema / kuyema. ‘to bother, or act childishly’

One or two reasons may be noted for this preference. The IPA symbol is / j / and its use in Shona transcription will simplify comparative statements on substitution patterns during the process of adoption. The voiced palatal fricative, which is also represented as / j / on the IPA chart, does not occur in Shona. Therefore, the use of / j / in Shona is unambiguous. It may also be noted that the IPA uses the symbol [y] to represent a lip-rounded close vowel / i /, and the use of the same symbol to represent something else in a comparative study such as ours may cause some confusion. The symbol / j / will also be retained when consonant sequences are discussed and / Cj / will appear instead of / Cy /.

3.1.5 Labialized Alveolar Fricatives

As has already been indicated in 3.1.3.3 the labialized alveolar fricatives / s, z / will be treated as phonemes rather than as secondary-articulated allophones [S, Z]. These and their affixates will be entered separately as unit phonemes on the chart. From a strictly phonetic point of view / S / and / Z / can be viewed as being produced by secondary articulation (lip-rounding) whereby fricatives / s, z / are labialized so that the pulmonic air-stream issues forth with whistling-type turbulence. In Shona, however, the distribution of / S, Z / is wide and they contrast significantly with / s, z /.

c.s.

/ sika / cp. svika. ‘arrive’
/ sika / sìka. ‘spin’;
/ Zuba / xwâva. ‘pull, drag’
/ Zûva / xwâva. ‘sun’.

Their affricate versions / tS, dZ, nZ / will be treated in 3.2.
### 3.1.6 Summary

The table below summarizes the revised set of Shona single segment consonants proposed in the foregoing. In the second vertical column are given the symbols that will appear in 3.2.4 on a "Revised Unit Consonantal Phoneme Chart". In the third column are the symbols (and marks) which will be used in phonemic and phonetic transcription in this study, and in the last column the current orthography.

**Table 1: REVISED SINGLE SEGMENT CONSONANTS IN SHONA**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LABEL</th>
<th>CHART SYMBOL</th>
<th>PHONEMIC &amp; PHONETIC SCRIPT</th>
<th>CURRENT ORTHOGRAPHY</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>INFLUSSIVE</td>
<td>t d</td>
<td>t d</td>
<td>b d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLOTIVE:</td>
<td>p t k</td>
<td>p t k</td>
<td>p t k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiceless (oral stop)</td>
<td>v z 3</td>
<td>v z 3</td>
<td>v z 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced (oral stop)</td>
<td>b d g</td>
<td>b d g</td>
<td>b d g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRECITIVE:</td>
<td>f s /</td>
<td>f s /</td>
<td>f s /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nasal</td>
<td>m b y</td>
<td>m b y</td>
<td>m b y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced (stop)</td>
<td>v z j v</td>
<td>v z j v</td>
<td>v z j v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Voiced depressor</td>
<td>m a r</td>
<td>m a r</td>
<td>m a r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ROLL (TRILL)</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FLAP:</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labiodental</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.2 PLURISEGMENT C-ELEMENTS

Reference here is to what are usually called consonant clusters, i.e., consonant elements which are analytically divisible into more than one segment.
3.2.1 Unitary System

A unitary treatment of consonantal phonemes in Shona is preferred in this study. The concept of consonant cluster is revised here in view of certain general phonetic considerations that will be outlined in this section. Because a unitary treatment seems to make more functional phonetic sense, the Shona affricates, nasal and oral, and the prenasalized stops will be described as unit consonantal phonemes rather than as consonant clusters. Secondary and double articulations will not be treated as clusters. Neither will homorganic sequences with close transition, nor even contiguous sequences with close transition. According to this interpretation the Shona /Cw/ and /Cj/ sequences may also be viewed as unit phonemes from both functional and phonetic viewpoints. In fact it can be demonstrated that native Shona phonology has no clusters containing sequences of segments articulated separately and all the C-elements in native Shona syllables will be represented on one, revised chart in 3.2.4. In this study the term cluster shall be restricted in reference to successive articulations, viz. only to those sequences which are articulated separately, e.g. /pl, st, skr, dr, kt/ as in the English words /skru/, drazy, act, plast/. Clusters in this sense occur only in adoptives in Shona, e.g. in the following, all from English:

/ sp / as in / spidi / ~ sipidi /
/ str / as in / striki / ~ sitiriki /
/ pr / as in / prusa / ~ puresa /
/ kr, st/ as in / kristo / ~ kirisito /
/ st / as in / stambi / ~ tulumbi /
/ sk / as in / sketi / ~ siketi /

15. Most of the terminology used in the whole of 3.2 is from Catford, 1977, Ch. 10 and 11, and from Abercrombie, 1967, 60-64. No further references to these books will be necessary except when direct quotations or comparisons are made.
3.2.2 Key Terms

3.2.2.1 Co-articulation

Co-articulations are of two types: (a) secondary co-articulations, hereafter simply called secondary articulations; and (b) co-ordinate co-articulations (including Shona /C/) and /CW/ sequences), hereafter simply called double articulations.

3.2.2.1.1 Secondary Articulations

These involve a primary and a secondary articulation where the latter is of lower stricture rank. Secondary articulations are characterized in their labels by -IZED, e.g. labialized. The -IZED draws attention to some posture of the articulators other than those engaged in the primary articulation, e.g. to the lips in the case of / Z /. Whether the secondary articulation is in front or behind the primary articulation, it will be a stricture of open approximation involving less constriction of the vocal tract than the primary articulation, whatever the latter may be. From an articulatory point of view then, what is produced is not a sequence but a single segment. Such segments are the labialized fricatives / Z / and / V / in Shona.

3.2.2.1.2 Double Articulations

These involve strictures of equal importance or rank along the order: stop - fricative - approximant - resonant. (There are certain departures to this order.) Shona examples are the prenasalized stops, e.g. / nd / or / nd / where the two segments are pronounced simultaneously. The co-articulated sequences may be homorganic as in / nd /, or heterorganic as in / nd /, or contiguous as in / nd /.

3.2.2.2 Homorganic, heterorganic and contiguous sequences

In a homorganic sequence the articulatory location of both members is the same, as in Shona / nd / in / enda / where we have alveolar plus alveolar. In a heterorganic sequence the articulators used in the two segments are
quite different, i.e. they can be freely manipulated independently of each other, e.g. velar /k/ and alveolar /t/ in English /akt/ 'act'. No examples of heterorganic sequences were recorded in indigenous Shona, excepting those that are co-articulated, as in /pl/ or /plk/ involving velarization. Finally, in a contiguous sequence adjacent parts of the same articulator are used with the result that the articulators used in the two segments cannot be manipulated independently. This is what happens during the articulation of the Shona affricates, e.g. /ds/ in /sedzi/ and /pf/ in /pfumbe/. For the purpose of this study 'contiguous' may be subsumed under 'heterorganic', so that heterorganic segments may then be described as having the same or nearly the same articulatory location.

3.2.3 Close and Open Transitions

Reference here is to initiator power, the diminution or removal of which marks syllable margins. In the articulation of /k.p/ in 'back apart' there is no articulatory continuity, but in /kp/ or 'back part' there is no break in articulation. The former is open transition and the latter close transition. Various possibilities occur between type sequence and transition, e.g. contiguous close transition as in /kj/. However, the term that is most relevant in the description of Shona sequence types is homorganic.

3.2.3 Sequence Types

The C-sequences in Shona can be summarized as follows:

(a) Affricates:
(i) Oral /pt, bv, ts, ds, tg, d3, tʃ, dʒ/.
(ii) Nasal /nv, ns, nd, nj/.

(b) Prenasalized stops /nh, nd, nj/.
(c) /On/.
(d) /Oj/.
3.2.3.1 Oral Affricates

The term affricates in fact commonly refers to the oral affricates in Shona phonology. The oral affricate sequences are homorganic: a stop is released into a homorganic fricative. These may be voiceless or voiced. The voiceless oral affricates in Shona are /pf, ts, tʃ, ts/ as realised in /pfthouse, tʃitʃa/. Phonetically they can, of course, be analysed as voiceless oral stops plus voiceless fricative, but, because they are double articulations and because of their distribution in the phonology, they must be treated as unit phonemes. The voiced oral affricates are /bv, dz, dz/ as in /bvi, dzina, dzifa/ which are similarly analysable into two segments but function phonemically as units.

3.2.3.2 Nasal Affricates

The nasal affricates /mv, mz, nz, nz/ are all voiced, e.g. in /mvuru, panza, nanzu, nzozvita/. Phonetically they are analysable as voiced nasal stop plus voiced fricative. The term nasal affricate is a new term in Shona phonology. It was first suggested by Mhlanga /1973, 42/ to describe the sequence nasal plus fricative in Ndebele. Nasals are stops, affricates are stops plus fricatives, therefore nasal plus fricative is describable as affricate. To distinguish this type of affricate from the one described above the terms nasal affricate and oral affricate will be used.

The writer is aware that it has been suggested that a nasal is not a stop. Abercrombie /1967, 48/ states:

"A nasal is a type of consonant segment which, like a stop, is produced by a stricture of complete closure; a nasal, however, unlike a stop, has no simultaneous velar closure."

But the essential characteristic of a stop is not velar closure (that is a characteristic of oral stops) but rather the complete closure by the articulators in the mouth. Velar closure is a secondary posture whose absence
or presence distinguishes between nasal stop and oral stop. Nasals may not be plosive, but they are still stops.

3.2.3.2.1 Lateral Fricatives

The lateral fricatives [$\theta$] voiceless, and [$\delta$] voiced, may also be mentioned here. Their production involves friction or turbulence of air flow and, phonetically, the voiced lateral fricative at least can be analysed as two segments [$\theta$] and [$\varsigma$]; but neither [$\theta$] nor [$\delta$] can be considered an affricate. They are only mentioned here because they represent dialectal variations. Whereas this study is comparative and dialectal references are made where necessary, the main purpose is to describe GS forms. These lateral fricatives occur in Nduu and Karanga, and, along with other forms such as [$dj$, tj] as in [$dja$] and [$tja$] for 'eat' and 'fear', are in fact being dropped in GS because they are marked varieties and are therefore considered to carry some stigma. As Doke [1931b, 75] has remarked, the Shona words for 'eat' and 'fear' may practically be used as shibboleths to determine from what part of the country a speaker comes. For this reason such forms will be largely ignored in this study.

3.2.3.3 Premasalized Stops

In Shona these are /mb, nd, nj/, which are voiced and are phonetically analysable as nasal plus homorganic oral stop. They are common co-articulated sequences in Shona and are used in initial and medial positions, as in /mburu, imba, miro, nda, jumo, jina/ja/. Voiceless premasalized stops [$m$] and [$nt$] occur in Nduu, as in [$mpuka$] and [$ntvi$], but elsewhere these appear as voiced depressor nasals, cp. /muka/ and /ntvi/ [Nkangwa, 1973, 46].

3.2.3.4 / Dw/ Sequences

These sequences involved velarization or raising of the back of the tongue as a secondary articulation. The distribution of /w/, which has several
allophones in this position, is very wide.\(^{16}\) It can be preceded by about every other unit consonantal phoneme. The articulation of /\(\text{Cw}\)/ simply involves the articulation of the C-segment or sequence plus velarization and/or labialization, as in /\(\text{përë}, \text{bät} \times \text{wà}, \text{kwëte}\)/. Doke distinguishes three types of velarization:

(a) plain velarization where the velarized element is found in place of the semi-vowel as in /\(\text{përë}\)/;

(b) velarization with the semi-vowel as in /\(\text{bät} \times \text{wà}\)/; and

(c) plain semi-vowel as in /\(\text{kwëte}\)/.

It, therefore, makes phonetic sense to treat all Shona /\(\text{Cw}\)/ sequences as unit phonemes involving /\(\text{C}\)/ plus velarization as a secondary articulation.

It may also be noted that the IPA specifically recommends that diagraphs may be employed for advantage for 'consonants with simultaneous /\(\text{w}\)/ articulation' /\(^{11}\) /Principles/, 1949, 15/, e.g. /\(\text{kw}, \text{tv}, \text{pv}, \text{jw}\)/. The crucial point is that /\(\text{w}\)/ is simultaneously articulated. For this reason /\(\text{Cw}\)/ sequences will be treated as unit phonemes, although it may be objected that /\(\text{w}\)/ in this position has explosive allophones and that some of the /\(\text{Cw}\)/ sequences are phonetically multisegment sequences /\(\text{cp}\)/ Doke, 1931b, Ch.XII; and Fortune, 1969, 1.21=23/.

3.2.3.5 /\(\text{Cj}\)/ Sequences

These may be viewed as involving palatalization. The distribution of /\(\text{j}\)/ in this position is not as wide as that of /\(\text{w}\)/. It may be co-articulated with /\(\text{t, d, n}\)/ in Kungpa and /\(\text{t}, \text{j}, \text{d}, \text{j}3, \text{j}3\)/ in Zemuru and GS. Similar reasons and objections can be made for the treatment of /\(\text{Cj}\)/ sequences as unit phonemes as have been made for /\(\text{Cw}\)/. In particular, it must be noted that the IPA also recommends the addition of /\(\text{j}\)/ to represent

\(^{16}\) /\(\text{w}\)/ may also be viewed as a co-articulated labial-velar approximant.
palatalized sounds, e.g. / tʃ / [Principles, 1949, 167]. The point to note is that the C-element is palatalized, excepting in the Zesuru pronunciation of / tʃ / and / dʒ / which involves a particular type of velarization practically confined to that dialect. Accordingly the / k / and / g / of Zesuru [tʃk] and [dʒg] in [itʃka] and [idʒga] may be viewed as allophones of / j / which occur after the corresponding voiceless and voiced affricates [tʃʃ] and [dʒʒ], the latter being allophonic realizations of stops / t / and / d / in those environments. Therefore, Fortune's description of prepalatal affricated phonemes / tʃ, dʒ / as clustering with velar / k, g / phonemes is unsatisfactory. ¹⁸

That Zesuru [tʃk] and [dʒg] are really /Cj/ sequences becomes clear when we compare Zesuru forms with those of other dialects in the pronunciation of the same words, e.g. as represented in the spellings kutya, kudya and ndiya. In the pronunciations, Zesuru uses affricates [tʃ, dʒ, jʒ] where Karanga and Ndua use stops [t, d, nd] in the same / Cj / sequences. But whereas [jʃ] may be co-articulated with the latter set, the phonological environment created in Zesuru by the affricates requires that basic / j / must take the forms [kʃ] and [gʃ] in the Zesuru / Cj / sequences, viz: [kutʃka, kudʒga, jʒgire]. Phonemically, therefore, both the Zesuru and the Karanga and Ndua forms can be represented as / tʃ, dʒ, ndʃ /.

The transcriptions given in Fortune's examples as phonemic are in fact phonetic [cp. 1969, 1.23]. The pattern described above also makes the sequence [jʒg] much more probable than the [dʒg] he gives for / ndjeringo /. Since the Zesuru forms have been adopted in GS, they will be used in this study in the transcriptions. Note that the sequence /ʃŋ/ as in Zesuru /ʃŋura/, spelt syn'ara, 'sink', is not really affected by

¹⁸ Fortune, however, admits that his treatment of clusters is 'frankly inconsistent' [1969, 1.23].
the argument given above, because it does not contrast with other dialectal 
forms in /Cj/ sequences. /p/ is optional in Tswana anyway, as /p/ 
alone is commonly used in exactly the same positions, i.e. preceding vowels, 
as in /fôra/ or /pyra/, 'write', and in /fûrusi/ or /pyrusi/, 'mule', and 
in /hafla/ or /hanya/, 'Concern, care'.

3.2.4 Summary

The unitary system makes it important to distinguish between 'segments' and 
'units'. Our argument is that it is wrong to assume that all sequences of 
segments are clusters. Of crucial importance is whether the segments are 
co-articulated or articulated independently. For example, whereas all the 
symbols in the pairs /b mb t tʃ z ɔ/ are unit phonemes, the first 
half-pairs are single segments and the second co-articulated (secondary 
and co-ordinate). Therefore, under the term 'unit phoneme' are subsumed 
single C-segments and co-articulated C-sequences. In native Shona phonology 
the concept of cluster is without value, because, whereas homorganic 
sequences are common, heterorganic sequences are not permitted.

3.2.4.1 Consonant Chart

The chart below is an adaptation from the IPA chart (revised to 1963) and 
shows unit consonantal phonemes in Shona. The categories of place are 
arranged along the top and categories of manner down the left-hand side.
The first symbol of a pair is voiceless and the second voiced. The arrangement 
thus provides general phonetic labels, and, when compared with a similar chart 
for another language, should make it easy to identify areas of overlap and 
those features that are peculiar to one language. Distributional statements 
will also be simpler because common labels are used. It has been found 
necessary to modify the IPA format so that, where applicable, additional 
symbols are included in boxes in the alveolar column to accommodate the 
labialized alveolar fricatives and affricates. Finally, because of the wide 
distribution of /w/ and /j/ in /Cw/ and /Cj/ sequences, a cross is 
used to mark those unit phonemes that may not precede /w/ and a star indicates 
those that may precede /j/.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>BILABIAL</th>
<th>LABIODENTAL</th>
<th>ALVEOLAR</th>
<th>PALATOALVEOLAR</th>
<th>PALATAL</th>
<th>VELAR</th>
<th>GLOTTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>IMPLOSIVE</td>
<td>G</td>
<td>a'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PLOSIVE</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>t* d'</td>
<td></td>
<td>k</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRICATIVE</td>
<td>f v</td>
<td>s z</td>
<td>s' z</td>
<td></td>
<td>h²</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ORAL</td>
<td>pf bw</td>
<td>ts dz</td>
<td>t* d'</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFFRICATE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>t§ dz</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NASAL</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>NASAL</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AFFRICATE</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRENASALIZED STOP</td>
<td>mb</td>
<td>nd*</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>ROLL</td>
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<tr>
<td>APPROXIMANT</td>
<td>v*</td>
<td>y*</td>
<td>j*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**
1. V = voiceless; Vd. = Voiced.
2. &/ = epressor.
3. /s/ and /z/ = labialized.
5. x = May not precede /v/ in clusters.
3.2.5 Implications

The overall position as outlined so far is one of a system of C-elements comprising single-segment and plurisegment unit phonemes, the latter having a highly stereotyped distribution, e.g. stop + fricative, and nasal + oral stop. Successive articulations or clusters are not part of native Shona phonology. This being the situation, it is only logical to assume that any such clusters that may be identified in a Shona conversation or text are foreign in origin. Should any such sequences (e.g. those found in the examples given in 3.2.1), or indeed should any other atypical C-elements (e.g. /l/ in the adoptives /kóla, lófu, flú/) gain general currency in the language, then they must be viewed as new elements introduced via adoption into the phonology of Shona, thereby enlarging it. This possibility, and general patterns whereby segments in the foreign models are realised in the Shona replicas during the process of phonological assimilation, form the subject of the next two chapters.
CHAPTER FOUR

CONCORDANT REALISATIONS

4.1 ACCEPTABILITY

Acceptability is subjective and nobody can ever have the last word on what is acceptable and what is not. Considerations of acceptability will be largely ignored here and the writer's examples will include many adoptives which many may view as controversial or unacceptable. The main purpose here is to describe substitution patterns at the phonological level. The very complex and controversial question of what adoptive may be considered acceptable or unacceptable is best treated at the lexical level, but a very brief outline may be made here to provide a general framework for some of the arguments that will be made here.

The general problem becomes clear when we try to define slang in the Shona context. The *Chamber's Twentieth Century Dictionary* (1970 Impression) defines slang as follows:

a jargon of thieves and disreputable persons; the
jargon of any class, profession or suit; colloquial
language with words and usages not accepted for
dignified usage.

The key-words here are 'jargon' and 'dignified usage'. But in Shona such words as *futi*, *manje*, *siteri*, *chikafu*, *kunjani* and *mushe* from Nguni or/and *Fanigale* are of such common occurrence among all age groups they cannot be considered either jargon or undignified. The writer's informants have generally indicated that they often use these words which are commonly lumped under the label 'slang' together with other Chinunjemane innovations like *maka*, *mundza*, *chuni* and *chaisa*, which are used mostly by young people in more restricted or facetious codes. The same informants, particularly the older ones, were careful to mention that although they admitted to using them 'because that's what others do', they were against the general use of these words. A variety of reasons were offered but all betrayed some
consideration for language loyalty. What could be established, however, was that whatever the attitudes of the speakers they all use some 'slang' everyday. The influences operating on the speech community are such that, through imitation and adoption, the language tends away from purity towards GS. This is not strange. Mkhwanazi, who made a study of slang in Zulu, concluded that: "slang abounds in the speech of every Zulu-speaking person, irrespective of culture or education. People in all walks of life use slang in privacy and in public. 1963, quoted by Mkhabinde, 1968, 197.

If futhi, fandile, etc. are characterized as slang, then a similar assertion must be made for Shona.

This problem can be resolved by restricting the use of 'slang' to refer to the unstable vocabulary of the popular jargons (used particularly by the youth) in which the lexical items are inherently transient; e.g. nangip, dagga, and mbanemba, 'girl', were used only a few years ago but have since been replaced in the appropriate codes by other items, the latest being mundwe and chunti. Such slang words abound in a sub-variety of GS which may be called Chimanjemanje (lit: 'the now now language'). GS itself may be called Chiharare (lit: 'the language of Harare') because it is spreading from Salisbury into the rest of the country. The distinction between the two is important in this study because words of the manje, futhi, etc. category which are clearly foreign in origin but are more stable and have been adopted in GS or Chiharare will be treated like any other types of adoptives. They will be included in the examples but clearly Chimanjemanje words will not. In many cases it is impossible to identify the source languages for Chimanjemanje innovations anyway.

The rough categorization of adoptives that will be used is set out in Table 1 below. All examples are given in the current orthography.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>+</th>
<th>÷</th>
<th>÷</th>
<th>+</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(r&gt;)</td>
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<td>(o&gt;)</td>
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<td>(g&gt;)</td>
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<thead>
<tr>
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<td>INTERPRETIVE</td>
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<td>EFFECTIVE INTERPRETIVE</td>
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<td>EFFECTIVE INTERPRETIVE</td>
<td>INTERPRETIVE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: A RATIONALIZATION OR ACCURACY

---

Note: The table seems to be incomplete or unclear. It's difficult to interpret the content accurately without additional context or clarification.
This categorization is convenient for analysis but (1) to (5) are best viewed as a continuum. Reseni, dhopota, etc. in (2) are in (3) as far as some speakers are concerned, and in the speech of others gorofu, shiyetsa in (4) are in (5), and so on. Sometimes different meanings are involved. For example, sipidhi in (1) refers to flight, as in

Akanzi icho, akabva ati sipidhi
(He was given one blow and he fled)

but in (2) or (3) or (5) it means speed, as in

Motokari iyi ine sipidhi chizvo
(This car is very fast)

For most people what is not acceptable is 'slang' or 'ChinHarare' or 'Chimajekana' and for the purist, who consciously avoids using forms of foreign origin, all the words in categories (1) to (4) are 'slang'. The purist is very creative and will use such words as dutavanhu for 'bus', dudzamviti for 'dictionary' and chinambwe for 'kilometer'. However, slang here is understood to mean only those lexical items that are used mainly in restricted, and especially facetious, codes. Such items are inherently transient. The following words for 'girl, girlfriend, woman' illustrate the point:

| gero E: 'girl' | chukasi E: 'sugar' |
| mbenembe ? | chuni E: 'tune' |
| gwawha E: 'guava' | lapu ? |

The first three are no longer fashionable – in fact they have been discarded. At the time of writing the words in the second group are the current slang.1

Later in this study when variant forms of the same lexical items are discussed in relation to proficiency in the donor language, the terms 'assimilated' and 'unassimilated' will be used. By assimilated is understood

1. The word lapu has a rather interesting history. It is in fact a revival of an older slang expression Lapu Suzi, but the writer was not able to determine its source.
those foreign forms which have been completely adopted in accordance with
the rules of native Shona phonology, e.g.
\[
/ tʃitorɔ / \lesssim / stɔ / \astore^5 ;
\]
\[
/ zipo / \lesssim / soɔp / \astep^5 .
\]
Unassimilated loan words on the other hand are those which are more or less
faithful replicas of their foreign models, e.g. / stɔ / and / sop / .
In between these extremes are other forms, e.g. / storɔ / and / sopu / .
some of the unassimilated or partially assimilated forms, e.g. / fluː / and
/ ˈdʒɔːri / , which contain foreign elements ( / l, o / ) are special cases.
while they have not been assimilated in the sense indicated above, they are
nevertheless common either because they are the preferred forms (e.g. /fluː/ )
or because the adoptive forms are in category (4) (e.g. there is no Shona
equivalent for / ˈdʒɔːri / which has foreign element / ˈdʒ / ). It is by way
of this special category and via the speech of the educated speakers, and
those who try to emulate them, that foreign elements find their way into
the language and its phonology is enlarged.

It must be noted however that neither acceptability nor unacceptability is
implied by the use of the terms assimilated and unassimilated. But where
the terms integrated or fully integrated are used, both assimilation and
acceptability are taken for granted. It must be pointed out however that
in the active vocabularies of most GS-speakers only a few of the loanwords
they use can be positively identified as being slang or fully integrated,
the bulk being in categories (2), (3) and (4).

4.2 ENGLISH MODELS

English is our main source language. English also offers different syllable
structure and for greater numbers of single segment consonants, vowels and
diphthongs not found in native Shona phonology than the other African languages
from which Shona has had lexical items transferred. Therefore systematic
comparison between English and Shona should be the most useful in determining
general patterns of assimilation of borrowed forms in Shona. For this reason English has been chosen to provide the foreign models for the remainder of Part II of this study.

4.3 SINGLE SEGMENTS

The chart below is an adaptation from two: the Shona unit consonantal phoneme chart (see 3.2.4.1) and the English consonantal phoneme chart. The latter has been superimposed on the former for comparison. The chart is intended to show areas of overlap. Two new marks have been introduced:

(1) **=** : DOES NOT OCCUR IN SHONA
(2) **O** : DOES NOT OCCUR IN ENGLISH.

The other two retain their meanings from 3.2.4.1:

(1) **#** : MAY PROCEED / / IN SHONA
(2) **x** : MAY NOT PROCEED / / IN SHONA

From this compressed chart, the following remarks may be made.

General Observations

1) The chart shows wide areas of overlap.

2) Among the single segments:
   (a) only the English lateral / / and dental / / are not found in Shona;
   (b) only the Shona implosives / /, / /, labialized alveolar fricatives / /, / /, and flaps / /, / / do not occur in English;
   (c) the English **Voiceless continuant** / / corresponds with the Shona trill / /.

3) Among the Shona plurisegment G-elements:
   (a) the / / and / / do not occur as phonemes in English;
   (b) the labialized alveolar affricates / /, / / do not occur in English;
   (c) the rest also occur in English but as clusters rather than as unit phonemes.

4) Other English consonant clusters do not occur in native Shona phonology.
Inferences

Because conditioning by the native phonology leads the speakers to identify foreign sounds with those in their own language, one can safely make the following predictions respecting substitution patterns:

(1) Shona speakers may be expected to identify English phonemes with their own in the areas of overlap: e.g., English /k/ > Shona /k/ as in

/koron/ < /kraun/ 'crown'
/kofi/ < /kofi/ 'coffee'.

(2) Shona speakers may be expected to identify English phonemes that do not occur in Shona with those Shona phonemes that are nearest to them perceptually or in articulation:

   e.g. (i) English frictionless /r/ > Shona roll /r/ as in

/ródi/ < /road/ 'road'
/rési/ < /rési/ 'race'

(ii) English lateral /l/ > Shona roll /r/ or flap /l as in

/réfu/ < /loaf/ 'loaf'
/ráti/ < /raat/ 'light'
or in

/ríva~léva/ < /lívə/ 'liver'
/ríisi~láisi/ < /ráíis/ 'rice'

(3) Where the speakers fail to identify a 'strange' phoneme with any of their own, they may be expected to reproduce the original in adoptives: e.g., /Θ/ > /θ/ as in

/Θiéta/ < /θéta/ 'theatre'
/Θijiri/ < /θéri/ 'theory'
/Θíisi/ < /θéis/ 'thesis'
(4) English consonant sequences may be expected to be broken up in accordance with Shona syllable structure, which is typically CV. Rather than admit clusters not permitted in Shona phonology as C-elements in syllables, the segments of those clusters are separated by vowels and each becomes a syllable onset in the loanword:

e.g. /kirimu/ < /krim/ "cream"
   /sipunu/ < /spun/ "spoon"
   /sitiraki/ < /strak/ "strike"
   /firta/ < /filt>/ "filter"
   /furu/ < /flu/ "flu"

4.3.1 More substitution patterns

We will now proceed to treat the English phonemes individually to determine whether there is enough evidence to make the above inferences general rules. Examples are given in broad transcription (using slashes or square brackets per example would be tedious) and they are repeated in English orthography in parenthesis. English models are given first and their replicas in Shona, which will not be marked for tone, are given in the second column.

4.3.1.1 Plosives

1. (a) Voiceless bilabial stop /p/

   \[ \begin{array}{ll}
   \text{pix} & > \text{pisi} \quad \text{(paws)} \\
   \text{pis} & > \text{pisi} \quad \text{(piece)} \\
   \text{pas} & > \text{pasa} \quad \text{(pass)} \\
   \text{soap} & > \text{sipo} \quad \text{(soap)} \\
   \text{ʃp} & > \text{ʃpu} \quad \text{(shop)} \\
   \text{puʃ} & > \text{puʃa} \quad \text{(push)} \\
   \text{ʁp} & > \text{repə} \quad \text{(wrap)} \\
   \text{:])k} & > \text{paka} \quad \text{(park)} \\
   \end{array} \]

   General pattern: English /p/ > Shona /p/

(b) Voiced bilabial stop /b/

   \[ \begin{array}{ll}
   \text{ʁbɔ} & > \text{raba} \quad \text{(rubber)} \\
   \text{bɔ} & > \text{bija} \quad \text{(beer)} \\
   \text{bɔ} & > \text{boji} \quad \text{(boy)} \\
   \end{array} \]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Shona</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bōwa</td>
<td>bōa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bara</td>
<td>bara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>batani</td>
<td>banani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>banana</td>
<td>banana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bērtha</td>
<td>bēsa</td>
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<tr>
<td>bēsini</td>
<td>besenè</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**General pattern:** English /b/ > Shona /b/  

2. **(a) Voiceless labiodental stop /t/**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>English</th>
<th>Shona</th>
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</thead>
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<td>tēn</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tui</td>
<td>tui</td>
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<td>teini</td>
<td>tem</td>
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<td>tai</td>
<td>tai</td>
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<tr>
<td>taja</td>
<td>tāji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ωt</td>
<td>wēti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wagt</td>
<td>wāti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**General pattern:** English /t/ > Shona /t/  

(b) **Voiced labiodental stop /d/**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Shona</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>daki</td>
<td>daki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dada</td>
<td>dada</td>
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<tr>
<td>do</td>
<td>do</td>
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<td>diga</td>
<td>diga</td>
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<td>deti</td>
<td>deti</td>
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<td>dati</td>
<td>dati</td>
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<tr>
<td>fida</td>
<td>fida</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buredi</td>
<td>buredi</td>
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<tr>
<td>redi</td>
<td>redi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**General pattern:** English /d/ > Shona /d/  

3. **(a) Voiceless velar stop /k/**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Shona</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>kuka</td>
<td>kūk</td>
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<tr>
<td>kika</td>
<td>kūk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kore</td>
<td>kore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>buroka</td>
<td>brok</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kapsi</td>
<td>kapsi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>kemisti</td>
<td>kemist</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>pika</td>
<td>pika</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**General pattern:** English /k/ > Shona /k/
(b) Voiced velar stop /g/

\[
\begin{align*}
g\tilde{a} & \rightarrow g\text{ija} \quad (gear) \\
gl\tilde{a}v & \rightarrow girova \quad girovusi \quad (glove) \\
g\tilde{o}l & \rightarrow go: \rightarrow gero \quad (goat) \\
b\tilde{e}g & \rightarrow begi \quad (bag) \\
g\tilde{a}l & \rightarrow gero \quad (girl) \\
g\tilde{o}d & \rightarrow gudu \quad (good) \\
g\tilde{a}d & \rightarrow \begin{cases} gadi \quad (guard) \\
gada \end{cases} \\
\end{align*}
\]

General pattern: English /g/ \rightarrow Shona /g/

4.3.1.2 Fricatives

1. (a) Voiced labiodental fricative /f/

\[
\begin{align*}
f\tilde{a}d & \rightarrow fida \quad (feed) \\
f\tilde{a}gl & \rightarrow fairs \quad (file) \\
f\tilde{a}f \tilde{i} & \rightarrow f\tilde{i}i \quad (fish) \\
f\tilde{a}st & \rightarrow fai \quad (fight) \\
f\tilde{a}l & \rightarrow fira \quad (fill) \\
f\tilde{i}g & \rightarrow figa \quad (figure) \\
f\tilde{a}t & \rightarrow kita \quad (fit) \\
f\tilde{a}t & \rightarrow fiti \quad (feet) \\
f\tilde{a}m & \rightarrow famu \quad (form) \\
f\tilde{a}m & \rightarrow fomi \quad (phone) \\
\end{align*}
\]

General pattern: English /f/ \rightarrow Shona /f/

(b) Voiced labiodental fricative /v/

\[
\begin{align*}
v\tilde{a}m & \rightarrow vima \quad (vim) \\
1\tilde{a}v & \rightarrow revu \quad (love) \\
v\tilde{o}b & \rightarrow vebu \quad (verb) \\
v\tilde{a}s & \rightarrow vaisi \quad (vice) \\
v\tilde{o}s & \rightarrow voisiri \quad (voice) \\
v\tilde{e}l & \rightarrow voriri \quad (veil) \\
v\tilde{o}t & \rightarrow vota \quad (vote) \\
v\tilde{e}v & \rightarrow veva \quad (shave) \\
v\tilde{a}s & \rightarrow vesi \quad (verse) \\
liv & \rightarrow rivi \quad (leave) \\
\end{align*}
\]

General pattern: English /v/ \rightarrow Shona /v/

(a) Voiceless dental fricative /\tilde{a}/

\[
\begin{align*}
\tilde{\alpha} \tilde{a}m & \rightarrow \tilde{\alpha} \tilde{a}mu \quad (theme) \\
\tilde{\alpha} \tilde{a} & \rightarrow na\tilde{a} \quad (Martha) \\
\tilde{\alpha} \tilde{\alpha} & \rightarrow a\tilde{\alpha} \quad (Arthur) \\
\end{align*}
\]
\( \text{auzendi} \rightarrow \text{auzendi} \sim \text{tauzendi} \sim \text{saazendi} \) (thousand)  
\( \text{s}n \text{baton} \rightarrow \text{sn} \text{batoni} \sim \text{zasatoni} \) (southerton)  
\( \text{bota} \rightarrow \text{bujeta} \) (theatre)  
\( \text{bemut} \rightarrow \text{benometa} \) (thermometer)  
\( \text{eti} \rightarrow \text{eti} \) (thirty)  

**General pattern:** English /\( B /\) > Shona /\( B /\).

/\( D /\) does not occur in native Shona phonology, hence the attempts to find equivalents /\( s, t /\) in attempts to avoid /\( D /\).

(b) **Voiced dental fricative /\( \delta /\)**

| \( \text{le} \delta \) | \( \text{re} \delta \a \) (leather) |
| \( \text{hi} \delta \a \) | \( \text{hideni} \) (heathen) |
| \( \text{br} \delta \a \) | \( \text{burada} \) (brother) |
| \( \text{fa} \delta \a \) | \( \text{fata} \) (Father) |

**Note:** Examples of loanwords recorded were too few to indicate any general pattern. From the above one may indicate the general pattern as /\( \delta /\) > /\( a /\) or /\( \delta /\) or /\( t /\).

3. (a) **Voiceless alveolar fricative /\( s /\)**

| \( \text{se} s \) | \( \text{sefu} \) (safe) |
| \( \text{si} \text{s}f \) | \( \text{sa} f\text{u} \) (surf) |
| \( \text{sa} n \) | \( \text{saina} \) (sign) |
| \( \text{se} \text{nt} \) | \( \text{sande} \sim \text{sandi} \) (saint) |
| \( \text{s} \beta \a \) | \( \text{safa} \) (sofa) |
| \( \text{st} \k \) | \( \text{siki} \) (sick) |
| \( \text{s} \text{kt} \) | \( \text{saki} \sim \text{saga} \) (sack) |
| \( \text{satz} \) | \( \text{sa} \text{zi} \) (size) |
| \( \text{sak} \delta \) | \( \text{saka} \) (sucker) |
| \( \text{sam} \) | \( \text{samu} \sim \text{samu} \) (sum) |

**General pattern:** English /\( s /\) > Shona /\( m /\).

(b) **Voiced alveolar fricative /\( z /\)**

| \( \text{fiz} \) | \( \text{fizi} \) (fence) |
| \( \text{zip} \) | \( \text{zipi} \) (zip) |
| \( \text{zi} s \) | \( \text{zi} s \) (zoo) |
| \( \text{juz} \) | \( \text{jusa} \) (use) |
| \( \text{po} \text{ex} \) | \( \text{poza} \) (pose) |
| \( \text{zo} \text{om} \) | \( \text{soni} \) (son) |
| \( \text{t} \text{fiz} \) | \( \text{tfizi} \) (cheese) |
| \( \text{re} \text{z} \) | \( \text{rez}a \) (razor) |

**General pattern:** English /\( z /\) > Shona /\( z /\).
4. (a) **Voiceless palato-alveolar fricative /ʃ/**

- ŋ → ʊ (sure)
- ŋ: → ɪ (shirt)
- ŋɔ → ʊa (shave)
- k ŋ → (keʃi) (cash)
- f ŋ → (fiʃi) (fish)
- wɔ ŋ → waʃeni (washing)
- ŋn → (sinim) (shine)
- ŋd → ŋdi (shed)

**General pattern:** English /ʃ/ > Shona /ʃ/  

Note that phonetically the same English model may yield two Shona replicas which, for grammatical reasons, cannot be considered variants.

(b) **Voiced palato-alveolar fricative /ʒ/**

- meŋ → meza (measure)
- pleŋ → pleza (pleasure)
- treŋ → treza (treasurer)
- pjuŋ → pijuza (Peugeot)

**General pattern:** English /ʒ/ > Shona /ʒ/.

In English /ʒ/ never occurs in word initial position but in Shona it does. Examples of Shona adoptives with /ʒ/ are very limited.

4.3.1.3 **Affricates**

(a) **Voiceless palato-alveolar affricate /ʧ/**

- tʃɛn → tʃeni (chain)
- tʃʒ → tʃeti (church)
- mɛtʃ → metʃi (match)
- toctʃ → tocʃi (torch)
- tʃɛs → tʃesi (chess)
- tʃif → tʃifi (Chief)
- tʃɔs → tʃisi (choice)
- tʃi → tʃizi (cheese)
- tʃɛndʒ → (tʃɛnda) (change)

**General pattern:** English /ʧ/ > Shona /ʧ/
(b) Voiced palato-alveolar affricate / d /

\[
\begin{align*}
d_3 \text{an} & \ > \ d_\text{3} \text{uni} \quad (\text{June}) \\
d_3 \text{ag} & \ > \ d_\text{3} \text{agi} \quad (\text{jug}) \\
d_3 \text{ek} & \ > \ d_\text{3} \text{eke} \quad (\text{Jack}) \\
d_3 \text{i} & \ > \ d_\text{3} \text{isi} \quad (\text{Joyce}) \\
d_3 \text{ad} & \ > \ d_\text{3} \text{adzi} \quad (\text{judge}) \\
d_3 \text{i} & \ > \ d_\text{3} \text{ini} \quad (\text{gin}) \\
\text{brid} & \ > \ \text{bridzi} \quad (\text{bridge}) \\
\text{grad} & \ > \ \text{gradzi} \quad (\text{grudge}) \\
\text{frid} & \ > \ \text{fridzi} \quad (\text{fridge}) \\
t\text{ad} & \ > \ \text{t\text{ad}zi} \quad \text{(charge)} \\
\end{align*}
\]

General pattern: English / d / $\rightarrow$ Shona / d /

4.3.1.4 Nasalae

1. Nilabial / m /

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mi} \text{jan} & \ > \ \text{miriomi} \quad (\text{million}) \\
\text{mi} & \ > \ \text{misi} \quad (\text{miss}) \\
\text{mi} \text{f} \text{a} \text{n} & \ > \ \text{mi} \text{f} \text{e} \text{mi} \sim \text{mi} \text{f} \text{omi} \quad (\text{mission}) \\
\text{me} & \ > \ \text{me} \text{fi} \quad (\text{mesh}) \\
\text{ma} \text{k} \text{i} \text{t} & \ > \ \text{maketi} \sim \text{marikete} \quad (\text{market}) \\
\text{me} \text{t} & \ > \ \text{me} \text{ja} \quad (\text{mayor}) \\
\end{align*}
\]

General pattern: English / m / $\rightarrow$ Shona / m /

2. Alveolar / n /

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{f} \text{jan} & \ > \ \text{feni} \quad (\text{fan}) \\
\text{na} \text{jan} & \ > \ \text{nani} \quad (\text{num}) \\
\text{na} \text{jan} & \ > \ \text{nami} \quad (\text{nine}) \\
\text{ne} \text{f} \text{a} \text{n} & \ > \ \text{ne} \text{f} \text{eni} \quad (\text{nation}) \\
\text{sp} \text{jan} & \ > \ \text{spinya} \sim \text{spina} \quad (\text{spin}) \\
\text{f} \text{on} & \ > \ \text{foni} \quad (\text{phone}) \\
\text{p} \text{jan} & \ > \ \text{pimi} \quad (\text{pin}) \\
\end{align*}
\]

General pattern: English / n / $\rightarrow$ Shona / n /

3. Velar / y /

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ri} & \ > \ \text{ringi} \sim \text{rinyi} \quad (\text{ring}) \\
\text{swi} & \ > \ \text{sivinya} \sim \text{swinya} \quad (\text{swing}) \\
\text{he} & \ > \ \text{hinya} \quad (\text{hang}) \\
\text{ro} & \ > \ \text{rojo} \sim \text{rogo} \\
\end{align*}
\]

General pattern: English / y / $\rightarrow$ Shona / y /.

In English / y / never appears in word-initial position but in Shona it does.
4.3.1.5 **Lateral / l/**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shona</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bēl</td>
<td>bero (bale)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lọọja</td>
<td>roja (layer)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lọọd</td>
<td>rōdi (load)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lụs</td>
<td>rusa (lose)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lọv</td>
<td>revu (love)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lāf</td>
<td>rafii (life)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>liv</td>
<td>rivi (leave)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lọon</td>
<td>roni (lava)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lọnọ</td>
<td>rena (learner)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lọmọ</td>
<td>remoni (lemon)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fe l</td>
<td>foira ~feira ~fera (fail)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bil</td>
<td>biri (bill)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lọm</td>
<td>raini (line)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ọlj</td>
<td>ojiri ~ojiri (oil)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**General pattern:** English / l/ > Shona / r/ 

4.3.1.6 **Frictionless continuant / r/**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shona</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rọgs</td>
<td>raji ~raga (rug)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rọlf</td>
<td>rafu (rough)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rọlọ</td>
<td>rula (ruler)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rẹnt</td>
<td>rendi (rent)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rọnt</td>
<td>reti (rate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rẹlp</td>
<td>repu (repe)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rọd</td>
<td>ridji (ridge)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ruf</td>
<td>rufu (roof)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rọọs</td>
<td>rozi (rose)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rọọ</td>
<td>rojo (wrong)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**General pattern:** English frictionless continuant / r/ > Shona roll / r/ 

4.3.1.7 **Non-syllabic Vowel / w/**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Shona</th>
<th>English</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>wọl</td>
<td>wiki (wick)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wọl</td>
<td>woki ~ wika (weak)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wọl</td>
<td>waja (wire)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wałp</td>
<td>waipa (wiper)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wałp</td>
<td>waipa (wipes)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wait</td>
<td>waiti (white)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wọl</td>
<td>wadi (ward)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wọl</td>
<td>wedi (word)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3.1.8 Non-syllabic Vowel /\n
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Shona</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>hajda</td>
<td>haja</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hajif</td>
<td>haful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hita</td>
<td>hita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>haʃa</td>
<td>haʃa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>həJo</td>
<td>həJo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>huta</td>
<td>huta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hədi</td>
<td>hedi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>həLa</td>
<td>həLa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hopu</td>
<td>hopu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>hət</td>
<td>heti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.1.9 Conclusion

The examples given above show, as was originally suggested in 4.3 that in
the overlap area adaptation of single C-elements is a straightforward issue
of substituting corresponding Shona phonemes for English ones during
assimilation of affricates. Of course, the general rules outlined above
are not inflexible. For example, in the speech of many people, English
/l/ may be reproduced as roll /r/, or flap //, or the lateral /l/
may be retained. Further, as some of the examples have shown, English
continuant /r/ may be reproduced as depressor roll /r/ in Shona in
certain phonological environments. /n/ in final position may be reproduce
as /nd/ as in /faNDi/ 'fine' < /fANDa/, or as in /tANDi/ 'town'
< /tAMa/. A number of factors operate to produce exceptions to the rules
ideolectal, dialectal and morphophonemic. The problem of variant forms will
be discussed later, but here it may be stated that the general patterns of
assimilation for single C-segments are quite simple and fairly predictable.
The assimilation process for the English consonantal sequences are more
complicated. Whereas, for example, position in the word is not important for most English C-segments, the opposite is the truth for the clusters if any patterns are to be shown. Treatment of the clusters alphabetically, for instance, would be of little or no value. The assimilation of C-sequence will be discussed next.

4.4 INITIAL C-SEQUENCES

English has many but definite patterns of C-sequences. These are mostly of the CC - type of which there are 36 permissible combinations shown in Table 3.

4.4.1 CC-Sequences

Table 3 shows these CC - combinations. Arranged down the left hand side are the C-segments that may occur as the first elements in CC - combinations at the beginning of English words. Arranged along the top are the C-segments that may occur as the second elements in CC - combinations at the beginning of English words. Permissible combinations are indicated by ticks in the appropriate boxes.

These common combinations are of two types in terms of articulations involved:

a) the plosive-initial type, i.e. the combinations in which the first C is a plosive and the second is /l, r, w, j/, e.g. /pr/ in /praiz/ 'prize'. The rest of the final C-elements only occur after /s/.

b) the /s/-initial type, i.e. CC - combinations in which the first C is /s/, e.g. /sp/ in /spare/ 'spare'. All final C-elements except /s/ may be preceded by /s/.

In the Shona replicas the English C-sequences are separated by vowels in fully assimilated forms. E.g.

(i) /pr/ > /pur/ as in /praiz/ > /purai/, and

(ii) /sp/ > /sip/ as in /spare/ > /sipai/.

1 Based on outline by Conner. [1967, 83-5]
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INITIAL</th>
<th>FINAL</th>
<th>VOICELESS</th>
<th>FRICATIVE</th>
<th>NASAL</th>
<th>LATERAL</th>
<th>APHRODANT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Labio-</td>
<td>Labio-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>dental</td>
<td>dental</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v Bilabial</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td></td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v Bilabial</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td></td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v Alveolar</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td></td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v Velar</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td></td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v Labio-</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td></td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labio-</td>
<td></td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td></td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Labio-</td>
<td></td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td></td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dental</td>
<td></td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td></td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveolar</td>
<td></td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td></td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Palato-</td>
<td></td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td></td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alveolar</td>
<td></td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td></td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**ABBREVIATIONS**

V = voiceless
v = voiced

**SUMMARY NOTES**

1) Initial C in CC word-initial
   a) all the English stops except /θ, θ, v, w, j /
      /p, b, t, d, s, sh, s, v, w, j /
   b) all voiceless fricatives
      voiced /v, w, j /
      /v, w, j /

2) Final C in CC word-initials
   a) all voiceless plosives
      /p, t, k /
   b) all the nasals /m, n, ng /
   c) only fricative /s /
   d) the lateral /l /
   e) the gliding contexts
      /r, v, j /

- 135a -
Other forms for the same words occur in Shona, e.g., /speja, spei/ and /praizi, prai/, in which the English CC combinations are retained. Such forms are considered only partially assimilated. There is a variety of reasons for the persistence of such forms in Shona conversation, but these will be discussed later. At this stage the writer will simply outline the rules governing complete assimilation, although in many cases partially assimilated forms may be preferred in the spoken language.

4.4.1.1 The plosive-initial type

1. /p/ + /l, Pl/.

(a) plɔm > purusa (plum)
plɔn > (purana) (plan)
plɔntɔ > (puranga) (plank)
plɔntɔk > (purasitiki) (plastic)
plɔntɔn > (purandera) (planter)
plɔltɔ > purɛza (pleasure)
plɔzi > purizi (please)
plɔzn > purena (plane)
plɔndẽn > purandẽni (plantation)

General rule: English /pl/ > Shona /pur/

(b) prɔm > purema (pram)
pruv > puruva (prove)
pruf > purufu (proof)
prɔmis > (puromisi ~ poromisi) (promise)
(prumisi ~ porumisa) (promise)
prɔmɔstɔv > puramasitɔfu ~ purmasitɔfu (prima stove)
prɔphet > supurofita ~ suporofita (prophet)
pres > pureza (press)
priɔni > purindzana ~ pirindza (print)
priɔsigma > purizenga ~ pirizenga (prison)
profita > purofita ~ porofita (profit)

General rule: /pr/ > /pur/.

Exceptions: Vowel separating CC may be /o, i/ if vowel in next syllable is /o, i/ to increase vowel harmony.

Therefore, the rule above may be modified thus: /pr/ > /pur, pur, pir/

2. With /m/ class 1 noun prefix.
(c) pjiwa $\rightarrow$ pijusa

pjiwa $\rightarrow$ pijuwamiri $\rightarrow$ pomiri$^3$ (pure-meal)

pjiwa $\rightarrow$ pijusa

Only these three examples were recorded. The combination
/pj/ + /j/ does not seem very common in English.

**General rule:** /pj/ $\rightarrow$ /pj/

2. /b/ + /l, r, j, /

(a) blik $\rightarrow$ buraki $\sim$ buraki (black)

blak $\rightarrow$ burakwa ($'black\text{-}watch'$)

ble $\rightarrow$ burasa (blazer)

blok $\rightarrow$ buroko (block)

blu $\rightarrow$ bure (blue)

blue/lait $\rightarrow$ bururaiti ($'blue\text{-}light'$)

**General rule:** /bl/ $\rightarrow$ /bur/

(b) brif $\rightarrow$ birifi (brief)

brid $\rightarrow$ birid $^4$ (bridge)

brisket $\rightarrow$ birisiketi (brisket)

brum $\rightarrow$ burum (broom)

brak $\rightarrow$ (bureki) (break)

brea $\rightarrow$ (bureka) (brake)

**General rule:** /br/ $\rightarrow$ /bir/ or /bur/ as determined by rules of vowel harmony.

(c) bjuti $\rightarrow$ bijuti (beauty)

This was the only example recorded. The rule /bj/ $\rightarrow$ /bij/ may be suggested.

3. /v, w, y, j/;

(a) trak $\rightarrow$ tiragi (trunk)

trawal $\rightarrow$ tirawo (travel)

trit $\rightarrow$ tirita (treat)

trejn $\rightarrow$ (tireni $\sim$ turen) $\sim$ (tirena $\sim$ turena) (train)

trak $\rightarrow$ tireki $\sim$ tureki (track)

trei $\rightarrow$ tireji $\sim$ tureji $\sim$ tureja (tray)

trak $\rightarrow$ tirak $\sim$ tiroko (tirekisi (truck)

**General rule:** /tr/ $\rightarrow$ /tir/. The variant /tur/ is not common in GS, being a regional and particularly ideolectal variation.

---

$^4$ An example of sweeping substitution where a shorter, simpler form is desirable.

The variant /brid/ was adopted indirectly from English via Nguni:
/birid/ $\leq$ Ng. /ibilindi/ $\leq$ E. /brid/.
(b) /twin/ > t\textsuperscript{w}i\textsuperscript{n}i ~ twin (twin)
t\textsuperscript{w}i\textsuperscript{n}i > twin

Only these two examples were recorded. The rule /tw/ > /\textsuperscript{w}i\textsuperscript{n}/ may be suggested. Note that /tw/ is a permissible /\textsuperscript{w}i\textsuperscript{n}/ sequence in Shona.

c) t\textsuperscript{j}uni > t\textsuperscript{\textacute{s}}uni (tune)
t\textsuperscript{\textacute{s}}ubi > t\textsuperscript{\textacute{s}}ubu (tube)

These were the only examples recorded. The rule /t\textsuperscript{j}/ > /\textsuperscript{s}/ may be suggested. Note that /\textsuperscript{s}/ is permitted in Shona.

4. /\textgamma/ + /\textacute{s}/

(a) d\textgamma\textsuperscript{i} > di\textgamma\textsuperscript{v}a (draw)
d\textgamma\textsuperscript{s} > di\textgamma\textsuperscript{z}i (dress)
d\textgamma\textsuperscript{p} > di\textgamma\textsuperscript{p}u (drop)
d\textgamma\textsuperscript{m} > di\textgamma\textsuperscript{mu} ~ diramu (drum)
d\textgamma\textsuperscript{a} > dira\textgamma\textsuperscript{v}a (driver)
d\textgamma\textsuperscript{z} > dira\textgamma\textsuperscript{v}a (drive)
dr\textgamma\textsuperscript{l} > diri\textgamma\textsuperscript{r}i (drill)
dr\textgamma\textsuperscript{k} > dira\textgamma\textsuperscript{f}i (dry clean)

General rules: /dr/ > /dir/

(b) d\textsuperscript{\textacute{s}}uti > d\textsuperscript{\textacute{s}}uti (duty)

This was the only example recorded.

Rule suggested: /d\textsuperscript{\textacute{s}}/ > /d\textsuperscript{g}/.

5. /\textk/ + /\textacute{t}, \textacute{t}, \textacute{u}, \textacute{\textacute{t}}/.

(a) k\textk\textsuperscript{l}p > k\textk\textsuperscript{i}\texti\textsuperscript{p}i ~ k\textk\textsuperscript{i}\texti\textsuperscript{p}isi (clip)

k\textsuperscript{\textacute{m}}\textsuperscript{\textacute{k}} > k\textsuperscript{\textacute{m}}\textsuperscript{\textacute{n}}\textsuperscript{i}ki (clinic)

k\textsuperscript{\textacute{l}}ab > kir\textsuperscript{\textacute{a}}bu ~ kir\textsuperscript{\textacute{a}}b (club)

k\textsuperscript{\textacute{l}}\textsuperscript{t} > kir\textsuperscript{\textacute{a}}\texti\textsuperscript{f}i ~ kir\textsuperscript{\textacute{a}}\texti\textsuperscript{f}i (clutch)

k\textsuperscript{\textacute{l}}\textsuperscript{\textacute{a}}s > kir\textsuperscript{\textacute{a}}si (class)

General rules: /kl/ > /kir/.

(b) kr\textsuperscript{\textacute{\textacute{t}}}et > kir\textsuperscript{\textacute{a}}\texti\textsuperscript{f}i (crochet)

k\textsuperscript{\textacute{r}}\textsuperscript{\textacute{\textacute{a}}}m > kor\textsuperscript{\textacute{a}}ni (crown)

kr\textsuperscript{\textacute{\textacute{a}}}\textsuperscript{\textacute{t}}lt > k\textsuperscript{\textacute{\textacute{a}}}\textsuperscript{\textacute{r}}\textsuperscript{\textacute{a}}\textsuperscript{\textacute{b}}\textsuperscript{\textacute{a}}nde ~ k\textsuperscript{\textacute{\textacute{a}}}\textsuperscript{\textacute{r}}\textsuperscript{\textacute{a}}\textsuperscript{\textacute{b}}\textsuperscript{\textacute{a}}nde ("Cross-belt")

Note that voice /s/ replaces voiceless /\textacute{s}/ in /dire\textsuperscript{\textacute{a}}t/ because initial /s/ is voiced but voiceless /\textacute{s}/ may replace voiceless /\textacute{\textacute{t}}/ in /kir\textsuperscript{\textacute{a}}\texti\textsuperscript{f}i ~ kir\textsuperscript{\textacute{a}}\texti\textsuperscript{f}i/.
krēŋk > (kireŋgi ~ kipaŋgi) (crank)
(kireŋga ~ kiriŋga)

krim > kirimu (cream)

kriŋɔm > kirajoni (crayon)

kriŋ > kireŋi (creche)

**General rule:** /kr/ > /kri/, or sometimes /kor, kur/ as may be determined by vowel harmony.

(N.B. /kurosibanda/ also occurs.)

(c) kwaiŋ > kwaja (choir)
kwaiŋ > (kweŋe) (question)

kvirin > kvini (queen)

kviri > kviri (guinea)

kvilt > kviriti (quilt)

**General rule:** /kv/ > /kv/

(d) kjuŋ > kijua (cure)

This was the only example recorded — nothing less controversial could be found — and the rule /kjuŋ/ > /kiju̯/ may be suggested.

6. /gl/ > /giu̯/

(a) glaŋ > guru (glue)

glaŋ > giroso ~ girovu ~ girovusi ~ girovisi (glove)

gleŋ > girobu (glove)

get > girozzi (glass)

**General rule:** /gl/ > /gir/, or, less often /gur/ as may be determined by vowel harmony.

(b) gɔte > girote (grotto)

gɔte > girosa (grocer)

get > girosi ~ girosa (grey)

greŋ > giredi (grade)

greŋ > giridi (grid)

grevi > ghirevi (greasy)

greŋ > giram (gram)

greŋ > girama (grammar)

grin > girini (green)

greŋ > girindzi (ground)

greŋ > girisi (grease)

**General rule:** /gr/ > /gir/.
conclusions

a) The most common plosive-initial CC-sequences in English have /l, r/ as second C.

b) During assimilation /l/ > /r/.

c) In the majority of cases /w, i/ separates CC.

4.4.1.2 /s/-initial type

1. /s/ > /sp, t, k/
   a) sp > sipeja (spare)
      spn > sipina (spin)
      spun > sipunu ~ /spunu/ (spoon)
      spal > sipalji (spy)
      spoat > sipoti (sport)
      spid > sipidi (speed)
      spel > sipedji (spade)
      spej > sipaini (Spain)
      spul > sipuru (spool)
      sp ill > sipora (spoil)
   General rule: /sp/ > /sip/

   b) stp > sitepu (step)
      std > sitatu (stub)
      stand > sitandati (standard)
      sta:t > sitata (starter)
      sta: > sita (star)
      stk > sitaki (stuck)
      stf > sitifi (stiff)
      staf > sitatu (staff)
      staf > sitafu (staff)
      staf > sitafa (staff)
   General rule: /st/ > /sit/.

   c) skit > siketi (skirt)
      skaot > sikauti (scout)
      skaif > sikava (scarf)
      sket > siketi (sketch)
      skim > sikimu (scheme)

6. In a few cases CI7 noun prefix /tʃ/ replaces /sit/. That this does not occur in every case is probably because /tʃ/ has secondary meanings (diminutive).
\[ \text{skel} > \text{sikone (scone)} \]
\[ \text{skul} > \text{sikuru ~ sikore (school)} \]
\[ \text{skel} > \text{sikore (scale)} \]

**General rule:** /sk/ > /sik/

2. /sf/ + /s/
\[ sf > /sifije (sphere) \]

/sf/ is a rare combination in initial position in English. /sifije/ was the only example of a Shona adoptive of this pattern that was recorded. The rule /sf/ > /sif/ may be suggested.

3. /sm/ + /m, n/
(a) \[ sm + m > /sino: (smoke) \]
\[ sm + n > /sino: (smoke) \]
\[ sm + t > /smiti (smart) \]
\[ sm + k > /simoka (smoke) \]
\[ sm + j > /simichi (Smith) \]
\[ sm + s > /simasi (smash) \]
\[ sm + f > /simore (small) \]

**General rule:** /sm > /sim/.
(b) \[ sm + m > /smippu (smoke) \]
\[ sm + n > /smippu (smoke) \]
\[ sm + k > /smiki (snake) \]
\[ sm + f > /smiwa (smoke) \]
\[ sm + s > /smirina (snatch) \]

**General rule:** /sm > /sm/.

4. /sl/ + /s/
\[ sl + s > /sirani (sling) \]
\[ sl + m > /siro (slow) \]
\[ sl + p > /siropa (*slipper*) \]
\[ sl + t > /sirip (slip) \]
\[ sl + k > /siridi (slide) \]
\[ sl + v > /siriv (sleeve) \]
\[ sl + e > /sirasi (slice) \]
\[ sl + d > /siredzi (sledge) \]
\[ sl + m > /sirima (slim) \]

**General rule:** /sl/ > /sir/.
5. /s/ + /u, i/

(a) swit > sivi t ∼ sivitsi (sweet)
swyt > siveta (sweat)
swet > sivedi ∼ suvedi* (mode)
sw 3:v > suvova ∼ sivova (swerve)
swit > (sivit'1) (switch)
swit'm > sivima ∼ suvima* (swim)

General rule: /sw/ > /siv/
*In some cases /sw/ > /suv/. Note that /u/ and /v/ are similar in articulation and they form a harmonious combination. In every case that /u/ separates /sw/ the more common /i/ may also occur. In IS-speech these interpolating vowels are not always pronounced, swit, swit'1 and so on being probably the more common forms.

(b) /s/ + /i/
sjuit > sutu ∼ gatu (suit)
sjui > suwu (suit)

These two were the only examples recorded. In initial position /sj/ is rare in English itself. The examples above suggest that Shona phonology handles the sequence by either labializing the /s/ as in /gatu/ or it separates the sequence by /u/.

Conclusion

1) /s/ + stop (oral and nasal) and /s/ + /l,v/ are the more common /s/-initial type sequences, the remainder being rare.

2) /s/ is almost always followed by /i/ in the Shona replicas.

4.4.1.3 Other OC-sequences

Of the remaining OC-patterns in English only /fl/ and /fr/ are fairly common, and these will be treated first.

1. /s/ + /l, r, f/ 

(a) flu: > furu: (flue)
flanet > furanera (flannel)
fla > furaja (fly)
flut > furutu (flute)
fləu > furuwa (flour)
flət > furutu (fruit)
fləvəz > furuzi (flowers)
fləs > furusa (flash)

General rule: /fl/ > /fur/

(b) fur > furu (fruit)
frə > furə (try)
frəbz > (fureza) (phrase)
fr i > fur: (free)
fridəm > furidomu ~ furidom (Freedom)

General rule: /fr/ > /fur/, /fri/ being exceptional.

(c) fijuz > fijuzi
This was the only example of this pattern recorded and
the pattern /fij/ > /fiz/ may be suggested.

2. /v/ + /j/
vju: > vijú (view)
This was the only example of this pattern recorded and
the pattern /vj/ > /vij/ may be suggested.

3. /ð/ + /ɾ, ɾ/.
The only example recorded for both was /ð-ɾi:ʃ/ > /ð-ɾiʃ/
which, like many other numerals, has been adopted without
modification.

4. /ʃ/ + /ɾ/.
No examples of whona adoptives with /ʃɾ/ initial in the English
models were recorded.

5. /m/ + /j/
mjuzik > mijuziki
This was the only example recorded, and the pattern
/mj/ > /mij/ may be suggested.

6. /n/ + /ʃ/.
Most of examples recorded are based on model /nʃu/ "new".
njusjuz > njusjus ("new new")
- njuivam > njovani ('new one')
    nju:lok > njauruka ('new look')
    nju:jere > njajere ('new year')
    nju:tr > njuturu (neutral)
    nju:zi > nuzzi (news)

General rule: /nj/ > /nj/.

/nj/ is the only English C-sequence which does not involve vowel interpolation during assimilation. The sequence is interpreted as the palatal nasal /n/ of Shona and /nj/ is therefore substituted by /nj/ in the Shona adoptives.

General Conclusion

In the adoption process from English, vowels normally separate C-sequences in the models because Shona syllables are typically of the open CV type. The substitution patterns are fairly predictable.

4.4.2 CCC-sequences

Three-segment C-clusters are far less common than CC-sequences in English.

Three types may occur in word-initial position:

a) /sp, st, sk/ plus /t, j/.

b) /sp/ plus /l/.

c) /sk/ plus /w/.

It may be noted that all are of the general pattern /s/ + plosive (voiceless) + /l,r,xm,j/. Examples of Shona replicas of English models with these patterns are few and in some cases none were recorded. Further, whereas Shona phonology would require that the three segments of the cluster be separated by vowels in the replica, and whereas theoretically this is what happens or is attempted in the first instance, in ordinary conversation the Shona versions are almost always only partially assimilated phonologically.

In the examples that follow the more common, partially assimilated forms, are given together with those forms which are their fully assimilated variants. The reason for this general tendency is explained, not so much in terms a prestige factor which makes near-English forms the preferred
variants, but in terms of the need for simplicity. Strict observance of
the rules of native Shona phonology produces words that are much longer
than their English models. The word /straɪk/ for instance would need two
vowels to separate /str/, a semi-vowel to separate the diphthong /ai/ and
a final vowel. In practice it seems that only the last rule is strictly
observed and forms like /straɪki, striti, spreɪd/ are very common in GS.

1. **Type (a) (i): /spr, str, skr/**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sprg d</th>
<th>spreɪd</th>
<th>~</th>
<th>sipreɪda</th>
<th>~</th>
<th>sipureɪda</th>
<th>(spread)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>sprei</td>
<td>spreɪja</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>sipreɪja</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>sipureɪja</td>
<td>(spray)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sprɔl</td>
<td>sipriŋi</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>sipuriŋi</td>
<td>(spring)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strak</td>
<td>straiki</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>sitraiki</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>sitraiki</td>
<td>(strike)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>streɪt</td>
<td>streɪti</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>sitreɪti</td>
<td>(straight)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strit</td>
<td>striti</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>sitriti</td>
<td>(street)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>strgro</td>
<td>streɪʃa</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>sitreɪʃa</td>
<td>(stretcher)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skru</td>
<td>sikruː</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>sikuruː</td>
<td>(screw)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skrtpɔ</td>
<td>skripitʃa</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>sikripitʃa</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>sikiripitʃa</td>
<td>(scripture)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>skrɔb</td>
<td>sikrabːa</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>sikirabːa</td>
<td>~</td>
<td>korobːa</td>
<td>(scrub)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the last example /korobːa/ is a sweeping substitution which is very
colmmon, probably because of the general tendency to avoid longer forms
which are more difficult to pronounce.

2. **Type (a) (ii): /spl, sti, sk/**

Only two examples, both commencing /sti/ were recorded.

| stju | stʃuː | ~ | sitʃuː | (stew) |
| stjup | stʃetʃi | ~ | sitʃetʃi | (stupid) |

3. **Type (b): /spl/**

| splaɪt | splita | ~ | sprita | ~ | siprita | ~ | sipurita | (split) |
| splaɪʃa | ~ | spraʃa | ~ | sipraʃa | ~ | sipurəʃa | (splash)

These were the only examples recorded. Note that /ʃ/ may be retained
in partially assimilated forms.

4. **Type (c): /skw/**

| skweə | skweɪa | ~ | sikweɪa | (square) |
| skweis | skweɪsa | ~ | sikweɪsa | (squeeze) |
| skweʃa | skweɪta | ~ | sikweɪta | (squeatter) |
| skweʃi | skweɪdi | ~ | sikweɪdi | (squad) |
| skweʃ | skweʃi | ~ | sikweʃi | (squash) |

Note that /kw/ is retained throughout, being a sequence that is
Permitted in native Shona phonology.
4.4.3 Longer sequences

C-sequences of more than three segments do not seem to occur in word-initial position. These occur at word margins when one word may end in a consonant cluster and the next word begins with another. In normal pronunciation passage from the first to the second is smooth, as in /pel ədʒ  twenti/. However, since we are only interested in the assimilation of single words, these longer C-sequences will be ignored. In any case it would be futile to try and work out the patterns of such sequences since any given word may be followed in speech by any one of thousands of other words. Further, even if it were possible to work them out, they would still fail to show any influence on native Shona phonology because wholesale importations of phrases or longer stretches generally occur in unassimilated form during code switching and must therefore not be considered as adoptive forms.

4.4.4 Medial position

To the analyst, C-sequences that may occur in the middle of a word are not interesting. It would be futile to try and work out any patterns relating to medial word position for C-sequences - or for any phoneme for that matter. Any segment or sequence can be put in medial position in compound forms, e.g. by prefixing a formative to it, or by adding a suffix to it, or both. In this study only initial and final word positions are treated because that is where some regularity may be expected.

It must be pointed out, however, that although adoption normally occurs at the single lexeme level, wholesale importations of phrases do occur. These may be fully assimilated phonologically yielding single Shona words. Such adoptives are not readily identifiable with their models either phonologically or semantically. At the phonological level C-sequences that occur across words in English are adopted or/and adapted within single words in Shona, e.g.
(i) long $\text{w}^\text{a}$ (long one) $\Rightarrow$ r$\text{g}^\text{avani}$, being a nickname for a tall person;

(ii) kros $\text{b}^\text{el}$ (tross belt*) $\Rightarrow$ kurusibande, 'one of two strips of cloth used as braces';

(iii) sal$\text{d}$ la$\text{e}^\text{n}$ ('side lane') $\Rightarrow$ semdiraini, 'sanitary lane'.

There, however, whole phrases such as /$\text{g}^\text{e}^\text{k}$ ju/ 'thank you' and /pe$\text{t}^\text{n}$ tri/ 'page twenty' are repeated as phrases in Shona conversation, these should be properly treated as instances of switching rather than borrowing. Although it is outside the scope of this paper to discuss code-switching or the distinction between borrowing and switching, it might be well to point out here that switching need not involve long stretches in every case - it may vary in length from a single, unassimilated word to a whole sentence (Hayfield, 1970, 58).

4.5 Final C-sequence

The first general point to note is that the vast majority of English words have final syllables with arresting C-elements. Since Shona structure does not permit open closed, the Shona adoptives involve adjustment of the final syllables so that they end in vowels. Patterns for vowel adjustment and substitution are treated in the next chapter.

4.5.1 Grammatical elements

Many of the C-sequences in final position in English words involve the addition of formatives to root morphemes, e.g. the phoneme /$\text{z}$/ in /pl$\text{A}$ma/ is a regular plural morpheme. Phonemes which function grammatically as morphemes in English are not replaced or adjusted at the phonological level during the process of adoption. They are translated by equivalent formative types. For example, because /$\text{p}^\text{u}^\text{r}^\text{a}^\text{m}$/ is class 5 the English plural /$\text{z}$/ is replaced by class 6 prefix /ma/ and /pl$\text{A}$ma/ is realised as /$\text{m}^\text{a}^\text{p}^\text{u}^\text{r}^\text{a}^\text{m}$/. All other such grammatical elements are similarly translated.

E.g. (i) plural /$\text{z}$/ as in /$\text{a}^\text{i}$ $\text{d}$z/ $\Rightarrow$ /ma/ in /$\text{ma}^\text{e}^\text{d}$i/ 'aids'

(ii) past tense /$\text{t}$/ as in /$\text{i}$ $\text{e}$ $\text{d}$pt/ $\Rightarrow$ /$\text{a}$l$\text{a}$s$\text{i}$t$\text{a}$p$\text{a}$/ 'she stopped'
(iii) past tense /d/ as in /hi rA bd/ > /akaraba/ 'he rubbed'
(iv) noun formative /g/ as in /na:nA bid/ > /reta/j
   in /bi:A retJimai/ (ninth beer).

But where the final C-sequence produced by such grammatical formations
in English are phonetically identifiable with permissible Shona combinations,
the final elements are retained or adapted: e.g.

(i) past tense /t/ in /ni spgnt/ > /d/ in /akaspenda/ 'he spent';
(ii) plural /s/ in /koe:s/ is retained in /kitsu ~ katso/ 'cats'.
(iii) plural /z/ as in /guiz/ is retained in /guzim/ 'goods'.

From this it may be concluded that where we have prenasalized stops or
affricates in final position, even when their final C-segments are
grammatical elements in the English models, those final sequences may be
adopted or adapted in the Shona replicas with appropriate adjustment of
the final syllable (i.e. addition of a final vowel).

4.5.2 Co-articulations

This pattern whereby co-ordinated co-articulations in the English models
are retained in the Shona replicas seems to be maintained where all such
sequences occur, and not just where the final elements have a grammatical
function as well.

4.5.2.1 Prenasalized Stops

The English voiceless stops /p, t, k/ may be prenasalized to produce the
sequences /mp, nt, nk/. The latter sequences do not occur in SH Shona and
during assimilation the final segments /p, t, k/ become voiced in Shona
loanwords. The total substitution patterns involving prenasalized stops
may be summarized as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ENGLISH</th>
<th>SHONA</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mp</td>
<td>nb</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nt</td>
<td>nd</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nk</td>
<td>zg</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gg</td>
<td>zg</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Examples:

a) point > (pendi) (pentine)
   feint > fenda (feint)
   end > ende (and)
   paund > pondo (pound)

b) kamba > kamba (camp)
   lamp > rani (lamp)
   timba > timba (timber)

c) aŋgi > aŋgoro (angle)
   ḫi > ḫi (ink)
   bəŋgi > (bəŋgi ~ bəŋgi) (bank)

Note that whatever the position of the prenasalized stop, the same substitution patterns are followed.

4.5.2.2 Affricates

The English affricates are similarly adopted and adapted except that voiceless /tʃ/ and /dʒ/ remain voiceless and voiced respectively.

Examples:

a) aša > aunzi (ounce)
   fınas > fensi (fence)
   mənas > minzi (mince, means)
   tʃa > tʃanzi (chance)
   baŋna > baunza (bounce)

Substitution pattern: /ns/ > /nz/

b) tʃitʃ > totʃi (torch)
   statʃ > sitatʃi (starch)
   fjutʃa > fi jotʃa (future)

Pattern: /tʃ/ > /tʃ/ /tʃa/ /tʃa/

c) pedʒi > pedʒi (page)
   (lədʒ) > rodezi (lodge)
   (sədʒ) > (sitedʒi) (sitedʒa) (stage)
   tʃadʒ > (tʃadʒi) (tʃadʒa) (charge)

Pattern: /dʒ/ > /dʒ/
d) \( t \mapsto n3 \sim t \mapsto n3d3' < (t \mapsto n3' i) \) (change)

\( \text{in} \mapsto \text{in} > i n3 \) i (inch)

\( \lambda \text{n} \mapsto \text{lunt} > ra n3 \) i (lunch)

substitution pattern: /n (t)ʃ/ \( > /n3/\).

4.5.3 C + SYLLABIC CONTENT

The terms syllabic conoid and non-syllabic vocoid have already been defined in 3.4.4.1. The conoids /m, n, l/ may occur as the final elements of C-sequences in English, e.g., after the stop /t/. In that environment /m, n, l/ occur as syllabic /n, n, l/ and the stop is exploded through the nose in the case of the nasals /n, n/ or laterally in the case of /l/, as in:

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{atom} & \quad \text{atom} \\
\text{button} & \quad \text{button} \\
\text{couple} & \quad \text{couple}
\end{align*} \]

Such C-sequences are said to be pronounced with nasal plosion or with lateral plosion. During the assimilation of such sequences in Shona phonology, three things happen:

a) the plosion is lost, because

b) the segments are separated by vowels and for the same reason

c) the final conoid ceases to be either final or syllabic, being preceded and succeeded by a vowel.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{atom} & \quad \text{atom} \\
\text{batani} & \quad \text{batani} \\
\text{lapor} & \quad \text{lapor}
\end{align*} \]

In English the sequences /t, n/ may be succeeded by /s, t/ to produce a three-segment cluster. When such sequences occur in final position, the substitution patterns are as for affricates and prenasalized stops outlined in 4.5.2.

\[ \begin{align*}
\text{imp} + tps & \quad \text{imp} + tps \\
\text{imp} + tnt & \quad \text{imp} + tnt
\end{align*} \]
That /mp/ is retained in the adoptive and not replaced by /mb/ is not exceptional in this position:

\[ \text{e.g. } \text{import} \rightarrow /\text{imp}\,\text{ort}/ \]

Such sequences, however, are not very common.

It is interesting to note that the tendency to lose the nasal or lateral explosion is also characteristic of the Shona speaker (the writer, for example) even in his English speech. One can suggest two possible explanations. Firstly, the speaker, having been long conditioned both in perception and in articulation by native Shona phonology, simply finds it difficult to reproduce the plosion even where this occurs in words that he was first taught by an RP speaking Englishman. Secondly, the orthographic representation influences his pronunciation. There is nothing in the spellings 'button' and 'Britain', for example, to indicate to the reader that the stop /t/ explodes through the nose and not through the mouth—especially since the spellings show vowels preceding /n/. In sociolinguistic terms then, literacy, or more specifically the associations that have been learnt earlier between letters of the alphabet and sounds, must also be a factor conditioning the Shona speaker's performance in English and, therefore, also respecting his Shona replicas of English models. The replicas /batani/ and /briteni/ are more faithful reproductions of his own spelling pronunciations of 'button' and 'Britain', i.e. /batə/ and /britə/, rather than of the RP forms /bətə/ and /britə/.

**4.5.3.1 \( [\eta] \) in final position**

In English \( [\eta] \) in final VC-sequences may be preceded by /t, l, r/.

\[ \text{e.g. } (i) \text{ dete} \rightarrow \text{ atomu} \]  
\[ \text{ dete} \rightarrow \text{ atenu} \]  
\[ \text{ dete} \rightarrow \text{ otenu} \]  

\( (\text{atom}) \)  
\( (\text{item}) \)  
\( (\text{autumn}) \)
(ii) kalm ~ knlm > koramu (column)

(iii) form ~ foarm > foramu (forum)

(iv) kwrm ~ kworm > koruma ~ koramu (quorum)

General rule: \[ CP \rightarrow [\text{CVP}] \]

4.3.3.2 \[ n \bar{a} \] in final position

\[ n \bar{a} \] in final CC-sequences may be preceded by a wide range of consonants.

The sequence types may be summed up as follows (cp. Rockey, 1973, 132-165).

(1) After all the plosives.

(a) /t, d/ as in:
- b \(\Delta\) t\(\bar{a}\) > batoni (baton)
- p \(\omega\) t\(\bar{a}\) > peteni ~ peteni (pattern)
- mod\(\bar{a}\) > modeni (modeni)
- w\(\bar{a}\) d\(\bar{a}\) > wadenu (wadenu)

(b) /p, b/ as in:
- wpn\(\bar{a}\) > opena (open)
- rnh > riboni (ribbon)

(c) /\(\chi\)g/ as in:
- dik\(\bar{u}\) > dikoni (deacon)
- bik\(\bar{u}\) > bikoni (beacon)
- p\(\bar{a}\)pn > ogani (organ)
- pe\(\bar{a}\)gn > pagan (pagan)
- slo\(\bar{u}\)pn > uiogani (slogan)

(ii) After all the plosives, except /\(\bar{a}\)/.

(a) /f, v/ as in:
- h\(\xi\)fp > halfeni (hyphen)
- k\(\xi\)fp > kofini (coffin)
- iv\(\bar{u}\) > iveni (even)
- om > ovan (even)

(b) /s, z/ as in:
- l\(\bar{a}\)sn > reseni (lesson)
- b\(\bar{a}\)zn > boseni (basin)
- pr\(\bar{a}\)zn > prisoni ~ purizeni (prison)
- p\(\bar{a}\)zn > poizeni (poison)
(c) $\int_{-1}^{3} \, f \, d\xi$ as in:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{f} & \approx \int_{-1}^{3} \, f \, d\xi & \approx \text{f} \, d\xi & \approx \text{f} \, d\xi \\
\text{ste} & \approx \text{ste} \, d\xi & \approx \text{ste} \, d\xi & \approx \text{ste} \, d\xi \\
\text{v} & \approx \text{v} \, d\xi & \approx \text{v} \, d\xi & \approx \text{v} \, d\xi
\end{align*}
\]

(fashion) (station) (vision)

(iii) After the affricate / dʒ / as in:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{v} & \approx \text{v} \, d\xi & \approx \text{v} \, d\xi & \approx \text{v} \, d\xi \\
\text{m} & \approx \text{m} \, d\xi & \approx \text{m} \, d\xi & \approx \text{m} \, d\xi \\
\text{r} & \approx \text{r} \, d\xi & \approx \text{r} \, d\xi & \approx \text{r} \, d\xi
\end{align*}
\]

(virgin) (margin) (region)

(iv) After bilabial nasal / m / as in:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{d} & \approx \text{d} \, m & \approx \text{d} \, m & \approx \text{d} \, m \\
\text{t} & \approx \text{t} \, m & \approx \text{t} \, m & \approx \text{t} \, m \\
\text{s} & \approx \text{s} \, m & \approx \text{s} \, m & \approx \text{s} \, m
\end{align*}
\]

(demon) (chairman) (snowman)

(v) After lateral / l / as in:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{g} & \approx \text{g} \, l & \approx \text{g} \, l & \approx \text{g} \, l \\
\text{n} & \approx \text{n} \, l & \approx \text{n} \, l & \approx \text{n} \, l \\
\text{a} & \approx \text{a} \, l & \approx \text{a} \, l & \approx \text{a} \, l
\end{align*}
\]

(ellen) (nylon) (pylon)

(vi) After frictionless continuant / r / as in:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{j} & \approx \text{j} \, r & \approx \text{j} \, r & \approx \text{j} \, r \\
\text{b} & \approx \text{b} \, r & \approx \text{b} \, r & \approx \text{b} \, r \\
\text{s} & \approx \text{s} \, r & \approx \text{s} \, r & \approx \text{s} \, r \\
\text{k} & \approx \text{k} \, r & \approx \text{k} \, r & \approx \text{k} \, r \\
\text{g} & \approx \text{g} \, r & \approx \text{g} \, r & \approx \text{g} \, r \\
\text{e} & \approx \text{e} \, r & \approx \text{e} \, r & \approx \text{e} \, r
\end{align*}
\]

(urine) (barren) (siren) (chlorine) (aroon) (charon)

(vii) After the voiceless sequences, velar stop / k / +

fricatives / s, j / as in:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{n} & \approx \text{n} \, k & \approx \text{n} \, k & \approx \text{n} \, k \\
\text{t} & \approx \text{t} \, k & \approx \text{t} \, k & \approx \text{t} \, k \\
\text{b} & \approx \text{b} \, k & \approx \text{b} \, k & \approx \text{b} \, k \\
\text{c} & \approx \text{c} \, k & \approx \text{c} \, k & \approx \text{c} \, k \\
\text{f} & \approx \text{f} \, k & \approx \text{f} \, k & \approx \text{f} \, k
\end{align*}
\]

(Nixon) (toxin) (auction) (action) (fraction)

General rule: $(c) \text{Ca} / > (cW) \text{CVaV} /$. 
4.5.3.3 / ʃ / in final position

/ʃ/ in final CV-sequences may be preceded by a range of consonants similar to, but even wider than, /ŋ/. [ep. Rokey, 1973, 166-209].

1. Lateral plosion: oral stop + /ʃ/.

Like /ŋ/, lateral /ʃ/ may be preceded by any of the plosives /p, b, t, d, k, g/.

Examples:

(a) (i) ʃ ɛ pl > uporo (apple)
    kʌ pl > kapororo (couple)
    (ii) d ø bl > āabo (double)
          te ʃ bl > tebore (table)
          ba ʃ bl > baiberi (Bible)
(b) (i) ʃ o ʃ t l > totari (total)
         b ʃ t l > botoro (bottle)
         k ʃ t l > ketero (kettle)
         (ii) w ʃ dl > mədari ~ mənduro (medal)
              nɔ dl > moderi (model)
(c) (i) w ʃ k l > vikoro (vehicle)
         s ʃ l > sikiri ~ sakeru (sickle)
         (ii) m ʃ a ɡ l > simagura (smuggle)
               str ɡ l > sitiragoro (struggle)

2. Unlike /ŋ/, /ʃ/ may follow the same plosives pre-nasalized:

   /mp, mb, nt, nd, jk, js/.

(a) (i) t ɡ mpl > tembore (temple)
         p ɡ mpl > pimburu (pimple)
         (ii) d ɡ mpl > dimburu (diabolo)
               g ɡ mpl > gemboro (gambola)
               g ɡ mpl > girambura (grumble)
(b) (i) m ɡ n t l > mendari (mental)
         m ɡ n t l > menduro (mantle)
         (ii) k ɡ n dl > kenduro (candle)
               h ɡ n dl > kenduro ~ hinduro (handle)
               s ɡ n dl > senduro (sandle)
(c) (i) $\circ\alpha k_l \rightarrow o\alpha koro$ (ankle)
   $r i^l k_l \rightarrow r i\alpha koro$ (wrinkle)

(ii) $\alpha \alpha g_l \rightarrow o\alpha koro$ (angle)
   $d g a \alpha g_l \rightarrow d g a o\alpha koro$ (angle)

Note that the rules for the substitution of prenasalized stops outlined in
4.5.2.1 are observed in the new environments. One result of this is for
distinct English models to be reproduced as homophones in Shona, e.g.

\[\alpha \circ\alpha k_l \rightarrow o\alpha koro.\]

3. /l/ after all the fricatives except /\o/.

\[\text{Examples:}\]

(a) (i) $r a i l \rightarrow r a i koro$ (rifle)
   $k a a k_l \rightarrow k a j a koro$ (careful)

(ii) $r a i s v_l \rightarrow r a i koro$ (rival)
   $l s v_l \rightarrow l e v o r o$ (level)
   $n s v_l \rightarrow n o v e r o$ (novel)

(b) (i) $p a s i l \rightarrow p a s koro$ (parcel)
   $m \cdot s i l \rightarrow m a s u r o$ (muscle)

(ii) $t s l \rightarrow t s i k o r o$ (chisel)
   $d a l \rightarrow d i s i r i$ (dispel)

(c) $m a s i l \rightarrow m a s a r i$ (marshal)
   $a o s i l \rightarrow a o s a r i$ (occipital)

4. Again, like $\frac{\partial}{\partial n}$, final $\frac{\partial}{\partial l}$ may be preceded by bilabial nasal $\frac{\partial}{\partial n}$.
But being a lateral allophone itself, $\frac{\partial}{\partial l}$ may not be preceded by $\frac{\partial}{\partial l}$ in
the same phonological environment. $\frac{\partial}{\partial n}$, however, may be preceded by $\frac{\partial}{\partial n}$.
Conversely, $\frac{\partial}{\partial n}$ may be preceded by $\frac{\partial}{\partial l}$, but not by $\frac{\partial}{\partial n}$.

\[\text{Examples:}\]

(a) $k a x n l \rightarrow k a x e r o \sim o k a m e r o$ (camel)
   $n o x n l \rightarrow n o x a r i$ (normal)

(b) $p a x n l \rightarrow p a x e r o$ (panel)
   $f a x n l \rightarrow f a x e r o$ (funnel)
5. Again like /n/, /k/ may also follow frictionless continuant
/r/, as in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Arabic</th>
<th>English</th>
<th>(note)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ٛرلملل</td>
<td>orari</td>
<td>(oral)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ٛكعدل</td>
<td>kwarari</td>
<td>(quarrel)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

6. Finally, /j/ may further succeed the C-sequences /st/ and /ns/,
as in:

(a) ٛهتفجج   >  hositeri  (hostel)
    ٛكزتيجج   >  kirisitoro  (crystal)
(b) ٛتننحجج   >  tonsoro  (tensil)
    ٛكزنجج   >  kanzura  (cancel)
    ٛكذنحجج   >  kanzura ~ kanzore  (council)
    ٛفزنجج   >  penzura  (pencil)

Note that partially voiceless /ns/ is realised as fully voiced
/ns/.

*General rule:* /C(0) j/ > /C(CV) jnWj/.

**General Conclusion**

The examples and discussions in 4.3 to 4.5 show that in the case of complete
assimilation English models are generally re-phonologized and re-morphologized
in accordance with phona rules during adoption. Exceptions to the rule
involve elements, e.g., /θ/, that cannot be identified with any in the
'borrowing' language. That partially assimilated forms may be preferred
in speech in a different matter that will be discussed later.
CHAPTER FIVE

VOICE REALISATIONS

5.1 MORPHOLOGY DEFINITIONS

By vowels in this chapter is understood only those vocoids which always occur as syllables. The distinction between these and non-syllabic vocoids ('semi-vowels') must be kept quite clear throughout (See 3.1.4). Such vowels may be monophthongs or diphthongs.

The writer prefers to use Pike's disambiguating terms non-syllabic vocoid and syllabic contoid where the use of the terms vowel and consonant may fail to distinguish phonetic from functional sense, e.g. respecting 'vowel' and 'semi-vowel'. He is aware, however, that Catford has re-defined the term vowel in such a way that the term vocoid becomes unnecessary, but for reasons of consistency his suggestion is ignored here.

5.2 SHONA VOWELS

The description of Shona vowels in this study is closely similar to that given by Fortune (1969, 1.25) cp. Manganwi, 1973, 56-7 except that the IPA terms 'close', 'open' and 'unrounded' (see, e.g. Catford, 1977, Ch.9; Abercrombie, 1967, Ch.10) will be used instead of 'high', 'low', 'spread' which are usually preferred in Shona phonology. The choice is intended to simplify comparative statements. In terms of this revision the five Shona vowels are described here as follows:

/ i / close front unrounded;
/e/ half-close front unrounded;
/a/ open front unrounded;
/o/ half-open back rounded;
/u/ open back rounded.

1. Catford (1977, 165-6) has introduced time or duration as an articulatory parameter. He observes that, while vowels have a noticeable duration, their consonantal counterparts ('semi-vowels') are essentially rapid glides away from, or to, type stricture. Accordingly, he redefines the vowels as 'a class of maintainable sounds with non-fricative central, oral, dorso-domal or linguo-pharyngeal articulation.'
This set of Shona vowels, which correspond respectively to Cardinal Vowels 1, 2, 4, 7 and 8, is deemed sufficient for Shona. Although their values in different environments may be elastic, "no two of them are so near each other as to be incapable of distinguishing words." [IPA Principles, 1949, 4].

5.3 ENGLISH VOWELS

The situation in English is much more complex. Of the twenty-eight symbols used by the IPA (after Jones), fifteen may occur in English as monophthongs, according to the examples the writer was able to find in EF. These are:

(a) Cardinal Vowels [i, y, e, ɛ, ə, o, ɔ, u, ɥ]
(b) CV 13, 1, and 21, [o, a, ə]
(c) the float symbols [i, ɛ, ɔ, ɔ̃]

The members of (c) are not regarded as Cardinal by the IPA, but, because they are very flexible, they are useful in the transcription of a language with such a large vowel system as English. The first one [i] may also be transcribed as [ɪ]. It is raised retracted half-close front unrounded as in 'sit' [sɪt]. The so-called 'schwa' [ə] is mid-central unrounded and is used for a wide range of 'obscure' or reduced central vowels, e.g. in the unaccented first syllables of 'again' [əɡeɪn] and 'potato' [pətə].

The tїd [œ] is lowered half-open front unrounded as in 'bat' [bæt]. The last [ɔ], alternatively transcribed as [ɔ], is raised advanced half-close back, as in 'good' [ɡʊd] (in broad transcription /gud/).

In addition to these monophthongs, English has eight diphthongs. These are of three types ending in /u, i, ɔ/ respectively.

(a) /ou, au/ or [ʊ, ʌ]
(b) /ei, ai, ɔi/ or [eɪ, aɪ, ɔɪ]
(c) /iɔ, ɛɔ, uɔ/ or [iɔ, ɛɔ, ʌɔ]

i. The 22 CV and 6 'spare' or 'float' symbols are listed by Abercrombie, [1967, 154 and 161-2].
A diphthong may be defined as a vowel that starts in one position and glides to another position within the same syllable, but the glide does not involve a renewed burst of initiator power Catford, 1977, 176 and 213. Two examples are \[ a \acute{a} \] in \[ ha \acute{a} \] 'high' and \[ a \omega \acute{a} \] in \[ ha \omega \acute{a} \] 'how'. The distinction between a monophthong and a diphthong is not that the latter is made up of two vowels: a diphthong is a single vowel of continually changing quality whereas a monophthong does not change. Although a diphthong may be viewed as conceptually a sequence, it occupies only one syllable Abercrombie, 1967, 60 and 67. Where there is diminution and/or renewal of initiator power between segments of a vowel sequence, e.g. / ui / in / ruin /, that sequence occupies two syllables and is therefore not a diphthong. Shona vowel sequences are typically of this type.

5.4 ELASTICITY AND ISOLATION

Probably it is true to say that in a comparative study across languages, one deals with more abstractions working out patterns of assimilation or substitution for vowels than one does for the consonants. Vowels are very elastic in their values when they are realised in various phonological environments. One must resort to isolation, which of course involves analytic or 'unnatural' listening, in order to separate any given segment from its environment. This becomes obvious when one considers, for example, the very large number of English vowels on the one hand and the very small number of Shona vowels on the other. (Note also that English here only refers to RP). The degree of abstraction becomes even greater if we try to consider possible realisations in Shona of vowel sounds from models other than English (e.g. Portuguese, Afrikaans, French, German, Zulu, Swahili, Sena, Cowa) from which Shona has had elements transferred.

The numerous vowel symbols of the IPA do not all occur in any one language. Therefore, one may not be expected to demonstrate from English alone how all those vowel sounds come to be realised in Shona as / i, e, a, o, u / only.
However, it is possible to indicate potential patterns of assimilation for all twenty-eight IPA vowels by isolating them and treating them out of context. When uttered in isolation, the abstractions may be identified with the nearest Shona equivalents. This will be attempted here before more concrete examples of substitutions in English models are outlined. The possibilities are listed in 5.4.1.

5.4.1 **Possible substitution patterns**

**Table 1: Potential patterns of assimilation for IPA vowels**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Symbol</th>
<th>Replica in Shona</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CV</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>æ</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>ø3 or æ3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td>O</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary CV</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>(u)1 or (o)1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>11</td>
<td>æ</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>12</td>
<td>øE</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>13</td>
<td>øD</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>14</td>
<td>øA</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>15</td>
<td>øe</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>øU</td>
<td>(u)2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary CV</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>19</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>20</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>21</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Float Symbols</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1/2</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>25</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>27</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>28</td>
<td>ø</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes**

1. / y, ø / are the rounded versions of / i, e /. The effect of rounding the lips seems to be not only to bring the lips closer together but also to
raise the tongue towards something like the position for palatal /t/. Although /y, ø/ are rounded, the sounds produced during their articulation indicate that the non-syllabic vowel /i/ is more likely equivalent for both in Shona than the (half) open, back vowels /u, o/. It may also be noted that /i/ and /j/ are articulatorily close, the difference between them in speech being duration (see ff. 1 in 5.1.).

2. /ɛ, ɐ/ are the unrounded versions of /o, u/. The effect of spreading the lips seems to be to bring them articulatorily closer to the Shona non-syllabic vowel /u/, making /ɛ/ more likely as an equivalent than would be the (half-) open back vowels /o, u/. Note that /ɛ/ can also be produced bilabially in Shona, and that again the phonetic distinction between /u/ and /ɛ/ is in duration just as for /i/ and /j/.

3. The starred forms /ɔ, ɔ/ have more than one possibility in Shona replicas. This tendency has been observed from English examples. E.g.:

(i) /wɔtʃ/ > /vatʃ/ (watch),
/pɔt/ > /poti/ (port).

(ii) /miʃɔn/ > /miʃeni ~ miʃoni/ (mission)
/piktʃɔ/ > /pikiti/ (picture).

4. In narrow transcription /ɔ/ may be used to represent vowel sounds that are more open than /ɔ/ or /ɔ/, as in English 'better' /'bɛtə/ [Catford, 1977, 179]. From this observation, one may suggest that, since the narrower the transcription the more symbols required, the list of English monophthongs given in 5.3 may be incomplete.

Inference

Some symmetry may be observed from the substitution patterns given in Table 1 above in relation to the three basic parameters of vowel articulation, viz:
(a) vertical tongue position, (b) horizontal tongue position, and (c) lip position. This is best illustrated on a stylized representation of the
'vowel limit' on which all the twenty-eight symbols of Table 1 are mapped. On that broad map the boundaries for the five Shona vowels are marked so that all the IPA symbols which are realized in Shona, say, as [ə] are included in the boundaries of [ə], and so on.

In Figure 1, made on these principles, the vertical tongue positions are indicated down the left and the horizontal tongue positions are indicated along the top. Unrounded CV 1 to 4 are paired with their unrounded versions CV 9 to 12 down the left, the latter being on the inside of the diagram. Rounded CV 5 to 8 are similarly paired up the right with their unrounded versions CV 13 to 16 on the inside of the diagram. The remainder of the vowel sounds are mapped in appropriate places on the diagram. The areas within the boundaries of the individual Shona vowels are shaded differently.

Figure 1: Comprehensive Vowel Chart showing Substitution Patterns in Shona

---

3. Adapted from the description by Catford [1977, 175-180].
Conclusion

It is clear from figure 1 that vowel realizations based on foreign models are not random. It will be noticed that each Shona vowel dominates a particular area or areas on the diagram. These areas correspond to definite positions in relation to the three articulatory parameters. The only areas of overlap involve [ʊ] and [ə] (see note 3). The other special cases [γ, ь, ь', щ'] have already been explained (see notes 1 & 2).

Summary

i < i, ɪ, ɪ/ɪ, ʏ, ɔ.
e < e, ɛ, ɛ/ɛ, ɜ, ɔ.
a < a, ɑ, ɔ, ʌ, ɔ, ɒ.
o < o, ɔ, ɔ, ɛ, ɒ, ɔ, ɔ.
u < u, ʊ, ʊ/ʊ, ʊ, ʊ.

5.5 English Monophthongs

Patterns for vowel realizations have all been illustrated indirectly in the numerous examples given in Chapter 4 when consonant realizations were described. It is unnecessary, therefore, to give many more examples here. The idea here is simply to give more evidence from English for the patterns summarized in Table 1, otherwise space will be devoted only to points of special interest.

The more straightforward cases may be disposed of quickly first. Examples are given in phonetic script.

E.g. (i) pliz > pūrūzi (please)
    kwin > kwini (queen)
    Rules: English [i] > Shona [i].
(ii) sīk > sīki (sick)
    zǐp > zīpi (zip)
    Rules: [i] > [i].
(iii) $\beta t > \text{beta}$ (bet)
$h \delta \delta > \text{hedyi}$ (hedge)
\textbf{Rule:} $[\delta] \rightarrow [\delta^\prime]$. 
(iv) $f \delta m > \text{femu}$ (firm)
$\nu \varepsilon \beta > \text{vebu}$ (verb)
\textbf{Rule:} $[\varepsilon] \rightarrow [\varepsilon^\prime]$. 
(v) $tu > \text{tu}$ (two)
$spun > \text{tripunu} \sim \text{zipunu}$ (spoon)
\textbf{Rule:} $[u] \rightarrow [u^\prime]$. 
(vi) $d \delta^\delta g > \text{dag}$ (jug)
$m \delta g > \text{magi}$ (mug)
\textbf{Rule:} $[\delta] \rightarrow [\delta^\prime]$. 
(vii) $b \delta^\delta t > \text{beti}$ (hat)
$p \delta \delta d > \text{pedi}$ (pad)
\textbf{Rule:} $[\delta^\delta] \rightarrow [\delta^\prime]$. 

The cases that follow are less straightforward, as the notes below them indicate.

\textbf{E.g.} (viii) $\delta t > \text{joti}$ (short)
$\delta f > \text{oafa}$ (ofa: fer)
\textbf{General Rule:} $[\delta] \rightarrow [\delta^\prime]$

It has already been noted in 5.4.1 that the pattern $[\delta] \rightarrow [\delta^\prime]$ is possible. Further $[\delta]$ is an alternative to long $[\delta]$ or to diphthong $[\delta \delta]$ as in $[\delta t]$ or $[\delta \delta t]$ (short) or in $[b \delta d]$ or $[b \delta \delta d]$ or $[b \delta \delta \delta d] > [bodi]$ (board). But whatever the case may be, the examples show that the English $[\delta]$ is normally realised as $[\delta^\prime]$ in Shona.

(ix) Its more open counterpart $[\varepsilon]$ seems to occur in diphthong $[\delta \delta]$ most frequently. The only English
example recorded with \[ o \] as monophthong was \[ to \]
'toe' which is longish anyway, and may also be trans-
cribed as \[ to \]. Whatever the case may be, the
\[ o \] of English is always realised as \[ o \] in Shona.

\[(x)\] 
\[
\text{ta:} > \text{tara} \quad \text{(tar)}
\]
\[
\text{halif} > \text{hafu} \quad \text{(half)}
\]

**General Rule:** \[ a > a \]

In many cases \[ a \] and \[ a \] are used in the same
contexts in different pronunciations within RP, as 
in:

\[
\text{squad} \sim \text{squad} \quad > \quad \text{sikwad} \quad \text{(squad)}
\]
\[
\text{job} \sim \text{job} \quad > \quad \text{dʒobu} \quad \text{(job)}
\]

In these situations the English vowel sounds may also be
realised in Shona as \[ o \].

\[(xi)\] 
\[
\text{hot} > \text{hoti} \quad \text{(hot)}
\]
\[
\text{god} > \text{godi} \quad \text{(God)}
\]

**General Rule:** \[ o > o \]

\[(xii)\] 
\[
\text{good} > \text{gudu} \quad \text{(good)}
\]
\[
\text{foot} > \text{futu} \quad \text{(foot)}
\]
\[
\text{push} > \text{pusa} \quad \text{(push)}
\]

**Rule:** \[ o > u \].

\[(xiii)\] In English \[ e \] and \[ a \] seem to appear only in
\[(xiv)\] diphthongs (see 5.7) but in very broad transcriptions
\[ e \] may also be used, as in : \[ \text{tem} / \text{təm} \]
\[ \text{temi} \](tem).

\[(xv)\] The 'schwa' \[ æ \]

In English the value of \[ æ \] is most elastic. As far as

---

4. In broad transcription \[ æ \] appears as \[ u \].
its interpretation is concerned, this central vowel is particularly deceiving. As O'Connor puts it, 'there is no single letter which always stands for this vowel'

[O'Connor, 1967, 106. The description here is based on O'Connor]. The result is that the Shona speaker identifies this vowel with all but one of the Shona vowels, when he finds it in different environments in the English models. Hence the possibilities, English [ə] > Shona [i, e, a, o].

Initial position

In English, [ə] is very short and very obscure, as in:

- obe > obaja (obey)
- ma > mana (man)  
- ma > mana (man)  
- at > na (at)
- at > na (at)

General rule: [ə] initial > [a]. In Shona [ə] may also occur. It seems, however, from the single example recorded that the Shona [ə] is a result of spelling pronunciation. Shona speakers generally pronounce [ə] as [obe], under the influence of the spelling 'obey'.

Final position

In this position, English [ə] is not as short as in initial position, and, because it is more like [a], Shona speakers always identify it with their own [a].

E.g. me > meya (measure)
    self > sarufa (sulphur)
    kolo > kore (collar)
zeřa > zeřa (Zephyr)
trřina > trřina (China)
šřika > šřika (Africa)
kanada > kanada (Canada)

Rule: [ə] final > [a].

Medial position

Where [ə] occurs in medial position, there is minimum vowel, i.e., it is 'almost absent'. This should be why there is no consistency in the Shona speaker's interpretation of this vowel in this position. The best example of this inconsistency, as evidenced by variety in the phonological shape of replicas based on English models, is the case that has already been given:

m zřa m > mĩfoni ~ miʃoni ~ mĩfĩni (mission).

The vowel sound in this word is so minimal that we may transcribe it as [m zĩri]. Other examples of this minimum vowel are:

pazlət > pařotë (pilot)
baznə > banana (banana)
čpakšnt > pemanenĩ (permanent)
məlje n > mirijoni (million)
əsɪv > seva (serve)
hišn > hideni (heathen)
risn > risenĩ (reason)
wɔsən > wəfoni (washing)
bəsən > beseni ~ besini (basin)

5.6 English Diphthongs

Examples of Shona replicas based on English models containing the diphthong types already defined and outlined in 5.3 will now be given.

---

5. Op. more examples in 4.5.
Type (a): /a/ and /ə/.

(1)  
- kloəz > kirozi (clause)
- fəən > fon (phone)
- boət > boti (boat)
- kəəl > koro (coal)
- loəf > rofu (loaf)

Rules: English /ə/ > Shom: /ə/.

(ii)  
- taən > taundii~taundii (town)
- daət > dauti~dawuti (doubt)
- baət > bauti~bavuti (bait)
- skaət > sikauiti~sikawuti (scout)

Rules: /ə/ > /a (w) u/.

The replicas given first are the more common. In normal, fluent speech the /v/ sound is almost absent, and is heard only in a forceful pronunciation, e.g., for emphasis or contrast, where the syllable with /u/ is drawn out.

Type (b): /ə/, /ə/ and /ə/.

(1)  
- treəd > tireda (trade)
- fəli > foira~fojira~fera feira fejira (fail)
- reək > raka (rake)
- peəp > pepa (paper)
- veən > veini~vejini (vein)
- veəl > voiri~vojiri (veil)
- dəəl > dəər~dəeri (jail)

General Rules: /ə/ > /ə/ or /ə (j) i/ or /ə (j) i/.

As in the case of /v/ the /j/ sound is minimal in normal speech but may sometimes be deliberately pronounced, e.g., in slow dictation e.g., in, "Ndə-ti ndə-fo-yi-ra ... To-ra vho-yi-ri u-su-ngi ...".
(ii) wart > waiti ~ wajiti (white)
    rais > raisi ~ rajisi (rice)
    tail > taira ~ tajira (tile)
    pail > pairi ~ pajiri (pile)
    vaqs > vaisi ~ vajisi (vice)

Rule: [ai] > [a] (i)

(iii) boi > boi ~ boji (boy)
    toi > toi ~ toji (toy)
    doina > doina ~ dojina (join)
    noisi > noisi ~ nojisi (noise)
    voisi > voisi ~ vojisi (voice)

Rule: [oi] > [o] (i)

Note that in the Shona replicas the vowel sequence constitutes two syllables. Therefore, the English models /boi/,
/toi/ which are monosyllabic become disyllabic [boi, toi/ even if semivowel /j/ does not separate them. Shona words
are not normally monosyllabic anyway, and an initial stabilizing
vowel is often used in absolute pronouns, for example, just to
avoid monosyllabic words.

Type (c): [iɔ], [eɔ] and [iə]

(i) b ɔ > bija (beer)
    kv ɔ > kvije (queue)
    g ɔ > gia (gear)
    i ɔn > ijani ijani (Iam)
    f ɔ > fije (fear)

General rule: [iɔ] > [iə] or [ija] which is less
common. In the case of variant [i jani] this seems to be a
case of orthography influencing pronunciation.
(ii)  feja  >  feja  (fair)
     tfeja  >  tfeja  (chair)
     sfeja  >  sfeja  (share)
     spfeja  >  spfeja  (spare)
     skwfeja  >  skwfeja  (square)

   **Rule:** [sə] > [ẹja]

(iii)  puwa  >  puwa  (poor)
     sụwa  >  sụwa  (sure)
     pijwa  >  pijwa  (pure)
     aụwa  >  aụwa  (assure)
     kijwa  >  kijwa  (cure)

   **Rule:** [ə] > /uwa/.

3.6.1 **SUMMARY**

   a)  o  >  o

   o  >  a (w) u

   b)  e  >  e

   e (j) i

   o (j) i

   a  >  a (j) i

   o  >  o (j) i

   c)  ije

   eja

   uwa

3.6.2 **CONCLUSIONS**

1. English diphthongs are realised in Shona as [V], [VCV] or [VC(C)V],
   where:

   (a)  V = nearest vowel equivalent in Shona, and

   (b)  C = non-syllabic contrast (*semivowel*) [W] or [J].
2. The choice between /ɔ/ and /ɔ/ depends on the phonological environment in the replica. /ɔ/ is used before or after the Shona back vowel /u/, i.e., in the environments /a...u/ and /u...a/. Elsewhere /ɔ/ is used.

3. English diphthong /ɔə/ is realised as vowel /ɔ/ in Shona. The diphthong /ɛt/ is also reduced to a single vowel /ɛ/ in certain Shona replicas.

4. Except in the case of /ɔə/, the assimilation patterns may involve semivowel interpolation. This, however, is only compulsory in the case of Type (c) diphthongs. Elsewhere it is optional, and, in normal speech simple vowel sequences are preferred.

5. The vowel sequences in the Shona replicas each constitutes two syllables. But, particularly in the speech of highly proficient bilinguals, it may be argued from a strictly phonetic point of view, that the sequences may be reproduced as diphthongs in Shona (See Chapter 7).

5.7 ENGLISH VOWEL SEQUENCES

The difference between diphthongs and vowel sequences has already been explained in 5.3. Examples of realisations of the latter will now be given. These sequences commonly comprise three segments.

a) Diphthong + /ə/

This is the commonest type of English three-segment V-sequences.

Example: tao > taja ~ tajira (tyre)
kwaa: t > kwajeti (quiet)
pa:a > pawa (power)
fla:ə > furawa ~ furauzi (flower)
lə:ə > roja (lawyer)
b) **Miscellaneous**

There are other vowel sequences which may occur within or between words in English for which no definite pattern can be suggested.

E.g.  
- keidos > kejosi (chaos)
- biondi > bijomdi (beyond)
- ruin > (ruvina) (ruin)
- baiograf > bajogirafi (biography)

**General pattern**

These few examples seem to indicate that where the English models have three segment vowel sequences, the middle segment will be replaced in the Shona replica by the semivowel articulatorily nearest to it: [i] and [i] are replaced by [j], while [ə] is replaced by [w]. In the case of two-segment sequences, the segments are separated by an appropriate semivowel as for diphthongs.
CHAPTER SIX

AN ENLARGED PHONOLOGY

6.0 INTRODUCTION

It has already been indicated during our discussion of consonantal
realisations that:

(a) Shona fails in certain cases to handle English models in terms of
native Shona phonology, e.g. the English fricative /θ/ is reproduced
in the Shona replica /Gijoremu/ 'theorem'; and

(b) certain partially assimilated forms are preferred by the speakers
to fully assimilated ones, e.g. /Gstraiki/ is preferred to /Gsitiraiki/
'strike'. Further, when vowel realisations were subsequently treated,
it should have become evident that one of the common characteristics
of adoptives from English generally is that many of them have several
variant forms. Phonologically, the Shona replicas range from the
monoglot's sweeping substitutions to the highly proficient bilingual's
fairly accurate renditions of English models; e.g. (i) /feil/ >
/fejira ~ foiru ~ fejira ~ feira ~ feira ~ feila/;
and (ii) /krismasi/ > /kisimasi ~ kizimisi ~ kirisimasi ~
krisimasi ~ krisimasi ~ krismai ~ krisma/. So far the
writer has restricted himself only to more common GS forms where
variant forms were indicated at all. The range of possibilities
becomes even wider if references are made across the dialects.

In this chapter we will discuss some of the reasons for this diversity or
flexibility of rules during the process of assimilation, and we will try
to indicate the general effect of adoption on Shona phonology.

6.1 DIVERSITY IN REALISATION

It is not possible to give a full explanation for this diversity, because
the general problem of what forms a given adoptive may take involves
dialects (both regional and social), attitudes, and certain personal attributes,
Only four general reasons for the diversity are discussed here.

6.1.1 Availability of alternative models (in based on English).

(a) Certain Shona adoptive nouns are based on plural forms in English,

\[ / / b u t s u / , \text{ cl. } 9, '\text{Shoe. Boot. Bootee.'} \]

\[ \leadsto / \text{butt}/; \]

(ii) \[ / b i s i k i t s i / , \text{ cl. } 5, '\text{biscuit}' \]

\[ \leadsto / \text{biskits}/. \]

In other cases different forms of the same adoptives are based on singular
and plural English forms respectively, e.g.

(i) \[ / k i t i /, 9 \leadsto / k e t / (\text{cat}), \text{ or more probably} / k i t i / (\text{kitty}) \]

\[ / k i t s i \sim k a t s i /, 9 \leadsto / k e t a / (\text{cats}) \]

(ii) \[ / f u r a w a /, 5 \leadsto / f l a u / (\text{flower}) \]

\[ / f u r a u x /, 5 \leadsto / f l a u x / (\text{flowers}) \]

When used in the plural the Shona adoptives in class 5 are prefixed by
\[ / m a / , \text{ cl. } 6, \text{ e.g. } m a f u r a w a , m a f u r a u x . \text{ The class } 9 \text{ loan- nouns, like other } \]
sero prefix nouns, have no prefix added but they control class 10 concords,
\[ \text{e.g. butsu dsangu } j d z o \text{ } d z a k a n a k a \text{ (those shoes of mine are good).} \]

(b) Sometimes variant forms are indirect adoptives, adopted via another
language.

\[ \text{e.g. (i) } / b i r i d g i / \leadsto / b r i d g e / (\text{bridge}), \text{ but } / b i r i j \bar{s} i / \leadsto / \text{Zulu } \]

\[ / b i b i l i m d j i / . \]

In the first example, Shona \[ / d j / \leadsto \text{English } / d j / , \text{ but in the second } / j \bar{s} / \leadsto \]

\[ / \text{Zulu } / d g / \leadsto \text{English } / d j / . \]

\[ \text{E.g. (ii) } / \text{sosedj} i / \leadsto / s u / d j (\text{sausage}) \text{ but } / s o t i j i s i / \text{ is a 'corruption} \]

\[ \text{of Zulu } / j o s i j i s i / \text{ involving metathesis.} \]

\[ \text{E.g. (iii) } / f o j o r o / \leadsto / f o j o l / \leadsto / z i / f o j o l / \leadsto / n j a / f o j o l / . \text{ It may be} \]

\[ \text{noted from these examples that direct adoptives are more faithful renditions} \]

\[ \text{of their English models than indirect adoptives.} \]
(c) Generally speaking, Shona replicas are based on English as pronounced by the Shona speakers (or by other Africans) but in most cases they are readily identifiable with RP English. Sometimes, however, the Shona speakers' 'mispronunciation' of English words is carried over to the adoptives, as in /pərəz/ ≤ /pəras/ (price).

In certain cases, because of this tendency, the Shona replica may have different pronunciations, e.g. /bəsəni ~ basini/
≤ /bəsən/ (basin). The educated speaker is more likely to use /basini/ than someone with little or no education.

6.1.2 Availability of alternative substitution patterns in Shona

(a) Choice of terminative. Where the model ends with an arresting consonant, Shona syllable structure requires the addition of a final vowel. More than one such vowel may be suitable in the same position and different pronunciations of the same replica may be the result.

E.g. (i) As brook > /buraku~ burakwe~ burakwe/

'nir of trousers'. Shorts. Fanties'.

(ii) As reek > /rēkə~ rēkwe/

'Dress'.

(iii) As /klab/ > /kira̞bu ~ kirabo/

'Club'.

(b) Nonphonemes

English RP has a lot more vowel sounds than Shona and some of them are very flexible in value. The Shona speaker has problems trying to interpret English vowel sounds, and some inconsistency is noticed in the replicas. For example the /ə/ in /mərən/ (mission) may be interpreted in the Shona replica as /i/, e, o/. (See 5.4.1).

(c) Diphthongs

In certain type diphthongs the separation of the vowel segments by a semi-vowel in the Shona replicas is only optional. (See 5.6).

Therefore, the replicas may be pronounced differently, e.g. /vaizə/ > /vəzirə ~ vojirə/ and /dətə/ > /dənə ~ dawata/.
(d) **Spelling pronunciation**

Shona speakers may pronounce English words as spelt and the 'errors' may be carried over to Shona adoptives, e.g. /ta/ (tyre) /tay/ tae taju taira/. In the last two variants, /z/, which is not pronounced in the English spelling, is reproduced in the Shona pronunciation as a roll.

(e) **Vowels**

In a very few cases English voiced bilabial plosive /b/ may be realised as plosive or implosive in Shona, as in

(i) /kabdi/ (cabbage) > /kabdi/ ~ /kabdi/ (ii) /tebri/ (table) > /tebri/ ~ /tebri/.

New phonemes

Sometimes a phoneme which does not occur in native Shona phonology and does not have a ready equivalent may be identified with various other phonemes or reproduced as in English.

E.g., (1) /saodzi/ (thousand) > /tauzendi ~ sauzendi ~ sauzendi / (2) /sakeston/ (Southerton) > /seaston ~ seaston /.

Note also the influence of spelling in the pronunciation of the second variant.

(g) **Consonant sequences**

In the case of complete assimilation, the segments of English consonant clusters are separated by vowels in the Shona replicas. The [[C]] chosen in accordance with the formula [[C]] > [[V]] V [[C]] determines the vowel that follows the second [[C]], where [[C]] is in final position, e.g. [[C]] [[C]] (bottle) > /botoro ~ botoro ~ boffero/.

In the last variant /a/ would not be acceptable after the /a/ of the preceding syllable in this particular context(1). Sometimes, different

(1) CP. /gold/ (gold) > /gorodi ~ goride/. The explanation here is similar.
speakers may use different vowels between C C, as in

/tren/ (train) > /tiren/ ~ tiren/.

6.1.5 Dialectal differences

Sometimes an English model may be reproduced differently by different dialect-speakers, e.g.,

(i) /bas/ (bus) > /besi/ in Karanga but /bazi/ in Nsuzu;

(ii) /rais/ (rice) > /raisi/ in Korekore but /rais/ in Nsuzu and Karanga.

Sometimes, the 'marked' variety, e.g., /raisi/, may be popularized in GS.

However, dialectal variation is not very important for our purposes here, because the focus is on GS which is generally Nsuzu-based. Forms like the Karanga /baibere/ < /bari/ (Bible) are replaced in GS, e.g., by /baiberi/. But at the lexical level the situation is somewhat different, hence the permanent ambivalence in the classification of some nouns for example [cp. Chimhundu, 1979]. Also dialectal variants may become generalized through the literature, owing to the general tendency by authors to write in their own dialects. No matter how hard they try to write in the 'standard', they always betray dialect, especially since the 'standard' itself is rather elusive. (2)

6.1.4 Extra-linguistic factors

The factors discussed so far all relate to options in the various patterns of assimilation offered by native Shona phonology. The fourth group, while it is also a factor in this respect, is further responsible for the various innovations, incorporations and adoptions of elements which tend towards the enlargement of Shona phonology. They relate to the diglossic situation in the

(2) The situation may be compared with that for Zulu: 'It is quite clear that a writer will employ the dialect of the area from which he comes'.

Nyambesi [1959], quoted by Mkhonde [1960, 5].
Shona speech community as a whole, i.e. to various language varieties and attitudes to them and particularly to proficiency in English. All are reflected by varying amounts of 'interference' in speech.

6.2 'INTERFERENCE'
The term 'interference' is avoided as far as possible in this study but, when used, this will be as a purely descriptive term. It is used to refer mainly to the unidirectional transfer of elements from donor or source languages, mainly English, to a receiving or adopting language, Shona. Whether this process may be obnoxious or undesirable to some is irrelevant.
The fact remains that, whatever the attitudes of the guardians of purity, languages in contact are subject to bidirectional interference if they are used alternately by the speakers. The deviations from the norms of either language, as a result of the bilingual's familiarity with both, are the instances of interference (Weinreich, 1953, 1).

The bilingual in this case is the individual who is at least proficient in both Shona and English, even where neither represents a standard dialect. Reference is to neither of the two extremes, the monoglot or monolingual who has no knowledge of English on the one hand and on the other the intellectual with a conscious interest in language. Rather, it is to members of a bilingual majority (Hayfield, 1970, 4), proficient in both English and Shona but with no particular interest in language. It is this group made up of ordinary people which holds the effective attitudes in the speech community as a whole, and are therefore the agents of the 'invisible and impersonal drift that is the life of language' (Sepir, 1949, 171). It would be futile to try to arrest this development because, at any given point in time, the state of a language is the result of previous development and the starting point of subsequent development (Jespersen, 1938, 81).
The Shona bilingual is rather different from Weinreich's 'ideal bilingual' who will only switch from one language to another when the general speech situation changes, but never in one sentence \[\text{Weinreich, 1953, 73.}\] Our bilingual typically alternates constantly from one language to another in informal conversation, and may only be aware of the habit if attention is brought to it in face-to-face interaction, or if he is trying to speak elegantly on a formal occasion. The result of such general and habitual switching may be fairly stable patterns of interference \[\text{Rayfield, 1979, 55.}\]

Interference may be lexical (the adoption of items of vocabulary), or structural (adoption and adaptation of function words and structures), or phonic, which is the focus of our attention here.

Weinreich used the term 'phonetic interference' to describe the perception of sounds of the secondary language and their reproduction in terms of the primary language. According to Weinreich \[\text{1953, 14.}\], 'Interference arises when a bilingual identifies a phoneme of the secondary system with one of the primary system and, in reproducing it, subjects it to the phonetic rules of the primary language.' Hence the inherent mispronunciation responsible for the production of sounds which lie in 'the structural no man's land between the two phonemic systems'. What is called phonetic interference in this study is a broader view of this tendency. As was shown in Chapter 4, phonemes in the secondary language, English, are not always identifiable with those in the primary language, Shona. Where there are no ready equivalents, e.g. for English /θ/, we cannot talk in terms of an English phoneme being subjected to phonetic rules in Shona. In such cases we have adoption rather than adaptation. Accordingly, the use of the term phonetic interference has been extended in this study, and, is the term re-defined as 'the use in one language of phonemes or phonemic sequences appropriate to another' \[\text{Rayfield, 1970, 54.}\]
Should such usage become general and habitual, the logical conclusion would be towards an enlargement of the phonology of the primary language. That this is what is happening to Shona is the general hypothesis being postulated by the writer.

6.2.1 Tendencies

In a sentence the general tendencies are imitation, simplification and role-distancing. The adoptive variants used in speech may be viewed against a continuation from fully assimilated to almost unassimilated, as in the case of /tʃitorɔ, sitorɔ, storɔ, stor/ and /tʃikoro, sikuru, skuru, skul/. What form a speaker will use in a given speech event depends on his proficiency in English, on his attitudes to English and Shona, and on the speech situation itself. (3) In relaxed speech the highly proficient bilingual would probably use /stɔː/ and /skul/, while the monoglot is more likely to use /tʃitorɔ/ and /tʃikoro/. But in certain situations the former may exercise role-distancing, i.e. he may avoid /stɔː/ and /skul/, for example, when speaking to people who are not familiar, or to people who have no knowledge of English, or to people who are believed to be better English speakers because he does not want to be criticised for sounding 'too English'. He may, therefore, pronounce the same words differently at different times along the scale highly proficient bilingual to monoglot, while through imitation the monoglot may follow the same order reversed. This practice explains the survival of forms where sweeping substitution of English phonemes (and in some cases morphemes) even as the speakers generally become more proficient in English. Other forces that may influence a speaker's choice of variants include the school, where a 'standard' orthography is promoted; radio and television, where speakers generally make an effort to minimise interference; and others in face-to-face interaction who may subject the speaker to correction of 'errors'. These 'errors' may involve

(3) For a description of speech situations and speech events, see Dell Hymes in J.A. Fishman [1968, 99 - 138]
whole lexical items, e.g., an interviewer on television may discourage his
interviewee from using the word /ʃuga/ while encouraging him to use
/tʃigirî/, thinking the latter to be 'Shona' and the former to be 'English'.
In this case both are foreign, of course. /tʃigirî/ is an adoptive from
Sotho. In fact it seems that the prestige enjoyed by English as the N
in the diglossic speech situation is responsible for the tendency in many
cases to discard older, integrated adoptives from, e.g., Afrikaans, Xhosa and
Portuguese, and in their place to prefer more recent adoptives from English.
For example, /ʃatî/ has replaced /humba/ and /tirî/ has replaced
/tʃitâma/ in the active vocabulary of many.

Fig. 1 gives examples of the main tendencies.

**Figure 1: Four examples of diversity in realization:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Highly proficient bilingual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Role</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Imitation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phonological</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>antor</td>
<td>train</td>
<td>blaus</td>
<td>tii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>stor</td>
<td>tren</td>
<td>blaun</td>
<td>patugadziki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toro</td>
<td>treni</td>
<td>braun</td>
<td>tii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toro</td>
<td>tireni</td>
<td>buraun</td>
<td>tii</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>toro</td>
<td>tʃitima</td>
<td>tʃipika</td>
<td>tii</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Type A represents typical variations along scale fully assimilated to
almost unassimilated. Type B shows an example of a later adoptive from
English replacing an older, integrated one from Zulu. Type C is an example
of an adoptive from English replacing an indigenous coinage. Type D is a
case where the adoptive is pronounced more or less the same by all speakers,
but an attempt is being made by the intellectual to popularize an indigenous
coinage. Such attempts are generally unsuccessful in the spoken, dynamic
language although in written, static language they may be fairly common.
particularly as outlined in Chapter 4 are not strictly adhered to by the
speakers. For instance, it was pointed out in 3.2 that Shona has no
c consonant clusters properly so called, and that during assimilation con-
s consonant sequences in the English models are separated by vowels in the
Shona replicas. This tendency, plus the tendency to separate elements
of diphthongs by semi-vowels and the necessity of a terminal vowel in all
cases to avoid closed syllables mean that the Shona replicas are generally
longer than their English models:

e.g. /asikrin/ > /ajisikirin/
     /skstn/  > /sikisiti/
     /windiskrin/ > /windisikirini/
     /basket/ > /baskiti/
     /praktis/ > /puraskiti/.

The adjectives based on rather long English models become so long, if
phonologically fully assimilated in Shona, that they are articulatorily
cumbersome. Therefore, the partially unassimilated forms may be preferred.
It is quite understandable then that, even the bilingual of just average
proficiency in English will prefer partially assimilated forms because they
are shorter and simpler to pronounce. Such forms as /aisikrin, sikstini,
windsikrin, basketi, praktisi/ are more common than their fully assimilated
versions given above.

One must conclude that the need for simplification becomes greater than
the desire to sound Shona. It is quite tempting to explain the preference
for partially assimilated forms in terms of the prestige enjoyed by
English in the speech community. But this prestige factor must not be
exaggerated. When it does come into place, it seems to be largely
ideological because: (a) most speakers do not appear to have any strong
views about the language they use; (b) proficiency among the speakers is
so varied and the effective attitudes of the majority who cannot speak
English with confidence must act as a resistance factor against 'sounding too English'; (c) because of this tendency for role-distancing, even those Shona speakers who are highly proficient in English, have attended multi-racial schools or have even spent years abroad and can closely approximate RP if they wish, actually prefer not to; (d) this resistance factor is greater the stronger the nationalistic sentiments of the speaker; (e) the resistance factor is even stronger when adoptive forms are pronounced in predominately Shona speech in which adoptive elements are mainly single lexical items and short stretches.

Relative proficiency in English, then, and role-distancing or imitation ensure diversity in the phonemic realisation of English-based Shona adoptives. From the point of view of the general effect on the phonology, it may be observed that certain forms have been adopted which are more or less accurate renditions of their English models. Many such incompletely re-phonologised forms are actually preferred, and it is via such forms that otherwise untypical or 'foreign' phonemes or sequences find their way into Shona phonology.

The examples below deal mainly with segments in initial position. Considerations respecting acceptability are ignored.

a) **Single unit C - phonemes**

(i) Alveolar lateral /l/ as in:

/lefu, glas, kola, botel, liva, flus/

(ii) Dental fricative -

voiceless /θ/ as in:

/Sijori, Sijoremu, Sri, Seti/, or voiced as in /ɬɑ:i/.  

(4) There are exceptions, of course, but it would seem that in most situations they are not admired for their efforts. Few Shona people can, and even fewer do in fact wish to, speak English 'like Europeans'.

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*135*
(b) **Consonant Clusters**

(i) Alveolar fricative /s/ plus stop /t, k/ as in:

/storo, stambi, stabu, stereki, stiraiki/, and in

/skuru, skero, sketi, skusapo/.

(ii) Fricative /f/ plus roll /r/ as in /frendi, frika, fetsa,

frika, frija, frija/.

(iii) Velar stop /k/ plus roll /r/ as in /kristo, kreti,

krimu, krimu/.

(iv) Fricative /s/ plus stop /p/ as in /spunu, spoti, spa/.

(v) Fricative /f/ plus lateral /l/ as in /flaja, floi, flui,

fletsa/.

These examples should suffice to show that many otherwise foreign elements
are being adopted. Their spelled versions, e.g. *flasha* and *spoti*, would
definitely be marked 'wrong' by a Shona teacher, for instance even where the
word is considered acceptable. whereas *roti, biroti, tirasi, sikero* or
*chikero* might be accepted by the teacher, the variant forms *lofu, hhotol,
plasi* and *skero* would be considered incorrect. According to the principles
set out for spelling in 'Standard Shona' closed syllables and heterorganic
C-sequences are not permissible. (*op. Fortune, 1972; Cole, 1964; Guthrie,
1970; Mbabinde, 1968*).

As a result we get two main varieties of Shona developing away from each
other:

1. a heterogeneous, dynamic popular variety or *G1* which dominates
   among the spoken varieties of the community as a whole and is
developing rapidly;

2. a written, and therefore almost static, 'Standard Shona' which
   is developing at a much slower pace as the literary language.

The status enjoyed by utterances in the latter style is vaguely reminiscent
of the status enjoyed by those 'bookish' or 'learned' forms in English and
French which were borrowed from the classical languages (*Bloomfield, 1933,
491 - 4*). It might well be argued that the abstraction called the standard
is becoming a second language even before it is fully standardized, and that it enjoys pride of place only in the written form. In the spoken varieties the tendency is definitely away from 'purity', the 'new' or 'foreign' elements in the phonology given above are only a few examples of the current total used. Many more could be added to the list, e.g.: 

/ˈtr/ as in /tresa, treni/
/ˈpr/ as in /pristi, preʃa/
/ˈkl/ as in /klema, klinik/
/ˈkɔr/ as in /dʒɔrɛri/
/ˈsam/ as in /samɔti/
/ˈkt/ as in /ektə/.

As for the vowel sounds it can be argued that, under the influence of English, the Shona vowel system is similarly being extended by the adoption of certain diphthongs. Catford [1977, 215] has defined a diphthong as 'a sequence of two conceptually different vowel sounds within one and the same syllable'. For a sequence to be a diphthong, the glide from the first element to the second must not involve a renewed burst of initiator power. Provided this is the case, the following represent diphthongs:

/ai, ɛi, eɪ, ɪɛ, ɔɛ, əʊ, əʊ, ɔu, ɔu, ɛu, ɛu, ɔy, ɔy, ʊʃ/.

Native Shona phonology does not have diphthongs because, although in a strictly phonetic sense, sequences such as /ai/ in /sitamba/ is similar to the /ai/ in /hait/ because no renewal of initiator power is involved, the Shona /ai/ is not a diphthong because the elements have grammatical function and they must therefore be viewed as two syllables.

During phonological assimilation diphthongs may be reduced to one vowel or separated by a semivowel. But the semivowel may be elided and in rapid conversation the diphthong may be reproduced, as in /tai/ 'tie', without diminution or renewal of initiator power. Such sequences may be regarded as discrete elements in the replicas.
However, most such cases involve partial assimilation or switching. A one-
word switch may therefore be distinguished from the use of an adoptive. A
switch may vary in length from a whole sentence, as in

Nokomana wangu ndakasungwera because he is unfaithful,
to a single word, as in

Nokomana wangu ndakasungwera stupidity wake,
or in

Akaroora su Japanese.

The important distinction is that the adoptive word is re-phonologised and
usually accepted in the lexicon, but the switched form may be any word in
the donor language /Mayfield, 1970, 58/. This is possible because the
proficient bilingual has a double lexicon and an almost double stock of
constructions plus a double stock of rhetorical devices. But even excluding
one-word switches and the more controversial 'loanwords', it is arguable in
strictly phonetic terms that certain English diphthongs are reproduced in
their Shona replicas.

The overall effect of phonic interference is to enlarge the native Shona
polyphony. Whether or not the new elements are considered acceptable by
individuals or by the Shona Language Committee, the point is that GS has
adopted essentially foreign elements in its phonology. Further, it is
suggested that such elements must be accorded status in the phonology,
because in many cases they occur in preferred forms, such as /kola,
kristu/ which are preferred to /kora/ and /kirisitu/.

At the lexical level many such preferred adoptives occur, e.g. numerals,
names of months. Other lexical items referring to items of a scientific or
technical nature, e.g. /roketi, basikoro/, are preferred to indigenous
coinages, e.g. /situdumutseremutsere, bisautara/. Whatever objections
purists, e.g. at the literature bureau, may have to their use, such
preferred adoptives and duplicate adoptives like /dokota, tʃeja/, or
the more recent ones like /spidi, rafu/ have indeed been adopted in GS.
In fact the Shona dictionary enters many adoptives of various categories plus slang words like /tʃukaʃi, waʃa/.

These new elements, both lexical and phonological, cannot simply be ignored or wished away. A systematic study of all aspects of adoption and adaptation of foreign elements should indicate the directions in which the language is changing or developing, the knowledge of which is vital for language planning.
CHAPTER SEVEN

THE TOTAL BEHAVIOR OF ADOPTIVES

7.1 INTRODUCTION

so far we have only described patterns of segmental realizations in adoptives. We will now try to complete the picture by describing how Shona phonology handles the original supra-segmental features of S-models to yield S-replicas which, when certain criteria have been applied, become acceptable as adoptives and are distinguished as such from switches (one-word or longer) of what we will call Shona-accented English (SÈ) in 7.5 and in Part III of this dissertation.

In 7.2 prosodic prominence in general will be discussed. Thereafter, Shona tone and English stress will be discussed as a prelude to an outline of the actual patterns of adaptation. Another feature of quantity, length of syllable, will also be mentioned in passing. In a later section, 7.5, some comments on what will be referred to as 'the bilingual's compromise', in this case SÈ, will be made. Here some of the second-language speaker's problems of perception and reproduction are indicated by way of an introspective examination of my own pronunciation of English, for which the descriptive model SÈ will be used. It is realized that characterizing a speech variety as SÈ is potentially controversial, because a variety bearing such a label is likely to be viewed as a mixture, and therefore to be negatively evaluated socially. For this reason, it must be emphasized right at the outset that the designation SÈ is used only to provide a model for the purpose of comparison with RP, and that no qualitative connotations are intended or implied in the discussion. Finally, in 7.6 some general observations will also be made on current sociolinguistic trends and their implications for native Shona phonology.

7.2 ON PROSODIC PROMINENCE

A strong temptation which has been resisted in this comparative study is
merely to characterize the differences between Shona and English prosodic
systems as those obtaining between a tone language on the one hand and a
stress or intonation language on the other, and then proceed to explain
specific patterns of reorganisation of features in adoptives in terms of
the bilingual's inaccurate inter-lingual perception. Such an approach
would be simplistic insofar as it would imply, or even assume, that supra-
segmental features such as tone, stress, length and intonation tones are
independent or and mutually exclusive. In fact pitch, intensity or prominence
and duration are basic to speech and therefore universal. They are only
defined separately for convenience, but no speech segment exists apart from
some degree of intensity and length, and only voiceless segments exist apart
from pitch \(^2\) /cf. Cole, 1950, 8/. All three are quantitative features
added onto the segmental speech continuum. \(^3\) For this reason they are best
viewed in relation to the syllable rather than the segment as the minimum
unit of that continuum.

In purely physical terms, each syllable in an utterance has some measure
of frequency, intensity and duration. By frequency here is meant the number
of vibrations per second within a transmitting medium. Psychologically,
this frequency is experienced as pitch: the greater the frequency the
higher the pitch, and vice-versa. Therefore, all voiced sounds have pitch.

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1. Also referred to in the literature as 'plurisegmental' or 'prosodic
   features'. The term 'accent', which is less specific than 'stress',
   etc., is also convenient when reference is to prominence in general.

2. At this stage the term 'pitch' rather than 'tone' is preferred
   because tone is an interpretation of pitch in terms of a particular
   system.

3. Strictly speaking, 'quantity' refers only to length. Pitch is
   qualitative and stress is abstract, having various exponents in
different languages.
when the vibrations are periodic or regular, the pitch is perceived as a musical note called a tone. The height of a tone is determined by the rate of vibration of the vocal cords. Sounds with this tonal quality are said to be voiced, and sounds produced without any vibration of the vocal cords lack this tonal quality and are said to be voiceless. But normally people do not speak in segments, some of which may be voiceless. Rather, we speak in monosyllabic and polysyllabic units. Since, as phonological units, syllables include voiced elements (either vocoids or syllabic conoids) as their nuclear elements, all normal utterances include voiced elements because they are built up on syllables. Therefore, there are no voiceless whole utterances in language, which means that all speech has some measure of tone as a psychological attribute of frequency.

Again, in purely physical terms, every utterance has some measure of intensity. By intensity here is meant the energy of articulation with which it is produced. Intensity in a system is referred to as stress. Stress on a syllable may therefore be viewed as the psychological realization of the physical intensity involved in its articulation. A syllable of greater intensity is heard as louder than another of less intensity. Each syllable has in addition an element of duration insofar as its production takes so much time. Its length then is the period of time which lapses between the commencement and the conclusion of its articulation.

Further, if by intonation is understood the use of suprasegmental features to characterize the pronunciation of sense-groups rather than of the individual words, then it ought to be pointed out that a tone language like Shona also has a kind of intonation. Intonation uses differences in perceived pitch to distinguish whole utterances without necessarily interfering with the shape of the component words, e.g.:
In the Shona examples intonation is imposed in such a way that it does not destroy the system of contrastive pitches or tones which are more basic except insofar as the interrogative forms tend to drop the final H tone. Thus / ëeinda /  has / ëeinda /  the pitch levels for H in the interrogative being wider apart and / ìuja kumba / becomes / ìuja ku:mba / . The changes involved (increase in general height plus the dropping of final H) are non-phonemic and the effect is to change shade of meaning (i.e. mood) but the general meanings of the individual lexical items used in the sense-groups are not affected.

The general point being made here is that prosodic features, whatever their individual definitions, are not mutually exclusive. Of course, the psycho-phonetic limits of perception and articulation are such that no language uses tone or stress or length, each as an independent lexically significant factor because this would impose a tremendous burden on the speaker-hearer / Cole, 1950, 127/. However, combinations of two or of the factors may function independently as a semantically significant peak of prominence: tone plus length in Shona, and stress plus length in English. This is why the term 'accent', which has wider application, is sometimes preferred when referring to patterns of prominence / cp. e.g. Gimson, 1964/. In English the combination of stress, length and tone to form a semantically significant prominence is possible because English stress is often accompanied by increased length, and, in isolate forms, by raised tone. In fact, it is
probably only in the lexically significant function of pitch that only one factor, i.e. tone as defined above, may be found to be independent as well as linguistically relevant [cp. Cole, 1950, 11]. For this reason, the essential difference between Shona and English prosodic systems may be viewed as tonal and non-tonal.

What makes Shona tonal and English non-tonal is not that English has no tones or that intonation is not used in Shona. It is rather a question of what feature is considered more basic as a functional system in each language. The crucial difference lies in the way each system employs pitch. Shona is a tone language only because it employs contrastive pitches to distinguish between meanings of words which are otherwise identical:

e.g. (i) *kóva*, v.t., 'beat'

     cp. *kóva*, v.i., 'disappear;

(ii) *kúru*, n.5, 'type of hole in the ground'

     *kúru*, n.5, 'tripe'

     *kúru*, adj. 5, 'big'; n.5, 'polygamous union'

English may be viewed as a stress language because the pronunciation of English words is characterised by peaks of prominence on selected syllables which are articulated with relatively greater force, e.g.:

  'practise,
  ad'vise,
  'investigate.

But this prominence is just accentual or additional, i.e. merely characteristic or mechanical in function, and not lexical. Alternatively, English may be viewed as an intonation language because it has stress-timed rhythm, i.e. only the stressed syllables occur at roughly equal intervals in English phrases, sentences and other sense groups.

Tone, stress and intonation are therefore all forms of prominence in which the same mechanism is used. To disentangle the subtleties one must start by looking at the physical basis of the different types of prominence.
7.2.1 The physical basis of prominence

All speech possesses rhythm based on recurrent muscular movements which produce the pulmonic airstream mechanism. It is this recurrence which produces regularity, whether the rhythm is syllable-based as in Shona or stress-based as in English. The difference between the two systems is that while the chest-pulse is the syllable-producing process, the stress-producing process relates to prominence and operates only on selected syllables. 4

In Shona, where the rhythm is syllable-timed, the periodic movement is supplied by the chest-pulse, the syllable-producing process. The syllables come at roughly equal intervals of time, although syllable length is not really isochronous because penultimate length is a feature of the Shona word and exaggerated length on penultimate syllable marks off a sense-group, e.g.:

(1) ndinoda, kundu,
    kumusha, munguwa

        (I want to go home tomorrow).

The tendency towards equal duration of syllables is observed in slow, deliberate pronunciation, e.g.:

Ndino da ku e nda ku mu sha ma nga na.

An English-speaking person learning Shona would probably produce only three rhythmic groups in this sentence on the basis of stress-timed rhythm, viz:

"Ndinoduku'endku'mushamunguwa;"

or four groups, one for each word, viz:

"Ndinoda'kundu'kumusha'munguwa"

4. Note that there is emphatic stress and non-emphatic stress. All English disyllables have a basic stress pattern, but this can be distorted or enhanced by emphasis.
as all four are trisyllables, hence in English would have at least one stress per word. The latter seems more probable [Hazel Carter, July 1980, personal communication].

In English it is the stressed syllables which are roughly isochronous because the periodic movement is supplied by the stress-producing process. Since the stressed syllables occur at about equal intervals, the intervening unstressed syllables are pronounced with relative rapidity according to their number. For example, the following sentences which have three stressed syllables each would take about the same amount of time to pronounce:

'George's here now.'
'Jason's at home to'night.'
'The 'teacher's in 'Gwelo this 'evening.'

The stressed syllables in these examples would not be equal in length, though the 'foot' containing them would be: 'here' would take the same time as 'teacher's in'. The beginnings of the stressed syllables occur at roughly equal intervals, but the actual syllables will vary according to how many other syllables occupy the 'foot' with them. In English, therefore, rhythm is produced by patterns formed by stresses and it is perceived as peaks of prominence on unevenly spaced syllables. But in Shona the rhythm is formed by the patterns of level tones\(^5\) by way of downdrift plus length patterns which are unevenly spaced in terms of the total number of syllables.

The native speaker of a language will reproduce the correct patterns for his language mechanically, but the second-language learner has to make a conscious effort in the early stages at least. For the first-language speaker and the highly proficient bilingual, the rhythmic movements are produced unconsciously. This is why ideal phonetic empathy is only possible between two speakers of the same mother tongue and the same linguistic

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5. 'Tone' and 'allotone' are preferred to 'toneme' and 'tone'
background: each can enter empathetically into the movements which the other speaker makes. The sounds uttered may only function as clues to those movements. Because the second-language learner lacks this phonetic empathy, he will find it difficult first to observe and then to reproduce the less obvious prosodic features. For example, an Englishman will find it hard to appreciate the retention of contrastive force by tones in a two-level-register-tone language like Shona, particularly in connected speech where the contrasts between level pitch heights may be obscured by downstepping. The problem is that he cannot vicariously experience what is happening articulatorily to the Shona speaker.

7.2.2 lexical tone and lexical stress

We have already indicated that pitch is employed differently in Shona and in English. Both use significant pitch in the sense that pitch generally distinguishes meanings of utterances, but when it is lexically significant it is also capable of distinguishing meanings of segmentally identical words. For Shona, the key concept here is that contrast between lexemes may be brought about by the use of relatively high or relatively low pitch levels on each syllable [Pike, 1948, 37]. We refer to such relative pitches as tones in Shona, either high (H) or low (L). Hence lexical tones are those patterns of H and L which are basic in terms of the pronunciation of isolate Shona words, i.e. as represented in dictionary entries. Lexical tone in this sense must be distinguished from semantic use of pitch levels to indicate various aspects (e.g. excitement or boredom, and statement or question) which both English and Shona use. This is why it is considered unrevealing, or even misleading, to treat the tonal–intonational distinction as crucial between Shona and English. Both use intonation but intonation is not the same in English as in Shona. Shona does not use intonation in

6. Phonetic empathy and the hearing or feeling of speech rhythm are discussed very briefly by Abercrombie [1967, 23 & 97–8].
the same manner or to the same extent as English. In English intonation
is based on stress and is associated with relative prominence of pitch
and in English at least six intonation tunes may be used on nuclear syllable
to indicate various aspects (particularly the speaker's attitude) or in
grammatical function. (See 7.3).

Because in English intonation is important as a feature only in whole
sense-groups, stress has been chosen as the feature with which Shona
lexical tone will be compared. It is considered more useful to refer to
stress patterns of isolate English words and to tone patterns of isolate
Shona words. Therefore, for the purposes of our comparative study, English
lexical stress and Shona lexical tone are the features being examined
because adoption and adaptation take place mainly at the lexical level.

Lexical stress in English is the prominence with which one part of a word
is pronounced in isolation, e.g. the word 'superior' is stressed on the
second syllable. As soon as you have a polysyllabic word, the syllables
are arranged in patterns of weak and strong stresses, i.e. weak and strong
in terms of the energy of articulation involved. In the remainder of
this chapter, the lexical stresses of E-models will be compared with the
lexical tones of their S-models, i.e. with the tone patterns of adoptives
from English pronounced as isolate Shona words, e.g.

superior   >   supériva.

In this example, a strong stress in English is realised as a high tone in
Shona. Semantic stress in English and grammatical tone in Shona (e.g.
principal and secondary) will be largely ignored, because it is at the lexical level that the search for comparisons has been
found to be most fruitful. Other prosodic features which may also character-
ise sense-groups, viz: tempo (speed of utterance) and juncture (pause) will
also be ignored because they are irrelevant at the lexical level.
7.3 CONVENTIONS

7.3.1 On Shona tone

Each syllable in Shona carries a significant unit of pitch, either relative H or relative L. There is one-to-one correspondence in the number of tones and the number of syllables in any utterance. Therefore, these tones are just as basic as the segmental phonemes although only the latter are represented in the spelling. Since there are only two contrastive pitch-levels or registers, the distinction between H and L is relatively easy to perceive because, in terms of absolute pitch, the levels of the tones are farther apart than would be the case in a three- or four-register tone language. For instance, the distinction between Mid and High in a three-register system or between Norm and Low in a four-register system is much less sharp than that between high and low in a two-register system [cp. Pike, 1948, 6.]

It may also be noted that Shona is not exactly a level-tone language, although it is also not a gliding-tone language in the sense that we have no significant gliding tones. In Shona such glides are totally non-significant. It is convenient to refer to H and L as pitch levels but in fact at the level of allitones we do have, in connected speech, low-to-high and high-to-low glides. The pitch can indeed rise or fall during the same syllable, notably with depressor consonants. But whatever the actual shape of the allitones, in terms of their end-points, all are still broadly divisible into H and L tones. Glides are fairly common in Shona because of the tendency for the L to glide to the level of the next H [Fortune, 1969, 1:27-30]. This type of assimilation produces only transitory glides of the pattern [—]. In connected speech the following glides are possible in a ditonemic system:

8. Because such tones are phonemic, Pike suggests the term 'toneme'. A toneme would then be a class of tones. (Alternatively, tones may be viewed as classes of 'allitones'.) However, this term has been deliber-ately avoided and 'tone' is preferred because it simplifies the description. Since in our study absolute pitch levels are irrelevant, the use of the term 'tone' is unambiguous. The term 'allitone' will only be used where necessary.
The glide itself is non-significant, being merely a transition from one level tone to another as a result of two or more tones being juxtaposed. Such non-contrastive glides may extend across a morpheme boundary. For instance the pattern NLMN in \textit{ab\textbf{edi}i} (How is she?) may be represented as $\left[\ldots - - \right]$ with a glide extending across the final -\textit{ii}, although the -\textit{ii} is two syllables.

Because such transitory glides are sub-contrastive, they are of little interest to the analyst, and the practice that will be followed here is to classify such glides by their endpoints. Thus:

\[
\begin{align*}
\backslash & \quad \text{will be interpreted as} \left[\ldots - - \right], \\
/ & \quad \text{as} \left[\ldots - - \right], \\
\backslash & \quad \text{as} \left[\ldots - - - - \right], \text{and} \\
\backslash & \quad \text{as} \left[\ldots - \right].
\end{align*}
\]

7.3.1.1 Semi-dependent Mid-tone

Alternatively, the transitory glide, which is tonetic rather than tonemic, can be interpreted as a semi-dependent mid-tone (H). A case can be made for a mid-tone in Shona which is only distinctive in certain specifiable environments, viz: where assimilation and dissimilation are called for. Shona may then be classified as having two independent tones, H and L, plus a third, M, which only occurs in relation to a preceding or succeeding N. \cite[cp. Green's observation on Ibo and Efik in Cole, 1950, 42.]{...}

The pattern of assimilation suggested by Fortune \cite[1969, 1.28]{...}, i.e.

/... HH L.../ > /...NN H.../ may be revised to /...HH H.../ >
/...HH M.../. If in the transcription H is represented as / - /, then the representation /\textit{va\textbf{rim}e} va\textit{re\textbf{fu}}/ would be quite in order (cp. the lexical pronunciations /\textit{varam}\textbf{e}/ and /\textit{var\textbf{e}fu}/). The argument followed here
is that the raising of the tone on the assimilated syllable is not heard
at about the same level as the preceding H. Hence Hazel Carter's suggestion
that this H be called slipped H (personal communication).

Examples of dissimilation on the pattern /...H H.../ > /...HL H.../ may be similarly revised to /...HE H.../ > /...HM H.../ e.g.
/ m̕uru̕me, wako/ > /m̕uru̕we wako/ where a surface dissimilation rule is
applied; cp. / m̕uru̕me, m̕urefu/ > /m̕uru̕we m̕urefu/ where the assimilation
rule at word juncture is applied. Instrumental phonetics may well prove
the distinctiveness of relative H in terms of absolute pitch ranges within
given tonal steps.

This interpretation has the further advantage that the H is still kept
apart from the inflecting H morpheme of the copulative or stabilizing
construction:

cp. (i) / kud̕a kumba/ (Go home)
    and / kumba/ (It is home);

    (ii) / m̕uru̕me m̕urefu/ (a tall man) and
    / m̕uru̕me m̕urefu/ (The man is tall).

Note that in (ii) the stabilizing construction requires that the adjective
prefix changes to high tone and, by way of dissimilation from the succeeding
H so produced, the final syllable of the noun is reduced to Hid / m̕e/.

A similar comparison would be / kud̕a kweke/ (His wish) which becomes / kud̕a-
kweke/ (It is his wish). The following examples show possible occurrences
of H in relation to preceding and succeeding H, where the H may be lexical
or inflecting. In every case the tones in the lexical pronunciation of
the words are given first.

E.g. (i) / kud̕a, sada/ / kuda sada/ (To want sada)
    / kud̕a sada/ (It is the desire for sada);
(ii) / ndiri, kuda, sadza / ⇒ / ndiri kuda sadza /
   (I want sadza), cp. / kuda / (It is desire),
   cp. / isadza / (It is sadza);
(iii) / u arume, werefu / ⇒ / u arume werefu / (Tall men)
   cp. / u arume werefu / (The men are tall),
   cp. / u arume werefu / (They are tall men).

Note, however, that these tone patterns are typically Zesuru. In Faranga,
for example, the copulative inflecting H does not trigger off similar
patterns of assimilation or dissimilation: cp. e.g. / kuda / (To want)
⇒ / kuda / (It is desire); / u arume werefu / (Tall men) ⇒ / u arume
werefu / (They are tall men).

Where they occur, the semi-dependent mid-tones described above sound fairly
distinct from either phonemic H or phonemic L properly so-called. But
sequences of short low-falling glides after an H are a different matter and
no case can be made for a mid-tone after the H. For example, / atʃi were / and
/ atʃitəverə / would be / - - - / tonemically but / - - - /
tonetically. This is the familiar process of downdrift which applies to all
low tones; cp. e.g. kutarisa vanhu murongomuna

It will have been noted from the foregoing that the occurrence of M is always
conditioned and that the mid or 'slipped' tone is non-contrastive. The very
fact that it occurs in strictly limited environments, i.e. that it is not
in contrast with H or L in all the environments where the latter occur, mean
that it would be uneconomical to postulate M as a third tone in a three-tone
register. It may, however, become necessary to make a distinction between
various levels of description: speech tones (allophones) Vs structural tones
(tones), of which are several realizations possible in actual speech tones.
It is because of such considerations that it has been suggested that M is
better described as 'slipped' or 'down-stepped' high tone / Carter, personal
communication/. In the transcriptions illustrative of assimilation pattern
in 7.4 below we will, therefore, only indicate H (by an acute accent ñ)
and l (by the absence of tone-marking), but not M.

7.3.2 On English stress

A similar binary opposition for English stress (e.g. weak or unstressed
V.S. strong or stressed) would be inadequate because the type-prominences
are more varied. Four or five types of stress within the word can be
distinguished. In fact the six intonation tunes that are used to characterise
sense-groups in connected speech may also be observed to have operational
equivalents at the level of the polysyllabic word.

In this regard, Kingdon's interpretation of the relationship between stress
and pitch change is well worth noting \cite{Kingdon, 1930}. Of importance is
his distinction between 'static' and 'kinetic' stress, especially when we
consider that the combination between stress and change in pitch direction
is very common in English \cite{Gimson, 1964, 218-221}. The pitch on fully
stressed syllables may be 'Rising' /\, 'Low-Rising' /\, 'Falling' /\,
'Low-Falling' /\, 'Rising-Falling' /\, or 'Falling-Rising' /\.

It is perhaps because of an ever-present consciousness of such inter-relationship
that Gimson prefers the wider terms 'accent' and 'accentual patterns' in his
treatment of English pronunciation \cite{Gimson, 1964, Pt. III, esp. 244}. Kingdom refers
to all such combinations of stress and pitch change as kinetic stresses.

O'Connor \cite{O'Connor, 1973, 176-272} and Gleason \cite{Gleason, 1961, 40-50} both use the term
'primary stress' but, for our purposes, the primary - secondary distinction
is rather simplistic, even when one takes into account what Gleason \cite{Gleason, 1961, 41-2} has called 'tertiary stress' and 'open transition'.

9. Note that O'Connor and Arnold \cite{O'Connor, 1973} distinguish further a Mid-level
nuclear pitch. My description only applies to monosyllables in English
or to final stressed syllables. If weak syllables follow the stressed
one in the same word, we get a 'split nucleus', e.g. 'come' /\ but
'coming' /\.
Pitch occurrence in citation forms is the crucial feature in Shona adoptives. The Shona replicas in our data show that different patterns of stresses in the English models yield different tone patterns in the adoptives. Therefore, although it is conceded that linguistically it is the distinction between the presence and absence of stress or accent that is most important, it has been found necessary to indicate more than just a binary opposition, we will therefore distinguish:

(a) primary accent on the nuclear syllable [Gimson] or kinetic stress [Kingdom], which will be marked / /;
(b) pre-nuclear or pre-tonic pitch-prominent accent [Gimson and O'Connor], or pre-kinetic stress [Kingdom], which will be marked / /;
(c) secondary accent without pitch prominence [Gimson] or pre-kinetic or post-kinetic partial stress [Kingdom], which will be marked / /.

This choice of stress marks is best appreciated after an outline of some of the different conventions used by writers on the subject. The table below summarizes the terms and marks used by O'Connor [1963], Gleason [1961], Kingdom [1958], and Gimson [1964]. They are arranged from left to right according to degree of complexity.

**TABLE 1** (See overleaf)

The decision to use Kingdom's stress marks was made on practical grounds. Further, although Gimson uses different terminology, his treatment of the features involved corresponds with Kingdom's. It is clear that by the terms 'tonic', 'nuclear' and 'primary' Gimson is referring to the same features as Kingdom's 'kinetic stress', because accentuation is primary where prominence is achieved by stress plus pitch change [Gimson, 1964, 218 & 221]. However, it is considered unnecessary to indicate the actual direction of pitch change.
### Table 11: Different terms and marks used by authors to indicate stress.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>O’CONNOR</th>
<th>GLEASON</th>
<th>KINGDON</th>
<th>GINSON</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/ /</td>
<td>/ /</td>
<td>/ /</td>
<td>/ /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Stress</td>
<td>Primary Stress</td>
<td>Kinetic Stress</td>
<td>or</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Primary, Tonic, Nuclear.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ / or</td>
<td>/ /</td>
<td>/ /</td>
<td>/ /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Stress</td>
<td>Pre-kinetic Full stress</td>
<td>Secondary in pre-nuclear syllable (pitch prominent)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ /</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/</td>
<td>/ /</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Stress</td>
<td>Tertiary Stress</td>
<td>Pre- or post-kinetic partial stress</td>
<td>Secondary in post-nuclear syllable (rhythmic) and adjacent to tonic; but when remote from tonic.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unmarked</td>
<td>/ or</td>
<td>Unmarked</td>
<td>Unmarked</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>or</td>
<td>unmarked</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Weak or unstressed or unaccented.*
in every case of primary stress in our E-models. We will just follow
Kingdom's usage of the falling stress mark /\ as being replaceable by
any of the other five kinetic stresses, not only because this is simpler
but also because it has been observed that in the Shona adoptives all six
tend to be interpreted as pitch-prominent and are therefore reproduced as
H tone. Another reason is that since L tone in Shona will be shown by
the absence of marking, rather than by the grave accent which is otherwise
identical to the falling stress mark, the latter can be used unambiguously
in the E-models. Conversely, it has been found necessary to avoid using
the rising stress mark because this would be confused with the only mark
that will be used in the S-replicas, the acute accent /'/, also for
reasons of simplicity, the linear symbols /\ preferred by Gimson
are avoided because they are better used only as intonation marks when
accentual patterns are discussed in connected speech.

Primary accentuation will be distinguished from non-tonic or secondary
accentuation which is achieved by stress alone (i.e. non-kinetic). If in
pre-nuclear syllable, this accentuation may be prominent in the sense that
stress is associated with potential change of pitch level. This type of
prominence will be indicated by the high-level stress mark /\, after
Gimson and Kingdom, and will be viewed as full stressing. Thus

\after\noon
\ty\coon

with full stress before kinetic stress will be viewed as double-stressed.

If secondary accentuation is post-nuclear, there is no pitch prominence but
rhythmmical stress is maintained. Such post-nuclear or post-kinetic partial
stressing will be indicated by the low-level stress mark /\, again after
Gimson and Kingdom, as in

\pre\tein
\tele\phone
\ppe\tite.
Partial stressing may also be pre-nuclear, as in 'portfolio' 
'spectator'.

Partial stressing, whether pre-nuclear or post-nuclear is not pitch prominent. (Full stressing is never post-nuclear anyway). In strict physical terms, the so-called partially stressed syllable may in fact be weak in connected speech, but the speaker-hearer still feels it as stressed owing to a subjective, linguistic recollection of the rhythmical patterns from his mental usage of the word [Gimson, 1964, 221].

Weak or unaccented or unstressed syllables in English are usually associated with the weak vowels /ə, i, u/ or with syllabic /ŋ, ə, /]. Unstressed syllables will be distinguished as such by the absence of stress marking.

Our next task is to show how the more complex stress patterns of English are assimilated into the two-register level-tone system of Shona.

7.4. PATTERNS OF ASSIMILATION

7.4.1 General notes

The tendency to interpret features of another language in terms of one's native phonology is well known. Just as the more complex vowel system of English is reduced to only five significant values in Shona adoptives (see 5.5 and 5.6), so are the various stress-types of English reduced to only two significant values in Shona adoptives, H and L. Generally speaking, English stress is interpreted as pitch prominence by the Shona speaker and in the adoptives the appropriate syllables are invested with high-level pitches. 10

Unstressed syllables are reproduced as low tone, e.g.:

/ˈsaʊfa/ > /səfa/

10. The few English-speaking students of Shona I have observed do the opposite. Shona H is interpreted as English stress and is reproduced with or without change in pitch direction. Shona penultimate length is often also reproduced as stress, while combinations of H and length are always interpreted as full stress.
This is particularly true of substantives, whether the words are monosyllabic
or polysyllabic, e.g:

book > bhōk

team > tīmu

former > informə > infōmə

conductor > kondītə

In their lexical pronunciation the monosyllabic s-models have to carry a
lexical stress. Note, for example, these 'content' or 'open system' words:

cup > kāpu

bus > bhāti

gen > peni

good > gūdu

high > hāva ('a high ball')

ball > bhōra

The s-replicas will be disyllabic and will carry a high tone on the initial
syllable.

monosyllabic 'closed system' or 'form' words do not conform to this general
rule, their s-replicas being LL:

egg

'and > cende ~ end

'but > bhāti ~ bhat

'some > samu ~ sam

but: 'so > sō, or phonemically /sə/ sə/.

11. Isolation of the individual syllables is fairly straightforward even
in ordinary spelling. Therefore, phonemic transcription will not
normally be used in this Chapter, except where necessary, e.g., as above
to show how closed syllables in final position are extended in the
adoptions by the addition of a vowel. The stress marks / ə / will
be placed before appropriate syllables in the English examples,
while the tone mark / / will be placed on the vowels of the
appropriate syllables of the Shona replicas.
In terms of Shona phonology such "closed system" adoptives are never fully integrated and, wherever they occur in predominantly Shona conversation, it is either as one-word-switches (see 6.2) or as switch-words which trigger off change to predominantly English conversation (see Ch. 12). In this connection we may also note that, except in special situations or as isolate forms, these form-words are generally unaccented in English usage [Gimson, 1964, 240]. That they are adopted at the syntactic rather than the lexical level is evident from the fact that the lexical stress of the isolate E-model is not reproduced as H in the S-replica. Rather the replica tends to be a faithful reproduction of the English form as it occurs in English sentences, even in Shona conversation. In the above examples the alternative pronunciations end, bhat, sam, so are the more common forms used by the Shona speaker.

In the following outline of specific patterns of adaptation, it has been found necessary to treat substantives and verbs separately, because the tonal behaviour of adoptives in these major classes is basically different. Substantives generally conform to the pattern

E - stress > Shona H

the best examples being the single-stressed nouns with stress on the first syllable:

\begin{align*}
\text{e.g.} & \quad \text{deacon} > \text{dhikoni} \\
& \quad \text{recipe} > \text{rēkipi} \\
& \quad \text{college} > \text{k Creatures} \\
& \quad \text{desert} > \text{dēzēti} \\
& \quad \text{effort} > \text{sētēi} \\
& \quad \text{engine} > \text{injini}
\end{align*}

Adoptive verb stems are basically different, being generally of LL ... tone pattern whatever the stress pattern of the E-models,
e.g. `separate  > - separate
be'lieve > - bnyriva
'turn  > - rotata
'graduate > - girajweta
'represent  > - ripurizonda

The substantives will be dealt with first, not only because more substantives are adopted than verbs but also because the patterns of prosodic features under investigation are more varied and more interesting.

7.4.2 Substantives

7.4.2.1 Single-stressed E-models

Where only one syllable is stressable, the E-stress becomes Shona H, as in:

re'verse  >  ruvhesi
'avrg  >  avhdriri
'interest >  indaresiti
'permanent >  pememendi
'syllabus >  sirabhasi
'opposite >  opsiti
'company >  karbanhu
'parrimeter >  parrimeta

Where the stressed syllable in the E-model has a cluster onset, vowel interpolation separates the consonantal elements of the cluster but the original nucleus carries the H in the adoptive, so that the prominence is moved one or two positions depending on the complexity of the cluster.

E.g. (i) from initial to second position, as in:

'private  >  puraiweti ~ porovhiti
'profit  >  purofiti ~ porofiti
'stupid  >  sikhweti
'promise >  puramisi ~ poramisi
'story  >  sitori
\`store > chitóre
\`president > purézidhendé
\`club > kirábhù

Ex. (i) from second to fourth position, as in:

\`experience > ekisipíriyense
\`experiment > ekisipíreimbéndi

and first to third, as in:

\`straight > sitiři
dscrew > sikurwù

Note, however, that because of the tendency towards longer forms, vowel interpolation is not strictly adhered to. In fact partially assimilated adoptives such as prúfütì, krábhù, ekspírienzí, ekúryù are more common in GS.

For single-stressed B-models exceptions to our general rule are rare. These may involve (1) alternate pronunciations, as in

\`industry > Ḗdźisitíři ~ Ḗdźisitíři

or (ii) addition of a second \` to break an otherwise monotonous L-sequence in a longish adoptive as in

\`catalyst > katálisití.

7.4.2.2 Single-stressed with post-kinetic partial stress

 Normally the primary or more insistent stress (i.e. marked here as kinetic) is realized as \` and normally the secondary or less insistent stress loses its prominence in the B-anteplica, e.g.:

\`diálect > čháirekìti
\`diálogue > čháyárogu
\`para_graph > pàrənirafù
\`pro_tain > pq̂rotëni
\`tele_phone > têrëfónì
\`tele_scopè > tèrésikòpo ~ tèrisikòpu
The N replacing the kinetic stress is the only N in the replica, except in a few cases where the replica is long (at least five syllables) and the penultimate syllable is V-shape, e.g.:

\[ \text{\textbackslash{}tele\textbackslash{}gram} \rightarrow \text{\textbackslash{}te\textbackslash{}rig\textbackslash{}amu} \sim \text{\textbackslash{}ter\textbackslash{}rig\textbackslash{}amu} \]

\[ \text{\textbackslash{}dia\textbackslash{}gram} \rightarrow \text{\textbackslash{}dha\textbackslash{}y\textbackslash{}y\textbackslash{}i\textbackslash{}g\textbackslash{}amu} \sim \text{\textbackslash{}da\textbackslash{}g\textbackslash{}i\textbackslash{}g\textbackslash{}amu} \]

Here the secondary stress is also realised as N. The loss of prominence by the kinetic stress of \text{\textbackslash{}para\textbackslash{}dice} in the alternate pronunciation \text{\textbackslash{}par\textbackslash{}ch\textbackslash{}iso} is the result of sweeping substitution of suprasegmental features and is highly exceptional. (It is probably an early adoptive, via missionary usage of Latin). It will also be noted from the tone pattern of \text{\textbackslash{}por\textbackslash{}ten\textbackslash{}i} that where vowel interpolation is involved the additional syllable so-produced, i.e. initial \text{\textbackslash{}nu\textbackslash{}}, is L and \text{\textbackslash{}nu\textbackslash{}} retains the prominence of the original kinetic stress as N.

In a few other cases where the normal substitution pattern is not followed in the polysyllabic model, the explanation seems to be wrong stress placement in the English forms prior to adoption. For example, the Shona speaker pronounces \text{\textbackslash{}di\textbackslash{}s\textbackslash{}cord} and \text{\textbackslash{}per\textbackslash{}fume} as \text{\textbackslash{}di\textbackslash{}s\textbackslash{}c\textbackslash{}ord} and \text{\textbackslash{}pe\textbackslash{}r\textbackslash{}f\textbackslash{}um\textbackslash{}}.\textsuperscript{12} His adoptives will, therefore, carry N on the syllable which in his pronunciation of English carries primary stress: \text{\textbackslash{}dhi\textbackslash{}shik\textbackslash{}o\textbackslash{}b\textbackslash{}i} \sim \text{\textbackslash{}rishik\textbackslash{}o\textbackslash{}b\textbackslash{}i} and \text{\textbackslash{}pe\textbackslash{}f\textbackslash{}y\textbackslash{}m\textbackslash{}u}.

Another example of wrong stress placement involves \text{\textbackslash{}di\textbackslash{}s\textbackslash{}t\textbackslash{}ri\textbackslash{}ct} which is commonly pronounced as double stressed \text{\textbackslash{}dis\\textbackslash{}t\textbackslash{}ri\textbackslash{}c\textbackslash{}t} by Shona speakers. This error is carried over to the adoptive form \text{\textbackslash{}dhi\textbackslash{}sit\textbackslash{}ir\textbackslash{}i\textbackslash{}ki\textbackslash{}ti} \sim \text{\textbackslash{}dir\textbackslash{}sit\textbackslash{}ir\textbackslash{}i\textbackslash{}ki\textbackslash{}ti} \sim \text{\textbackslash{}dhi\textbackslash{}sit\textbackslash{}ir\textbackslash{}i\textbackslash{}ki\textbackslash{}ti} where both the original primary and secondary stresses are replaced by N.

\textsuperscript{12}. Based on my own idiolect. cp. 7.5.
7.4.2.3 Single-stressed with pre-kinetic partial stress

Where the secondary or partial stress comes before the nuclear syllable carrying the kinetic stress, the former is always reproduced as L and the latter as N, as in:

\[ \text{ca\'shier} \rightarrow \text{keshi\'va} \]
\[ \text{par\'cade} \rightarrow \text{ak\'dhi} \]
\[ \text{hy\'ena} \rightarrow \text{hav\'inga} \]
\[ \text{go\'rilla} \rightarrow \text{gor\'ipa} \]
\[ \text{ac\'tivity} \rightarrow \text{ekiti\'viti} \]
\[ \text{spec\'tator} \rightarrow \text{sipiti\'to\'ta} \]

The last example has alternate pronunciation sipitiketa, which may be explained in terms of wrong stress placement in the English forms. It is an adoptive from the Shona-English form 'spectator which is double-stressed rather than a direct adaptation of the RF 'spectator. Note also that this alternate pronunciation avoids an initial LLL sequence.

7.4.2.4 Double-stressed S-models

It has already been noted in 7.3.2 that full, pitch-prominent stresses may not occur after the nuclear syllable. Therefore, what is referred to as double stress here is the occurrence of full stressing before nuclear syllable. In the S-replicas, either the pre-kinetic stress retains its prominence as N while the prominence of the kinetic stress is lost, as in:

\[ \text{vaux\'hall} \rightarrow \text{vohi\'shoro} \]
\[ \text{re\'fe\'ree} \rightarrow \text{reffuri} \]
\[ \text{car\'van} \rightarrow \text{kare\'vanji} \]

or, which is more often, the kinetic stress itself is realized as N, as in:

\[ \text{ca\'teen} \rightarrow \text{kandini} \]
\[ \text{cha\'pagne} \rightarrow \text{shambani} \]
\[ \text{si\'leen} \rightarrow \text{iri\'ini} \]
The H so-produced is the only H in the replica, all the other syllables being L irrespective of their number.

**E.g. (i)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Shona</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'guara'tee</td>
<td>garapal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'commit'tee</td>
<td>komiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ba'ajo</td>
<td>bhanjo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'ciga'rette</td>
<td>sigarati</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'lemonade</td>
<td>renonedhi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'chauff'ter</td>
<td>shofa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'week'end</td>
<td>hvikendi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'dark'room</td>
<td>chaipimru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'a'men</td>
<td>ameni</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**E.g. (ii)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Shona</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>'millionaire'</td>
<td>miroyononya ~ miriyona</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'campaign'</td>
<td>kambeni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'faul'line</td>
<td>forina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Jerem'ish</td>
<td>Jeremiyana ~ Joryonya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Leo'nora</td>
<td>Rionora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Sara'toga</td>
<td>Saratoga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'disadvantage'</td>
<td>chisachivhandeji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Califo'nia</td>
<td>Karifonia ~ Karifonya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'uni'versity</td>
<td>runivhesiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'superintend'nt</td>
<td>supuritendendi ~ supritendendi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Ber'lin</td>
<td>Ichemina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'Apol'lonia</td>
<td>Aperonia</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Respecting both types of examples, it should be noted that in SE pronunciation the models are pronounced as single-stressed. Either the kinetic stress is lost or the pre-kinetic stress is lost while the nuclear syllable is pronounced with high-level pitch. It is this new SE stress pattern which is then realised as Shona H, e.g.,
These SE examples are based on my own pronunciation of English, which probably means that the replicas are via South African (SA) rather than British English (BE), e.g. 'cigarette', which in SA English has one stress on the initial syllable. I have not personally looked into the local types of English as opposed to BE, but Dr. H. Carter tells me that the differences are appreciable.\textsuperscript{13} The stress patterns of SA English are quite different, and are characterized by a loss of secondary stress, e.g. my SE pronunciation of 'weekend' and 'dark-room' approximate more that of the SA and English-speaking Zimbabweans. This is quite an important point which merits further investigation, perhaps by comparing two idiolects, one of a BE speaker and the other of a Zimbabwean-bom English speaker. But our evidence here is enough to justify the conclusion that the above examples have been taken into Shona quite late, after the development of the peculiarly local pronunciations of English, which are influenced to some extent by Afrikaans.

Exceptions to this rule all seem to involve adoptions where assimilation is partial or nil, both segmentally and tonally. The importation is wholesale or almost wholesale, as in:

(i) numerals, e.g.

\begin{align*}
't\text{four}'\text{teen} & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{f\textsuperscript{o}t\textsuperscript{in}i} \sim \text{f\textsuperscript{e}x\textsuperscript{i}n} \\
't\text{fif}'\text{teen} & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{s\textsuperscript{i}f\textsuperscript{it}i} \sim \text{s\textsuperscript{if}t\textsuperscript{i}} \\
's\text{ix}'\text{teen} & \quad \rightarrow \quad \text{s\textsuperscript{i}k\textsuperscript{i}t\textsuperscript{i}} \sim \text{s\textsuperscript{i}k\textsuperscript{i}t\textsuperscript{i}} \sim \text{s\textsuperscript{i}k\textsuperscript{i}t\textsuperscript{i}};
\end{align*}

\textsuperscript{13.} So much so that she says, 'I cannot always understand local English speakers myself, and am very often offended by their intonation, which again is quite different from British' (Personal communication).
(ii) Compound words, e.g.:

\texttt{prime\textbar minister} > \texttt{pura\textbar minis\textbar ita}
\texttt{under\textbar graduate} > \texttt{andagir\textbar dveti}
\texttt{heavy\textbar weight} > \texttt{be\textbar hvivi\textbar iti}
\texttt{flying\textbar machine} > \texttt{fur\textbar amash\textbar ini} ~ \texttt{fur\textbar amosh\textbar ini}

(iii) Other current words, e.g.:

\texttt{in\textbar dependence} > \texttt{indip\textbar enden\textbar zi}
\texttt{refu\textbar gee} > \texttt{re\textbar fi\textbar u\textbar ji\textbar i}
\texttt{mode\textbar rator} > \texttt{mod\textbar har\textbar at\textbar ita}

7.4.3 Verbs

In adoptive verb stems the stresses of the $\mathbb{K}$-models, both primary and secondary, are lost, the replicas being generally of the tone pattern LL ... .

This applies to polysyllabic $\mathbb{K}$-models of the various stress patterns, e.g.:

\begin{itemize}
  \item[(i)]
    \begin{itemize}
      \item \texttt{be\textbar lie\textbar ve} > \texttt{bhir\textbar iv\textbar ha}
      \item \texttt{de\textbar bate} > \texttt{dhib\textbar het\textbar a}
      \item \texttt{re\textbar verse} > \texttt{riv\textbar hes\textbar a}
      \item \texttt{practise} > \texttt{purak\textbar it\textbar isa}
      \item \texttt{realise} > \texttt{ri\textbar vel\textbar it\textbar isa}
    \end{itemize}
  \item[(ii)]
    \begin{itemize}
      \item \texttt{prose\textbar cut\textbar e} > \texttt{purus\textbar ek\textbar it\textbar ur\textbar a}
      \item \texttt{ana\textbar lyse} > \texttt{anap\textbar it\textbar isa}
      \item \texttt{dic\textbar tale} > \texttt{dhik\textbar it\textbar it\textbar a}
      \item \texttt{memor\textbar ise} > \texttt{memora\textbar it\textbar a}
      \item \texttt{exer\textbar cise} > \texttt{ekise\textbar it\textbar a}
      \item \texttt{sepa\textbar rate} > \texttt{sepe\textbar ret\textbar a}
      \item \texttt{investi\textbar gate} > \texttt{iniv\textbar esti\textbar gate}
      \item \texttt{adver\textbar tise} > \texttt{adhiv\textbar te\textbar it\textbar a}
      \item \texttt{allo\textbar cate} > \texttt{prot\textbar et\textbar a}
      \item \texttt{recog\textbar nize} > \texttt{rekog\textbar na\textbar it\textbar a}
    \end{itemize}
\end{itemize}
(iii)  
'subdi\'vide  >  -sabhuhvihadha  
'substi\'tute  >  -sabhustichuta  
'acti\'vate  >  -aktivheta  
(iv)  
'trans\'late  >  -tiransirata  
'rot\'ate  >  -roteta  
'hesit\'ate  >  -hesiteta  
'o\'fset  >  -ofuseta  

This general low-tone pattern helps to distinguish noun and verb forms derived from the same root models and are segmentally identical or almost identical. Compare, for example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>NOUN</th>
<th>VERB STEM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>dhivhetaisea</td>
<td>-dhivhetaisea</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(advertiser)</td>
<td>(advertise)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhemonisitireta</td>
<td>-dhemonisitireta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(demonstrator)</td>
<td>(demonstrate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>elisessaiai</td>
<td>-elisessaiai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(exercise)</td>
<td>(exercise)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purotsasi</td>
<td>-purotsa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(process)</td>
<td>(process)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhivhoketi</td>
<td>-dhivhoketa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(advocate)</td>
<td>(advocate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sabhustichuti</td>
<td>-sabhustichuta</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(substitute)</td>
<td>(substitute)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>dhikirata</td>
<td>-dhikirata</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(dictator)</td>
<td>(dictate)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>komburita</td>
<td>-komburita</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>('complete dress', i.e. suit)</td>
<td>(complete)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>sapuraya</td>
<td>-sapuraya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(supplier)</td>
<td>(supply)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Another distinguishing feature of the verb stem is, of course, the terminal vowel -a.

The only exceptions to this general rule seem to be short, single-stressed E-models whose replicas are dissyllable, e.g.:  

- sabbhuhvihadha  
- sabhustichuta  
- aktivheta  
- tiransirata  
- roteta  
- hesiteta  
- ofuseta.
But if a mono- or di-syllabic model yields a trisyllabic or longer s-replica after vowel interpolation and/or the addition of a terminal vowel, or because the elements of a diphthong are reproduced as separate syllable nuclei, the replica so-produced will have LL... tone pattern.

E.g., (i) monosyllabic models:

`drive` > `-diriva`  
`train` > `-tirina`

E.g., (ii) disyllabic models:

`re`-`vise` > `-rivhaise`  
`in`-`vite` > `-inivhita`  
`con`-`pate` > `-kombita`

Only one exception to this second rule was encountered, viz:

`open` > `-opena`.

The exceptional behaviour of `-opena` may be due to its having a syllabic nasal in the speech of many people `/ŋp/`, and therefore sounds rather like a monosyllable.

7.4.4. On one-word-switches

Code-switching will be the subject of a later chapter, but it is appropriate to point out here that one possible criterion for deciding whether a particular lexical item has been used in a predominantly Shona stretch as an adoptive
or as a one-word-switch is the degree of tonal assimilation involved. If a typically English stress pattern is retained, then the word is used as a one-word-switch, e.g. the word 'guarantee' in:

\[ Napilwa GUARAN\text{TEE} yemwedzi mingani? \]

(You have been given a guarantee for how many months?)

But if the English stress pattern is discarded and replaced by an appropriate tone pattern in terms of the rules outlined above, then the word has been used as an adoptive, e.g. the word 'guarantee' in:

\[ Napilwa GARANDI yemwedzi mingani? \]

Note here the tendency towards some degree of assimilation at the tonal as well as the segmental levels. The criterion used here is purely phonological. It is, therefore, irrelevant whether a particular phonologically integrated adoptive is considered by the speakers to be acceptable or unacceptable in their language. Rather, the point is that \textit{g\text{'}arandi} has been used as a Shona word and not as an English word.

Where verbs are concerned it is easier to decide whether usage is adoptive or code-switching, because, if the latter, the verb is introduced by the verb \textit{-it-} (do), e.g.:

\[ Taka\textit{\text{INV\text{-}ESITIGOTA}} tikona kuti ayipena (op. \textit{-IN\text{-}ESITIGOTA}) \]

(We investigated and found that he was lying);

\[ \text{cp. } Taka\textit{\text{IN\text{-}VESTIGOTE}} tikona kuti ayipena \]

Phonetically we have /\textit{inv\text{-}es\text{-}iti\text{-}go\text{-}ta}/ which is \textit{g\,LL\,LL\,LL\,LL} and is used as an adoptive, and /\textit{in\text{-}vest\text{-}i\text{-}got\text{-}e}/ which is used as a one-word-switch because its English stress pattern is maintained.

7.5 \textbf{SHONA-ACCENTED ENGLISH \& A BILINGUAL\'S COMPROMISE}

What we have been calling Shona-English or SE for short is that heavily accented variety of English which the Shona speakers use. We will continue to use the label SE for Shona-accented English. For comparative purposes,
this SE is distinguished from English (E), by which term is understood
in this study. I am supported by Ngara [1977] in the general conclusion
that the general effect of the PL on the SL in the speech of Shona speakers
is to produce a regional variety of English which is called SE here. The
continued existence of this variety seems assured by two considerations.
Firstly, 'the speaker usually hears his own speech as conforming to the
norm' [Giles and Powesland, 1975, 49]. Secondly, there is the ever-present
possibility of covert prestige associated with non-standard speech. A kind
of code loyalty grows out of the need for sociolinguistic role-distancing.
In our language situation, the willingness to recognise an exterior standard
of correctness could be regarded, especially after independence, as a
concomitant of a desire for cross-cultural social aspiration or mobility,
and of gravitation towards another socio-cultural group, which is also a
different racial group.

Strictly speaking every adoptive in Shona is an adaptation from an SE model.
The process of phonological assimilation may be described in two stages:

\[ E > SE > S, \]

e.g.  ciga rette  cigarette  sigaret\i
adver tisse  adver tise  adhivheta\i\a;

or phonemically:

/'sig\aret/ > /'sigaret/ > /'sigareti/

/'adver\i\a:/ > /adver\i\a:/

The more subtle characteristic features of the E-model such as the change
in pitch direction on nuclear syllable, vowel quality and/or length are lost
during the first phase, during which native-E is reduced to SE. During the
second phase, from SE to S, a more deliberate attempt is made to approximate
basic native - S features, in particular syllable structure and tone patterns.

In connected speech, the difference between E and SE is obvious but, for the
purposes of communication, it is unimportant and therefore easy to accept.
In fact, efforts to reproduce E-forms faithfully by a non-native E-speaker may be ridiculed by both the E-speaking and S-speaking communities. The point is that as long as the grammatical rules are observed, the native E-speaker finds SE reasonably intelligible. For his part the S-bilingual finds all the features used in E meaningful but cannot reproduce, or does not see the point in trying to reproduce, all the distinctions faithfully. Instead, he conveniently settles for SE, which is a kind of bilingual’s phonological compromise. SE provides him with a spoken variety with which he can easily identify, and his efforts within the limits of SE are fully appreciated. These limits are wide and vague enough to allow: (a) the highly proficient bilingual to use a variety of near-perfect English and still avoid charges of affectation; and (b) the less proficient bilingual to rationalize the more obvious errors in his pronunciation of English. Although the upper proficiency limit is undefined, it exists nonetheless, and achievement beyond it does not seem to meet with general approval and may even be discouraged by the peer group.

What we get then is a spoken variety of English peculiar to and accepted among Shona speakers and in which achievement ranges from the subordinate bilingual’s efforts to further anglicise his SE to the co-ordinate bilingual’s attempts, conscious or unconscious, to de-anglicise his E. The typically SE patterns shared by both categories of bilingual are only fully appreciated against the background of Shona phonology. The main deviations of SE from E are outlined below.

7.5.1 Lexical pronunciation in connected speech

The tendency in SE is to put English words together so that, even in connected speech, the pronunciation of the individual words approximate their isolate forms more than they would in RP. Coupled with this is the tendency away from the stress-timed rhythm of RP towards the syllable-timed rhythm of S so that the original E-patterns may be considerably modified.
In particular, change in pitch direction is often lost, the primary kinetic stresses being reproduced as high level pitches:

\[ \text{e.g. } \text{yesterday (RP)} \rightarrow \text{yesterday (SE)} \]

Owing to the tendency to retain the same SE lexical pronunciations in connected speech, changes in RP patterns as required by change in environment may not be reproduced, e.g.

\[ \text{yesterday (RP)} \rightarrow \text{yesterday 'morning (RP)} \]

but

\[ \text{yesterday 'morning (RP)} \rightarrow \text{yesterday 'morning (SE)} \]

In English, form words may be accented only in their lexical pronunciation but they are usually unaccented in connected speech, e.g.

\[ /'æl/ \rightarrow /ə/ \]

\[ /'æm/ \rightarrow /əm , m/ \]  

\[ /'ænd/ \rightarrow /ənd, n / \] \( (an) \)

\[ /'æn/ \rightarrow /ənd, n / \] \( (and) \)

\[ /æm, sm / \rightarrow / sʌm/ \rightarrow / sm / \] (some)

\[ /ɔn, ən / \rightarrow / ɔn / \rightarrow / en / \] (then)

\[ /ən / \rightarrow /ənd/ \rightarrow / end / \] (and)

In their English, Shona speakers tend to use the accented (i.e. isolate) forms of such words even in connected speech, and often the vowel qualities are also changed, e.g.:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rapid Colloquial</th>
<th>Isolate forms</th>
<th>SE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/sʌm, sm/</td>
<td>/sʌm/</td>
<td>/sm/ (some)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ɔn, ən/</td>
<td>/ɔn/</td>
<td>/en/ (then)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/ən/</td>
<td>/ənd/</td>
<td>/end/ (and)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The less proficient bilingual may further impose Shona syllable structure and add a final vowel to produce a second open syllable, e.g.:  

\[ / sm / \rightarrow / sam / \rightarrow / samu/ \] (SE)

\[ / ɔn / \rightarrow / ɔnI/ \rightarrow / ɔnen/ \] (SE)

\[ / end / \rightarrow / ende/ \] (SE)

14. Unaccented syllables are usually associated with the 'weak' vowels \( /ə, i, ɔ/ \) or with the syllabic codaîtis \( / y, ə, ɔ/ \)
Such a person is also likely to abandon the original stresses and to invest each syllable so-produced with high or low level pitches in the manner of Shona, e.g. /sənə, ənə, ɛndə/. Again approximating Shona patterns, penultimate length may also be added, e.g. /zəmə, ənə, ɛndə/. To that extent, the Shona speaker's English may become so modified that it may be considered to be 'unEnglish'. Sometimes the actual sounds produced may lie in 'the structural no man's land between two phonetic systems' /Einreith, 1953, 14/. E-speakers, especially those newly arrived from abroad, do not always find SE intelligible. Often intonation is a barrier. The vowel system is also a great source of misunderstanding. 15

Variations respecting the pronunciation of words in connected speech may also be explained partly in terms of relative speed of utterance. Even among native English speakers, 'the slower and more careful the delivery the greater the tendency to preserve a form nearer to that of the isolate word' /Gimson, 1964, 263/. SE is always likely to be slower and more careful than either 'careful colloquial' or 'rapid familiar' /Gimson, 1964, 278/. EP, because SE speakers are second-language speakers and usually less proficient in English. They are, therefore, less confident. Accordingly, SE tends to give undue prominence to English weak forms where in the speech of an Englishman such forms would be neutralized or reduced or obscured.

In this connection it may also be noted that the tendency towards reduction or obscuration of forms is greater in English than it is in Shona. In fact, in rapid colloquial Shona such reduction seems to involve only vowel elision to yield syllabic /m/, as in

/maðō, maːmə, mɪko,
  tʃəntʊnda, tʃənteʃʊrə,
  kwəntʊrə, kwəʃəkosə/.

15. I have experienced this problem with both speakers of British and American English, while teaching Conversational Shona. Local born whites seem to find it much easier to understand SE.
Also not uncommon is similar elision in syllables of CV shape generally, especially if these are also affixes of person or class, e.g.:

\[ \text{kana } \text{nje } \text{bova } \text{sa} \text{ajo} \text{vo}. \]
\[ \text{mat } \text{wana } \text{here}. \]
\[ \text{m } \text{ebini } \text{umo } \text{handzati } \text{ndampinda}. \]
\[ \text{ndaktatira } \text{buti } \text{mit } \text{dastoro } \text{maskati}. \]
\[ \text{ndive } \text{uri } \text{kda } \text{kter } \text{makanu } \text{uju } \text{mai}. \]

(Even he was confused.
Have you found it?
I have not been in that mineken.
I told you that I will take it in the afternoon.
Are you the one who wants to marry this girl?)

It also seems that in rapid colloquial Shona the distance between relative H and relative L is narrowed and a sort of monotone is maintained at about H level. But the contrastive force of the individual tones is still perceived empathetically by the speaker-hearer.\(^{16}\) This is why English students of Shona have to be taught the tone patterns by way of slow and exaggerated pronunciation before they can be expected to get 'the feel' for Shona tone, and before they can begin to learn to make the correct distinctions when listening to Shona at about normal tempo.

While a native speaker of a language will understand and reproduce the reduced or neutralized forms automatically, the same speaker will find similar tendencies difficult in another language where their patterns are considered 'strange' in terms of his own native phonology. Mastering the patterns until they can be repeated automatically needs extra effort involving plain imitation. Hence the unfavourable reaction a second-language speaker may provoke when attempting to speak like a native, e.g. kutaura Chirunga somurungu (to speak English like a European). The Shona learner of English

\(^{16}\) It is important therefore in analyses to maintain a distinction between phonemic H and L, and the realization thereof as a generalized mid pitch level.
does not really aim at a colloquial style of English but at a 'book' or 'literary' or 'learned' style for which he cannot easily find a spoken model, and therefore relies heavily on spelling pronunciation. The following examples should illustrate this point /cp. Gibson, 1974, 278/. In the transcriptions below careful colloquial (1) and rapid familiar (2) English are compared with SS reproductions (3).

E.g. (a) (1) /'wæt du jʊm'wɒnt/ 
(2) /'wɒdʒɪm'wɒnt/ 
(3) /'wæt du ju 'want/ 
(what do you want?)

(b) (1) /ɔɪl 'redɪ /
(2) /ɔɪl 'redɪ /
(3) /ɔɪl 'redɪ/ 
(already)

(c) (1) /æ kən 'traɪ æn bɜːrk səm 'sɪts rəund ək'kɔmə/ 
(2) /ɑ kəl 'traɪ æn bɜːrk æn 'sɪts rəund ək'kɔmə/ 
(3) /æ ken 'traɪ ænd bʊk səm 'sɪts rəund ək 'kɔmə/ 
(I can try and book some seats round the corner).

Another problem, of course, is that a second language is often learnt on the basis of isolate word forms which are frequently modified in the speech of a native. In the case of SS these isolate word forms are not learnt directly from native English speakers but indirectly via the written medium. Therefore, SS will tend to approximate spelling pronunciation in terms of Shona orthography. A good example of the influence of spelling pronunciation is the word 'police', pronounced in SS as /pəlis/ and not as RP /polɪs/ or /plɪz/. Nothing in the spelling of 'police' indicates the need for
appropriate reduction of the unaccented vowels /ə/ and /iə/. Further
the Shona do not learn their English through direct contact with English-
speaking people. In the majority of cases the English teacher is himself
another Shona person and the learning situation is formal rather than
informal. In a very strict sense, the English I speak, for instance, is
not English and if I were to teach the language to Shona monoglotes, my
pupils would in fact be forced to imitate SE models.

It may also be pointed out here that Shona has much fewer vowels than English
and the Shona vowels are therefore more elastic in their quality. Because
the Shona vowels are a much more limited set, Shona phonology just cannot
afford vowel mutation, hence the failure to reproduce it in SE. In English
vowel mutation, or the change from a stressable vowel to the 'schwa' /ə/
is common when stress placement is shifted, as in:

(1) /ˈtɛləˌgrɑːf/ → /ˈtɛləˌgrɑːfl/ /ˈtɛləˌgræfɪk/
cp. SE /ˈtɛləˌgrɑːf/ → /ˈtɛləˌgrɑːfɪk/ /tɛləˌgræfɪk/;

(2) /ˈfɔːtəˌgrɑːf/ → /ˈfɔːtəˌgrɑːfl/ /ˈfɔːtəˌgræfɪk/;
cp. SE /ˈfɔtəˌgrɑːf/ → /ˈfɔtəˌgræfɪk/.

Note that the English vowel qualities are considerably modified in SE.

7.5.2 Stress placement

The stress or accentual pattern of each word in English has to be learnt
separately in the absence of a general rule on stress placement (cf., e.g.,
Turkish with rigid stress fixed on penultimate syllable). That there is
always the possibility of error in stress placement in SE is therefore
understandable, although in actual fact it would appear that modification
of type-prominence is more common than shift of prominence to a wrong
syllable.

It is interesting to note that error in placement of stress in SE is least
likely where generalizations can be made about the patterns in the RP forms,
particularly in the longer English words. Generally speaking the Shona learner of English seems to take more care about the pronunciation of the more difficult forms, compound words and long words generally. I have not heard cases of wrong stress placement involving the following types:

(a) abstract nouns ending -on or -ion which are stressed on the syllable preceding that syllable,
   e.g. revision,
   education,

(b) adjectives ending -ic where primary stress falls on the syllable preceding the -ic,
   e.g. economic,
   sympathetic,

(c) nouns ending -ity and -ian in which primary stress also falls on the syllable preceding -ity or -ian,
   e.g. curiosity,
   generosity,
   librarian,
   politician.

These forms with regular stress patterns may be compared with cardinal numbers as pronounced during counting. During counting an isochronous rhythm is maintained, i.e. spacing is equal in relation to time. In SE this isochronous rhythm is maintained, although elsewhere (viz. in connected speech) SE fails strictly to adhere to the stress-timed rhythm of English.

7.5.3 Distinctive word accent

A more serious type of error in stress placement involves pairs of words of identical phonemic shape but belonging to different constituent classes. For example, the spellings 'object', 'convict', 'compliment', 'permit', 'subject' represent both nouns and verbs. It is only placement of stress which will show whether the verbal or the nominal function is intended. In such cases word accentual pattern has also a word distinctive function and
various pairs of such oppositions occur in English.

In the majority of cases SE reproduces the distinctions, if only shift in
pitch or stress prominence is involved. But in certain cases the distinctions
may not be reproduced. For example, in my own pronunciation of 'digest'
and 'discount', I use the accentual pattern of the verb forms (with stress
on second syllable) for both the nouns and the verbs. In the adoptive forms
such an error will be carried over in the form of wrong tone pattern on the
nouns in relation to the original stress pattern of the RP model:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>RP</th>
<th>SE</th>
<th>S</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(i)</td>
<td>'di'gest (vb.) &gt; di'gest &gt; _shaijesita,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cp. 'di'gest (n.) &gt; di'gest &gt; _shaijesiti;</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(ii)</td>
<td>'dis'count (vb) &gt; dis'count &gt; _shisikaunda,</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>cp. 'dis'count (n.) &gt; dis'count &gt; _shisikaundi.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the adoptive verb forms, the SE error is not reflected since the verbs
have low tone patterns.

where the oppositions involve shift in pitch prominence plus a related
variation in quality, SE generally fails to reproduce the latter. The phonemic
changes of quality affect the syllabic in initial syllable. In the verb form
an accented vowel in that syllable is reduced to /\_/ or /\_z/, e.g.:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>noun</th>
<th>verb</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>/'r_z_k_s_d/</td>
<td>/_r_t_k_s_d/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/'k_n_d_a_k_t/</td>
<td>/_k_n__d_a_k_t/</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>/'d_s_z_t/</td>
<td>/_d_z_z_t/</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In SE the reduced elements are not reproduced. In fact, all the vowel
qualities tend to be replaced by 'stronger' vowels approximating one or
another from the smaller Shona set. Therefore, in terms of SE or the S-replicas,
phonemic variation between RP oppositions is of little or no consequence.
E.g. (i) nouns:

\[ \text{pp} > \text{se} > s \]

/ \text{rekod} / \rightarrow \text{rekod} / \rightarrow \text{rekodi} /

/ \text{kondakt} / \rightarrow \text{kondakt} / \rightarrow \text{kondakiti} /

/ \text{dezet} / \rightarrow \text{dezet} / \rightarrow \text{dezeti} /

E.g. (ii) verbs:

/ \text{rekod} / \rightarrow \text{rekod} / \rightarrow \text{rekoda} /

/ \text{kondakt} / \rightarrow \text{kondakt} / \rightarrow \text{kondakita} /

/ \text{dezet} / \rightarrow \text{dezet} / \rightarrow \text{dezeta} /

In these adoptive verbs, as in others from English, the original pitch prominences are lost:

cp. /kondrasta, konvikt, ekspota, purodžuma, saveja/.

Therefore, if in the English models, both noun and verb have identical accentual patterns as in the case of 'comment', the adoptive nouns and verbs will be distinguished partly on the basis of tone pattern:

'comment (n.) > \text{komendi (HLL)}

'comment (vb.) > \text{komenda (LLL)}

In the noun \( \ddot{n} \) replaces stress but not in the verb.

7.5.4 Length

Duration, as a quantitative prosodic feature, is not as liable to modification as pitch is in the \text{S}-replicas. Re-interpretation in terms of Shona phonology seems to involve length only where it is also associated with stress (See 7.2) and the \text{S}-models are monosyllabic.

The distinction between long - short correlates is lost during adoption and new tonal distinctions are imposed on the \text{S}-replicas. For example, in broad transcription / \text{u} / and / \text{u} / in / pull /, noun, 'pool', and / pull /, verb transitive, 'pull' are both reproduced as short / \text{u} / in \text{SE}; i.e. as homophones / pull /, 'pool', and / pull /, 'pull'. But because of the close relationship
between stress and length in English, long /\ u/ will carry a high tone on the appropriate syllable in the adoptive:

/ pu:l /  > / pu:ru /, n.5

Note that disyllabic verb stem / pu:ra/ < / pu: / is KK. (See 7.4.3).

From this it may be suggested that a short syllable in the E-model is likely to carry H in the S- replica. But as a general rule this would be unsatisfactory. Although in SE it seems that short-long oppositions are not reproduced faithfully enough, in the S- replicas this is of little consequence because the typical length pattern of the Shona phonological word, i.e penultimate length, is substituted anyway, e.g.:

(i) RF / k:ai:t / (cart) > SE / kat / > S / ka:ti /
(ii) / k\ A t / (cut) > SE / kat / > S / ka:ti /
(iii) cp. / pu:ra/ and / pu:ru / from above which are not homophones.

The question of short/long distinctions in English is difficult; complicated by (a) the effect of the following voiced or unvoiced consonant, and (b) the number of syllables in the 'foot'. Unvoiced consonants shorten preceding vowels (e.g. / b i d / but / b i t / for 'bend' and 'beat'), and a syllable occupying a whole foot will be longer than one sharing a foot with other syllables, e.g. in 'Come peacefully', the vowel of 'come' (supposedly short) is longer than that of 'peace' (supposedly long). This may well confuse SE speakers.

Finally, Shona phonological structure requires that the monosyllabic E-models yield disyllabic S- replicas and that these replicas carry penultimate length. This seems more important than the short-long contrast, e.g.:

(i) / ta: / (tar) > / ta:va /
(ii) / ba: / (bar) > / ba:va /.
In these examples, however, the original length is retained in SE so that /tɔ:/ becomes /ɪɔ:/ and /ba:/ becomes /ba:/; in certain cases, the original length is retained even after a disyllabic replica has been produced, e.g.:

(i) RP /stɔ:/ (star) > SE /sta:/ > S /siː/:/
(ii) RP /bluː:/ (blue) > SE /bluː:/ > S /buroː:/ and
(iii) RP /floː:/ (floor) > SE /floː:/ > S /furɔː:/

Such replicas do not have penultimate length, but such patterns of adaptation are rare. The important consideration here seems to be separation of the elements of the cluster onset. (It may also be pointed out that there seems to be a difference between Shona penultimate lengthening which cannot accept two tones and doubling of vowels in English which can. English doubling produces two vowel nuclei, but Shona penultimate length one.)

7.6 REPLICATIONS FOR NATIVE SHONA PHONOLOGY

A general conclusion which may be drawn from the above is that at the suprasegmental level English's influence on Shona phonology is virtually nil. Prosodic features of English are considerably modified during the first phase of adaptation from RP to SE, and during the second phase from SE to S the adaptation is complete and typical Shona length and tone patterns are substituted. In any given adoptive assimilation at the suprasegmental level is, therefore, always likely to be more complete than assimilation at the segmental level. What 'interference' there may be in native Shona phonology as a result of contact with English is limited to re-interpretation or/and incorporation of segmental phonemes from English, but there is no evidence of incorporation of new type-prominences. This is probably so because prosodic prominence is normally only accentual and not lexical, and during adoption less attention is paid to accent because adoption is primarily lexical. Current sociolinguistic trends in Salisbury indicate development of Shona
towards an enlarged lexicon. The enlargement of Shona phonology which accompanies this development relates only to segmental phonemes. (See Chapter 6).
PART III

ATTITUDES AND SPEECH HABITS
CHAPTER EIGHT

THE LANGUAGE SITUATION

8.1 INTRODUCTORY

In Zimbabwe we have a multi-lingual situation which is less complex than those which obtain elsewhere in Africa. Zambia, for example, has seven indigenous official languages, none of which is clearly dominant in terms of numbers of speakers and areal extent. These seven have the largest numbers of first-language speakers, although the country actually has more than ten mutually unintelligible languages and numerous dialects (Kashoki, 1978, 36). Zimbabwe has only Shona and Ndebele as its two main African languages. Broadly speaking, these two are clearly dominant over the other African languages spoken in the country. Shona and Ndebele on the one hand, and English on the other, are generally non-competitive functionally, although English is invading some of the domains of use of the two vernacular languages. Certain social bonds and social prejudices remain effective resistance factors. (See ch. 12 and cp. Ch. 7)

In relative terms then, the bilingualism in the Shona-speaking community is quite stable. (cp. Fishman, 1972a, 429 - 45). Shona has by far the greatest number of native speakers, and if we define linguistic vitality only in these terms, Shona enjoys the greatest. But, of course, when we consider other factors relating to status and functions such as prestige, uniformity of usage and wider communication, English clearly enjoys more sociolinguistic vitality (cp. Ferguson, 1962 by Fishman, 1971; and Fishman, 1972 b). Here we should emphasize a point made again elsewhere in this study, that increased knowledge and use of English does not necessarily threaten the very existence of Shona and Ndebele. With more children going to school and staying there longer, and with increased mobility, bilingualism is likely to increase considerably. But, as in the Zambian situation, there is no indication whatever that the African languages are being phased out. In fact, they remain very important for
national (internal) communication, and if anything their use will continue
to increase \( \text{cp.} \) Kachori, 1978, 437. In particular, Shona has always
been and will always be spoken more extensively and understood more
widely than English, although English is the most important official
language. The position of the latter is virtually guaranteed because
English is: (i) the language of instruction; (ii) dominant on radio;
(iii) almost the only one used on television; (iv) the language of the
national press; (v) the language of both central and local government;
(vi) statusful and a tool for upward social mobility; and (vii) an
international language.

A few notes must be made here in connection with (ii), (iii) and (iv).
Radio 1 (formerly the English Service) and Radio 3 (the new Commercial
Station) broadcast in English. The 'vernacular station' Radio 2
(formerly the African Service) still broadcasts several of its programs
in English, especially during the early morning shows and during weekend
shows. Television programs are almost entirely in English. The few
exceptions include: (i) a few Sunday afternoon programs; (ii) the odd
evening program like \textit{Kvongvonge} (national) and, sometimes, \textit{Kurima}
\textit{Kwakakaka} (farming); (iii) certain features during the main evening news
bulletin, in the form of interviews in Shona and speeches in Shona
delivered at political rallies of the ruling party. For a variety of
reasons, the press in Shona has failed to grow. The English press has
continued to be the only one with national coverage \( \text{cp.} \) Hyton, 1978,
223 on the situation in Zambia7. Another factor promoting English is
the scant attention given to translation problems by the Zimbabwe Broad-
casting Corporation (Z.B.C.). Particularly in regard to news and current
affairs programs, many Shona listeners prefer to listen to the English
broadcasts. The quality of translation is sometimes so poor that it is
only the listener who is already highly proficient in English who finds
the Shona versions perfectly comprehensible. Another problem with the
African newscasts has been the proportion of international to national
topics. The newscasts, are too dependent on agencies disseminating news in English and the translators, it appears, are required to follow the original English versions very closely. Translation is a skilled job but translators, with the exception of court interpreters who receive some training and whose standard is very high, do not appear to be regarded by the broadcasting media as skilled personnel in Zimbabwe [op. Nytton, 1978, 226]. Their standard of education should actually be higher than that of their colleagues in the English language services, but the opposite may well be the case.

English, Shona and Ndebele are, of course, not the only languages spoken in the country but Z.R.C. policy (op. education policy) seems to be based on the hope of reaching the widest possible audience in the country. It can always be argued by members of minority groups that such a policy is divisive, although such complaints could not really be over comprehension but over ethnic identity [op. Nytton, 1978, 216]. On the other hand, it may be pointed out that the greater the linguistic diversity the more difficulty the process of national integration because the demands of different language groups are difficult to reconcile with the need to find languages for official use [op. Bell, 1976, 166 – 70]. Although by African standards Zimbabwe’s problem will be simpler for the language planners, they will still have to consider many educational and other implications, plus the competing historical traditions of the three main languages, Shona, Ndebele and English.

"The recognition or upgrading of local languages tends to be associated with the hegemony of those language groups. On the other hand there is a reluctance to give full recognition to English, the language of the colonialists, as an official language because it is felt that this can compromise cultural independence." [Nytton, 1978, 215].
Like most other African countries, we are faced with certain sociolinguistic problems at both regional and national levels. At the national level there is always the need for standardization for operational efficiency ([Bell, 1976, 169]), plus preoccupation with the need to accommodate multi-ethnic groups within a specific political framework. Hence the need to define language policies. Such a policy has not yet been formulated. In fact Government has not even started discussing the matter yet. But however a language policy for the country might be formulated, there will have to be a compromise between the former metropolitan language and post-independence aspirations.

At the moment we seem to be managing on a two-language structure with Shona and Ndebele as the chief vernacular languages and English as the out-group language used for both wider communication (national and international) and as the language of specialized information. Still there is a need for more formal planning, especially respecting fulfilment of the independence aspirations of the blacks. We need more research, preferably in the form of a socio-linguistic survey at the national level ([Kanganwi, 1980]), in order to obtain accurate information on the extent and trends of bi- or multi-lingualism in Zimbabwe. Such information is of great interest not only to the linguist, but also to the educator and administrator who have to make policy decisions affecting many areas of language use. What is needed is further and continuous study in this field. The communication roles of the individual languages and their varieties must be taken into consideration, and so must the vitality of existing ethnonlinguistic groups.

The language groups of Zimbabwe may be grouped as follows:
I. The main languages

(a) African: Shona, Ndebele

Distribution - regional.

(b) European: English

Distribution - national.

II. Languages of indigenous minorities

(a) Shona dominated:

Barwe - Tonga,
Hlangwe,
Tonga (at Kariba)
Chikunda,
Venda

(b) Ndebele dominated:

Kalanga,
Lilima,
Shangwe,
Bosha (at Wankie, Binga)
Birwa
Tshana
Lozi,
(Fengu).

Distribution, both (a) and (b) regional, small groups.

III. Languages of migrant minorities

(a) African: Cewe - Nyanja,
Sena,
Bemba,
Sotho,
(Fengu),
Other.

Distribution - scattered, both rural and urban.
III. Languages of migrant minorities. (continued)

(b) Non-African: Afrikans, Portuguese, Hindi, Jewish, Italian, Greek, Other.

Ideally all these language groups should be catered for somehow. Those languages in II which do not have bigger reference groups in other countries are facing the danger of gradual submergence and elimination, unless they can provide for their own literature and education independently. Either way planning is necessary and such planning must also consider various varieties, especially where these have been regarded as dialects of Shona (e.g. Kalanga), or simply ignored (e.g. Ndebele and Tonga). Care must be taken in determining whether a child's first school vernacular (i.e., taught at school) is indeed his mother-tongue (i.e., first learnt at home), and if not how best he can be taught what vernacular.

Finally, if any language policy must work, it must first work in the educational system. The education system is one of the chief devices for implementing language policy.

8.2. THE SHONA-SPEAKING COMMUNITY

A speech community is any group of people which shares a body of verbal signs used in frequent and regular interaction, and set off from similar human aggregates by significant differences in language usage. The size of the group does not matter and may range from a small in-group to a nation split up into various parts. Whatever differences exist between communities, varieties within a speech community form a system that is made up of a number of shared social norms. (Dittmar, 1976, 106.) The situation in the Shona-speaking community is itself quite complicated. The term is in fact a collective one for a group of mutually intelligible
varieties each of which is characteristic of a particular ethnic group (rudzi). The language variety of each group (chirudzi) has its own name. The Zesuru people speak Chizesuru, the Karanga speak ChiKaranga, the Manyika speak ChiManyika, the Nésu speak ChINésu, and the Korekore speak ChiKorekore. These five are the main Shona-speaking groups and their languages are regarded both by analysts and by the speakers themselves as dialects of a common language, ChiShona. These terms are arbitrarily chosen, but accepted, labels for clusters of local speech forms.

The situation in the Ndebele-speaking community is very different. It is much simpler because Ndebele has no dialects in the same sense. There are indeed certain Ndebele forms peculiar to people of particular areas and resulting from the influence of other languages. These may be summarised as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Language</th>
<th>Area</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kalanga</td>
<td>Plumtree</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lilima (&lt;Tswana?)</td>
<td>Gwanda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loxi</td>
<td>Wankie</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shangwe</td>
<td>Gokwe-Nkai</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>Gwelo-Midlands</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, the differences between these varieties do not amount to dialects. There is a definite Ndebele core, a clear mainstream variety to which all the others are merely peripheral.\(^1\)

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1. This paragraph is based on a general assessment of the situation in the Ndebele-speaking community made during discussions with Mr S.J. Mhlabi of the Department of African Languages, University of Zimbabwe.
Every Shona speaker belongs to a particular *rudi* (tribe), speaks a particular *chirudzi* (language variety) and identifies himself as such. In strictly analytical terms the individual may, in fact, choose to identify himself as a member of a *rudi* which is really a sub-group of one or other of the five main groups we have already indicated above. For instance, the individual may prefer to call himself *mutungwe* rather than *mudanyira*, or *mutumu* rather than *mukaranga*. Depending on his life experiences he may have mastered, in addition to his own *chirudzi*, one or more other dialects. But all are changing and the new situation has brought in numerous factors such as changed socioeconomic circumstances, increased mobility, exogamous marriages and education. These have literally thrown the Shona dialects into the melting pot.

As may be observed in Fig. 1, the general effect has been a gradual process of domination by a *Zeruru*-based variety of Shona. One may well claim that *Zeruru* is becoming the de facto 'prestige-laden standard', *vis-a-vis*, not the other dialects as such, but their sub-dialects or *LVs* as the numerous 'local patois' [Greenberg, 197 lb, 185]. For reasons of ethnic identity these *LVs* are preserved but their speakers adopt certain linguistic features from *Zeruru* to avoid the use of marked or provincial forms which they think may carry some stigma. This may affect whole lexical items or just phonological variants (see 8.3.2).

The *PL* is not indicated as a LWC because it has no individual existence in natural speech flow. In reality this is only a standard language, which as a standard remains both an abstraction and an ideal and is only partly realized in the literary style. This is the style in which the influence of other languages is least apparent. It can be argued, however, when current trends are considered, that *GSV* (hereafter simply *GS*) will significantly influence the shape of the ultimate Standard Shona that will
Figure 1 The Language Varieties of the Shona-Speaking Community

KEY:

LV : Local Variety (sub-dialect, e.g. Save, Shweshe)
ZRD : Zezuru Regional Variety (Dialect)
ORD : Other Regional Variety (Dialect)
PL : Primary Language
Std-Lit : Standard - Literary Shona
SL(E) : Secondary Language (English)
OL : Other Languages (e.g. Cewa, Afrikaans, Ndebele)
GSV : General Spoken Variety (SNORM + English and/or Other)
Sp, Ps, Sp : Manner of switching (in quantitative terms)
KEY (continued)
Sp (o) : Secondary Language Predominant
Pe (o) : Primary Language Predominant
PS (o) : Balanced Switching (untypical)
(o) : Other Languages
H, L : 'High,' 'Low' in diglossic situation
N : Dominant or 'Upper' Language (English)
L : 'Lower' Language (Shona)
LNC : Language for wider Communication

(1), (2), (3) : Intra-group communication levels (where 'Group' refers to the entire Shona-speaking community)
(1), (3), (5) : Inter-group communication levels (where 'group' subsumes Shona, urban and foreign)
(A) : (sub-) Dialect + (sub-) Dialect
(B) : Shona + Other (Zimbabwean)
(C) : International

N.B.

Figure 1 may be viewed as a descriptive model of options available to the Shona speaker and is an adaptation from Chimbandu (1979, 76).
emerge after the essential processes of elaboration and intellectualization (see §4.1). This process and its relationship with local and regional varieties in a diglossic situation is indicated in Figure 2.

**Figure 2:** Towards a JS-based Standard

\[ \begin{array}{c}
\text{H} \\
\text{L}
\end{array} \xrightarrow{BD} Z \xrightarrow{GS} \xrightarrow{Std-Lit^2} \xrightarrow{LV_{GB}} \xrightarrow{GRB} LV_{wR} \]

The standard is unlikely to be arrived at by the natural development of our idealized HL. The incipient HL is actually struggling against a faster growing GS. The GS variety is itself quite unstable, lexically at any rate, being a variety of admixtures of Shona (the L) and English (the H) in a diglossic situation, plus switches and adoptive forms from other languages (OL) according to the degree to which individual speakers have been exposed to those languages. This is what has traditionally been described as interference in the study of languages in contact [cp. esp., Weinreich, 1953]. The main OL with which Shona has had contact are Ceva, Sosa, Ndebele, Afrikaans and Portuguese.

GS is in effect a true functional variety. In the shaded overlap area of Figure 1 it will be noticed that the arrows converge on GS. In the same area are also found two varieties, 'English' and 'Shona', neither of which is anybody's mother-tongue variety; but whether a case can be made for either an inter-language or a Shona-English dialect is a moot point. All we have been able to show in this study is that bilinguals use Shona-accented English [cp. ch. 7].

---

2. In reality, GS minus switches.
In this section, the terms 'interference', 'high', 'low', 'sub-dialect', 'dialect' or 'language', and 'indigenous' or 'foreign' are used in a technical sense without any evaluative or emotional character. The view taken here is the neutral one that at any given point in time the state of a language cannot be better or worse than any of its previous forms; nor can a language be better or worse than any other language in the same period of history. Cultures differ, change and interact, and languages must adopt and adapt accordingly 'to suit the occupancy of a new personality' [Heugen, 1972, 303]. Rather, what is being suggested here is that a case can be made for multiple diglossia in the Shona-speaking community: (a) along a triglossic pattern from LV through PL and GS to E (in lieu) as in Figure 4; and (b) between each variety of Shona (S) and English as in Figure 4.

**Figure 3: Triglossia**

\[
\begin{align*}
H &= E \\
L &= PL/OS \\
&= H \\
&= LV \\
&= L
\end{align*}
\]

**Figure 4: Multiple diglossia**

\[
\begin{align*}
H &= E \\
&= E \\
&= E \\
L &= LV \\
&= PL \\
&= GS
\end{align*}
\]

What one gets in the end is not a simple case of diglossia between say, LV and GS or PL [op. Ferguson, 1964], or between S and E, if we accept Fishman's modification of the notion [Fishman, 1972a]. Nor could a further modification to incorporate the notion of triglossia [Abdulai-Nkilifi, 1972] adequately describe the manner in which the linguistic versatility of Shona speakers has developed, or is developing, some patterns of usage as social norms. The situation is complex and it is very difficult to try to describe Shona as a whole. Suffice it to say that in this study the term 'Shona' is used to refer to any or all of its
varieties from UV to GS. The language is heterogeneous and the social situation fluid. The development of a standard dialect is not easy to predict or control in a situation where the speakers' sociolinguistic behaviour tends away from 'purity' in the overlap area of Figure 1. Hence the real need to give serious attention to adaptive forms and innovations in the language.

All this is not to suggest, however, that the situation is just haphazard or that no efforts are being made to modernise the language. Honeyman's Standard Shona Dictionary is one big contribution in this direction, although the dictionary has its own weaknesses (Chinhunhu, 1979; Fortune, 1979). That Shona is being codified and elaborated is not disputed. The Literature Bureau, educational institutions, the broadcasting media and some of the small newspapers (e.g., the weekly Motse and The People's Weekly) are all contributing in their own small ways to the processes of codification and elaboration, the twin-aspects of language modernization (Whiteley, 1971, 1-2). But this process lacks formal planning. At the time of writing, Zimbabwe does not have a national language policy. The result is that although standardization in grammar, orthography and phonology has made some progress, there is confusion at the lexical level. For instance, language elaboration involving the addition of technical vocabulary is lagging far behind codification. Language elaboration is an ongoing process (Hiebold, 1964) but in Shona it is being managed mainly at the ideoclectic level. This is probably why the general tendency is to switch from Shona to English every now and then because English acts both as the language of specialized information and of wider communication (Rida and Wunderly, 1971).

8.3 TWO LEVELS OF WORD-ORDER ALIGNANCE

As we have already indicated in 8.2 we find within the Shona-speaking community two levels at which language varieties are competing: (1)
Shona against English; and (ii) Shona variety (IV, RV) against Shona variety (GE).

6.3.1 Shona and English

We have two broad ethno-linguistic groups which, sociolinguistically speaking, exist in an unequal relationship: (a) the white, mainly English-speaking group, which is the more powerful group both economically and in terms of certain other important aspects of ethno-linguistic vitality; (b) the less powerful, but numerically superior, black group among whom Shona is the most widely spoken language [op. Kwanerwe, 1980, 12-13].

This study does not examine the influence of Shona on English, but there is no doubt that the influence of E on S has been minimal if anything, while that of S on E has been powerful and pervasive [op. Ngwara's study of the mutual impact of E and S, 1977].

For many years the practical background has been exerting a variety of pressures to learn E, the N language of the dominant and privileged group. Among the undesirable results has been a tendency to punish the learner, the incipient bilingual and the subordinate bilingual's imperfections with ridicule and other sanctions, particularly in employment. Some L speakers actually developed negative attitudes to their own language and, in speaking it to their fellows, would even take pride in garnishing it with foreign forms, especially from English [op. Bloomfield, 1933, 462]. But if the power-prestige factor is not to be exaggerated, it must also be remembered that speakers will modify their own language, the one they are more certain of, more readily than the one they are learning or know only imperfectly [Bloomfield, 1933, 217].

3. More political power is not being considered.
We concede that E is the H and S is the L but, in our case, we cannot say that, 'The language with greater prestige displaces that with lesser prestige' [Zittmar, 1976, 180]. No evidence was found in this study to support such an extreme position. It would be wrong in our case to assume that speakers lose their ability to use Shona as they learn and use more and more English. What may have given some people this impression is the fact that the Shona speaker who has become highly proficient in English is also likely to be one who is highly educated. Many of the situations in which he finds himself, and many of the topics he finds himself discussing, actually require him to refer to concepts for which his own language has no terms or has less precise terms. Often these are technical and have been learnt in English. Therefore, there is always an element of what we will later call unavoidable switching (see 12.2.2.1). Further, an individual's preference to use an SL more than his PL does not necessarily mean that he has become more proficient in the SL and is 'forgetting' the PL. Very often ... is just a question of what one is talking about. Emotional claims that 'Shona is dying' and is being 'replaced' by English simply find no support from empirical research.

Our bilingualism is non-replacive and a variety of factors make development in this direction quite impossible. African SE bilinguals are S-dominant, being more socialized in S than in E.

E is learnt only after the primary socialization phase. Responses from students of the University of Zimbabwe showed that even university educated people cannot use E and S equally well in many functions. (In fact a common complaint from University tutors is the 'poor English' of the African students). One must also consider the relative intactness of the Shona groups, the overwhelming numerical superiority of the rural population, and the strong (tribal) links between urban and rural inhabitants. It is a well known fact that..."
more than rural inhabitants towards language shifting' (Bittmar, 1976, 180). The rural areas, where the majority of the people live, enjoy relative linguistic isolation which is achieved through general conservatism, endogamous marriages, lack of informal opportunities to converse in English in personal as opposed to transactional interaction, and inadequate school facilities (op. Rubin, 1972, 362). Most Africans have their first exposure to English when they go to school and, at the time of writing, only a minority go through to secondary education. Therefore, their best chance is to become only S-dominant, subordinate bilinguals (op. Rubin, 1972, 353). Their teachers of English are fellow Africans with varying degrees of proficiency in English and, except for a very small percentage of urban children who attend multi-racial schools and/or live in multi-racial suburbs, the learning situation is very different from minorities in the United States of America and the United Kingdom, for example. School may be in English but almost everything else is in the mother-tongue, Shona (cf. Bell, 1976, 117). Except in transactional linguistic interaction (Bell, 1976, 106), a knowledge of English is not required in most of the situations where the Shona speaker finds himself. His experiences in English are, therefore, confined to only two domains (school and business), very few role-relationships, and a limited number of speech functions. Under such circumstances communicative competence in English is bound to be limited, even among the more educated, because the speaker's competence is restricted to those social contexts with which he is familiar: '... we are all confined, to some extent, to the styles we have acquired in the social situations within which we have been socialized' (Pride and Holmes, 1972, 11).

Finally, we must also point out cultural or ethnic pride, which is a powerful resistance factor and has recently been given a tremendous boost by the attainment of independence in Zimbabwe. The new consciousness which was cultivated during the national liberation struggle will effectively and permanently eliminate certain negative attitudes which some
speakers may have developed towards their own language, or even to some of its own BD. And, indirectly, the new interest Europeans are showing in learning Shona can only help revive some of the lost prestige of the language in the eyes of its native speakers.\footnote{The teaching of Shona as a second language is something in which I am actively involved, and I find that the new interest in Shona is a result of a significant revision of racial attitudes.} At present English certainly enjoys more prestige than Shona. English's prestige derives mainly from its association with socioeconomic success, but Shona also enjoys a certain inherent prestige which can be explained in terms of ethnicity (cultural pride) and the need for role-distanciation. Among other things, the latter consideration makes extra-careful use of English artificial and snobbish, particularly if an attempt is also made by an African to use the native English accent.

8.3.2 IV and GS

In Africa 'language' and 'tribe' are related but different concepts, and the tendency should be avoided to regard the two as invariably synonymous. Kachoki, 1976, 9. Still it is possible to define tribes in terms of language but the tribal-linguistic boundaries have always been blurred. Indeed the distinction between language and dialect is just a matter of degree in some cases and, as Giles and Powesland further observe, 'partly subjective and contingent upon a desire for social unity or separation' (1975, 6). Even in traditional African society there were large areas where there was a kind of unity in diversity, as was the case between the Shona groups in Zimbabwe. Such broader areas themselves tended to overlap and, with increased mobility both regionally (horizontally) and socially (vertically), ethnic heterogeneity and interaction has spread beyond the main towns into the countryside. But the same factors can also work in the opposite direction, i.e. towards
unification and standardization. With some speakers ethnic loyalty in a narrow sense is, of course, greater than supra-ethnic loyalty. Linguistic unity is always difficult to attain and, when one considers that in Africa tribe is generally defined in terms of first language, and that language is a key source of tribal cohesion, it becomes easier to understand why at the national level linguistic unity is unattainable. Tribalism remains 'a basic political factor in Africa' (Greenberg, 1971a, 208).

Still, there remains always a need to standardise certain languages for operational efficiency at the national level. Countries which have undergone a linguistic standardisation process advance economically at a much faster rate than those which have not (Giles and Pussegoda, 1975, 10). For the Shona groups of Zimbabwe, the process of unification at the unplanned spoken level, and hence standardisation, will most probably evolve around a Zesu-based GS. Non-Zesu RD and LV generally exist as L in a diglossic situation in which Zesu and GS are functional H. Two levels of this coexistence may be broadly identified as: (1) LV against RD; and (2) RD against GS.

In Salisbury at least Zesu forms, both lexical and phonological, very often seem to win the struggle of regional oppositions. In language communities generally, very often speakers do not accept the fact that two different forms actually mean the same thing. The social values of the groups using such forms may be attributed to particular linguistic equivalents or variants. But when the opposition of two forms is resolved and one form becomes universal, the social value attached to it disappears (Labov, 1972, 199 - 200).
Evidence has been noted of attempts to escape from non-Zesuru regional forms involving whole lexical items. For example, the items in list A are regularly used by more and more Karanga speakers, although the pairs listed are identical in meaning.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Zesuru preferred form</td>
<td>Karanga typically used</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>phugwe (kneel down)</td>
<td>gudane</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nyara (be shy, ashamed)</td>
<td>svoda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>avipa (spit)</td>
<td>pfira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nanata (pray)</td>
<td>nvengetera</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tambira (draw salary, wage)</td>
<td>hore, - xora</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chibwe (maize)</td>
<td>harwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chitade (sin)</td>
<td>chivi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>shanje (jealousy)</td>
<td>godo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tsangadzi (couch grass, lawn)</td>
<td>shanje</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>derere (okra)</td>
<td>gusha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abamhara (&lt; Ngi Sweet potato)</td>
<td>bura</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>abatata (&lt; Ei potato)</td>
<td>swiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mwa. Kwete (No.)</td>
<td>Nyungwe, Bodo.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

At the phonological level there is also evidence of dialectal cross-over and hypercorrection by non-Zesuru speakers. In our language situation the cross-over phenomenon or hypercorrection (i.e., erroneous imitation offavoured speech forms) is horizontal rather than vertical because our community does not have the kind of social stratification where, for instance, a lower-middle class shows extreme style-shifting which actually goes beyond the style of the class above itself [e.g. Labov, 1972, 191]. For example, the negative terminative /e/ is typically a Zesuru feature, as in handenda (I do not go), hamunive (he does not know him), havade (they do not want). I have noted a tendency among Karanga newcomers to
Salisbury to use the / o / form indiscriminately with negative verb forms. They often produce such incorrect forms as handiomboko.

handiomboko, havamboda because they do not realise that such auxiliary verb forms as sebo-, seno-, seyato-, seworo-, seuro-, which are used as

infixes in negative verbal constructions in fact require the use of
termative / ə / in Zesura to produce, for example, handiaboendor,

handiomboko, havamboda.

A few cases have also been recorded of attempts to produce what can only
be described as 'compromise forms' from otherwise different dialectal
forms. For example, the verb for 'choose' in Karanga is seisara and in
Zezura it is sesrudza. The 'compromise form' seisarudza has been records
by M'bangani. [personal communication.] Some Karanga speakers belong
to the totem Gwabo and use the praise name madirapaashe, pronounced
sejerapazh. But one often hears the pronunciation
smadgirapanzh as per Zezura, or smadgirapanzh where the first
element in the compound is pronounced as per Zezura, and the second as
per Karanga.

It would be worthwhile if future sociolinguistic research could select
and use specific variables and treat them systematically. Some obvious
examples are / s / and / t s / as in shoro and tsoro, (hare) / ṣ /
and / n s / as in shara and nshara (hungry), / t s k / and / t t j /,
/ s j / as in -sara (fear), and / s d z / and / s z j /, / s j /, / d z j / as in -swa
(eat). Such features could be used to plot attitudes and cross-over
phenomena among dialect speakers. The researcher would have to adapt
Labov's variables [Dittmar, 1976, 6.2.2.7], especially since our
language varieties are not sociolects corresponding with social
stratification, although certain prestige and stigmatised features may
or may not be associated with upward social mobility, to the extent that
they are positively or negatively evaluated by at least some of the
speakers. If the attempts by dialect speakers to escape from marked or
stigmatised forms become general, the tendency would be towards the establishment of a general spoken variety (see 8.4), and if that GS is dialect-based, we will eventually get a Standard Variety based on the particular dialect which will have emerged as dominant in GS.

It is a general thesis made here that in our language situation, and particularly in the capital Salisbury, all the relevant factors seem to favour Zesura in this respect. A popular variety based on Zesura (Chimbundo, 1979) is evolving into a general spoken variety (Chimbundo, 1980), which is a prestige dialect associated with the central town status described by Bloomfield (1933). The non-Zesura speaker in Salisbury frequently finds himself in situations where he must learn the Zesura-based GS because his UW or RD represents one of 'the strikingly divergent forms of their domestic speech' to be replaced by 'forms that do not call forth misunderstanding and mockery' (Bloomfield, 1933, 477).

The speaker who lives in the capital gains in prestige at his rural home and his GS speech forms are imitated by his fellows in the tribal areas. The central town thus becomes a speech-centre whose forms are imitated in the surrounding area. The process repeats itself on a larger and larger scale as commerce and social organization improve and mobility increases. GS affects in particular provincial centres like Harare, Fort Victoria and Gwelo and other smaller towns like Rusape, Enkeldoorn and Que Que, and through them the various UW around the country (op. Bloomfield, 1933, 485).

9.4. TOWARDS A GENERAL SPEAKED VARIETY

Our GS is a code cluster which is reducible to discrete varieties only for analytic purposes but is otherwise a composite system which is best described in terms of a complex of continua allowing for considerable flexibility. Its varieties may be represented by the formula

\[ Yx + 0n \]
where \( V_x \) is the favoured or dominant variety, specifically Chı̂zı̂zuru, and \( O_n \) is an unspecified number of other varieties. What actually happens or can happen at the general spoken level, i.e., the possible values of \( V_x + O_n \), is a complicated sociolinguistic problem involving many linguistic, social-psychological and cultural variables which future research must isolate and examine.

In this study our main focus is on those citizens of Salisbury who consider themselves to be native speakers of Shona, and it is the general direction of their total responses to the sociolinguistic demands of that cosmopolitan capital which is leading the entire Shona-speaking community towards GS. At the micro level of analysis where the individual speaker is highlighted, the sum total of the codes and variables which are available to him and which he makes use of constitute his linguistic repertoire. These can be scaled along different but related continua. At the macro or societal level of analysis, the language of his community (specifically Shona) is the sum total of the repertoires of the individual members of what we have chosen to designate as the speech community. Our interest here is on this more general level.

It is at this level that we use the term GS as a general term for what are in fact numerous codes. Shona can, therefore, be defined as any one or more of the varieties spoken by groups of people who linguistically consider themselves as belonging to a bigger supra-regional group for which they have accepted the term Shona.

GS is really a by-product of urbanization, hence in a sense cosmopolitanism. It is flexible and, to the speakers, it reflects broad experience. Hence its greater prestige vis-à-vis all the other varieties. The operation or exploitation of its flexibility is characterized by code-switching. The relationship between GS and LV corresponds with the Standard-Vernacular opposition described by Labov [1972]. Many speakers have become bi-dialectal and often there is switching back and forth between the 'home'
dialect and the 'town' variety. The latter has already become a public style and a speaker thinks he is judged positively if his own ideologe closely approximates to a mainstream variety, and if he avoids forms that may be devalued as provincial and therefore, in a sense, as displaying some ignorance [op. Kernan, Sodergren and French, 1977, 35]. This mainstream variety is basically Zesuru, and in fact Zesuru dialect-speakers do not have to make the same adjustments as other dialect-speakers. (The exceptions noted relate mainly to suprasegmental phonology.) The overall result of the non-Zesuru speakers’ attempts to escape from marked forms tends towards GS, so much so that some of them may actually lose control of their own LV [op. Labov, 1972, 167].

In addition to using phonological variables (see 8.2.2), future research could also devise specific dominance configuration profiles to which LV are being retained or lost in the struggle against Zesuru and GS. But one cannot expect to make any startling discoveries. LV are still very important in the family, especially where marriage is endogamous or in-group, and the family is a very important domain which acts as a vital resistance factor against the phasing out of varieties [Dittmar, 1976, 178].

What we get then is a levelling process. GS can therefore be regarded as an emergent standard which has won recognition at the level of the nation state and is becoming institutionalized. Here we may define Standard Shona as that kind of Shona which draws least attention to itself over the widest range of usage [op. Quirk, 1962, 95]. Its institutionalisation is being promoted through education and the media, by publishers, and in the teaching of Shona as a second language. 5

5. The most widely used courses are written in Zesuru, esp. C.E. Philippa Berlyn, Conversational Shona; Derek Rivera and Jeanette Rataloff, Shona Language Lessons; Central African Correspondence College, Conversational Shona; H. Carter and G. Kahari, Shona Language Course.
It has become the preferred variety in public speech, e.g., at political rallies, in radio and television interviews, and in Church services. All the indications point towards gradual modification of the non-tesura dialects and this is leading to a blurring of distinctions. The same process is also being aided by other modifying processes being brought about in Shona as a whole by the other languages in the contact situation (see 1.2; also op. Kaswoki, 1978, 15). 

Alternatively we can look at GS as a functional variety rather than as a standard, if we equate standard with literary language. A functional variety emerges from a levelling process which cuts across the dimensions set by LV, RV and Standard. Speakers will use the varieties they have command of in a functional manner, and may switch between varieties in different situations (Dittmar, 1976, 110). But the standardization of Shona, even only in terms of codification, has not yet been achieved. Indeed, far too often, the existence of such a standard is taken for granted. For example, Nkara assumes that his subjects are students of Standard Shona and write in that Standard (1977, 196 and 201-2).

In the writer's considered view, two supra-regional varieties are coming out of the linguistic melting pot of the capital. One is GS, on the basis of which a standard Shona (properly so-called) is establishing itself. The other is the unstable chimanjesange or ChHarare, which we will call Town Shona in 6.4.2. Both result from interaction of dialects and contact with other languages. But while the former is related to formal speech and the written, literary style, the latter is related more to the informal, colloquial style and allows for a great deal of creativity, especially among the young who sometimes develop esoteric in-group codes characterized by slang vocabulary.
On standardisation

Haugen describes a vernacular as an undeveloped language, a dialect as a cognate variety and a standard language as developed \( \text{[1972, 103]} \). Four aspects are involved in the development from dialect to standard and from vernacular to standard, namely (a) selection of a norm, (b) codification of form, (c) elaboration of function, and (d) acceptance by the community.

It must be stressed that standardization does not necessarily involve merger, a basic assumption which seems to have been made by Duke \( \text{[1931]} \) and by Fortune \( \text{[1967]} \) in recommending Shona orthographies.

Rather, it necessarily involves the selection of a norm \( \text{[Giles and Poveyland, 1975, 9]} \). The logical thing to do is to select and institutionalize that variety or dialect which has already established an informal hegemony. If in our case this happens to be Sesuru, this must be accepted since standardization on any other basis would fail because it would run against mainstream speech behaviour.

Planning (codification and elaboration) must follow the trend but the planners must avoid inflaming passions among ethnic spokesmen by declaring the intention to make a particular variety the standard. All they should do is quietly to facilitate such a development by appropriate codification. Standardization is a fact of life and the progression towards the standard involves the dominance of one dialect in essential social spheres \( \text{[op. Dittmar, 1976; Quirk, 1962, esp. ch. 9]} \). From the linguistic standpoint dialects and language varieties are of equal value, but from the social perspective some are regarded as more useful for particular contexts than others \( \text{[Dittmar, 1976, 245]} \).

The standard must also be flexible. This is absolutely essential if it must continue to function as a kind of neutral variety. An advantage of the standard is that it is not specifically regional. As Quirk \( \text{[1962, 86]} \) points out, speakers recognize two degrees of community:
(a) the immediate, familiar community; and (b) the wider, less familiar community to which they feel they also belong and beyond which the foreign world proper begins.

Linguistically (a) is marked by a local dialect, and (b) by a speech-form which is not specifically regional and may have an additional prestige. In our case (b) is CS around which the standard is developing. But a standard language is always an ideal which cannot be realised perfectly. As a norm it is a complex function of vocabulary, grammar and transmission. It is most clearly established in the written mode of transmission and least clearly in the spoken form, i.e. in pronunciation. The notion of a standard is therefore particularly associated with the written (especially printed) form [op. Chimbudz, 1980].

Hence the sharper restrictions of the literary language. Language planners must not worry themselves about style, which may take, for instance, the form of a fruitless witch-hunt to eliminate slang. As Haugen points out, 'A complete language has its formal and informal styles, its regional accents, and its class or occupational jargons, which do not destroy its unity so long as they are clearly diversified in function and show a reasonable degree of solidarity with one another'. As its ideal goals, language standardisation should involve codification to produce minimal variation in form and elaboration to allow maximal variation in function. [Haugen, 1972, 107 - 9.]

Standardisation, then, implies dominance by a particular dialect or variety in a broad linguistic community. There are two general theories as to how this may come about: the inherent value hypothesis and the imposed norm hypothesis [Giles and Poveyland 1975, 10 - 11]. One dialect or variety may become dominant and therefore the standard, because it is considered the most aesthetically pleasing and linguistically sophisticated
form of that language (inherent value hypothesis), or because it was imposed by a more powerful or statusful group which had the privilege of settling the cultural norms (imposed norm hypothesis), there need not be physical conflict in the latter process, which is the theory more applicable to our situation. An accident of history, colonization, made Salisbury the national capital and the dialect of the capital has come to be associated with cultural and political activity, is used widely in commerce and politics, and is promoted by such agencies as school, the media and central and local government. Accordingly, a variety of social pressures forces people to emulate the 'standard' (in reality only an incipient standard in the shape of C.) which comes to be regarded as containing superior forms. The chances are that if the colonizer had chosen a centre in Karonga or Muyika country, either dialect would have come to enjoy the same prestige and dominance now enjoyed by Tsembu. The imposed norm hypothesis implies an accident of history which is simply accepted, just as we have accepted the artificial territorial boundaries drawn up by the British, the Boers and the Portuguese.

Once the imposed norm has been accepted by the speech community, the process of standardization must be facilitated by codification and intellectualistic. Elsewhere I describe Shona as 'a little-studied, little-standardized and little-modernized language' [Chimbundu, 1979, 75]. On Ferguson's scale [1962, 5] Shona is still only at 4.1 (written stage One) where it is used only for normal written purposes. It still has a long way to go before it reaches 8.2, where original research in the physical sciences will be possible, and before embarking on yet another phase of development towards 8.3 when translations and resumes of scientific work in other languages can be regularly published. Unless there is deliberate planning at national level, and unless a political decision is made to begin a programme of language elaboration and codification, we are unlikely to get that far via 'natural' or evolutionary processes.
It is realised, of course, that the spoken language cannot be legislated. What is being suggested here is that kind of formal planning which will aid an already emergent variety to become legitimated and institutionalised as a supraregional method of communication, i.e. to accelerate the various factors already at work in the historical process to produce a variety which can handle a wide range of topics and concepts, particularly in the context of official and social institutions (e.g., Wittmar, 1976, 107). The obvious line of development indicated by the current state of the language is to promote Zesuru along the pattern indicated in Figure 5.

**Figure 5.** The relationship between regional and local varieties to the standard.

![Diagram](https://via.placeholder.com/150)

This diagram does not actually represent the number of LV and RV for Shona. It is intended merely to show a pattern in which the starred RV is Zesuru. A standard developing along this pattern would enjoy a flexible stability and fulfil all the functions a standard language should,
namely: (i) unifying, respecting, the other varieties of the same language; (ii) separating, respecting other languages; (iii) prestige, which Guerri - de already enjoy; and (iv) normative, i.e. providing a frame of reference. All the modern standard languages seem to have evolved around some imposed norm:

A dialect which imposes itself upon the speakers of other dialects is called a standard language. The great common and literary languages of modern Europe are all standard languages."


The standardization of language is an essential part of the general process of national development. Greater industrialization, and therefore increased contact and communication, tend to slow a natural process of increased regional variation and driving off horizontally. This would continue to happen if the geographical size and population of a speech community increased but contact and mobility were held constant. One would therefore expect the less developed countries of the world to have greater dialectal (especially regional) variation than the developed nations. Unhindered intercourse leads to a common language. The intellectualization of language is easiest where there is a standard literary variety. A literary language tends to become a common language, and a common language tends to become a literary language.

Sturtevant, 1917, 158.
3.4.2 On Town Shona

What is called Town Shona (TS) in this study is the casual-slang style that has been referred to as chimantu-sanja, Chisare, and sometimes just as 'slang'. These popular names indicate the two essential characteristics of TS. Firstly, this variety is highly unstable, being literally the 'new new language' (chisapenduma) with a high frequency of slang vocabulary, both conventional and unconventional slang. The latter actually includes foreign expressions, hence the confused terminology as when TS is popularly described as slang. The sources for much of its vocabulary are obscure. For example the rural communal areas were called maruvhara or maruvha from musevha 'reserve' until recently. But now the latest slang expression for the same is mepfenza, an adaptation from pfenza/ideophone for disturbing thatch (because the typical rural dwelling is the thatched hut). Very often there is a playing around with sounds to make the form obscure, e.g. sekura (uncle, grandfather) becomes sekula and 'school'/sekura' becomes skumba in the latest slang vocabulary. It is important to point out that such obscurity is intended by the adaptors of slang vocabulary who may wish to refer to certain things in their own way, even if this means that their language becomes a kind of secret code, a modern chibhende style. Of course, the same obscurity also exposes TS to repeated attacks by those outside particular in-groups of TS, and who, therefore, do not understand it, that it is a language without tribe or tradition, mutembo unsa muzi (see 12.5.1.2).

Secondly, TS is a town variety in the sense that most of the linguistic creativity responsible for the emergence of its forms and for the continuous process of coinage, discarding and replacement, takes place.

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in towns, particularly Salisbury. Hence the name ChiHarare, the
language of Harare (Salisbury). And Salisbury being the capital and the
centre of fashion and most other social trends, this TS variety is
spreading via Salisbury's linguistic satellites, the smaller towns,
throughout the Shona-speaking community of Zimbabwe. As every place
has its own localised jargon or slang, this mainstream TS originating
from Salisbury is augmented by its local equivalents in various centres
throughout the country.

Quite typically the speakers and adaptors of TS are young people, although
it could very well be claimed that most people use some slang sometimes,
even if this means occasional use of such common items from TS
vocabulary as mafas (no), shwab (dollar), bho or jange (okay),
kaaya (to think), kubera (to sleep, to be stupid), and kubahka (to see,
realise, recognize). The derivations may be foreign or contrived or
both, hence the obscurity of origin. In effect TS is a continuation of
the traditional chibhende style. Hanner has defined chibhende in two
ways, (a) as secret language, and (b) as obscure allusion or double talk.
TS is chibhende in both senses. In the first place TS is an assortment
of localised, and sometimes esoteric, in-group codes of the young and its
most prominent feature is a transient slang vocabulary. A significant
contribution to TS forms also comes from the criminal element, including
thieves, crooks, prostitutes, illegal vendors and dagga pedlors and
smokers who need secret vocabulary for their trades and must always keep
a step ahead of the police. Secondly, for the older people chibhende
takes the form of double-talk or obscure allusion and is deeply idiomatic.
It is poetic but, from the point of view of imagery, is related to the
slang of the less eloquent. Slang has been described as the ordinary
man's poetry, and in fact, as Quirk observes, the imagery involved in
slang is not so very different from that in poetry [Quirk, 1962, 90].
Strictly speaking, the codes of the Ts type are couched in very informal style and enjoy no prestige at the general societal level. Hence the negative evaluation, especially because of their association with the less respectable elements in society. We must not confuse TS with mainstream GS which is quite respectable, but the two are related (see 8.3) and TS may indeed be regarded as an auxiliary code of GS to the extent that it has its base structure on some natural language. TS forms are artificially devised on an ad hoc basis but TS is not exactly a language without 'roots'. It is therefore quite wrong to claim, as many of its attackers do, that it is mutooro usina rudesi, without a tradition, without ethmic speakers. It is not a language in its own right, but rather a variety or style, and as such it is not peculiar to Shona. Equivalents are found in every living language, and indeed it is in itself evidence that a language is living and dynamic. TS is an informal spoken style and may sometimes be heavily interlarded with English. But code-switching (see ch. 12), and TS must not be confused. Again TS is not a lingua franca. It does not widen communication, it restricts it. A language habitually used by people whose mother-tongues are different to facilitate communication is a lingua franca (UNESCC, 1953, quoted by Samarin, 1962, 557). TS actually restricts communication. Neither is TS a pidgin with a simplified grammar and lexicon.

Although TS is so unstable and difficult to describe analytically, it is very interesting from a sociocultural point of view because it shows a close relationship with the new social context. It fits its urban environmental pattern. The Shona basis (phonological, syntactic and, to a lesser extent, lexical) reflects the Shona-speaking majority of Salisbury. Forms adapted from English and other African languages show the cosmopolitan nature of the city and the multilingual setting. Certain grammatical simplifications and a degree of linguistic indeterminacy are the counterparts of new social systems which, while reorganising the old tribal life, give rise to situations where old rules cannot be applied.
A number of references to GL are made elsewhere in this study (esp. 11.5.2, 12.5.3.2 and 12.6) and an excerpt in this style is given as Appendix IV (b) (ch.12). This section only tries to explain the difference between GS and the more stable GL, and to point out that the popular fears that GL is threatening the mother-tongue altogether are unfounded. Slang is an element in every living language and such claims only reflect intolerance born of ignorance. Vocalical attacks on GL arise from a general failure to recognize the fact that different age-groups and different social situations require or encourage the use of different speech styles. No speech style is therefore necessarily better than another. Teachers and parents are traditionally distressed over teenage language because: (a) they have forgotten their own adolescent speech; and (b) they do not relate specific utterances to their keys in the language variation (e.g. Shimbundu, 1960b, 3,0; op. Gleason, 1965, 366-7). People cannot be expected to use the literary style or standard forms all the time. We must always consider style and circumstance (Quirk, 1962, 155). In fact the use of the standard code in all contexts is not evidence of linguistic skill but must be viewed as linguistic deprivation. The talented speaker, the person with true verbal ability, is the individual whose linguistic competency covers a large span of the language continuum (e.g. Kernan et al., 1977, 42). This continuum may be scaled from standard through colloquial to slang. The standard is the formal, especially written, style; the colloquial is the informal but acceptable, familiar style; and slang is intimate, racy and witty. Between all three is always some overlap (Quirk, 1962, 89-90).

The youth who is fond of slang is also proficient in GL. The only fair charge that can be made against him is that sometimes he fails to use the proper style in the proper context. Instead of just reacting
should not use their in-group Chisanganje anywhere and everywhere. (The young people soon grow out of the habit anyway.) Overall ability is more important than the ability to use the standard code. The speech community must avoid a 'total emphasis on the referential function, the standard language, and the elaborated code'\cite{xernal et al, 1977, 497}.

8.5 THE MONOLINGUAL AND THE BILINGUAL

The majority of Shona speakers have at least some knowledge of English but highly proficient bilinguals are actually a small minority. In the Shona-speaking community, the people may be graded into monolinguals (in Salisbury typically bi-dialectal for the non-Tsora majority), incipient bilinguals, Shona-dominant subordinate bilinguals, co-ordinate bilinguals with about equal command of L1 and L2, and, at the highest point of the proficiency scale, compound bilinguals for whom L1 and L2 have become a composite system in operation \cite{op. cit, 1976, 1187}.

It is also quite possible that we have a few African people (including children born abroad and a minority of the children of the black bourgeoisie growing up in the main centres) who are English-dominant bilinguals (op. 8.5.1). For the majority degrees of proficiency in English are varied, and several factors are operating in the speech-community at the same time. The more relevant ones which future (psycholinguistic?) research might document are:

(i) the speaker's background (e.g. rural or urban);
(ii) type of education (e.g. African or multiracial school);
(iii) standard of education (e.g. nil to postgraduate);
(iv) mobility (from minimal to globe-trotting);
(v) nature of employment (e.g. chief's messenger v. high court interpreter);
(vi) attitudes to language (e.g. own v. those prevailing);
(vii) the languages of the home area (e.g. village v. mining compound);
(viii) degree of exposure to other languages (e.g., Cema, Mdebele) with which Shona is in contact.

As for the bilingual proper, the question which needs more systematic investigation is what happens in code-shifting situations. A sound basis for an answer seems to be to view such shifting as covariation within a comprehensive system. The central factor in the study of languages in contact is variation. Linguistic competence involves inherent variability. In a bilingual situation it is useful to invoke the notion of a comprehensive, internally pluriform system of linguistic competence and, therefore, to assume that there is 'a single verbal repertoire forming the total competence of a bilingual speaker, in which variation occurs as alternation between varieties' [Dittmar, 1976, 150]. The speaker does not necessarily think in discrete terms 'now Shona, now English', or 'partly Shona, partly English', or 'English and Shona'. He may use what he speaks in a certain situation (e.g., a bit of both) as a coherent system, or as an independent variety and therefore an interlanguage [op. Dittmar, 1976, 173].

One of the problems we have resulting from ignorance of, or from ignoring, sociolinguistic problems is that the incipient bilingual is not catered for by the mass media. Not only are the press, radio and television English dominated, but no attempt is made to scale down the English used. Radio is best placed to start helping the incipient bilingual by simplifying the English used in at least some of the programs. News bulletins on Radio 2, for example, do not have to be exactly in the same officialese as those on Radio 1. With the help of adult educationists and others who know something about problems of second-language acquisition programmes could be produced in 'special' English, with limited vocabulary and at low speed [op. Pyton, 1977]. This would be of much greater educational value for the listeners than, for example, the early morning
interviews in the jargons of the various specialists who are invited to participate on Radio Two's 'Morning Mirror', which program is in fact an importation from the former European Service.

8.5.1 On bilingual education

In a very real sense bilingual education is bicultural education. For those African children who go to school in a European-dominated environment there is a need to maintain a stable bilingualism by keeping school and home (cp. work and home) functionally quite separate, so that black children attending multi-racial schools are educated without being transformed through total acculturation [Fishman, 1972b, 9; Sibanda, 1979, 157]. This is a topic on which parents need some education because multilingualism often grows in the family and needs the family for encouragement, if not for protection [Fishman, 1972b, 2507].

Some of the children from black elite families experience the difficulties described by Doreen Sibanda [1979], arising from a process of language acquisition which takes place in a European-dominated environment. One result is actual rejection of the mother-tongue and its culture, at least for a while, owing to various pressures of learning and achievement. I have noticed, for instance, that students from such a background generally remain on the periphery of the predominant, black student culture at the University of Zimbabwe. They seem to be rejected or to keep themselves apart simply because, in terms of ascent at least, they have literally become over-skilled in English, and, up to the time of independence at least, they seemed reluctant to use Shona at all. In other activities too they simply fail to identify with fellow-African students. In a sense they have become a minority group. Many of the more affluent African parents seem to be completely blind to their responsibility to ensure that their children's lives should be so balanced that they continue to retain a healthy appreciation of their own language and culture, even as they go through to the highest levels
of education.

Ironically the more undesirable effects of acculturation are most noticeable in the children of the less educated but wealthy African parents and those of some of the older members of the highly educated, professional classes. These, it seems, have always wanted to emulate the European style in all social spheres (most probably one of the legacies of the 'Partnership' of the defunct Central African Federation)\(^7\).

For them it seems to be merely a question of buying the best that one can afford, the best here being a 'European' education which requires the children to learn everything in English from kindergarten and in a system which does not even offer their own mother-tongue as a school

\(^7\) I actually recorded a case in Harimba Park where a wealthy, semi-literate couple took their small children every morning to a kindergarten some twenty kilometres away and showed great pride in the fact that these children now spoke only English at home, and that they could recite several English nursery rhymes. When I suggested to the same parents that their children might also benefit from a few *mbizo* stories, it was obvious they felt I was being rude. Odd cases have also been reported of African parents who proudly claimed that their children could only speak English.
subject, and does not provide for the teaching of English as a second language. The children must 'pick it up' from their peers. This is not an environment which encourages confidence in, and maximum participation by, the child, because: (a) failure leads to frustration and withdrawal into the role of spectators in the classroom, and (b) they are forced to go through a process of total acculturation in order to have success and harmony in the classroom, thereby actually increasing the distance between themselves and their own people.

It is amazing how many African parents never seem to realise the problems of adjustment their children have to face at that early stage. One may further note here the observation made by Doreen Sibanda [1979, 17] that in actual fact these children do not grasp English any faster than Grade One children in an African school, probably because they have to contend with a heavy affective block created by: (a) having to compete with mother-tongue English speakers; (b) having to compete with the same for the attention of a European teacher; (c) being denied the use of their own mother-tongue for development and clarification; and (d) being expected to deal with school material while still in the process of acquiring the language of instruction, English.

Ngara has made the same point and has roundly condemned the colonial mentality which has made some Africans prefer to identify with everything European:

'... very often in the past educated Africans have tended to identify with their White Masters, and though such an attitude could produce wonderful results in so far as the acquisition of the White Man's language was concerned, it also had disastrous effects as far as the African despised his own language, his own culture, his own people' [Ngara, 1977, 197].

8. In most cases this was the position at the time of writing.
This conflict is also apparent in Shona novels, e.g. Bernard Chidzero's *Ervenamutevairo* in which we find Matigimu, the uneducated monolingual and traditionalist; Tikana, who has been to Harare and tries to impress by using some English; and Samere, who is educated but uses his English unnecessarily on at least one occasion.

I have actually witnessed cases where Shona speakers make extreme efforts to reproduce a native English accent. As for the attainment of that target accent, a couple of points must be noted here which are relevant to our situation, especially in view of the fact that we have had a colonial history of racial separation in all spheres of life including education. Giles and Powedland [375] tell us that: firstly, phonological inflexibility is not necessarily characteristic of lower socioeconomic classes; secondly, a person's range of accent flexibility is almost complete by 17 years of age; and thirdly, unless one is endowed with exceptional skills as a mimic or impersonator, it is impossible to acquire authentic native pronunciation in a second language after the age of 12. For the ordinary African who learns his English slowly at school, this target accent is already unachievable by the time he acquires full proficiency in English because he is already too old. Therefore, the vast majority of our bilinguals will speak Shona-accented English.

We must never lose sight of majority linguistic behaviour because that is in effect the mainstream speech on whose basis norms and attitudes are made. There are a number of sociolinguistic factors, such as the African's numerical superiority, which guarantee a non-replacive biliteracy in which there has always been some role-distancing. My own observation is that attitudes prevailing in the Shona-speaking community discourage Africans
from 'speaking like a European' (kutaura somurungu). Any African who has been through multi-racial school from an early age, either in this country or abroad, will admit having suffered some discomfort when trying to speak English 'naturally' to people of a different background. Very often he has had to 'unlearn' some of his 'good pronunciation' in order to be acceptable socially, unless he chose to move within a very restricted social circle. Part of communicative competence is recognising and respecting the majority of the speakers' attitudes to language. Society simply does not want people who are too different from others, and individuals conform to the majority norm because they need the approval and acceptance of society [Chishundu, 1980b, 38-39].

Still, we have a tiny minority of Africans who have continued to downgrade their own language and culture, and 'one still sees black families proud of their children's (real or claimed) ignorance of vernaculars and of their 'project' English accents' [Kanganwi, 1980, 17]. Such negative attitudes create shifts in general behaviour away from one's own group. A realisation that one is shifting away may lead to anomie or social maladjustment involving profound psychological and social problems of identity. Further, such negative self-evaluation is evidence of subtractive bilingualism and/or biculturism, subtractive insofar as the school language, English, swamps and submerges the home language. But for the European child, learning an African language is actually additive in the sense that the new language is added without in any way taking away from the base language and culture. Educational planners must see and do something about the need to transfer subtractive forms of bilingualism and biculturism among certain Africans into additive ones. The focus of language contact is the individual, for interaction is really between speakers rather than languages. The bilingual's performance in one language is therefore liable to be affected by habits (e.g. linguistic forms, gestures, mannerisms) employed in speaking the other [Greenberg, 1971b, 186]. Unless interaction is seen to be between equals in every respect, bilingualism may become subtractive. Children should not just be thrown into situations, school or otherwise, where this is likely to happen.
CHAPTER ELEVEN

ABORIGINES, USAGE AND ATTITUDES TO ADOPTIVES (1)

9.1 INTRODUCTION

9.1.1 General Approach

The first part of Part III, Chapters 9 and 10, is a summary of my analysis of the responses of two groups of informants to the Recollection Test and Questionnaire I, hereinafter simply called Questionnaire A. The first group tested was a random selection of 20 informants, mostly from the Marimba Park and Old Highfield areas. This group is referred to as the 'C' Group ('C' for 'Other', i.e. non-student informants). The other group tested was a random selection of 23 informants from Swinton and Manfred Hodson Halls at the University of Zimbabwe, and is referred to as the 'S' Group ('S' for 'Student'). Chapter 11 will be a summary of the responses of the 'S' Group to Questionnaire II: Biographic Information, Repertoire and Preferences (hereinafter simply called Questionnaire B).\(^1\)

The original idea was to test two speech communities of highly proficient bilinguals, Marimba Park and the University Campus, with as many members as possible participating from each and then to compare the results. An initial batch of 150 copies of Questionnaire A and 150 of Questionnaire B were prepared.

Marimba Park had been chosen because it was believed to have (i) a bilingual majority \(\text{cp. Hayfield, 1970}\), (ii) a fair variety of levels of proficiency in English, and (iii) a fair range as to age, role-relations, education, personal experience and socioeconomic status. The Shona student body at the University was chosen because (i) it constitutes a bilingual speech community,

\(^1\) See Appendix II(a). The numbering of the original questionnaires has been changed to distinguish it from that on the Appendices. To avoid ambiguity the term 'Group' will be used to refer only to informants, while 'Type-word List' is used instead of 'Group' on the original questionnaires.

\(^2\) See Appendix III(a).
(ii) it would offer greater variety in biographic information (see 
questionnaire B, questions A.1 - 15), and (iii) its members were thought to 
be less reluctant to answer questions of a personal nature, particularly 
respecting the use of the less polite speech forms. It was hoped that a 
comparative analysis of the responses of the two groups would show the main 
patterns of the proficient bilingual's linguistic behaviour.

In the event, three important changes were made in the procedure as originally 
everised. Firstly, the plan to investigate Marimba Park as a separate 
community was abandoned because: (a) the residents proved less co-operative 
than had been anticipated; (b) certain practical difficulties prevented me 
from arranging to study families as groups; (c) the residents of Old Highfield 
proved much more co-operative; and (d) the first ten or so questionnaires 
completed indicated that the patterns of responses would be more or less 
uniform, irrespective of sex, age, education, and so on. It soon became 
quite clear that a search for social dialects would be fruitless, and that 
it would be unnecessary to involve large numbers of informants anyway.

Accordingly, whereas the original target was 150 informants, the 43 actually 
used proved more than enough for the purposes of this study, although many 
more could have been involved in Highfield and at the University where people 
generally co-operated.

The same realisation made me to abandon the idea of making every informant 
complete both questionnaires, especially when it was further realised that 
there was no direct correlation between informants' backgrounds and their 
attitudes to language or their speech habits, the latter being more or less 
uniform (see Ch. 11). Therefore, I finally decided to use questionnaire B 
only with the 'S' Group, most of whom were quite prepared to answer all the 

3. I was unable to secure additional funds for travel during my field 
work, and the security situation at the time did not allow me to make 
visits in the evenings when everyone was at home.
questions. This group was chosen because at that time I wanted to test the validity of claims that educated speakers generally prefer English and use it in most situations. In the event this line of investigation was abandoned because it was not found to be fruitful. While the same test could have been possible at Marimba Park had more people there co-operated, the results could still have been less satisfactory because, as I was quick to discover, I had erroneously assumed that most Marimba residents were highly proficient bilinguals.

9.1.2. Theoretical Basis

My general position is indicated in the general preface of the dissertation and the terminology used in this report on field work is as indicated thereunder. However, this analysis (i.e. Part III) is viewed as strictly language specific and nothing is taken for granted (cp. e.g. Conclusion (1) in 9.11). The references made are necessarily few, although more can be expected in the final chapter where code-switching is discussed, and where some of the theoretical and methodological implications of this study will be discussed briefly in a wider context.

9.1.3. Non-Student Informants

As has already been indicated, the 'O' informants were chosen at random. Nothing can therefore be gained by dwelling on their personal backgrounds here. One or two notes are made on 'special cases' in Appendix I(b). Here it is sufficient only to state that:

(i) the 20 informants came from a wide variety of backgrounds;
(ii) all are at least fairly proficient in English;
(iii) from the point of view of occupation no common denomination(s) could be determined;
(iv) they included 5 married men, 4 married women, 5 single young women, 5 bachelors and 1 youth (male).
9.2 RESPONSES OF 'O' GROUP

9.2.1 Information sought

Questionnaire A had 7 type-word lists and below each was a list of questions. The informants were asked to indicate their answers in spaces provided against the individual words. In the spaces in vertical columns (a), (b) and (c) they would indicate whether they thought the word was indigenous or not, indicate the Source Language where applicable, and suggest an equivalent term. This part of the exercise was the Recollection Test for which the potential score per informant was 152 points. It was intended to test the informant's awareness of, and knowledge about, common adoptives. In columns (d) and (e) they were asked to indicate which word they used more often and, where they wished, to give a reason for their choice.

Their answers to this 'questionnaire' part of the exercise revealed certain patterns of preferences respecting specific types of words. The information elicited was intended to show whether or not, and to what extent, specific type adoptives were used and the attitudes of the speakers were to their use. Many examples were used (75 words altogether) and the questions were varied in order to minimise the possibility of reliance on guesswork and to reduce the possibility of dishonest answers to insignificance.

Details about each type-word list and the performance of the informants are given below, stage by stage in accordance with the method of analysis so that the general patterns can be seen as they emerged during the analysis.

9.3 TYPE-WORD LIST A

9.3.1 General Type

List A represents what I considered were the older, fully integrated adoptives.

9.3.1.1 Sub-types

The SL are varied but English was deliberately excluded, although the answer
"ká" was accepted for zembe, 'roofing sheet'. Only two, fodya < P: 'tobacco' and mbanbaira < Ng: 'sweet potato' are common in Gá, where the dialectal forms bura (K) and dima (H) are being discarded as mbanbaira is popularised. Not surprisingly, fodya and mbanbaira were indicated by the majority of informants as native Shona terms and, although they were able to give equivalents, they generally indicated that they used the given adoptive more often.

In the case of fodya, 6 alternative pronunciation spellings were given (see Appendix II (a), eq. (f)) to represent the manner they would be pronounced by typical dialect speakers:

(i) fodya phonetically /fodá'ga/.
(ii) foda " /fodá'a/; Fo
(iii) fohia " /fohi'a/; M
(iv) folha " /fo'la/; X
(v) fornha " /fo'na/; IN
(vi) fohya " /fo'ya/; U

The informants were asked to indicate which of the six was the most accurate representation of their normal pronunciation. It was noted that, although the informants belonged to different dialects, 9 out of the 15 who answered the question chose the Bunuru form /fodá'ga/. Mrs. 0.8 who is Karanga and chose (v), explained: "asi kumunongotive /fodá'ga/, Lit: 'Here (i.e. in Salisbury) we also say /fodá'ga/ (i.e. as others do)'. Mrs. 0.10, also Karanga, chose (i) then hesitated and wanted to change her answer, explaining that, "asi kumusha tinoti /fodá'ga/" (But where I come from we say /fodá'ga/). When I explained that I was only interested in the form she thought she used more often, she settled for (i).

From the informants' responses to fodya and mbanbaira, it may be inferred
that the general preference respecting choice of lexical item and
pronunciation was for Zesurru forms which are considered unmarked GS, even
though mbambaira is an adoptive from Nguni while bura and dima are indigenous.
(The speakers actually believe mbambaira is a native Shona term.)

The rest of the examples in list A are typical only of certain dialects.
Katakwa is Zesurru for 'cultivator' but even the Zesurru informants did not know the word. Only one offered correct answers against the word.

Whenever I explained what the word referred to after the exercise, informants were able to give the Karanga creation chikovho as equivalent or, more frequently, karavheta which is an adoptive from English. This would seem to indicate that in GS, (a) even Zesurru forms may be discarded and (b) more recent adoptives from English (karavheta) may replace older creations (chikovho) or adoptives from other languages (katakwa).

The preference for English adoptives was confirmed by responses to sirha:

A : slaughter, slaughter, 'slaughter-house, butchery', a word I had heard most frequently used by the Ungwe around Rusape. In the Recollection Test I had classified it as an adoptive used typically among the Manyika. Only three people (Mr. 0.6, a journalist, and Mr and Mrs. 0.9 and 0.8 - see note on 'Highest Scores' in Appendix II(a)) were able to identify SL as Afrikaans. Where equivalents were suggested (9 cases), all but one gave bhucha as E: 'butcher', and all indicated that they used bhucha more often. This supports the suggestion that E-forms, although relatively recent, are preferred to other adoptives or creations with which they may share the same content.

For the verb stem bhar: write', mostly used by N and N, almost everybody (17) was able to give the indigenous equivalent nyora and preferred the latter. Only 4 were able to identify SL for bhar but most indicated it was not indigenous. The native term in this case has established itself.

4. Katakwa is probably an onomatopoetic Zesurru creation.
in GS and the dialectal adoptive has been, or is being, discarded.

The remaining five words in List A will be treated as a group because all are dialectal adoptives (typically Karanga) from Afrikaans. These are *numeri,* 'white missionary of the D.R.C.'; *kanje,* 'roofing sheet'; *chorefiya,* 'prickly pear'; *karanzi (karanzi),* 'cotton thread'; and *mariti,* 'needle'. The most interesting aspect of the informants' responses to this sub-type of adoptives was in their preference pattern. In the 48 cases where correct equivalents were given, 39 preferences were recorded for the equivalents as supplied against only 9 for the given Karanga adoptives. This shows the low status accorded to the dialectal adoptives and confirms the view that the mainly Zesuru forms *gabe/mafundisi,* *rata,* *chipanasi,* *shinda,* and *teono* are preferred in GS even though some of them are actually adoptives.

9.3.2 Significant Blanks and Wrong Answers

9.3.2.1 The term 'blank' here is used to refer to a space where, as indicated by a dash or literally by a blank, an informant could have scored or given a wrong answer in column (a), (b) or (c) but had no answer to offer. (The instructions discouraged guessing.) Where it was clear that the informant had more blanks in a particular column than in the other two, such blanks were considered significant in the sense that the informant consistently failed to give answers for a specific-type question. Accordingly, *'(a)' or '(b)' or '(c)'* was indicated against 'Significant Blanks' on the informants' marked questionnaire. It was noted that in 16 out of 20 cases the significant blanks were in column (b) for identification of SL.

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5. The SL for *chorefiya* was not positively identified but many of the Karanga adoptives are from Afrikaans, the D.R.C. being the predominant missionary influence in the area. For this reason, I suspect *chorefiya* is also adopted from Afrikaans.

6. Some patterns were not indicated on the examples and 4 informants interpreted *numeri* as Manyika LIL, *'one who beats up (people)'*, and gave *murevi* and *muhadi* as equivalents. But even then preference was still for the GS forms they gave rather than for the dialectal term.
9.3.2.2 By using a similar method, significant patterns of wrong answers were worked out. Where an informant consistently gave wrong answers in a particular column, this was considered significant in the sense that his problem could have been thinking that he had correct answers where in fact he did not know the answers for the specific-type question. Accordingly, '(a)', '(b)', or '(c)' was indicated against 'wrong answers' on the marked questionnaire. Again it was noted that 16 out of 20 had the highest proportion of wrong answers in column (a) where informants were required to decide whether the words were indigenous or not.

9.3.2.3 The figure 16 for both significant blanks and wrong answers might seem to suggest that the pattern (b) : (a) was repeated 16 times by 16 out of 20 informants. This was not the case. In quite a few cases there was nothing significant about the blanks because too few answers were given in all three columns, and in a few others the distribution of blanks and wrong answers was even. However, the pattern repeated most often (14 times) was indeed (b) : (a).

9.3.2.4 Inferences

(i) In the case of older, integrated adoptive informants had the greatest difficulty or the least knowledge about their SL.

(ii) Informants were less hesitant to indicate given words as 'native' or 'foreign'. Here guessing must have been a strong temptation since either way one had a score chance of 50 per cent. This probably explains why more answers were given for (a) than for (b) and more wrong answers were given for (a) than for either (b) or (c).

(iii) In (a) either one did not know and guessed wrongly or one wrongly concluded the word was native because the adoptive was so old and fully integrated that the interlingual connection has been lost for most people. The
latter view is reinforced by the fact that a few informants chose to interpret 'foreign language' to include dialects other than their own; Karanga, Manyika and Remuru were specifically mentioned.

(iv) Informants had least difficulty in suggesting equivalents. Performance in (c) indicates that the answers were given more readily and more were correct than in either (a) or (b).

9.3.3 Score Analysis

9.3.3.1 Figures

Possible Score 26
Range 4 - 22
Average 10
Percentage 38

9.3.3.2 Remarks

Performance was low probably because:

(i) the adoptives were relatively ancient;
(ii) most of the adoptives were dialectal;
(iii) no adoptives from English were included;
(iv) performance in column (c) raised individual score and the overall effect was a significant boost for the '0' Group's performance in List A.

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7. The four highest scores recorded were all by Karanga informants: 13 by 0.14, 15 by 0.13, 20 by 0.9 and 22 by 0.8.

8. That the informants were at least familiar with the words was indicated by the fact that, although they complained that the exercise was 'difficult', they were nevertheless able to give correct equivalents in (c).
9.3.4 Tentative Conclusions

1. Speakers have more problems in identifying adoptives and their sources than in giving equivalent terms.

2. The alternative terms given may themselves be adoptives.

3. Zesuru pronunciation is preferred in GS even by non-Zesuru speakers.

4. GS adoptives are generally preferred to dialectal adoptives or creations.

5. In GS, adoptives from English are generally preferred, even where these may be more recent. The reasons for this could be:

   (i) The breadth and duration of contact has been greatest with English. Contact with Ngumi, Portuguese and Afrikaans has tended to be erratic and regional.

   (ii) The contact after British occupation has assured English the highest prestige status.

   (iii) Because of (i) and (ii) the adoptives from English are least likely to be dialectal, and therefore most likely to gain acceptance in GS.

   (iv) Personal background has little relation to the speaker's awareness of, or knowledge about, adoptives.

   (See Appendix I (b)).

9.4 Type-Word List B

9.4.1 General Type

As a general type List B is similar to A insofar as none of the words is a recent adoptive although some of the B terms may be controversial in the sense that they are not fully integrated because some speakers hold negative attitudes to their use. But more importantly, the B items are essentially
non-dialectal and to that extent more likely than A to become more common in GS. Further, although SL are equally varied, some adoptives from English were included in B.

9.4.1.1 Direct and Indirect adoption

The SL for B are E = 4 or 5, A = 1 or 2, Mg = 2, F = 1 and C = 1. In some cases it is not possible to determine with certainty whether a given adoptive came directly from its original SL or indirectly via another agent SL. This is why the numbers of adoptives from E and A are given as 4 or 5 and 1 or 2 respectively. Both A and E were accepted as SL for kuro, 'prostitute'.

It was also found necessary elsewhere to accept more than one answer for SL, especially in List G where chikapo may have been adopted via A or F, and muphe and Puti via Mg or F. This is a common problem and it would have been unfair to insist that the informants give the original source, for even some of the E examples could be considered Latinisms.

Another aspect of the problem is that informants could not have been expected to give ‘< Mg’ as an answer because Nguni is essentially an academic categorization and there is no way of telling whether swemox in List E, for instance, came via Nd. or Zu, which were specifically mentioned by the informants. Both answers are acceptable. This is why the general term Nguni is used in the analysis. By Nguni is understood the Southern African cluster of mutually intelligible languages Zulu, Ndebele, Xhosa and Swazi. Nguni and Sotho (another cluster of which Tswana and Pedi are also members) are structurally related. It is therefore quite possible that, more recently, some slang has been adopted via Tsotsi, a Sotho-based contact-language used in the South African mines. 9

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9. Labour for the mines has been recruited from various sources (including Zimbabwe) and the mines have become a linguistic melting-pot. See Rachel Angogo, 1978.
9.4.1.2 Analysis of Sub-types

A cursory glance through columns (a) and (b) in List B of the completed questionnaires was enough to show that the '0' informants had little difficulty with the adoptives from English, viz: chinin, vt i, 'change'; bonso, 'bone'; susupeni, 'sixpence, five cents'; sitabhu, 'cigarette butt' < 'stub'; and hure, 'prostitute' < 'whore'. Errors recorded were very few. It is also interesting to note that, in the case of hure, which could have been adopted from Af, nobody actually suggested Af as SL. Quite a few did not suggest SL at all (one suspects that the less proficient bilingual would not know E: 'whore') but those who did gave E, which confirms our earlier suggestion that Shona speakers are more aware of English influence. The informants' responses to List B indicated that, having recognised 5 out of 10 as < E, some of them were tempted to give < E for (some of) the other 5 as a safe guess.

Another interesting observation about attitudes generally was that no one suggested that hure was a native Shona term. This might be an indication that Shona people believe that their traditional society had no prostitutes. In column (a) they all indicated 'foreign' and some were quite happy to give SL as Hebele, which was a wrong guess, of course. The point is that the people believe (and quite rightly so) that, wherever it may have come from, prostitution was introduced from outside their own society.

After English, the next SL in terms of the Shona speakers' awareness of its influence is Nguni. The answer most frequently given for padhure 'near, close' and bhudhi '(elder) brother' was < Nd, but quite a few also gave < Zu. (Bhudhi, of course, is an indirect adoptive from A, bonzi via Ng.) From this one may conclude that the Shona people's continued exposure to E and Nd makes it relatively easy to identify adoptives from E and Ng. The F adoptive fakaza 'testify' was also given as < Nd, while only a few informed
informants indicated \( \triangleleft F \). (The term actually used was ‘gilapalapa’.)

It seems that F adoptives, being so common, are also likely to be identified as \( \triangleleft N \), which is reasonable since F is only a contact-language with many Ng. lexical items.

The response to mariro \( \triangleleft C \): 'funeral' indicated that continued exposure to a given SL does not necessarily mean the speakers will find it easy to identify that SL. Although a number of answers were correct, many informants thought mariro was a native Shona term. Two explanations are possible:

(i) that the adoptive is so old the source has become obscure;

or

(ii) that, unlike E and Ng, the SL enjoys low prestige among the Shona speakers who wouldn't consciously adopt from Gwa, except in humorous fashion.

The last word in list B was chepfu \( \triangleleft A \), gif: 'poison'. The majority (12) thought it was indigenous, which might suggest that it is fully integrated. Only 3 of the other 8 informants thought it was 'foreign' but failed to suggest the SL. The remainder (9) gave no answers against the word. The fact that no-one was able to identify A as SL may lead us to conclude that where the source of an established adoptive is obscure, it is more likely to be readily integrated than would adoptives from E or Ng. From this an interesting aspect of 'acceptability' becomes apparent: the controversy about 'unnecessary loanwords' only involves those adoptives which are most readily identifiable interlingually, especially those from English. Those whose SL are more obscure are considered native, or at least coinages. It could be argued then that speakers do not object to the 'intrusion of foreign words' as long as they do not know where they came from. To that extent, condemnation of the dangerous influence of English would seem to be a farce.
That *cheppu* is no strange word in Shona was shown by the fact that the informants were able to give equivalents in column (c). It may also be noted that the two youngest informants 0.15 and 0.16 gave *mupfuwira*. This probably shows the influence of the written literature where love potions often turn out to be deadly poison in stories. The mature informants, however, all gave *mudchetera* or *poiseni*.

9.4.2 Significant Blanks

For List B blanks were considerably fewer than for List A but were still most numerous in column (b). The greatest problem, therefore, remained the identification of SL, even though about half of the items were from English. From this, one may conclude that speakers do not concern themselves about the SL of words in their active vocabularies.

9.4.3 Wrong Answers

The highest proportion of wrong answers was in column (b) and the wrong answers given most often were S and Ng. From this one may conclude that although problems of SL are not the ordinary speakers concern, he is most likely to assume that Shona adjectives are $\subseteq S/\text{Ng}$.

9.4.4 Preference Patterns

For List B, the most important inferences made were on preference patterns. That the words in the list are common was indicated by the fact that in most cases informants were able to give correct equivalents in column (c). But their declared preferences were rather surprising. In 8 out of 10 cases informants were able to give indigenous equivalents and declared that they used these most often:

- (*shandura*) more often than *chinda*
- (*punura*) more often than *fakaza*
- (*rufu*) more often than *mariro*
The overall patterns for individual informants indicated 10 clear preferences for native terms and 3 balanced patterns where individuals chose about equal numbers of given adoptives and indigenous terms they supplied. Only 6 showed a general preference for the adoptives given in the list, and I actually preferred the even more recent and controversial adoptives he had supplied in column (c).

These figures per se would lead one to conclude that there is a general preference for native terms where these are known. This contradicts our findings from list A. One must, therefore, seek more evidence from Lists C to G, but at this stage two explanations may be suggested. If one takes the view that indigenous forms are deliberately chosen as a rule one could explain this in terms of a strong sense of language loyalty. One of the aims of this study is to determine the importance of language loyalty as a factor in the behaviour of the speakers; alternatively, one could suggest that some informants gave dishonest answers. It may well be that certain informants wanted to give the impression that they were loyal to their PL, where they were aware that the choice was between 'foreign' and native terms and where the latter were non-dialectal. Given this knowledge or assumption, they would declare preference for native terms and forestall charges of using 'unnecessary borrowings'.

Both interpretations seem to be supported by the reasons for choice given in column (e). Reasons such as 'It is a Shona word', 'That's my language'
and 'It gives a better meaning' were given in support of preferences for
native terms, particularly brupa, sukva and pfambi. Some adoptives, in
particular hure, paduze and fakaza were not chosen because they were
considered to be 'slang' and 'foreign'. In those cases where individuals
preferred given adoptives to the indigenous terms they suggested, the reasons
tended to be qualitative. For example, whereas sukva and makobiri matamatu
were suggested for sinipensi, three informants who chose the latter
explained: 'It gives a better meaning'; 'It is easily understood'; and 'It is
more popular'.

It may also be noted here that after List B fewer and fewer informants
continued to give reasons—many actually stopped from List D. It can be
explained, of course, that the whole exercise was long and the informants
soon found themselves repeating the same reasons again and again. Also, I
did point out to them that they were not expected to give reasons in every
case. Against this, one must also point out the possibility that after List B,
the type-word lists and the questions were such that it became increasingly
difficult to give dishonest answers. For example, the coinages in List D
are definitely less current than their adoptive equivalents and it is not
easy to pretend otherwise.

9.4.5 Score Analysis

9.4.5.1 Figures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possible Score</th>
<th>30</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>5 - 26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.4.5.2 Remarks

Performance was much better than for List A, probably because:

(i) the adoptives in List B are non-dialectal and
relatively more recent, therefore, they must be
more common;
(ii) half the list were from English and therefore easy to identify SL;

(iii) because of (i) and (ii) blanks were fewer.

(No satisfactory explanation could be found for Mrs. 0.12's low score.
The only gave answers for (c). She probably did not understand the instruction 'Questions as for Group A' - See Appendix II (a)).

9.4.6 Tentative Conclusions

All the conclusions made in 9.3.4 have been confirmed, except number (4) in respect of which the following qualification may be made provisionally:

either, (i) there is a general preference for native terms where these are known owing to language loyalty;

or, (ii) because of their sense of language loyalty, speakers are reluctant to admit preference for adoptives where native equivalents are known and may not give true answers in order to give the 'right impression'.

From our analysis of performance in List B the following conclusions may be added to 9.3.4.

6. Speakers recognize adoptives from English and Nguni more readily than any other.

7. Speakers don't normally concern themselves about the source of the words they use although, when required to say, they are often able to make an informed guess about the authenticity or otherwise of given words.

8. The younger speakers (0.1 -5 and 0.11) are more likely to give equivalents which are actually adoptive while the older speakers will make an effort to give indigenous equivalents.

In this respect, children (0.15 and 0.16) are likely to respond like the more mature people, presumably because they try to reflect the attitudes approved by their parents or their language teachers.
9.5.1 General Type

The words in list C are all very commonly used adoptives from English which were selected to facilitate immediate comparison of informants' responses with those given for lists A and B, and thereby to test conclusions already made. The informants were told the SL and asked to suggest indigenous equivalents. All the adoptives are known to have original Shona equivalents, either new creations or semantic extensions.

9.5.2 Preference Patterns

Preference was clearly for the given adoptives: 18 out of 20 chose all or most of the words given in the list. Exceptions from the list were ticha \( \triangleleft \) E: 'teacher' and nezi \( \triangleleft \) E: 'nurse' for which mungidzi/murairidzi and mukoti were given as preferred equivalents. Neither of the two informants whose responses did not conform to this pattern showed a clear preference for indigenous terms: they had about equal numbers of preferred adoptives and preferred indigenous equivalents. Only in the case of Master 0.16 who chose particular words because they were the Shona words could it be claimed that language loyalty was an important factor. The other exception, Mr. 0.20, did not give any reasons for his preferences.

The reasons given by the majority for particular preferences fail to support the suggestion made in 9.4.6 that there might be a general preference for indigenous terms where these are known. The reasons given most often was that the word chosen was believed to be used often by other speakers. The following were typical:

'Commonly used';

'Just used to the word';

'I always use vachi';

'Many of my friends use 1'.
(Op. 9.10). Where informants chose to say why they did not use the indigenous equivalents more often, the general reason was that these were less specific in reference:

'two is a bit vague';
'two is ambiguous';
'two has more than one meaning';
'It (i.e. the adoptive) has a better meaning'.

This response is not surprising, especially since many coinages tend to be mere semantic extensions and, therefore, artificial to that extent.

9.5.3 Performance and Conclusions

The exercise was short and the possible score only 10. The informants scored between 1 and 9. The average score was 6 or 56 percent. The lowest score was by Miss 0.11 (See notes to Appendix II (a)).

From the informants' general performance, the following conclusions were made for comparison with 9.3.4 and 9.4.6:

1. Substitutions for well-known S-adoptives were quite easy to find because attempts are being made to promote such creations in books and on the radio. For example,
   - *dutavenhu* for *bhazi*, 'bus'
   - *dzinudzangare* for *reduziyo*, 'radio'
   - *mutandigere* for *penziyi*, 'pension'
   - *chiringauro* for *vachi*, 'watch'

   were given by most of the informants although many admitted they used the adoptives more often.

2. Our earlier conclusion that non-S adoptives are harder to identify because SI are more obscure was confirmed in an interesting way. The following equivalents were recorded:
   - *muchovha* for *bhazi*, 'bus'
   - *kufumidza* for *rangekiti*, 'practice'
   - *nyakwana* for *rema*, 'razor'
It will be noted that the equivalents suggested are also adoptives. Noun stem -chovha and verb stem -fundu were adopted from Nguni and navhaya (IML) \( \prec \); navalha is a Manyika adoptive. That certain informants gave them where original Shona words had been specifically asked for confirms our earlier suggestion that where the SL are obscure the adoptives are likely to be readily accepted as indigenous.

3. Speakers may want to give the impression that language loyalty prevents them from using adoptives where these can be avoided, but our evidence from List C indicates that the adoptive equivalents are in fact more current.

4. In spite of the efforts that may be made to promote them at school, on radio, etc., creations or coinages or innovations generally fail to gain general currency. The following reasons may be suggested:
   (i) they are introduced after their referents have already been associated with the adoptives;
   (ii) being mostly semantic extensions, they tend to be less specific in reference;
   (iii) they tend to be descriptive (e.g. mudyandigere and dutavanhu are complex nominal constructions) and therefore lingually more cumbersome than the adoptives;
   (iv) because of (iii) they are generally restricted to 'elegant' speech or to the literary (especially written) language.

5. From the above, it becomes clear that considerations of language loyalty are not a decisive factor influencing popular acceptance of adoptives or speech habits generally. (Cp. 9.10).
9.6 TYPE-WORD LIST D

9.6.1 General Type

All ten words in List D are indigenous coinages for common concepts or items for which adoptives from English are available. The words and question were designed: (a) to test speakers' awareness of indigenous coinages; (b) to determine the extent to which informants might have relied on guesswork in Lists A and B; (c) to test inferences already made about the popularity of coinages.

9.6.2 Analysis of Sub-Types

Four sub-types can be isolated. The first three words in the list are dialectal coinages. Katsekera was classified as HZ because, to my best knowledge, it is not used in the Midlands and Victoria areas. I have not heard it used in Gwele and Fort Victoria, for example. The word is a title for the Chief Executive of a Municipal Council or Town Management Board. Hangurwa is an adaptation from the verb stem -kanga and is a Shona creation for 'biscuit'. Runainai is a Karanga onomatopoetic coinage for 'bicycle'. These coinages appear to be little known and/or little used. Equivalents were given only 12 times where the possible score for all the informants was 60. Hangurwa is virtually unknown (1 answer) and runainai (5 answers) and katsekera (6 answers) are not much better known. From this poor performance it is clear that dialectal coinages are even less likely to be popularly accepted than dialectal adoptives. For, while the latter (cp. List A) were more familiar to dialect speakers, the same speakers failed to identify dialectal coinages.

In the second sub-type were runainai, 'bicycle'; chionioni, 'mirror'; ndande, 'piece of elastic', catapult, and muchinikwa, 'cross'. For all four, both adoptive equivalents or other indigenous equivalents could have been given.
bhasikoro < E and bhizaufare for runaina;
giri/mira (HL) < E and chiringiriro for chionioni;
reni < A and mupira for ndande;
kirozi < E and chipiyaniso for muchinjikwa/muchinjiko.

The figures in the table below show the number of times each type-equivalent was recorded for each word.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WORD GIVEN</th>
<th>ADOPTIVE EQUIVALENT</th>
<th>INDIGENOUS EQUIVALENT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>runaina</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>chionioni</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ndande</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>muchinjikwa</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Only one indigenous equivalent (mupira for ndande) was given only once for the first three words, but whereas none suggested bhizaufare or chiringiriro which have been used quite often by Shona writers, the adoptives bhasikoro, giri/mira and reni were better known. Some informants, no doubt encouraged by the permissive instruction that either 'original' or 'borrowed' equivalents could be given, actually gave more recent, controversial adoptives and often with the English spelling: e.g. mira, mirror, and elastic were recorded.

The conclusion here is obvious: our earlier conclusion that where there is an option adoptives are more readily accepted and therefore more likely to be in the speaker's active vocabulary is confirmed. This is further confirmed by the preference patterns for the first three words: not only were adoptives given rather than creations but these adoptives were also used more often than the creations given in the list. The fourth word, muchinjikwa is a special case because it is a religious term. Muchinjikwa, muchinjiko and
chipivhingo are promoted in the Christian Churches and literature. Although the GS adoptive kirosi was recorded equally often, preference was mostly for the indigenous terms.

In the third sub-type are chipfudzo, 'eraser', chishambero, 'sponge' and shimura, 'rev (engine)'. All four are coinages for which no other indigenous equivalents are known, unless one accepts expressions arrived at by way of circumlocution. The first two proved relatively unknown but were still identified. The adoptives rapha/chanta/eraser ≈ for chipfudzo and and teuro/towel ≈ & for chishambero were given more often than chokudzinisa/chokupukutisa ('something to wipe off with') and chokunzesa ('something to wash with'). The last two were impromptu creations by way of circumlocution. Another relatively unknown word was shimura for which tekisa/nutsa/tinkidza were suggested by a few informants. Perhaps because of unfamiliarity with the jargon of motoring nobody suggested revha as I had expected. None of the impromptu creations gives quite the same meaning.

The last word in the list runhare was given a category of its own, being a non-dialectal creation (lit: 'wire' ≈ utare, 'iron ore') which refers to something very common. 12 out of 20 were able to give the adoptive equivalent foni ≈ & and 10 of these said they used foni more often than runhare. From this one may infer that where both indigenous coinage and adoptive are quite common the adoptive is more likely to be used more often.

9.6.3 General Performance

The possible score was 20, the range of scores 1 - 16, and the average score 9 or 47 per cent, which is rather low. Blanks were relatively numerous in all columns and wrong answers few. Perhaps the informants were becoming increasingly hesitant to guess - in fact in quite a number of cases, no equivalents were suggested at all. The equivalents given were all for the same small number of words, chionioni, ndande, runhare and muchinjiko which
are being promoted in the literary language and in the churches. Preference patterns were clearly for adoptives where these were given and only in a very few cases were reasons for choice given, although one might have expected the loyalty factor to feature prominently here where a number of correct guesses (?) were made about the authenticity of the words in the list.

9.6.4. Conclusions

It is now possible to state our observations in more categorical terms. Our earlier conclusions, as stated and revised through 9.3.4, 9.4.6 and 9.5.3, have been given further confirmation. From our analysis of List B, the following may be added.

1. Adoptives are more likely to gain popular acceptance than equivalent creations.

2. Creations may be familiar but, generally speaking, are either not preferred or not very active in the speaker's vocabulary.

3. Where adoptives and indigenous equivalents are available as alternatives there is always the chance that more recent, unassimilated and therefore controversial adoptives will be used.

4. Among the various types of coinages possible, dialectal coinages and the longer, descriptive-type coinages are least likely to gain general currency.

5. The various agencies promoting coinages are not having a significant influence on the speech habits of the speakers, i.e. beyond making people aware of possible equivalents. In this respect it seems the church is most successful although it is also an important agent for direct adoption.

9.7 TYPE-WORD LIST E

9.7.1 General Type

List E is very similar to List B but this time there are more examples, the
All more varied and examples from English fewer. In column (c) the informants were prohibited from giving non-indigenous equivalents, which made their task difficult as only six correct answers were possible. List B contrasts sharply with List A: this time informants must give indigenous coinages for integrated adoptives, whereas the opposite was required in B. List E also provides an interesting comparison with List A. This time the words are more common in the sense that, although both are integrated adoptives, those in List E are less 'ancient' and non-dialectal.

9.7.2 General Performance

9.7.2.1 Figures

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possible Score</th>
<th>36</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>2 - 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

9.7.2.2 Remarks

This was the most difficult part of the exercises for the informants. Whereas they found giving equivalents relatively easy in the other Lists (excepting List F) this time only 6 correct answers were possible in column (c). Many unacceptable equivalents were suggested: e.g. nkumburu ≤ Bg for bare, 'bullet'; odarwa ≤ Greek for mari, 'money'; and zinqua ≤ Bg for chiniva, 'bread'.

The ordinary speaker cannot be expected to know that all these words are adoptives. Further, because List E are integrated adoptives identification of SE was also difficult and most of the significant blank patterns were noted for column (b), although the three examples from English must have raised the scores appreciably. Again, because the words are integrated adoptives, informants had little clue to enable them to make informed guesses in column (a) and many 'Yeses' in (a) accounted for most of the wrong answers. It was convenient to assume that words like chiniva and masamba, etc., were indigenous because there seems to be nothing 'foreign' about them (cp. 9.7.4.2 below).
9.7.3 Preference Patterns

The general preference patterns for all but 3 of the informants indicated that, where equivalents were given, whether acceptable or not, the adoptives given in the list were used more often. This confirms our earlier suggestion that GS adoptives are readily accepted especially if their SL are obscure.

Another point to note is that people do not seem to be keen on using partially assimilated or unassimilated adoptives from English, although some have suggested that speakers deliberately 'mix' English and Shona. The following were given by informants as spelt here:

- peva for bhadhara, 'pay'
- farm for purasi, 'farm'
- bread for chingwa
- tea leaves for masamba
- bar for bhava
- bullet for bara
- plane for ndege
- railway line for njanji

None of these English forms was given as 'used more often'.

9.7.4 Sociohistorical Inference

The words in List B were divided into sub-types in relation to SL and the informants' total scores per sub-type were worked out. An examination of the performance patterns shown in the table overleaf enables us to make some interesting sociohistorical inferences.

SEE TABLE 1
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sub-types</th>
<th>Performance</th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Score</td>
<td>Out of</td>
<td>Percentage</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. purazi</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. bira</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. bvakacha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afrikaans</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. rokwe</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. chikerema</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. mari*</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. kwava</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. muchini</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nguni</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. chingwa</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. bhashara*</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. shvenza</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. njenji</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swahili</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. ndege</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cova</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. masamba</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. bwesa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The speakers are obviously clearly most likely to be aware of adoption from English. Nguni is a poor second. The explanations given in number 5 of 9.3.4 also obtain here—viz: duration and breadth of contact and the prestige factor which, in the case of English, is enhanced by its role as the language of instruction, specialized information and wider communication.

The speakers are least likely to be aware of adoption from other African languages. Three explanations may be suggested.

(a) Recent contact with Swahili has been nil-to-minimal. Therefore, adoptives from Swahili must be very old and their introduction was probably indirect, via Arab traders. Not surprisingly the interlingual connection has been lost. For example, the starred forms mapi and bhadhara are special cases in Table 1. Although mapi is commonly believed to be an adaptation of English 'money' because of the familiarity of the latter and the rough phonological resemblance, it is more probably an indirect adoption from Arabic mal via Swahili mali (wealth). The other word bhadhara is commonly believed to be from Ndebele—Zulu but is in fact an indirect adoptive mediated through N, Ng from Afrikaans betaal.

(b) The breadth of contact between Shona and Cewa is considerable (there are many Cewa people working in the country) but the prestige factor negatively affects potential adoption. That Cewa is accorded low status by Shona speakers is indicated by the cacophemistic use of Cewa whereby the language and the people are, or have been, made fun of in Shona novels, in radio plays and serials and, more recently, in Shona popular music (e.g. by Zacks Nangiza and the Green Arrows Band).
Such practices and attitudes are, of course, not shared by all Shona speakers but they are nevertheless a significant factor. Present indications are that adoption by Zimbabwean Cewa from Shona is heavy. (It would be interesting if somebody could make a comparative study of Zimbabwean and Malawian Cewa).

(c) Entry of Cewa (and Sena) items into the Shona lexicon is likely to be unobtrusive because the languages share some structural similarities. Many such lexical items could in fact be found to be cognates. This would seem to apply to all Bantu languages and may explain why awareness of adoption from Nguni is not as much as one might expect.

It may also be noted that most adoptive are nouns and Bantu nouns are made up of prefix plus stem.

E.g. Ng/isi/ > s/tʃi/ in Chingua;

W, Ng/ i, u/ > s /ʃi/ in shanji;

W, Ng/ i, li, si/ > s /ʃi/ in bhirinji

(an indirect adoption from English via Nguni.

The direct adoptive variant is bhirinji).

G / ma/ > s /ma/ in miriro.

The verb stems are also structurally similar.

E.g. Ng. -sib pena > s -sivenza;

C -bveza > s -beza.

Awareness of adoption from the other European languages in the contact situation, Portuguese and Afrikaans, is probably so very low because:

(a) Portuguese enjoyed earlier contact than English and that contact was regional and erratic and was not associated with a ruling power.
b) Although Afrikaans maintained contact after British occupation, this was not as widespread, being confined mainly to the faranga areas. Some of the adoptives from Afrikaans therefore tend to be dialectal or marked forms which have little chance of gaining general acceptance in GS. Those that are not marked in this sense become completely assimilated phonologically because proficiency in the SL is nil, and the interlingual connection is quickly lost.

For the same reason, it is arguable that Shona may have more adoptives and from a greater range of sources than has been generally acknowledged. Adoptives from other languages whose peoples have interacted with the Shona (notably Arabic, Sene, Tonga, Bemba, Lozi, Sotho and Venda) must have been even less perceptible and therefore quickly integrated. It is reasonable to assume that many of the words simply indicated "< For" (i.e. 'Foreign origin') by Hannan in the Standard Shona Dictionary are from these languages. Without knowledge of or adequate records in all these languages the interlingual connection is hard to establish. One can understand Hannan's decision to be conveniently vague about sources of words in Shona that are 'felt' to be non-indigenous.

9.6 Type-Word List F

9.6.1 General Type

Adoptives in List F are similar to those in List C insofar as examples in both are comparatively recent and all are nouns referring to objects or concepts that are very familiar. Respecting SL the only exceptions are shuku < A and shabini < F. The essential difference between the lists is that, as far as I am aware, no indigenous coinages are available for List F. If any attempts have been made to coin or promote indigenous equivalents they must have been very unsuccessful. The adoptives in F then
are what even the purists may concede to be 'necessary loanwords' and the informants' performance patterns were quite predictable.

5.8.2 Performance

Not unexpectedly more than half the informants (11) just left column (c) for equivalents blank. One of these, Mr. O.18, was probably so dismayed that he just proceeded to list C without offering any answers at all for List F. For the 19 out of 20 who gave some answers, the following observation were noted:

(a) column (c) was the significant blanks column for all of them;
(b) they indicated preference for adoptives in the list in every case;
(c) the equivalents they suggested, but did not prefer, were:

(i) either adoptive variants, e.g. viri (cp. vhiri) for 'wheel'; ochisi <Bg< E (cp. sosoi) for 'sausage'; and chitirobbo < A for 'neck-tie';

(ii) or too general in reference to be of value; e.g. musshansi, 'music' was suggested for dhisko < <E, 'disco'; nhembo and muva, both 'time', for mu <E, 'hour'; and machea, 'cloth' for dzuku < A, 'headscarf';

(iii) or they were descriptive or circumlocutory paraphrases; e.g. kumu muteso, 'to be paralysed in the limbs', for poriyo <E, 'polio'; pheko yomuusuro, 'head dress', for dzuku and for wigi <E, 'wig';

(iv) or they were simply wrong, e.g. nhanyva for poriyo, ndari for shabibi and mhazamupho for poriyo.

Blanks were fewer in columns (a) and (b) and no clear pattern of wrong answers
could be determined, except insfar as the non-English adoptives shuku and shabini
(šF: 'place for illicit sale and/or brewing of beer') gave many informants
problems respecting identification of SL.

Performance for List F was the best for the whole exercise. The figures were
as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possible Score</th>
<th>20</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>0 – 19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mr. O.18's decision not to attempt List F at all lowered the average score
by about 4 percent. The average for the other 19 informants was 71.8 percent.
It is also interesting to note that our 'special case' Miss O.11 had her
highest score for List F (14 out of 20 or 70%) where no points were awarded
for equivalents and the adoptives were mainly from English. (See Appendix II
(d) (i)).

9.8.3 On Coinages

The examples of impromptu coinages given in 9.8.2 indicate the essential
problems involved in coining or creating indigenous terms. The new terms
are coined after whatever is referred to has already been introduced in the
speech community together with its non-indigenous label. This gives the
adoptive an initial advantage as far as usage is concerned. Further,
indigenous equivalents are usually arrived at by indirect means and therefore
tend to be less specific in reference than would be labels given to new things
in the language of the inventors, for instance.

Where conscious coinage is involved, one may choose a word already used in
the SL to which the new item or concept can be likened. Examples of this are
given in (c) (ii) and (iii) in 9.8.2. Such semantic extensions are often
difficult to promote because they are known to be artificial and vague.
Alternatively, and probably more likely in spontaneous speech, one would resort to the use of descriptive terms, either compound words or phrases or even clauses, as the examples in (c) (iii) in 9.8.2 show. In such cases the attempt is to give circumlocution. Such coinages are not artificial and would be quite acceptable if they did not have to compete with adoptives that have been introduced earlier, adoptives that are structurally simpler and therefore lingually less cumbersome, and are more specific in reference. A recognized feature of Bantu terms is their highly figurative quality which, it has been wrongly suggested, compensates for relative paucity in abstract ideas (e.g., by Lestrade, 1937, 293). However, such picturesque terms, e.g., chimukumbodai, chikopeka, mugurudzanungwa, and jengavanikanga tend to be lengthy and unspecific. Therefore, as the earlier introduced, the adoptives (the original labels in the contact situation) have a number of advantages which outweigh considerations of language loyalty. It is their utility more than anything else that earns lexical items popular acceptance, especially since speakers do not normally concern themselves with questions of etymology. A need for language loyalty may be felt as some of the answers to list B indicated, but as answers to lists C and F showed, operational efficiency requires that this sense of language loyalty should remain dormant during ordinary speech situations. Relative usefulness is probably the most important factor for lexical adoption, even where indigenous equivalents may be available. Other factors that may be suggested, such as the prestige associated with the SL, are unlikely to be as important especially since their operation is largely unconscious. (The factors involved in lexical adoption are discussed more fully in 9.10 and in Ch.10).

9.9 TYPE-WORD LIST G

9.9.1 General Type

The adoptives in List G are a type apart. They are popularly known as slang and have been variously labelled Shimanjemajo, Shinjivinozvino, Chinharare.
The descriptive term 'slang' will be used here only for convenience because it is the cover label used by the speakers to characterize facetious codes on the one hand, and on the other controversial adoptives and innovations, both stable and transient. A more accurate definition of slang is attempted elsewhere. Like list F, the words in list G are common enough, but, from the point of view of people's attitudes to their use, they are very different. While list F are considered 'necessary', list G are considered 'unnecessary' because for each of them more than one indigenous equivalent can be suggested. A secondary reason is that words in this category are believed (wrongly, of course) to belong to no known language in the sense of chirudzi. For that reason, they are believed to deserve the same status as chikunde, jargon or the facetious codes of the young.

Their sources are indeed quite obscure. In every case the ultimate SL can be determined, but by the time they enter the Shona lexicon as 'slang', many of them have lost interlingual identity, both phonemically and semantically:

*chuki* < *chukesi*, 'girl, girlfriend', = LE chicks;
*chuni*, 'girlfriend', less commonly 'boyfriend' <
*chuna*, 'solicit, make obliging' = LE tune.

In some cases adoption may have been indirect via another language, or the same lexical item could have come via the original SL and an agent SL:
*e.g., macho*, 'criminal, trickster' which is an integrated adoptive not in list G could be described as < F < Sotho or < F and < Sotho. This problem of uncertainty respecting SL would seem to affect all Panigale or Shira parapara words. Panigale is a contact-language anyway. For example, *pipi*, 'again', *manda*, 'now' and *siteriki*, 'much, very much, too much' may have come via L or via Ng or both. *Shikishiku*, 'food' may have come via F or A, or both, while *Mutashi*, 'Go away! Stop barking!' and *nikisi*, 'no!' may have come directly from A or indirectly via F. (Cp. 9.4.1.1, above).
From List G only the English adoptives pureza and dhiya may be considered direct adoptives. However, the connotative meanings they have acquired are far from their English meanings. Pureza means, among other things, mischief by unfaithful spouses. Dhiya is used as a vocative term only with reference to one's lover, usually where the affair may be casual or illicit, and may be compared with the use of boifrendi and gorifrendi even by elderly people when referring to 'lover' in preference to chikomba and hure which are considered less respectable although synonymous.

It is probably because of the connotative meanings of many 'slang' words that some people have very strong views against their general use. Some informants expressed strong negative attitudes although they admitted to using them often. Whereas Lists A to E were primarily intended to test awareness of an attitudes to adoptives generally, some of the informants' preferences and reasons for their choice reflected the speakers' general attitudes to language. Lists F and G were intended to reveal those attitudes more directly by providing immediate comparison of responses. This is why they were given towards the end of the exercise where they could act as a bridge between: (a) the study of the relationship between attitudes and habits as inferred from Questionnaire A; and (b) those attitudes and habits which were actually declared in response to Questionnaire B, where direct questions about them were asked.

9.9.2 Performance

9.9.2.1 Figures

Possible Score | 10
Range          | 0 - 6
Average        | 3
Percentage     | 31

9.9.2.2 Remarks

The possible score was only 10 because points were only awarded for identifying 31. Not surprisingly the average score was very low. In fact 31 per cent
was the lowest score recorded for the 'O' Group for the whole exercise, and
the main reason one can suggest for this performance pattern is the relative
obscurity of SL for slang generally. While almost everybody got the SL for
puresha and shiva, (English), the proportion of wrong answers for the rest
of the examples was high. Comparison of performance with List F confirms
our view that the SL is easiest to identify if it is English, and that
speakers are on the whole unaware of SL even where they believe the words
to be 'foreign'.

9.9.3 Attitudes to Slang

Answers to question (b) showed general patterns of use, i.e. whether
informants used slang 'often', 'seldom' or 'never', while answers to (c)
indicated general attitudes to the use of slang, i.e. whether 'for', 'against',
or 'indifferent'. Some informants chose to indicate attitude to individual
words rather than to the words given as a group, although the instructions
did not require them to do so. The general-type responses per individual
informant are given in Table 2 below. Here 'indifferent' means that, either
the response 'indifferent' was actually recorded or there was a balance
between the numbers of 'for' and 'against' recorded. The responses per
specific word are summarized in Table 3 below.

SEE TABLE 2 AND TABLE 3 OVERLEAF

It will be noted that in Table 2 three informants did not indicate their
general attitude. One of these, Mrs. O.12, did not even wish to indicate
how often she used the words. I concluded she felt this was personal,
especially since throughout the exercise she had not given reasons except in
only three cases: respecting bhasi, soja and mudzidzidzi which she said she
preferred because they were used more often than dutwamby, survi and ticha.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>INFORMANT</th>
<th>RESPONSES RECORDED</th>
<th>GENERAL ATTITUDE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>OFTEN</td>
<td>SELFDEC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. 0.1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss 0.2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss 0.3</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. 0.4</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss 0.5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. 0.6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. 0.7</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. 0.8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. 0.9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. 0.10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss 0.11</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mrs. 0.12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. 0.13</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. 0.14</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Matr.0.15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss 0.16</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. 0.17</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. 0.18</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. 0.19</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. 0.20</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>95</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WORD</td>
<td>TYPE RESPONSE (Number of times recorded)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--------</td>
<td>-----------------------------------------</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>FOR</td>
<td>AGAINST</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Futseki</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nikisi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chikafu</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Futi</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sitereki</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manje</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puresha</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dhiya</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chukasi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chumi</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As far as individual words were concerned, it will be noted from Table 3 that only futseki and cbuni were considered clearly unacceptable, but possible resistance to the incorporation of the established Panigalo adoptives chikafu, futi, siterski and maple would be minimal if anything. This new evidence supports an earlier view expressed in Part II of this dissertation that only lexical items that are inherently transient should be categorized "slang".

For example, the following eight words have all been used at different times over the past ten years or so and all mean "girl": shenembe, gero, svariha, bhebhi, chukasi, chuki, cbuni, lanu.

From Table 2 it is clear that the majority (9) do not hold any strong views about language, either positive or negative. This is supported by the figures in Table 3 where the greatest number of responses recorded for individual words (42) was for "indifferent". From the first table it will be noted further that of those who have strong views on the matter, most (7) are against the general use of slang; only one "for" was recorded. However, although the prevailing attitude in the speech community can be described as negative, the speakers nevertheless use slang more often (95) than not (31), in spite of themselves, one might say. If we take the words in List G as perfectly representative of what the Shona speakers consider to be slang, and if we take our twenty informants as ideally representative of the Shona-speaking community, then we could argue that the chances are 5 to 1 that every speaker uses some slang in conversation, or at the very least 3 to 1, depending on how one interprets the figures. 10

Two conclusions may be made from these figures and observations. Firstly, there is no direct correlation between speech habits and attitudes to language.

10. If we interpret "seldom" to mean admitted usage, the chances are 95 to 34 to 31 → 149 to 31 → about 5 to 1. If, however, we ignored "seldom", the chances would be 95 to 31 → 311. There is nothing alarming about such a situation. It has also been observed that every Zulu speaker uses some slang. See Nhlabinde 1968, 19/.
Secondly, the use of non-indigenous linguistic forms where there is the 
option not to does not necessarily imply the absence of language loyalty.11
This is perhaps best explained in terms of the natural tendency of language 
to develop and to change. The greater the breadth of contact with other 
languages, the greater the influence those other languages are likely to have 
on the development of the primary language. If this should coincide with 
rapid social change (as has been the case for Shona), then the need for 
operational efficiency and increased communicative competence in the PL will 
take precedence over language loyalty, thus reducing 'resistance to 
interference' (cp. Weinreich, 1953), especially if the PL is also the L 
in a diglossic situation. (See Chapter 11).

9.9.3.1 This general thesis is supported by the reasons that were given 
by the informants, both students and non-students, for particular preferences. 
The details and implications of these reasons for our 'O' group will be given 
in 9.10 for the whole exercise, but here it is appropriate to outline those 
reasons which refer specifically to List G.

From the responses of those informants who particularized about specific 
words, three types of reaction were given in column (d).

1. Words associated with disrespect should be kept out of the 
language. Specifically named in this connection were mikisi, 
puresha, chukasi and chuni. Miss 0.5 personally hates being 
addressed or referred to as chuni or chukasi: 'I feel very low 
when addressed as such'. Mr. 0.19 complained that words like 
chuni and chukasi 'corrupt the language' and that spoils 
Shona'.

2. Words that are associated with insulting language are also 
optionable. Putsuki was mentioned several times, and 
was described as 'irritating', 'insulting' and 'vulgar 
language' by different informants. Mr. 0.20 actually

11: The speakers may view these as 'slips of the tongue' (Gumperz, 
1972, 207).
suggested that it should be reserved for use on dogs:
'Don't mind it being used on a dog.'

3. Words that are not emotive in character are quite acceptable.
At least nobody raised any particular objection to their use.
Specifically mentioned in this respect were *chikafu, futi, siterekai* and *manje*. Mr. O.19 said they were better understood than their indigenous equivalents because they were 'generally used nowadays'. Miss O.7's comment was more positive: 'Words that bring no ill feeling like 'manje' and 'futi' should be used'.

9.9.3.1 From the responses of these informants who, as was required by the instructions, simply indicated their general attitude to the words as a representative type, three reactions were noted.

1. **Resistance.** The words in List B were described as 'improper language' and as less respectable than the indigenous Shona terms. One informant claimed that they were meaningless although he did not indicate what he meant by 'meaningless'. Another (Mrs. O.10) said their use should be discouraged because people in the rural areas do not understand them.

2. **Resignation.** Typical in this category was the response of one young man, Mr. O.1, who described himself as 'one of the victims of the modern generation where slang and borrowed words are said to be in fashion'. He just found himself 'using more borrowed words instead of my mother tongue to keep in track with people in my own social circle'. This informant was really apologetic in tone and wished to explain that he used adoptives inspite of himself: 'It is more of an influence than a design'. Similar sentiments were expressed by other informants and the general point they made was that the 'offending' words were generally used in their community.
3. **Acceptance.** The typical response in this category was that
times are changing and the language should follow suit.
Mr. 0.4, who said he found nothing wrong with their use,
explained: "I feel that the language must change with time
since we are living in a changing world." This view was
echoed by Miss 0.11 who said: "They (words in G) are amusing
and they bring some change in the language." The view was
also expressed that as long as people understood one another
it was alright.

From all three reactions it may be noted that linguistic change is not
resisted on puristic grounds by the ordinary speaker, although some intellectuals
may feel differently. (cp. Students' responses in next chapter).

9.10 **REASONS FOR LEXICAL ADOPTION**

The examples in Lists A to F were less controversial and more varied than
those in List G. The reasons given for various choices were therefore more
varied and more interesting because they help to show the reasons for lexical
adoption in the Shona-speaking community. 12

The 'reason' columns were not filled in many cases. The informants were
not actually required to or expected to. No doubt this would have been a very
tedious exercise. However, many informants suggested a reason here and there.
A few gave reasons fairly consistently. The variety supplied by these few
included practically every reason given by all the members of the 'G' Group.

From the point of view of methodology, this was quite revealing. The whole
picture could have been given by a few carefully selected informants. In
other words, as the informants' responses did not on the whole show any sharp
contrasts, a large number of informants producing a mass of data proved quite
unnecessary because there was considerable duplication of responses.

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12. Much has been written on the subject of 'borrowing'; cp. e.g.,
Bloomfield [1933], Weinreich [1953], Sturtevant [1917], and
Rayfield [1917]. However, this study is language specific and
nothing will be taken for granted in this section.
Initially, as I went through the completed questionnaires, I listed all the reasons given and recorded the number of times a particular reason was given. The list was then reduced to 19 types on the basis of similarity. These 19 were eventually regrouped and reduced to 7 broad types or classes of factors. When, according to the number each factor was recorded, the types were arranged in descending order, there emerged a fairly definite pattern indicating the relative order of importance of reasons or factors for and against lexical adoption. The factors are given in this order below. The figures in brackets represent the number of times recorded for the factors and the rough percentages given against them were calculated from those figures.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Familiarity (+)</th>
<th>(105)</th>
<th>30%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2. Social (+)</td>
<td>(30)</td>
<td>14%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Necessity (2)</td>
<td>(24)</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Semantic (2)</td>
<td>(21)</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Ethnicity (-)</td>
<td>(14)</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Pronunciation (+)</td>
<td>(9)</td>
<td>4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Aesthetic (2)</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL:</strong></td>
<td>(209)</td>
<td>99%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The pluses and minuses indicate whether the factor involved was noted to operate positively, i.e., for adoption, or negatively, i.e., against adoption, or both. The factors will now be treated individually.

### 9.10.1 Familiarity

Under this category were included the following, all of which were given as reasons to support preference for an adoptive or for a group of adoptives where native Shona terms were available:

1. Commonly used;
   - In common use;
   - Most people use it;
People generally use it.

(i) (I) Just prefer it;
I just use it;
Used to it;
I am more used to the English word.

From these statements it becomes clear that speakers just use adoptives (cp. ii) because they are in general use in their community, which must make them acceptable or even popular. Considerations of language loyalty do not seem to come into it. This is precisely why the blanket term 'familiarity' was chosen: the individual uses a particular word because it is familiar because it is in general use. Now this comes to be so is another matter and the speaker does not seem to worry about the source where he can identify it, that is. Familiarity in this sense is, as the figures above show, by far the most important single factor accounting for the individual's acquisition of non-indigenous linguistic forms to augment his native repertoire.

9.10.2 Social
The second most important factor is closely related to the first. This is what has been categorized the social factor in this study. What makes this group of reasons a type apart is the fact that they are evaluative and imitation is involved to a greater or lesser extent. The speaker tries to identify with a larger group by way of imitation of its habits. For example, Mr. O,18 said that his preferred adoptives in List C were 'more popular', but where he expressed preference for indigenous equivalents he claimed that they were 'more meaningful'. From a social-psychological point of view, the decisive influence comes from the 'reference group' [Bell, 1976, 214] to which the individual belongs or to whose membership he aspires. The informants' statements therefore tend to be qualitative or evaluative. 'Sounds old fashioned' was actually given as a reason for discarding an indigenous Shona term, and the following were given to support preference for adoptives:

Is fashionable
In vogue
Many like it
More popular
My friends use it
First one learnt
My parents use it

The last two (starred) represent a special type of influence and a note on them is appropriate here. They relate to the role of the family group in the general socialization process. It is interesting to note that these reasons were given only by the two youngest informants in the '06 Group, Master 0.15 and his elder sister Miss 0.16.

Master 0.15 appeared very conscious of the need for language loyalty. It was noted that wherever the said, 'My parents use it', it was in defence of a stated preference for an adoptive rather than an indigenous equivalent. But where he supplied and chose indigenous equivalents, his reasons consistently brought out the ethnicity factor or Chirudzi. (See 9.10.5). Either it was his own dialect (ChNanyika) v. other Shona dialects, or it was Shona v. English, and in both circumstances he would prefer what he actually called 'my own language'.

Miss 0.16 also made reference to parents but not as often as her younger brother. Her reasons were more varied, and among them were the following which 0.15 did not give:

My friends use it
Many people use it
Many of my friends use it.

The following may be inferred from the responses of these two. 13

13. These are only very tentative suggestions. A separate study specifically designed for younger people or children would have to be conducted before definite conclusions can be made.
(a) In his childhood the individual's linguistic habits are most influenced by his family.
(b) As he grows older the influence of the peer group and other reference groups increase and gradually take over.
(c) Children are probably more loyal to their PL than adults.
(d) This is probably because they are first taught Shona with dialect bias and their choice of linguistic forms is limited.
(e) Children learn various types of adoptives from their parents, although the parents may discourage them from using 'mixed language'.

9.10.3 Necessity

In this class are included all those equivalents which are used because the speakers fail to get indigenous equivalents or because none exist, as in Lists E and F. Although strictly speaking the interns were only supposed to give reasons where they had suggested equivalents, many felt it necessary, where they had failed to give equivalents, to state that they used given adoptives because they had no choice. The following were given as compelling reasons:

No substitute
No alternative
The only one I know
I don't know the Shona word for it.

Mr. O.19, who had consistently given the reason 'Commonly used' in Lists A to E, changed his reason when he came to List F where he failed to give indigenous equivalents. He simply stated: 'We never had all these things before', which was interpreted to mean that the words were used because they were introduced with new things ('these') into the community.
9.10.4 Semantic

Qualitative statements respecting meaning were given as reasons both for accepting and for rejecting particular words. Certain Shona words (e.g. equivalents given in List C) were not preferred because they were 'vague' or 'ambiguous'. Other words, more often than not adoptives, were chosen for one or another of these four reasons:

- Gives better meaning
- Is more expressive
- Easily understood
- People understand better.

What exactly is meant by 'better meaning' is hard to determine. Suffice it to say, whatever is meant, the individual feels strongly enough about it to adapt his speech habits accordingly. It should also be noted that for the 'C' Group, but not for the 'S' Group, semantic considerations were found to be more important than ethnicity.

9.10.5 Ethnicity

Under ethnicity were grouped all those responses which reveal sentiments about dialect or language and ethnic identity. These responses are essentially negative in the sense that known adoptives may be resisted, but they may also be positive in the sense that pride in the FL may catalyse efforts to use or promote coinages. The term 'foreign' was actually used only twice where adoptives were rejected. Language loyalty was clearly indicated in the statement: 'It is always good to speak your own (language)'. This statement, made by Master 0.15, referred to dialect. 0.15 interpreted 'foreign language' to include anything other than Manyika, but he also expressed similar sentiments when the choice involved Shona and English.

Sentiments relating to language loyalty were expressed at two levels. At the higher level of Shona v. other languages, 'foreign' and 'I am a Shona' were recorded. At the lower level dialect v. dialect/Standard Shona', the
Following responses were recorded:

- Standard Shona (3 times by same informant)
- Used in Zesuru (3 out of 7 times by same informant)
- Local dialect
- Own dialect
- My tribe use it (once each)
- I am a Mukanyakwa

From all this one may conclude that ethnicity at dialect or Shirendi level is a relatively minor factor in the choice of words in Salisbury at least.

Even less significant is the awareness of a 'Standard Shona' which was mentioned only by one informant. The relatively minor role of the ethnicity factor, even at the Shona v. other languages level, destroyed one or two preconceptions on the part of the writer.

9.10.6 Pronunciation

'Easy to pronounce' was given as a reason for particular preferences only nine times and is therefore a relative minor factor.

9.10.7 Aesthetic

Least important as a factor are considerations of beauty of the sounds of particular words. 'Sounds nice' and 'sounds better' were mentioned only six times.

9.11 GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

1. When one considers the variety of attitudes that were revealed by reasons for particular preferences, and when one compares these with the relatively uniform patterns of the preferences themselves, one may conclude that attitudes to speech habits are more varied than the speech habits themselves. Our evidence in this study would, therefore, seem to contradict the observations made by Labov [1972] and by Giles and Powesland [1975]. Labov writes that despite great variation in usage, 'social attitudes towards language are extremely uniform throughout a speech community'.
The inferences drawn from our analysis of the informants' responses to individual word lists support one another. As far as methodology is concerned, it has been shown that by using different type-word lists and by varying the questions and analysis accordingly, it becomes unnecessary to involve very many informants for testing before sufficient data can be collected from which overall patterns in the speech community can be determined. Admittedly, my testing was random. No preparatory fieldwork was done and the subjects in both 'C' and 'S' groups were not formally selected to justify a narrowing of focus to a small group (cp. Gumperz, 1972, 210). It may well be argued that the data used here was too small. But to a large extent this lack of an 'ethnography of communication' (cp. Gumperz, 1972; and Hymes, 1968) prior to a selection of subjects was compensated for by my own knowledge of, or familiarity
with Shona cultural norms and behaviour patterns as a native speaker. Such knowledge is crucial in choosing elicitation procedures, and, in the event, I was vindicated by the consistency of the patterns which emerged after analysing the limited sample collected.
CHAPTER TEN

AWARENESS, USAGE AND ATTITUDES TO ADOPTIVE: (2)

10.1 THE 'S' GROUP

In this chapter the responses of the 28 student informants of the 'S' Group (see 9.1.1) to questionnaire A are analysed and compared with those of the 'O' Group described in Chapter 9. Details of the Members of the 'S' Group are given in 11.2 and in Appendix III (b). The method of analysis used in the last chapter is repeated. However, since in the main the responses of the 'O' and 'S' Groups were found to be similar, a formal description of 'S' responses here would involve unnecessary duplication. Therefore, emphasis here is on comparison of responses.

10.2 TYPE-WORD LIST A

10.2.1 General Performance

'S' and 'O' responses were closely similar respecting both type-responses and performance patterns. Analysis of 'S' responses confirmed earlier inferences drawn from 'O' data. For immediate comparison the score figures for both groups are given below. Given in brackets are those for the 'O' Group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possible Score</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>2 - 20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The explanation suggested in 9.3.3.2 for these relatively low scores is equally valid for the 'S' Group. It may also be noted that the performance of the students was slightly poorer. This supports a general conclusion which will be made later that although the intellectual may show greater language loyalty, his knowledge of his FL is not necessarily better than that of the average speaker.
10.2.2 **Analysis of sub-types**

(1) 'S' responses to question (f) confirmed our earlier suggestion that Zesuru pronunciation is preferred, even by non-Zesuru speakers. 

*phetamine* registered 11 preferences out of the 18 recorded. *ponge* was a poor second with 4 preferences, while *fékə* and *féja* had 2 and 1 respectively. It is interesting to note that only 5 of our 22 informants 1 were Zesuru, 9 were Manyika, 5 Karanga and 3 Ndau.

(2) *Mbaïaire* < *Ng* (with 9 preferences) was clearly preferred to the dialectal equivalents *Mabura* (< *X*, 3 preferences) and *Madiina* (< *X*, 5 preferences), although more 'S' informants were aware that *mbaïaire* was an adoptive than were 'O' informants. Another GS adoptive *karivheta* < *E* was also preferred by all 3 informants who gave it as an equivalent for *Katakwa*. The 'S' responses to these two examples confirmed our earlier suggestions that: (a) dialectal adoptives have little likelihood of gaining general currency in GS; (b) that non-dialectal adoptives may be preferred to indigenous dialectal equivalents; and (c) there is a general preference for adoptives from English which are least likely to be dialectal. Further evidence for this was provided by the responses to *Siraba* < *As*, 8 out of 9 who suggested equivalents gave *bluoba* < *E* and preferred *bluoba*; 1 gave *Matibho* and preferred *Matibho* to *Siraba*.

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1 For this chapter 22 (not 23) completed questionnaires were used.

Mr S. 20's questionnaires A was found to be unusable because pages were missing.
3) The pattern of responses given by the 'U' group for the five Karanga adoptive terms in African: *swepti*, *seriti*, *skoroggy*, *hampi*, and *meriti* was repeated by the 'U' group. In 33 out of the 45 cases where equivalents were given, preference was for those equivalents, and only 12 were for the Karanga adoptive. Most of those 12 preferences were for *meriti*, possibly because *meriti* is currently being popularised in onomatopoeic usage via imitation of 'buto' pronunciation [mɛɾitɬ], as in the oft-repeated phrase [... tisiːda noɾiva tisiːbajaba mɛɾitɬ].

10.2.3 Significant Blanks and Wrong Answers

As for the 'U' Group, the majority pattern was (b) (a). 16 out of the 15 'U' informants for whom significant blanks were recorded had them in column (b) and all 16 wrong answers patterns recorded in column (a). All 16 clear blanks: wrong answers patterns recorded were (b): (a). This analysis provided further, even more conclusive evidence that speakers have most difficulty in identifying *swepti*, although they are less hesitant to decide whether a given form is indigenous or adoptive. Least problematic seems to be the supplying of equivalent terms.

0.3 MY.nome List B

0.5.1 General Performance

The figures below show 'S' and 'U' scores compared.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>7 - 25</th>
<th>5 - 26</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>average</td>
<td>17 (18)</td>
<td>56 (62)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

No patterns of responses were similar and analysis of 'S' data provides an independent source of evidence for the observations and conclusions made from 'U' data.
10.3.2 Analysis of Sub-types

1) The informants had the least difficulty in designating the five adoptives from English 'foreign' and in identifying the SL. Some informants, however, indicated here as \( < N_g \); op. 'O' Group. That wrong \( < E \) guesses were fewer for the 'S' group may be explained in terms of their greater knowledge of English. For that part of the exercise involving adoptives from English they scored 161 out of a possible 220.

2) The next best performance was in respect of the two adoptives from/via Nguni, padhuse and bhudi: 44 out of 88. Fakaza \( < F \) was third; 10 out of 22. Many also indicated \( < E_g \) for fakaza. The worst performance was recorded in respect of mariro \( < C \) and chepfu \( < A \) (6 out of 22 for the two). Only one informant got the SL for mariro but none did for chepfu. Similar performance patterns were recorded for the 'O' group and the explanations are the same.

3) From the above it seems that one's standard of education has no significant bearing on one's performance. Personal background, and particularly attendance at multiracial school at an early age, seem to be a more significant factor affecting performance in PL. Miss 0, 11 and Miss S, 2, who attended multiracial institutions from primary school, had considerable difficulty finding equivalents for given adoptives. The score pattern of another informant, Miss S, 4, was exceptional in the sense that although she comes from an average sort of background, she consistently recorded low scores for all the word lists. No particular explanation seems appropriate in her case. \( \ell \) See Appendix II (a). \( \ell \)

10.3.3 Significant Blanks and Wrong Answers

Out of 17 clear significant blanks patterns, 16 were recorded for SL column (b), the one exception being that of Miss S, 2 which was recorded for the equivalents column (c). All 16 clear patterns recorded for wrong answers were in respect of authenticity, column (a). Altogether
14 out of 16 blanks: wrong answers patterns were (b) : (a). The same majority pattern was recorded for the 'O' Group.

10.3.4 Preference Patterns
Again there was no general preference for SS forms (9 preferences). Indigenous equivalents enjoyed relatively greater preference (7 preferences). A good 6 patterns indicated balance of use between SS adoptive and indigenous equivalents. The same explanations obtain as for 'O' Group, except that the 'S' Group's reasons for choice indicated slightly greater emphasis on the ethnicity factor. 'Foreign' was given as a reason for rejecting given adoptives, and the following were actually given to support stated preferences for indigenous forms:

My dialect;
Used at home (i.e. Kunusha, in the sense 'where I come from')
Didn't have money in Shona society;
Correct Shona;
I am familiar with the pure term.

Note that the notions of correctness and purity were not stated explicitly by 'O' informants. It should also be pointed out that in a few cases the reasons given actually indicated support for common or popular or slang forms: e.g. 'That's the slang word I use', and 'That's the corruption of 'poison' I use'. Such responses had the effect of reducing the importance of the ethnicity factor for the whole group, thereby drawing their response pattern closer to the 'O' Group.

10.4 Type-word List C
10.4.1 Performance
The average score was not as high as for the 'O' Group but the pattern was similar.
Possible Score

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Range</th>
<th>1 - 9 (1 - 9)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>5 (6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>52 (57)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The lowest score was by Miss S.4 (see 10.3.2, number 3).

10.4.2 Preference Patterns

21 out of 22 preference patterns were clearly for the given adoptives. The exceptional pattern was recorded for Mr S.22 whose overall pattern was for indigenous equivalents. His reasons, e.g. 'correct Shona', 'Original Shona', 'Shonas had these', suggested a very strong sense of loyalty to the mother-tongue. But he conceded preference for washi and rehinyo although he knew about karingsuva and dsimudzangara because he felt the adoptives had been accepted. His responses, however, were exceptional. For the 'S' Group as a whole, preference for indigenous equivalents was minimal: 13 out of a possible 220, and 5 of those 13 were given by one informant, S.22. Further, it may be noted that an observation initially made respecting List B recurred in List C. Women don't seem to be bothered about the need for language loyalty at all. In all 35 cases where our female 'S' informants indicated preferences, all were CS adoptives and none was recorded for an indigenous equivalent. It may be argued then that the girls, who were about a third of the 'S' Group, helped reduce the importance of the ethnicity factor for the Group as a whole. (See 10.10.) Alternatively, one can interpret this to indicate that as for the 'O' Group, familiarity is operationally the most significant factor for lexical adoption. Particular words are used and preferred to others simply because other people commonly use them. Mr S.17 actually explained that the indigenous equivalents he gave in List C were 'rarely used in casual conversation'.
10.4.3 Inference

1) Resistance to 'interference' is most likely to come from men rather than women, and from the highly educated rather than from the less educated.

2) From some of the examples given as native equivalents by the 'S' Group, it would seem that even recent adoptions or coinages are likely to be considered fully integrated if their sources are obscure enough, e.g. (i) *suzuka* (slang) and *paruvihya* P were given for *sojas*.

Cp. (ii) *zarimoto* C/Bemba given for *bhashi* and *kufundira* Ng for *purakiti*, which are older than (i).

10.5 TYPE-WORD LIST D

10.5.1 Performance

The performance pattern was similar to that of the 'O' Group although the 'S' Group registered lower scores.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possible Score</th>
<th>20</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>0 - 14 (1 - 16)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>8 (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>39 (47)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Recent, unassimilated adoptions like 'elastic' and 'cross' were given by both groups of informants. Reasons for preferences were given only in a few very rare cases because few correct equivalents were suggested.

No significant patterns of blanks or wrong answers were recorded. On the whole general preference was for those adoptions that informants were able to supply (7 cases). In 4 cases preference was for the indigenous terms given in the list and in 2 cases there was balance.

2.5.2 Analysis Of Sub-types

1) The dialectal coinages *katsekera* (ME), *hangwera* (B), *funainai* (K) proved little known or used. Equivalents for all three were given only
7 times out of a possible 66 by all the informants. (Hanguwa had nil, katsokera 5 and runainai 4.)

2) Performance was better for the second category comprising runainai, chionioni, ndande and muchinjikwa where both native and adoptive equivalents were available. The 'S' group scored 37 out of a possible 88, where 26 of the 37 equivalents given where adoptive.

Again as for the 'C' group, the greatest number of equivalents given was for muchinjikwa, and the same explanation respecting the influence of the church applies. The breakdown of the figures is tabulated below, with the corresponding figures for 'C' given in brackets for comparison.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word Given</th>
<th>Native Equivalents</th>
<th>Adoptive Equivalents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Runainai</td>
<td>1 (0)</td>
<td>4 (5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chionioni</td>
<td>4 (0)</td>
<td>8 (12)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndande</td>
<td>0 (1)</td>
<td>12 (9)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muchinjikwa</td>
<td>6 (6)</td>
<td>2 (6)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3) For the third sub-type for which only adoptive equivalents were available, the general preference was for the adoptives.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Word Given</th>
<th>Native Term Preferred</th>
<th>Adoptive Equivalent Preferred</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Chipfudzo</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chishambo</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zhimura</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Runhare</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Again, as with the '0' Group, chishambe and shimure were the least familiar and runhare was the most familiar although general preference was still for fonzi rather than runhare.

10.5.3 On language loyalty and performance

It will be noted that so far the '0' Group has recorded higher scores than the 'S' group. Although the difference in the average scores is two small (1 point per word-list) to allow definite conclusions to be made on expressed language loyalty (cp. 10.9.2) and performance, one or two observations may be made here. Firstly, this expressed language loyalty is not necessarily matched by greater knowledge or better performance in the PL. Secondly, and this we can state with a little more confidence, our evidence indicates that speakers who have had their education at multiracial schools from an early age are likely to be disadvantaged respecting Shona vocabulary.

10.6 TYPE-WORD LIST E

10.6.1 General Performance

The overall score was the lowest (35%) recorded for the whole exercise. Note that the '0' Group also recorded the lowest score (30%) for List E. For both groups the adoptive from English must have helped raise the average scores.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possible Score</th>
<th>36</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>2 - 22 (2 - 19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>12 (11)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>35 (30)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The significant blanks: wrong answers pattern (b) (a) was repeated.

The same adoptive terms shuaburu < Ng, hemb < A, ndarama < Greek and ndai < E were wrongly suggested as indigenous equivalents for bara,
rokwe and sari. But except for 'bar' the 'S' informants did not give unassimilated forms as equivalents. That 'S' informants further suggested the onomatopoeic creation mujivha, which the 'O' Group did not, indicates the influence of the written literature to which the 'O' Group may not be equally exposed; the word mujivha is used in novels by Chakaipa and other writers. Finally, it may also be noted that on a number of occasions English and Nguni were wrongly suggested as SL, just as was done by the 'O' informants.

10.6.2 Preference Patterns
Because of the relatively even distribution of blanks and wrong answers, it was not possible to establish clear preference patterns in every case. Of the 16 clear patterns recorded, 11 were for the given adoptions, only 3 for indigenous equivalents, and 2 were balanced.

10.6.3 Analysis of Sub-types
The words in List II were sub-grouped in terms of SL (op. Table 1 in 9.7.4) and the table below shows the total group scores per sub-type.

(Table 1: following page)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SUB-TYPES</th>
<th>PERFORMANCE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>SCORE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Portuguese</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1. purzai</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. bera</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. bvakscha</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Afrikaans</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. rokwe</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. chikerema</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. sari</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. bhawa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13. mushini</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swayni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. chingwa</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. bhadhara</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. sevenza</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15. njenji</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swahili</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14. ndega</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cowa</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. mazanda</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. bweza</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The scores are based on points awarded for identification of SL. Shown in brackets in the last column are the percentage scores for the 'O' Group. From the 'S' and the 'O' percentages, it will become immediately apparent that, although the 'N' Group's scores are higher, the patterns are basically the same. In fact the socio-historical inferences that were made in 9.7.4 could very well have been made from the 'S' data. Presumably, the 'S' Group's better knowledge of English explains their very high score for the adoptives from English. The correct answers were recorded for the adoptives from Cewa, but the type's relative position in terms of informants' relative awareness of SL remains unchanged. Afrikaans and Portuguese have exchanged positions, but the difference in the percentages for the two groups is too small to be significant. The most plausible explanation for the 'S' Group's better performance here seems to be greater common knowledge derived from wider reading.

10.6.4 On standard of education and performance

The students did better in Lists E to G where relatively more points were allowed for general knowledge than for equivalents. Further to points raised in 10.6.3 we may now add a related observation on the relevance of formal education. It can be argued that increased knowledge of and about the PL may be derived from the written literature at the same time as increased proficiency in the SL is acquired through higher education.

10.7 TYPE-WORD LIST F

Like the 'O' Group, our 'S' informants registered their highest group score for List F.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possible</th>
<th>Score</th>
<th>20</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>0 - 19</td>
<td>(0 - 19)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>(14)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>(68)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The '5' Group's greater knowledge of English helped them get a higher score in this list where 8 out of 10 of the adoptives were from English. Like Miss G. 11, on 'special case' in the '5' Group, Miss S. 2, had her highest score for List F: 17 out of 20, or 85 per cent which was well above average.

Indigenous equivalents for List F are either non-existent or difficult to coin and most of the informants did not attempt to give them.

Mr S. 16 actually left the whole of List E unanswered, the effect of which must have been to lower the Group Score by about 1 per cent (from 16.5 per cent for the other 21 informants to 15.3 per cent for all 22.) On the other group, Mr G. 16 did exactly the same. This coincidence made the figures for the '6' and '5' groups that much more comparable.

Only four '5' informants (Miss S. 5, Miss S. 7, Mr S. 10 and Mr S. 13) attempted to give equivalents for List C. From their attempts, the following observations were made:

(a) As for the '0' Group their significant blanks column was (c).

(b) In every case their preferences were for the given adoptives.

(c) The equivalents they suggested were different from those of the '0' group in two respects:

(i) no variant forms of the given forms were suggested (e.g. socchisi for scotisi from the '0' group), probably because the '5' informants were aware that these were only variants and, therefore, also adoptive.

(ii) no attempts were made to give conscious creations by way of circumlocutory paraphrase labels, from which might be concluded that new terms in the PL are likely to come from the ordinary speaker rather than from the intellectual.
(d) In other respects the equivalents suggested were similar to those of the 'O' group:

(i) Unspecified terms, e.g.

nyamu for seseji,
ureka " nolivo,
setai " robhoti,
munhansi " dhisiko,
nuva and chinhambo for awa.

(ii) Wrong terms; e.g.

mbande for tali;
ncundu and mrowani for vigi.

10.6 Type-word List G

10.6.1 General Performance

The 'S' Group performed better than the 'O' Group.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possible Score</th>
<th>10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Range</td>
<td>2 - 7 (0 - 6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>4 (3)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>43 (31)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Points were awarded only for identification of SL. A lot of wrong answers indicated guess-work, but everybody was able to identify SL for dhiya and muresha from English.

The performance patterns for the whole Recollection Test show that the 'O' Group did better in Lists A to D where the giving of equivalents was an important part of the exercise, while the 'S' Group did better in Lists E to G where the giving of equivalents didn't significantly affect the scores (only 6 out of 36 points in E and none in F and G).

From this it becomes clear that while the 'O' Group fared better where their vocabulary was directly tested, the 'S' Group fared better where
the test involved questions about given words. The students found it
easier to comment on authenticity and to suggest SL. For example Latin
was suggested as SL for pogoro in List B, but none of the 'O' informants
suggested Latin as SL anywhere during the entire exercise. No doubt the
students, through reading, were better able to make informed guesses
about given words. This compensated for their relatively poorer
vocabulary in Shona. This observation may be interpreted to provide
further support for the deficit theory. (op. 10.5.3 and 10.6.4).

10.8.2 Attitudes to Shona
10.8.2.1 Responses

Table 2 shows the informants' responses to question (b), which asked them
to say how often they used the words given, and to question (c), which
asked them to declare their attitudes to the words in List G as a
representative sample. Only half of the informants, however, gave a
reason for their general attitude in column (d). (These included only
two women, which may be interpreted as further evidence for the view that
most women have little feeling about language, and especially about
adoptive.) Many informants didn't actually state their attitude in a
word as instructed but chose to specify their attitude to particular words,
which was quite acceptable because it was more revealing. These specific
responses are summarised in Table 3. What this means is that some of the
responses respecting 'General attitude' in Table 1 were worked out by the
writer on the basis of majority patterns from the specific responses. The
term 'indifferent', therefore, is understood to mean that either the
response 'indifferent' was actually recorded, or the responses 'for' and
'against' were recorded about equally often.

It will be noted that the overall pattern of responses in Table 3 is
different from that of the 'O' Group in 9.9.3. Whereas the 'O' informants
### Table 2: Usage and Attitudes to Slang

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Informant</th>
<th>Responses Recorded</th>
<th>General Attitude</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Often</td>
<td>Seldom</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss S. 1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; S. 2*</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; S. 3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; S. 4</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; S. 5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; S. 6</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; S. 7</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr S. 8</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; S. 9</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; S.10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; S.11</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; S.12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; S.13</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; S.14</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; S.15</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; S.16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; S.17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; S.18</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; S.19</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; S.21</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; S.22</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&quot; S.23</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>73</strong></td>
<td><strong>93</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WORD</td>
<td>TYPE OF RESPONSES</td>
<td>(Number of times recorded)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>----------</td>
<td>-------------------</td>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Putsekii</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nkisi</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chikafu</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ntl</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gitiriki</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manje</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Puresha</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nkiya</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chukasi</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chuni</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

used slang words more often than not, the students, especially the men, admitted less frequency of use : the greatest number of responses recorded (93) was for 'seldom'. whereas the chances that a speaker would use slang in conversation were 5:1 for the 'c' group, 4:1 was recorded for the 'i' group. 2

2. if we interpret 'seldom' to mean admitted usage, the chances are 73 + 93 to 39 = 166 to 39 = about 4:1. if we ignore 'seldom', the chances would be 73 to 39 = about 2:1.
From this one may conclude that the students' declared language loyalty (see 10.9) requires them at least to make an effort to avoid 'slang' as far as possible, but the ordinary speakers have no such scruples. The entire exercise involved self-reporting, and, when one considers some of the controversial adoptives they gave, one is tempted to suggest that the 'O' Group and the female 'S' informants gave more honest answers than the male 'S' informants. Casual observation by the writer, a former member of the Hall of Residence of our male 'S' informants, supports this suggestion.

The general patterns, however, are not radically different and our earlier conclusion that everybody uses slang remains valid, although many speakers have mixed feelings about such use. The general attitude column in Table 2 shows the same pattern as for the 'O' Group:

- Indifferent : 10 (9)
- Against : 9 (7)
- For : 3 (1)

Speakers would not actively promote slang. They may even wish to discourage its general use, but the situation is such that the 'undesirable' forms are so common it is not easy to avoid their use.

The general pattern of responses in Table 3 is also similar to that of the 'O' Group, although the 'S' group registered relatively more 'againsts':

- Indifferent : 65 (42)
- Against : 53 (31)
- For : 17 (11)

Least acceptable in List C were futski and pikisi and the 'S' informants expressed some strong sentiments against futski, just like the 'O'
informants. Also unacceptable were *caukasi* and *chumi*, which connote flirtation. This is probably why Mr S.17 said he felt embarrassed when they were used and Mr S.14 said he just hated them. Feelings for *chiya* and *puresha* were mixed, but on the whole the 'S' Group had less inhibitions about the use of *chiya* than the 'O' Group. Finally, it was noted that objections recorded were fewest for the F/Hg adoptives: *shikafu* (for which 4 people indicated 'For'), *futi*, *siteri* and *manje*. These words are commonly but wrongly categorized 'slang'.

10.6.2.2 Reasons

From the 11 'S' informants who gave reasons under (d) the same three type responses given by the 'O' Group were repeated.

(1) Resignation. The typical responses in this category indicated the feeling that one just can't help using slang. Mr S.9, who wishes to see Shona continue 'as a pure language', explained:

"There is nothing which can effectively curb the use of these words ... and the coining of many more. In other words this is a gesture of resignation to the trend of the times."

Writing in similar vein, Mr S.10 explained that although he uses such words 'due to environment', he doesn't like it 'because it only shows our own language is approaching extinction'. In particular he hates slang — 'it annoys me' — but he finds certain adoptives from Afrikaans quite acceptable. He maintains, however, that even these 'should not be assimilated into Shona.' Mr S.17, like Mr S.19, points out that although he is tolerant, he wished people could avoid slang. In a sentence the general point that comes out is that speakers admit using slang but feel they shouldn't use it.
(2) **Acceptance.** A kind of border-line type-response between resignation and acceptance was given by Miss S. 3:

"I am so used to them that I have come to accept them as an integral part of the language I use with my friends and other people of the younger generation."

She explained, however, that she would avoid them in certain situations:

"I don't use them when I am talking to older and respectable folk."

Much more positive were the responses of Mr S. 14 and Mr S. 18 who felt that the words enrich and broaden the language 'where Shona is inadequate for language that is exact' (S.14), or where Shona has 'no translation for certain words in English and other languages' (S.18). Miss S. I went even further and defended the individual's right to choose his language without feeling constrained:

"I believe one has a right to mould his own language and no-one can take away this right from one even though the language may sound distorted."

(3) **Resistance.** Exactly the opposite view was expressed by some, i.e. that language is not a mere tool for the individual who must communicate with others, but it is also valuable communal property which must be guarded jealously and whose purity must be maintained. The most eloquent statement in support of this view was given by Mr S. 21, whose reaction was the strongest recorded:

"I would vehemently discourage their use in our Shona vernacular. I feel, and strongly too, that our Shona language is being contaminated by meaningless and undesirable
words. We can borrow but we have to be rational in the
process. Our language is a vital aspect of our cultural
development and we need it if we are going to have a
cultural identity of our own.  

The other responses in this category were not nearly as strong.
Mr S. 15 simply said that he hated slang but his responses elsewhere
indicated that he had nothing against adoptives in general. Mr A 22 argued
that in many cases shona had better equivalents which the speakers should
use to 'try and keep their language pure'. This view was echoed by
Mr S. 11 whose statement summarised the resistance group's view:

'I think the purity of a language must be maintained as
much as possible.'

10.9 REASONS FOR LEXICAL ADOPTION

10.9.1 General Observations

The reasons given for specific preferences in the less controversial
Lists A to F were varied and interesting and the patterns that emerged
were basically similar to those of the '0' Group. Differences were of
emphasis rather than type. Particularly in the case of the male students,
a stronger sense of language loyalty was shown by the '5' Group. In
many cases the female students left numerous blanks in the 'reason'
columns. Where the girls gave reasons, these fell mainly into the
familiarity category, except where one's dialect was mentioned. The
male students' responses were quite different. Even where their reasons
fell into the familiarity category, some of them explained in rather
apologetic terms that they had been 'corrupted' by external influences;
e.g. by Ndebele in the case of Mr S. 17 who said he had 'Ndebele connections.'
Also noted was a slight tendency to betray personal prejudice against the things or persons referred to by specific terms, or even to sound militant: e.g. *feve* and *chabuya* were suggested as equivalents for *hure*, and *puruvheva* was suggested for *soja*. Mr S. 22 actually brought in some nationalist fervour by pointing out, rather unnecessarily, that 'The Shona had these things', after he had declared his preference for *chisvo* and *mēete* rather than for *reza* and *rin*‘i. He also pointed out that, 'The Shona had teachers,' and explained his failure to find a native equivalent for *purusi* by saying 'Land was communally owned.' It was the male 's' Group who also brought in the notion of correctness and who stressed the need to maintain the purity of Shona.

From the above, we may conclude that the purist is likely to be:

(i) male;

(ii) highly educated;

(iii) not necessarily the most articulate in the PL;

(iv) at once nostalgic and idealistic;

(v) one who would rather state norms for others to follow but needn't conform himself.

10.9.2 The Factors

The individual responses were reduced to broad types in the manner already outlined in 9.10. It was noted that the seventh factor, 'aesthetic', did not feature in the 's' data and a new order of importance emerged. In the table below the figures in brackets are for the 'c' Group.
Each factor will now be treated in turn.

**10.9.2.1 Familiarity**

This was the most important factor for both groups. The reasons given were quite matter-of-fact involving little or no sentiment, which indicates that even for the '6' group language loyalty is outweighed by other factors. The reason recorded most often was 'common/commonly used/in common use'. Others recorded were:

- Most people I meet use it;
- I use the word often in English;
- Influence of English;
- More familiar;
- That's the one we use.

In a couple of cases, native equivalents were not chosen because they were not commonly used.

**10.9.2.2 Ethnicity**

This factor rose from only fifth position in the '6' group to second in the '8' group. A lot has already been said respecting the students' sense of language loyalty. Here it will suffice simply to give the typical type-reasons given for choice or for rejection:
My dialect
My mother tongue
Used at home (i.e. kumusha)
It's Shona
Original Shona
Local Use
I am Zezuru
Influenced by Standard Shona
Foreign Word
Nearer to Shona
Adoptive word
Correct Shona.

It must be pointed out that in 23 out of the 70 times when the ethnicity factor was recorded this was from only one informant, Mr S. 22. This was an extreme case and his responses must have significantly affected the entire picture respecting the relative importance of ethnicity. However, even if his contribution had only been 3, this would have sufficed to assure ethnicity second position. Further, 'S' data revealed greater language loyalty in other respects, e.g. preference patterns.

The following may also be noted respecting both 'S' and 'O' Groups.

(a) 'Standard Shona' was only mentioned a few times. Speakers seldom claim to be using 'Standard Shona', which some people wrongly believe to be an existing variety. The term 'Standard', as used by the Shona Language Committee, refers to orthographic conventions and not to vocabulary or dialect.
(b) Zezuru and Manyika were the only dialects specifically mentioned. This might be interpreted to indicate one or more of the following:

(i) that Zezuru and Manyika are more loyal to their regional varieties than the other groups, notably Karanga, Ndau and Korekore;

(ii) that the Manyika are more reluctant than others to adopt Zezuru or other forms in G3;

(iii) that structural differences are greater between Manyika and Zezuru, for instance;

(iv) that a kind of rivalry exists between Manyika and Zezuru to a greater extent than similar rivalry might exist between Zezuru and any of the other dialects;

(v) that in their linguistic behaviour Zezuru and Manyika speakers may be more conscious of their chirudzi than the other groups.

(c) Although phonological, morphological and lexical differences may be expected to be greater between Ndau and Zezuru than between Ungwe/Manyika and Zezuru, the Ndau informants still didn't give dialect-specific responses. (They only did when they came to questionnaire D where direct questions were asked. See Ch.11.)

10.9.2.1 Social

The distinguishing feature of this type-factor is the desire to identify with specified or unspecified reference groups, or the unconscious influence of such groups as in the statement, 'I just like it.' Certain reasons which might well have been recorded under ethnicity, e.g.

First one learnt
Grew up using it
Learned from childhood,
were recorded under 'Social' because the speaker wishes to identify with
a small, primary group (especially family) rather than with a bigger, secondary group (ethnic or national). To be more specific, the reason 'I use the word *popa* because I knew it before I knew *cheuva*,' given by Mr S. S., shows the influence of the family or immediate neighbourhood at work and confirms our earlier suggestion in 9.10.2 that adoptives are initially learnt from parents.

Finally, it may also be noted that the influence of friends was most pronounced in the male "G" group. The following examples were recorded for *sitabha < stub, 'cigarette butt':*

Most of my friends use *sitabha;*

My friends use it;

Used in my circles;

That's the one we use in our 'cancer' circles;

In fact, 'My friends don't use it' was actually given (only once, though) as a reason for not using a particular word. Others also given were:'popular,' 'Influence of environment' and 'Knowledge of Mbelele'.

10.9.3.4 Necessity

This factor featured less prominently than for the "G" Group but the same sort of reasons were given:

'Only one I know;'

No equivalent;

Don't know Shona equivalent;

Didn't have money in Shona society.

Speakers are aware of 'deficiencies'in the native PL lexicon and actually pointed this out even when they had failed to give an equivalent. (Cp. instructions in Appendix III (a)).

3. On primary and secondary groups, see Sprott (1958), 'Introduction' and Chapter I.
10.2.3 Pronunciation

The reasons recorded indicated preference for shorter words which are easier to pronounce:

- It's shorter;
- Shorter and easier to pronounce;
- Easier.

This was a relatively minor factor for both 'O' and 'S' groups.

10.2.4 Semantic

Rather surprisingly, purely aesthetic preferences did not influence the students' preferences at all, and considerations of meaningfulness were not nearly as prominent as in the 'O' Group's responses. The reasons 'Emphatic' and 'More expressive' were only recorded once each. The students' responses that were included in this category betrayed their attitudes to what was referred to rather than to meaningfulness as such.

For example, Mr S. 21, who apparently hates masoja, said he preferred the word purushaya because it was derogatory. Mr S.9 said he liked purasi, 'Because it carries the concept of individual ownership of land,' a system which he obviously preferred.

10.10. Conclusion

The responses of the 'S' Group respecting attitudes to adoptives and to slang were even more varied than those of the 'O' Group, but the overall preference patterns were similar. This observation supports our earlier conclusion in 9.11 that attitudes to speech habits are more varied than the speech habits themselves. To this we may now add the conclusion that a stronger sense of language loyalty is not necessarily met by an effort to be particular about choice of indigenous terms in the primary language, and may be merely academic in origin.
As regards Labov's observation that attitudes to language in a speech community are uniform, two more remarks may now be made further to what we have already said in 9.11. Firstly, if uniformity refers to the way people feel they should be speaking, i.e. to the dominant values, then our study on Shona confirms Labov's suggestion. Secondly, we should note the essential difference between our society in this study and the one Labov is dealing with. Labov is dealing with socially stratified speech communities which use social dialects. The Shona-speaking community does not have similar sociolects. Therefore, our use of the term 'speech community' in this study is basically different from his because ours is much broader.
11.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is based on the responses of 23 University students to Questionnaire B (see Appendix III (a)). It is not the intention to describe in detail the notion of diglossia, or to discuss the application of Ferguson's original interpretation /1964/ or its extension here to the Shona-speaking community. This has already been done in Chapter 8, where a multiple-diglossic situation was indicated.

The chapter has been headed 'Diglossia' because the dominance configurations worked out from our '13' data show some patterns of code-switching that have become established as societal norms at two levels: (a) at a lower level, involving the Shona varieties; (b) at a higher level between Shona and English. Our theoretical stand here is that whether it is within or across languages, the process of code-switching is still the same. (see Ch. 12). The difference is only one of degree and not of kind and bilingualism is no more than an extreme case of code-switching [Bell, 1976, 111], i.e., the result of the use of different codes, while diglossia is the result of the valuation of functional divisions between the codes [Bell, 1976, 135].

Language is viewed as a bundle of codes appropriate to a set of role-relationships within certain domains. The speaker selects from this repertoire specific role-related and role-defining codes as might be appropriate to the occasion. Whether or not the Shona dialects, or Shona and English have separate existence in our community is irrelevant in this chapter. We will take these idealized variety-clusters as the codes or norms of language that are actually available to the Shona speaker. The Shona speaker himself views them separately. Therefore, his responses to

1. The interpretation of code-switching and diglossia used here is based mainly on Bell [1976].
the second part of questionnaire B should reveal his attitudes to the
different codes and the roles he gives to them.

11.2 BACKGROUND OF INFORMANTS

11.2.1 Biographical Information

I did not use any set of criteria to seek out particular categories of
student informants. The selection was random, except insofar as initially
only residents of Swinton and Manfred Hodson Halls were approached.² I
had hoped that in this way a rough cross-section of the student body could
be used. The members of the group that I actually used were mostly
from the Arts and Social Studies Faculties, from first years to graduate
students:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Degree</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>B.A.</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accountancy</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administration</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sociology</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Economics</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Agriculture</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B. Ed.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>M. Phil.</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These students were mostly young and single:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CATEGORY</th>
<th>MEN</th>
<th>WOMEN</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Oldest 44</td>
<td>25</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Youngest 19</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average 25</td>
<td>21</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The overall average age was 24. Only 1 woman and 7 men were over 24, and
all but one of these were married or had a child.

2. There were 3 exceptions: 1 was from New Hall and 2 were non-resident.
Their personal backgrounds were varied but a number of common experiences were recorded. About two-thirds had a rural background (15) and about a third (6) grew up in urban centres. 17 had lived in towns for over five years and 6 had lived in towns for shorter periods. For the majority of the former group the town was Salisbury. Their tribes were given as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manyika</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ungwe (K)</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karanga</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Duma (K)</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zesura</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndua</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although the group can be described as urbanised, there was little or no evidence of desribalization. Tribal affiliations are maintained by frequent visits to their home areas and, in the majority of cases, these affiliations are further enhanced by the fact that both parents are members of the same tribe:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Affiliation</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Parents same tribe</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents different tribes</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unspecified</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

By tribe here is meant Manyika, Karanga, Zesura, Ndua, etc., and not Shona. From the above it seems that marriages are typically within the different tribes although marriage across them but within the Shona group are quite common. Only two cases of marriage outside the Shona group were recorded: one informant's mother was Zulu and another's Ndebele.

For most (19) travel had only been within Zimbabwe. Many had lived in or visited various parts of the country where regional varieties of Shona different from their own were spoken, while about half had knowledge of another African language.
Ndebele  4
Zulu       2
Cowa       3
Tonga      1
Siswati (Swaziland) 1

Only four had ever been outside Zimbabwe:
One to South Africa and Botswana;
One to South Africa, Botswana and Swaziland;
One to Botswana and Mozambique;
One to Mozambique.

None of these 4 had lived in a foreign country for more than a year.

It has already been suggested that the group may be urbanised but not
detrabalised. Their experiences as born and bred Zimbabwean blacks must
be considered as a factor diminishing the probability of detrabalisation
and the continued use of Shona by the locally educated elite. Any significant
knowledge of European languages must have been acquired at school. Of
course all learnt English at school, 4 did French and Latin, 4 French only,
and 4 Latin only. Only 2 had some knowledge of European languages not
taught in the African schools and which must have therefore been acquired
outside the classroom: one had some knowledge of Portuguese, and another
of Afrikaans. The group's shared repertoire, therefore, comprised the
different varieties of Shona plus English, a fact that should simplify their
dominance configuration patterns in 11.3 and 11.4.

Racial separation in education and in other spheres must also be considered
an important factor operating against the advance of English in a number of
domains and against detrabalisation generally. For all but one of the
informants their first experience of multiracial education was at the
University. It may also be noted that the majority of the informants came
to the University straight from High School while those who had worked before
(9) were all ex-teachers, were all married, or parents, and all but one had
studied privately for their 'O' and/or 'A' Levels.
The main facts about our informants' background are summarised in Table 1 below, in which percentages are shown against the actual figures. An important deduction from the table is that, considering their relatively restricted mobility, both physical and social, the range of languages known is quite impressive. But as their responses to Section II of the Questionnaire indicated, their knowledge of other dialects within Shona is relatively unimpressive. As there is no antagonism apparent between the dialects, the best explanation would be that little effort is made to learn the other dialects as such because the general tendency is towards G6 in the Salisbury area at least. Other interesting deductions may be made respecting the type of individual who is likely to represent the Shona-speaking community at the University, but these would not be directly relevant to the present study.

11.2.2 Relevance

It had been hoped that the variety of biographic information obtained from Section I of Questionnaire B would be correlated with their responses to Questionnaire A and to Section II of Questionnaire B, thereby indicating the areas and the manner in which personal background is reflected in linguistic behaviour. However, except insofar as it was shown that dialect and tribal affiliation largely determine the patterns of diglossia at the intra-language level and may be associated with certain attitudes, much of the biographic information collected was not very useful. This was because the informants' responses in Section II, as in Questionnaire A, were more or less uniform. Where contrasting reactions were recorded, these were best explained in terms of personal disposition rather than general background. The general conclusion formulated was that linguistically Shona society is fairly egalitarian and the notion of social dialect related to social class is quite irrelevant. Although socioeconomic considerations may enable one to distinguish African 'lower' and 'middle' classes within the general
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ASPECT</th>
<th>NUMBER OF INFORMANTS</th>
<th>PERCENTAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rural background</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents same tribe</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e.g. K + K)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents different tribes</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(e.g. N + Z)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>One parent not Shona</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of Ndebele</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of Zulu</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of Cewa</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of Tonga</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge of Siwati</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Over 24</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Worked before</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ex-teachers</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>'O' and/or 'A' Level by private study</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School to University</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First experience of multi-racial education at University</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travel outside Zimbabwe</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Never been outside Zimbabwe</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
context of Zimbabwean society, there seems to be no linguistic evidence for corresponding social stratification or class in the Western sense except, perhaps, insofar as we could isolate a small detribalised, affluent minority with strong 'black European' tendencies. On the contrary, one finds that the tendency is towards ES and most speakers try to underplay dialectal or tribal or even socioeconomic differences. One may suggest that when the informants were asked direct questions about their attitudes, they were actually led to indulge in conscious reflection about language, something which they do not normally do. This was how a sense of language loyalty was able to surface but was not consistently reflected in their preference patterns. The evidence suggests that during ordinary conversation, this loyalty would be forced to remain dormant by a variety of other exigencies.

11.3 THE SHONA DIALECTS

11.3.1 Dialect Preference Patterns

Table 2 below summarises the informants' responses to Question 11.7. They were asked to state the dialect they would use most often in each of a set of five major domains. The abbreviation 'N' is used for Ndebele to avoid confusion with 'Nd' which will be used later for Ndebele. The informants' responses are reproduced exactly as they were given even where reference was not to a dialect as such. Brackets are used to indicate such cases, viz: 'S' - Shona; 'St' - Standard Shona; 'E' - English; 'Mx' - Mixture. 'U' stands for Ungiven. Indicated in the last unheaded column are the tribes to which the informants belong.

The overall pattern is very clear. The speaker generally uses his own dialect except in the Friendship and Work domains. In the Friendship domain one or more other dialects are often used together with one's own. English is also used. The evidence tends towards ES in this domain. In the work domain English is also used. The blanks here indicate this.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 2: Dialects used in five major domains</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>FAMILY</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss S.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss S.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss S.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss S.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss S.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss S.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss S.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. S.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. S.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. S.10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. S.11</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. S.12</td>
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<td>Mr. S.13</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. S.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. S.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. S.23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Our earlier observation in 10.9.2.2 that Zesuru and Manyika and Ungwe speakers are more conscious of tribe than the other dialect speakers is supported most clearly in the case of Zesuru. The patterns show that Zesuru speakers do not make an effort to reach out for other dialect speakers and stick to their own dialect. It is the other dialect speakers who actually try to use Zesuru, which shows that at this level of diglossia Zesuru enjoys a ("High") status vis-a-vis the other LV (local or regional varieties). In the family and kinship domains almost all speakers stick to their LV. The mixed pattern in the Neighbourhood domain suggests that consideration is taken of other factors, e.g. one may have moved to an area where a dialect other than one's own is dominant. Some informants may have also interpreted 'Neighbourhood' to mean the University Campus. It may also be noted that only one Karonga informant claimed to use "Standard Shona" in the Friendship and Neighbourhood domains. One suspects that either he just didn't want to admit the influence Zesuru might be having on his speech, or he genuinely believes he is using a bit of everything to promote a neutral Standard.

Two special cases need attention. Miss S.2 was born and grew up in Salisbury. Her responses may be interpreted to mean that she has become a naturalized Zesuru. Alternatively, they may be interpreted to mean that she uses a lot of English in predominantly Shona conversation, especially since she attended a bilingual school from an early age and her responses to other questions (13(a) and 14) indicate that she generally prefers English. Perhaps the most interesting responses were given by Mr. O.13 who gave a different answer each time. His effort to accommodate other dialect speakers is impressive. According to statements he makes elsewhere, his pattern may be explained as follows: he uses Manyika with his family because he is Manyika; he uses Zesuru in the kinship domain because his wife is Zesuru; he uses Nyanja and English with his friend and room-mate who is Nyanja; and he uses Ungwe in the Neighbourhood domain because, although he is Manyika, he lives in Nakonde where Chisungwe is the dominant LV.
From the above it may be concluded that although in almost every case
informants professed greater knowledge of (qn.8) and preference for (qn.9)
their own dialects, they do use other dialects, particularly Zemuru.
Sometimes we actually get cases where a sense of linguistic insecurity
leads to an ethnic inferiority complex, which in turn may lead to attempts
to camouflage one's origins when in Salisbury. Such a psychological
condition is typical of people who have been 'exposed to continual negative
value judgement about the quality of their speech' (Giles and Powesland,
1975, 48), e.g. non-Zemuru speakers in Salisbury. As a group, the Zemuru,
have a very positive self-esteem and use their own characteristic speech in
most or all social situations, however public (op. Giles and Powesland,
1975, 88). The opposite can be said for the Karanga, for example.

Using the information from Table 2, the varieties dominant in each domain
were worked out and are shown in the model dominance configuration below.

**Summary Table 1: Dominance Configuration at Diglossia Level 1.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DOMAIN</th>
<th>CODE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FAMILY</td>
<td>LV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KINSHIP</td>
<td>LV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRIENDSHIP</td>
<td>LV,S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEIGHBOURHOOD</td>
<td>LV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WORK</td>
<td>LV,E</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

LV plus S here may be equated with GS. Another level dominance configuration
in 11.4.2 will show choice patterns at a higher level of diglossia, i.e.
between Shona and English. The concept of dominance configurations is
simple and very useful. What is involved is simply listing domains of
language use and their typical code choices. The two dominance configurations, by simplifying patterns of code choice and code-switching, should indicate specific areas of expansion and contraction in the use of particular codes in the Shona-speaking community.

11.3.2 Attitudes to Dialects
All except two of the informants learnt their father's dialect as children. One of the two exceptions said he was Manyika but learnt Ungwe as a child, a remark which confirms our earlier observation that the Ungwe and Manyika see themselves as separate tribes. This suggestion is further supported by the statement of another informant who gave his tribe as Ungwe and said he had to use Becha, a sub-dialect of Manyika, which he actually despised when he visited his wife's family. (Mr. S.14 on qns. II.6 and 10).

14 of the remaining 22 indicated general preference for their own dialects. The eight exceptions who all preferred Zesuru were 3 Karanga, 2 Ungwe, 2 Manyika and 1 Mndau. If we add to this number the 5 Zesuru informants, the Zesuru dialect becomes clearly the most preferred variety, enjoying high status in 66. It may also be noted that, (a) nobody said he or she despised Zesuru, and (b) all the Zesuru informants consistently used the term Zesuru throughout the questionnaire. None of its sub-dialects, e.g. Shwavha and Gova, were mentioned. This indicates that the Zesuru groups value their collective identity, which may in turn be explained by Zesuru's H status. Similar pride in their collective identity is evident among the Mndau and Karanga. The Mndau must be a fairly homogeneous group since no sub-group was mentioned. Among the Karanga, only one informant gave his tribe as Doma in the first instance but proceeded to use the term Karanga throughout the rest of the questionnaire. A similar sense of belonging to a bigger tribal group seems to be lacking among the Ungwe who are generally viewed as a sub-group of Manyika. The relationship between Ungwe and Manyika seems to need reappraisal.
Another interesting observation was that all informants (except two who did not answer qn. II.2) indicated they had knowledge of another dialect or dialects of Shona. Again Zemuru was mentioned most often, 10 times. In two of these cases a non-Zemuru said Zemuru was the dialect he knew best: 1 Manyika and 1 Karanga. In this respect Manyika was a close second: it was mentioned 7 times, or 8 times if we include Bocha. Karanga was only mentioned 4 times. Kalanga, Buda (Ko) and N'au were only mentioned once each.

Finally, it should be noted that even where a dialect other than one's own was preferred or better known, nobody said he or she despised his or her own dialect. In fact 17 of the informants actually said they did not despise any particular dialect or they simply ignored the question (II.10).

The responses of the six who gave positive answers to this question were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tribe of Informant Given As:</th>
<th>Dialect Despised Given As:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manyika</td>
<td>'Ntoko' (Ko.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zemuru</td>
<td>Karanga, Korekore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N'dau</td>
<td>Korekore</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N'au</td>
<td>Ungwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ungwe</td>
<td>N'dau, Bocha (M)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manyika</td>
<td>N'dau</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From these 6 responses the following inferences may be made:

(a) Zemuru is relatively free from negative attitudes against it and Karanga (although this is not supported by casual observation) is a close second in this respect.
(b) The Karanga speakers are relatively free from prejudice against other dialects, and the Zesuru are a close second in this respect.

(c) Korekore enjoys the least respect from other dialect speakers.

(d) Mutual disrespect (or rivalry?) is most apparent among the Eastern Dialects:

(i) between Ndau and Manyika;
(ii) between Ndau and Hwange;
(iii) between Hwange and Manyika.

It would be quite interesting to investigate (d) further. It is possible that because the Eastern Dialects have had the least impact on Shona, they have in turn been least influenced by it and are, therefore, most likely to be primarily concerned with promoting their local or regional varieties. Some of these dialect speakers may even have negative attitudes towards Shona itself or towards the literary language which many people, including schoolmasters, view as 'Standard Shona'. Conversely, it is arguable that the emergence of the latter variety, being dominant and being based mainly on Zesuru and Karanga, has helped to promote a sense of collective identity among the Zesuru and Karanga speakers. A Muduma or a Mudhari, for example, is more likely to identify himself as Mudhara, in Salisbury at any rate. Similarly a Mudhwashe or a Mudhwanja would identify himself as Mudhwa.

11.4 SHONA AND ENGLISH

11.4.1 Language Preference Patterns

Table 1 summarises the informants' responses to question II.12 in which they were asked to state the language they would normally use in each of a set of eight major domains. Here the abbreviation Nd. stands for Ndebele. Where applicable language(s) used by the informant to his or her child/children. The Family domain will, therefore, have two symbols shown in separate columns for certain informants. In many cases more than one
<table>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>S</td>
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<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
language was given per domain. In the summary table below the languages or combinations of languages used in specified domains are given in order of importance, i.e., according to the number of times each was recorded in Table 3 (indicated in brackets).

**Summary Table 2: Language Preference Patterns at Bilingual Level 2**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DOMAIN</th>
<th>LANGUAGE(S) USED (in order of importance)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>COURTSHIP</td>
<td>SE(13) M(12) S(8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAMILY</td>
<td>S(12) M(1) S(6)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KINSHIP</td>
<td>S(9) M(2) S(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FRIENDSHIP</td>
<td>SE(10) M(9) S(8)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOME</td>
<td>S(15) M(4) S(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEIGHBOURHOOD</td>
<td>S(16) M(2) S(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WORK</td>
<td>E(10) M(6) S(2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BUSINESS</td>
<td>E(15) M(1) S(1)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It will be noted that in Table 3 symbols M, N, Z are indicated as languages. Apparently this is the interpretation the Ndau, Manyika and Zsura informants who gave them would prefer. But these were only a minority (5). The majority were satisfied with the collective term Shona. In our summary table all these responses were recorded as Shona. Three clear patterns emerge from these two tables, much more clearly from the summary table. English dominates in two domains, Shona dominates in four domains, and both languages share two other domains, viz: the GS-dominated domains.
11.4.1.1 Category A

In the first category are the domains of work and business. Here interaction is essentially transactional and English is preferred because it is the primary language of administration and the language of specialized information. However, some working groups may be primary groups and interaction may be at the personal or face-to-face level, making switching between S and E possible. Communication in S only may even be possible, but this seems rare particularly in business transactions.

11.4.1.2 Category B

In this category are the domains of family, kinship, home and neighbourhood. Here the groups are primary, interaction is typically face-to-face, and group solidarity is based on kith-and-kin type of relationships, or it is promoted by wider considerations of ethnic identity. Although switching does occur in these domains, Shona clearly dominates. Certain factors prevent English from posing any serious challenge to Shona in these domains. In this connection, three points that emerged from our 'S' data will be noted.

1. The interlocutors or participants in the speech event may not all be proficient in English. Many members of the family, home, neighbourhood or clan/tribe may have only very little or no knowledge of English. Even where interlocutors were all proficient in English, that language would be socially inappropriate and unacceptable in certain situations, e.g., with one's in-laws. Generally speaking it would be considered rude or pompous to use a lot of English in these domains, even in informal situations. The SE patterns recorded must therefore be viewed as dependent on a number of factors, the most important of which is ability of the others to speak both languages. This point is actually made by Miss S.2 respecting the kinship domain and by Mr. S.11 respecting the home domain.
Although as University students our informants must be highly proficient in English, they generally find themselves more confident using Shona. 'I can express myself better (in Shona)', explained Miss S. In point of fact, not all the students claimed they could speak English with confidence (q. B.11); 17 did, 5 simply indicated they could carry on a conversation in English, and 1 preferred not to answer the question.

This should also be one reason (not the only one, of course) why African students generally use their vernaculars on the Campus. These vernaculars are often interlaced with English of course.

It is quite common only to switch to English when a new participant joins in who is non-African or has no knowledge of the particular vernacular being used. On the latter condition, it must also be noted that because the University is located in Salisbury, most Ndebele students learn some Shona soon enough. Generally speaking a Shona speaker addressing a Ndebele in Shona has a better chance of being understood than a Ndebele speaker addressing a Shona in Ndebele even if the addressee may insist on the use of a neutral language, English.

11.4.1.3 Category C

It is in the domains of Friendship and Courtship that speakers feel most free to use various codes together or individually, the only condition being that they are understood. Shona, English and Ndebele are all used. Here the members of the groups interacting are equals and familiar or even intimate. Equality among speakers as role-players is greatest in courtship and marriage.

3. Traditionally, Shona custom prescribes a T - V relationship between wife and husband from French tu and vos as such pronouns of power as je or le indicate. But in private a reciprocal T is perfectly acceptable. In fact, spouses are becoming increasingly equal in this sense and it is now not uncommon to hear them use both reciprocal T and reciprocal V in public.
at any rate according to our 'S' data. This is why English has made great advances in these domains, although it is quite dispensable here. It should also be pointed out that a Shona speaker with higher education is unlikely to have as partner in marriage someone with no knowledge of English. Our 6 male 'S' informants who are married (3.12, 13, 14, 19, 22 and 23) have wives whose standard of education ranges from Standard Six to A-Level (q.m.1.7), and some are actually professional women (q.m. 1.9).

11.4. 2 On Current Trends

From the overall pattern of language use that emerges from the foregoing, the model dominance configuration below has been worked out. From our 'S' data at least, we can conclude that the vague fears that are commonly expressed about the possibility of Shona being forced out of existence as English invades all domains of use are unfounded, or at least exaggerated. Whatever privileged status English may have enjoyed or may continue to enjoy, our evidence is that Shona is assured of continued vitality in most domains.

Summary Table 3: Dominance Configuration at Diplomatic Level 2.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>DOMAIN</th>
<th>LANGUAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FAMILY</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>KINSHIP</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HOME</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NEIGHBOURHOOD</td>
<td>S</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PRI KINSHIP</td>
<td>SE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COURTSHIP</td>
<td>SE</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WORK</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BUSINESS</td>
<td>E</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4. The term vitality here is interpreted slightly differently from the sense in which it is used as an attribute of a natural language [See Bell, 1976] on functional models of language.
Our 'S' Group represents a special speech community of highly proficient bilinguals, but English has not 'taken over' in any of the traditional domains. Even Miss S.2 who gave the SE patterns most consistently and can use English at home and among relatives still finds herself using Shona in the neighbourhood domain. (Neighbourhood here refers to both campus and other residential areas). It is also interesting to note that during my fieldwork I made several visits to Marimba Park which is characterized as an exclusive, elite suburb but I did not find conversation there to be predominantly in English. The children may go to multiracial schools but in every case their conversation was almost entirely in Shona. No evidence was found in the Marimba Park area to indicate a situation where bilingualism might be of the replacive type.

However, as some of the responses of my own informants show (see 11.4.3 and 11.4.4), it is understandable that at independence there should be some reaction against the dominance of English in national life. Many people seem to be expecting some form of authenticity campaign. Such a campaign may in fact be desirable but certain important facts about the language situation must be determined by research if language policy is to be socially meaningful. For example, it would be nearer the truth to say that the influence of English and other languages in the contact situation has seen the Shona dialects developing away from purity but coming closer together, while Shona as a whole has been elaborated to reflect changed circumstances. The language is changing, perhaps too fast for some, but it is not being replaced. Even if we accept the idea of a pure language to be found somewhere in the past, for Shona such pure forms would only be regional varieties. Many people take the historicity of Shona for granted and some actually believe there is a spoken variety called Standard Shona.

5. The concept of 'purity' is quite useless but the term is used here for argument's sake.
e.g. (i) some informants said they used particular words because they thought they were 'standard Shona';

(ii) some teachers (esp. in Manicaland) encourage their pupils to learn 'Standard Pronunciation';

(iii) some people believe Harare Radio Shona is 'Standard' (cf. 1.4.3 and 12.5).

Accordingly, many may be trying to adapt their speech to conform with the norms of an imaginary Standard (cf. Kishunde, 1980b). In fact, standardisation of Shona is in respect of spelling, word-division and punctuation, the general rules of which can apply to all of its varieties.

Maybe we should say that the Shona languages are changing. That change is in three general directions:

(i) away from whatever measure of purity regional varieties used to enjoy;

(ii) towards a common literary variety; and

(iii) towards a separate general spoken variety.

In this general process external influences, particularly from English and Nguni, have had a positive influence in so far as they have had a unifying influence directly and indirectly through adoption and adaptation. The harmful influence of English on a Shona language is largely a myth. It was actually Doke (1931) who first recommended official use of the collective term Shona.

This is not to suggest, however, that for the purposes of Language Planning a Great Tradition cannot be claimed for Shona. But that Great Tradition must be sought further back in history to the Rozvi and Munhumutapa Empires, rather than to the eve of British occupation. It is in this connection that certain exaggerations amounting to virtual misrepresentation of the historical background must be countered.
11.4.3 Attitudes to Shona and English

In the society they represent, Shona students at the University must be near the higher end of the scale of proficiency in English and are therefore ideal for testing the Balance Theory and other assumptions about higher education as a factor for gravitation towards another sociocultural group (op. Lambert, 1971).

From our evidence there is only very little support for both suggestions. Only 5 persons prefer to use English in most situations. Two of these just find it easier to express themselves in English although one of them would rather his children were taught Shona. The other three believe most people understand English, and one of them actually pointed out that a Shona dialect speaker can avoid possible 'miscomprehension and embarrassment' (Miss S.2) by using English. A sixth informant prefers to use both at once because he just finds it easiest that way (an honest answer in the light of Ch.12). The majority, however, prefer to use Shona in most situations. The reason repeated most often was that they can express themselves better in Shona because that is the language they have always used, although some of them (e.g. Mr. S.15) actually speak three languages. 'Mother tongue' was actually given as a reason a number of times and, in response to the same question (qn. II.13), Zesuru and Manyika were specifically mentioned by two informants who explained that their speech comes naturally when they use those dialects. Two others expressed the need 'To retain my identity' by using the mother-tongue. One of two others who said they just found themselves mixing with Shona speakers most of the time said he didn't want to show off by using language that others might not understand. Three or four believe Shona is understood by 'most people' and one specifically mentioned Shona as the majority language.

6. Not ideal bilinguals in the sense used by Weinreich (1953), i.e. using only one language at a time.
The subjects' responses to another question (qn. II.14) show that they realise that English has greater value as a world language and many view it as the language for education. Miss S.1 pointed out, 'It is the language in which most of the academic books are written', and Mr. S.19 further pointed out that English was the medium of instruction in the schools. The question was of course a hypothetical one as it is inconceivable that parents could ever be required to choose only one language their children may be taught, but the responses are interesting nonetheless. Paraphrased, the rest of them were as follows:

(i) International language;
(ii) For international communication;
(iii) English official language in many countries;
(iv) Need to communicate with a wider community.

All these are pragmatic reasons. The response of Mr. S.17 who said, 'I just like listening to good English,' was quite exceptional.

Those who would choose Shona under the stated circumstances had a majority of 3. Two types of reasons were suggested. The first was that the children would have to live among Shona-speaking people:

(i) They must feel at home among my relatives;
(ii) They will have to live among my people;
(iii) They will live among Shona speakers;
(iv) Must be understood in the country.

The second was language loyalty:

(i) It's my language;
(ii) They shouldn't loose their identity;
(iii) Shona must be preserved;
(iv) 'It's a disgrace not to be able to speak one's own language.' (Mr. S.20).
Faced with the difficult decision, 4 preferred not to answer. The total responses are significant. In the very unlikely event of such a situation ever arising, it seems that language loyalty would be the dominant factor. If it were made a referendum issue, 48 percent would vote for the mother tongue and 35 percent would vote for the world language and 17 percent would be undecided. As a floating vote, the last group would practically hold the balance of power if they made their neutral stand known prior to voting. Such hypothesizing is not just idle because it would become quite relevant in some probable situations, e.g. should controversy arise over languages of instruction and the policy makers want to respect parents’ views.

Another hypothetical question (hypothetical for the single majority) required the informants to indicate their attitude to the language(s) their children might use at home. The total responses were as follows: 6 didn’t answer; 6 wouldn’t mind what language the children used; 6 would want them to speak like others in the neighbourhood; one would encourage them to use English; another would encourage them to use English and English; and another would insist that they use English. Although the evidence is rather inconclusive, three inferences may be drawn:

1. The general absence of any strong feelings about language.

2. English would have only a minor role in the home. Suggestions that educated Africans despise their mother-tongue are unfair or have ceased to be relevant.

3. Most speakers would not fuss about dialect.

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7. These assumptions could have made more sense many years ago, e.g. during the 'partnership' days of the Federation, respecting the social and linguistic behaviour of the African 'elite', which later crops of graduates simply did not adopt.
These observations are confirmed by responses to other questions where the majority (16) indicated that they were not really particular about the dialect or language they used, and most (19) would not mind if someone spoke to them in a language they did not normally use. Actually, speakers who were generally liked were those who were 'free' (responses to last two questions). Elsewhere it was indicated clearly in response to specific questions (Qns. II.15 and 16) that general social constraints are respected in the choice of language. These responses are summarised below.

**Question:** Do you sometimes make an effort to use a particular language?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LANGUAGE</th>
<th>SITUATIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>Among Europeans; Multiracial gatherings; Some formal occasions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>With older people; With uneducated people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyanja</td>
<td>With Nyanja speakers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndebele</td>
<td>With Ndebele people; With Ndebele-speaking friends; In Ndebeleland with people who don't know Shona or English.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Question: Do you sometimes consciously avoid using a particular language or dialect?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LANGUAGE OR DIALECT</th>
<th>SITUATIONS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>English</td>
<td>With family or relatives; With old people; At home; To less educated people; With other Africans in non-formal situations; Then confused in argument.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shona</td>
<td>In academic discussions; Among non-speakers;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karanga</td>
<td>To non-Karanga speakers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbuyika</td>
<td>To non-Mbuyika speakers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karanga</td>
<td>When teaching Shona.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Zemuru</td>
<td>With Ndeu speakers.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*Ndeu</td>
<td>Among Zemuru.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zemuru</td>
<td>Among Karanga.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Given by some informant.

11.5 SOME VIEWS ON THE LANGUAGE SITUATION

11.5.1 Seven informants still had something to say on language after answering the two rather lengthy questionnaires, an indication of the co-operation received and, perhaps, of the general interest in the subject under investigation. Although I was not in a position to tell my informants exactly what I was looking for when the questionnaires were distributed, I indicated in the instructions and during my briefings that I simply wanted to know how the GS language situation was, and urged them to give honest answers without regard to what they or others might consider correct or pure or fashionable or whatever. I am satisfied that most of the answers were honest.
11.5.2 Throughout the exercise, certain of their responses indicate that
many are worried about what they believe is the language situation,
especially what they believe is happening to Shona. Some are also worried
about the status of their particular dialects within the Shona-speaking
community. The seven informants who still had something to say at the end
actually used the 'free page' to describe the language situation as they
saw it, or to suggest possible solutions, or both. Their views were varied
but they all recognized that there was a problematic situation.

11.5.1 The following statement by Mr S.9 expresses fairly common
sentiments:

'Shona as a pure language is being dangerously threatened by
slang (and by affiliated usages like Chilapalapa).... it
looks like there is no immediate solution to stop this trend
of Shona linguistic decline .... some way has to be devised to
preserve Shona (and its dialects) in its purity and just hope
that 'slang' will one day become a language on its own - to
be used interchangeably with 'pure' Shona ....'

have added the emphasis to indicate key words to certain common views on
aspects of the language situation about which I believe people are generally
informed or misinformed.

11.5.2 Three informants felt that while the excessive use of adoptive
id slang was to be deplored, the situation was so complicated that emphasis
on purity would be unrealistic. As for purity at the level of the dialect,

had this to say:

'Language, particularly my dialect, has become so mixed with
other dialects that it is really difficult to tell what
dialect I am speaking.'
This frank admission would seem to apply to most other people more or less, particularly in Salisbury. At the higher level of Shona and English as languages in contact, Mr. S.10 suggested that it was mischievous to equate a particular language with learnedness or success. Reference here was clearly to English, but his view was quite balanced. In a clear reference to Shona, he added:

'Language should be used for its basic and fundamental purpose, that is, as a medium of communication, not as a vehicle to promote tribalism, racism and nationalism'.

Rather a forceful representation of a neutral view.

Mr. S.1 referred to the language situation more directly. He elaborated the 'adverse use' of adoptives and slang but pointed out that sometimes there was a preference for those forms because certain Shona words (coinages?) sounded dull. He saw no easy solution because the practice had affected both the young and the old. The part of her statement which describes the situation is worth quoting in full:

'Nowadays it is very difficult to find a youngster who can speak Shona without bringing in any borrowed words...

I find that we have had to borrow words from the so called to use on some things like clothes, utensils and other things that the Europeans brought with them. Our youngsters too have, however, found it quite fashionable to bring in foreign words into their language. The same thing has happened to our older and middle-aged folks who, in their earlier days, worked for Europeans.'

11.5.2.3 Respecting the relative statuses of the Shona dialects, two informants felt strongly that their dialects were being suppressed or ignored. Mr. S.17 complained that while there was nothing wrong with 'the general dilution of dialects', certain Mangira people were trying to suppress their own dialect:

...
'The belief in the superiority of one dialect over another is an unfortunate one, yet it's not uncommon.'

Another informant, Mr. S.15, felt that 'most aspects of the study of the Ndebele dialect are being neglected' and urged that more research be carried out in Ndebele. He stated his general conclusion as follows:

'I think the whole idea of 'standard Shona' is unrealistic and tends to exclude some of the most interesting parts of other dialects like Ndebele.'

11.5.2.4 With a view to the future Mr. S.22 envisaged the role of Shona as an official language and a language of instruction after independence:

'I am looking forward to a time when Shona will be an official language in Zimbabwe. In the lower level (Primary School) most of the subjects should be taught in the mother language, except perhaps mathematics and English. Although we accept that a language must borrow or have loanwords, wherever possible traditional ones must be kept.'

11.5.3 The numerous and live issues of language policy and planning are outside the scope of this study. Many of them are discussed by Ngara [1977].

In my view, however, some of the very strong recommendations he makes are unrealistic because he tends to oversimplify the language situation in the Shona-speaking community. The responses of our informants have shown that the situation in the Shona-speaking community alone is complex, let alone in the country as a whole. One cannot come to a full appreciation of the problems except by way of formal research into the various aspects, unless one is prepared to risk ending up merely rationalizing one's own preconceptions or imported solutions. For example, problems relating to the status of Shona have not been considered before. Neither has the relationship between written and spoken Shona. For language policy to be socially relevant, it must be
based on thorough investigation of a variety of aspects at a number of
levels and involving a fair cross-section of the population. After all
the development of language is based on the collective common sense of the
speaker. To pretend otherwise would be unrealistic.
The core of this chapter is based on recordings of conversations and advertisements in Shona, and on notes made at three meetings of the Shona Teaching Association where the business was conducted in Shona.

12.1 THE CODES

Switching is shifting back and forth between codes in the speech of the same persons in the same speech event. A code is any language variety or speech form that is describably different. The difference between codes may be viewed in terms of such oppositions as:

- language v. language;
- register (style) v. register;
- dialect v. dialect.

The term 'code' is used without any qualification: we can properly refer to a 'dialect of' but not to a 'code of'.

Different codes symbolize the form of the social relationship, regulate the nature of the speech encounter and create different forms of relevance. Multilingual societies provide the best examples of shift because the codes are clearly distinguishable. Diglossia is the best example of code demonstrating function. A case can be made for diglossia between GS and the regional dialects of Shona, although it must be stressed that there is always some overlap in the role specialization of codes. At the higher level of language vis-à-vis language, the situation is inherently unstable, and sometimes it is hard to distinguish between two codes, as in

Kupatiana wemultiple-fracture uvi mward si six inadeadoctor ami?

which doctor is responsible for that patient in Ward Six with multiple fracture?

From a syntactic point of view this is a perfect Shona construction but lexically the influence of English is dominant.
Language is a bundle of role-related and role-defining codes from which the role-player chooses. It little matters whether the codes are 'dialects' or 'sociolects' or 'languages' because any or all of these can be used in switching. The difference between intra- and inter-language switching is only a matter of degree but the process itself is the same. Bilingualism can, therefore, be viewed as a special case of switching where the shifting is between what are recognised as different languages by the speakers themselves. Among monolinguals code-switching is seen as stylistic variation. No individual possesses a single code because no individual plays only one role, participates in only one social relationship and belongs to only one group. Stylistic variation occurs even within the idelect or in the language of the pre-school child. Language must therefore not be viewed as a monolithic or homogeneous object but as a set of repertoires of codes (Bell, 1976, 115). In this chapter we will attempt to show that switching actually facilitates, rather than reduces, effective communication, provided that the interlocutors share the same or largely overlapping repertoires (Bell, 1976, 110-111; Fishman, 1972(b)).

Our main concern will be with inter-lingual or bilingual switching between Shona and English. In textual analyses, adoptives will not be counted as switches and, because we will be concerned almost exclusively with the analytical separability of English and Shona, the other languages in the contact situation will be regarded as sources of adoptives but not as sources of switches. For convenience of analysis, we will describe and explain code-switching as occurring between Shona and English, although quite aware that, from a strictly theoretical point of view, the discreteness of such languages in bilingual behaviour can be challenged or even rejected (see 12.7).

12.1.1 THE DATA

Ideally the data for this chapter should have been transcriptions of
recordings of verbal interactions in those domains already isolated in
the last chapter (see 11.4.1). However, owing to certain practical
difficulties at the time of my fieldwork, I was forced to abandon the
idea of going around the townships making such recordings. Part of the
material I eventually used was recorded around 1973 by another researcher,
Mr Y.C. Mhanganwi, who kindly offered about 18 hours playing time from
his own private collection of cassettes. It is on this material that
12.2 is based.

The next section 12.3 is based on samples of conversations which I heard
in varied situations and which were reconstructed after the speech event.
This type of data has the advantage that it is more representative of free
speech flow as the subjects were unaware they were being observed and could
not have therefore been paying any special attention to the language they
were using. The problem, however, relates to memory limitations of the
participant-observer. This method is therefore blatantly selective and
the samples have to be short as the researcher cannot accurately remember
more than a few sentences of the verbal exchange at any one time.
Nevertheless, certain clear patterns emerge from these short exchanges
and the main function of such material here is confirmatory.

In the main, therefore, we will be dealing with conversational material.
None of the conversations used involved non-Shona speakers. Therefore,
there was no question of switching into English to accommodate non-Shona
speakers. Conversational material is often quite ungrammatical but this
is a characteristic feature of 'talk' /Allen and Guy, 1974/. Particularly
in casual talk, people often do not use well-formed sentences. The first of
the following two examples from the same female speaker is a typical broken
sentence and the second shows some lack of concordant agreement:


(a) Ilondika, umrella yangu vasikana nayo, vasikana ini
ra funge eight dollars fifty nayo, ne-ndisina two weeks
nayo umrella yacho.
Ilondi, just imagine, my umbrella gone. Eight dollars
fifty it was. Gone before I had had it for two weeks.

(b) Aiva, nyenai rudikidikiso ba'munini vasinganetsi,
vasingazoreva mari yemasoks.
No, count the little girls, babamunini, who will not
trouble you, who will not demand money to buy stockings.

Broken sentences, repetition of phrases (sometimes in more than one
language), hesitation or temporizing followed by a new turn of phrase,
and popular short forms - all these are common in extempore speech.

To a less extent, they were also evident in the speeches delivered at the
three meetings of the Shona Teaching Association which I attended. To a
less extent because there was evidence of more verbal planning (e.g. notes)
and the speakers generally used the deliberative key /Gleason, 1965, 360-1/.
Section 12.4 is based on notes taken at those meetings which were held on
6th October and 1st November 1979 and on 15th March 1980.

In section 12.3 a very different type of material is used to try and show
the influence of English in the public-colloquial style of GS which is
promoted on radio through advertisements /cp. Leech, 1966/ . The
advertisements transcribed and analysed add up to about one hour of playing
time.

12.2 CONVERSATION I

12.2.1 OF SPONTANEOUS SPEECH
The raw data in conversation is very untidy. In transcribing spontaneous
speech some measure of editing is unavoidable because of the very nature
of conversation itself. To that extent therefore the data analysed in
this chapter is somewhat idealized. A perfect representation including
pauses, hesitations, interruptions, repetitions, tone of voice and simultaneous participation is practically impossible. For our purposes here the broken sentence

Maraen ma- namwe
maraen dzaa dirim-
dirimbe hadzo

In some areas they (taetse-fries) were there.

is best handled as

Namaen maraen dzaa dirimo hadzo

with a single one-word switch -areas-

Broken sentences are typical of spontaneous speech and they represent half-finished thoughts and new ones picked up under pressure of extemore speech (Allen and Guy, 1974; Leech, 1966). For in conversation the speaker is constrained or encouraged by the feedback system he gets, and he may sometimes have to change his verbal strategy in the middle of a sentence or shorter utterance. (such abrupt starting of a new construction without finishing the first is called anacoluthon). His perceptual resources are continually monitoring linguistic usage and psychologically he makes adjustments to his speech depending on who he is speaking with, his or their responses, the topic, the occasion and so on. For the bilingual speaker code-switching is often used as part of his overall verbal strategy (Di Pietro, 1978; cp. Fishman 1972(b)).

However, in normal casual conversation among primary groups the speakers are not always called upon to use this knowledge and to make the necessary adjustments because such conversation is characterised by equality of participation and interaction. The same sort of equality does not exist in other speech situations. For instance, formal speech situations such as meetings, interviews and seminars call for a certain sequential patterning of participation, whereas conversation calls for the highest
degree of spontaneity, the most direct feature of which is interruption. In conversation the role-relations are non-hierarchical and do not normally reflect status. Participants unconsciously suspend role-relations to facilitate equality of participation and the speaker-hearer may give immediate contribution at any time. These contributions, therefore, tend to be short. The orderly turn-taking of dialogue in novels, for example, is quite artificial. In the following excerpt, for instance, speaker B continues with the sentence he had formulated before A interrupted with the question *achimdepi* and then comes back to answer the same question (*kumoroara....*).

A: *Kavara kuroora?*

B: *Vanga vakuroora, kubva marumeVeco avatise -
achimdepios.*


A: *Is she not married?*

B: *She was married, but the husband deserted her -
And where did he go?*

B: *And left her the whole house. To go and marry another woman.*

The speech types in conversation are essentially of three types: initiations, continuations and interruptions. Our data excludes the first category and much of the third (e.g., pause phenomena after editing). Initiations are mainly the social preliminaries at the beginning or end of the encounter, and these may include sets of formulae or set expressions. Continuations categorize sequential ordering and turn-taking. Interruptions are the privilege of the non-speaker and these may include diversions and distractions. These do not seem to take place at any predictable point. Interruptions by the speaker may be collectively referred to as pause phenomena. They include gaps, pauses, silence breaks and hesitations which may be intentional or unintentional. These are well known tempering
devices and include such meaningless vocalizations as 'eh', 'well', 'yes'. Their function is the non-communicative one of allowing the speaker time to plan or reorganize his speech strategy. In analysing our transcriptions, no attention will be paid to such devices, although it is just possible that some of them may in fact trigger code-switches.

12.2.2. TYPES OF SWITCHES

English switches in Shona conversation range from isolated or one-word switches to entire sentences. The isolated switches, most frequently nominals, may be inflected (e.g. magrepa, netsele-fly) or uninflected (e.g. area, tautse-fly). Function words also occur quite often as one-word switches. Words like since, but, still, otherwise, yet, anyway are often used conjunctively at clause boundaries, as in:

(i) Ganda kuthi ardikupi. Since ndakabuda chikoro
   handzini ndambumuna kubiripo.
   I do not know where he is. Since I left school I
   haven't seen him there.

(ii) Hande, gha! still vavi vese.
   Even now, gha! they are still together.

(iii) Anyway, ngatidziramo ....
   Anyway, let us do it this way ....

Sometimes the isolated switches are longer than a word and may be either interjections or exclamations such as please, of course and oh well, or adverbial in function, e.g. now and again, almost everyday. Words like boys, girls, gentlemen, mister are also used vocatively as isolated switches, as in:

Chete, gentlemen, munoziva fanika yetiGAPs Rovers ...  

But, gentlemen, you know, a team like C.A.F.S. Rovers....
But verb forms rarely occur as isolated switches. In the sentence

Ndakaitwa baptized kufundiridzidzo

I was baptized in the Methodist Church

the verb baptized in a switch but such occurrences are not common. Much more commonly the verb form is re-phonologized, inflected and used as an adoptive, as in

Ndakaitwa kufundiridzidzo Methodist.

I was baptized in the Methodist Church

The process of re-phonologization may be incomplete, as in

... evkukusendenda muneu.

... to experiment with.

Occupying the rather vague position between such isolated switches and the longer phrases, clauses and sentences are those terms referring to numbers. These may be single words as two in

Ndatambira tsamba two

I have received two letters.

or longer phrases as in

Asika Hurungwe takasiya iisuzu nineteen sixty two inse nombe.

But when we left Hurungwe in 1962 it had cattle.

English numerals feature prominently in Shona speech especially when people are quoting prices or dates or giving street, box or telephone addresses.

Switches of this type belong to what we will call the 'unavoidable' category in 12.2.2.1

Isolated switches may themselves trigger much longer switches. However, excepting the sort of substantive phrase with piled-up premodifiers which is peculiar to the language of advertising / Leech, 1966 /, the longer type of switch is quite rare in ordinary Shona conversation. Longer code-switched English stretches appear to feature more at formal gatherings where it may be quite difficult to explain everything in Shona (see 12.4). More typical are switches involving no more than just a few words, usually just
stock phrases, as in :

(1) Efias, I am sure adookwaachiri futi.
    I am sure Efias is still there.

(2) Futi ndikutaurire iye zvino it's a long story.
    For me to tell you now, it's too long a story.

(3) Let's say, oh, sekarwiyo kari kuimbwa aka.
    Let's say, oh, like this song being sung now.

If a stretch involves a lot of switching the English is often separated
by Shona infections to avoid an entirely English sequence, as in

Ndine about forty LPs aka ini, variety ye music.
    I have about forty LPs myself, variety in music.

As a result you get an overall sentence frame which is Shona, although
English lexical influence is quite heavy.

Sometimes you get a variety of forms from English in the same stretch,
    as in :

Zvino, a, kumireya vanospreya now and again nkhava
    nguva yemvura iya ...

As for spraying they are now spraying now and again
    because during the rainy season ...

Here -preya is phonologically partially assimilated and is used as an
adoptive, but it is this same adoptive which seems to have triggered the
switch to English now and again. Sometimes the same form may be repeated
as a switch and as an adoptive in the same stretch :

Tsetse-fly, a, hapana pasina tsetse-furai.
    Tsetse-fly, ah, tsetse-flies are everywhere.

This seems to be a case of self-correction, either done consciously or
unconsciously.

The isolated non-native form is sometimes difficult to categorise as an
adoptive or as a switch. If acceptability were not such a controversial,
because subjective, matter, we would go along with Rayfield (1970, 58.) and say an adoptive is commonly accepted in the receiving language while the switched word may be any word in the donor or source language. But, except for the relatively fewer, older, fully integrated adoptives there will always be disagreement as to the acceptability in Shona of a given from from English. Therefore acceptability is no useful guide. In this chapter we will rely more on whether the form, as recorded, has been rephonologized. If from his pronunciation it is clear that the speaker is actually using the proper English form, then it is treated as a one-word switch (Rayfield, 1970) or sandwich word (Bell, 1976.). Its code-switch status will be shown in the cited examples by reproducing the proper English spelling and by underlining. Adoptives will not be underlined, if phonologically there has been full or partial assimilation (see 7.2 and 6.4.4) then the item is an adoptive. Sometimes there will also be some difference in meaning from the proper English usage and this makes it much easier for us to categorize the form in question as an adoptive rather than a switch. Therefore, in the stretch

Zwamunoda kuita kana mabhina first praii ...  
what you want to do when you win the first prize ...  
which is reproduced as heard, the only switch is 'first' but mabhina and praii are adoptives. And in the following excerpt, which comes later in the same transcription, the only switch is 'tractor' but grossa and pasaidhi are adoptives:

Ukona waits chiviri, tractor apa, chigoro apa ndi.
Wonyara. 5-c. Zvizingane toli. --c. Kana ukuona
vakudubure zvakakana negrossa pasaidhi.
If you have the courage buy a tractor, a grinding mill, 
and you are alright. Yes. It's not difficult. Yes. If you
find you are doing well, open a shop.
Generally speaking the tendency to code-switch is small in ordinary, casual conversations. More often resort is made to adoptives and slang or slang-like expressions, while the switches (properly so-called) are found only far between. In the following dialogue between a young man (M) and a young woman (F) there are only two switches (underlined twice) and many more adoptive forms and slang-like expressions (underlined once):

M: Iko kufakose kwaviti - kwaviti ndisenda musi uya woienda kumba kwani?

F: Ndiko kwa -

M: Uchiti ndisenda kumba kwanisi.


F: As, handvisvivei.

In this encounter the man, who dominates the exchange, is accusing the woman of having cheated his elder brother. She does not put up much of a defence.

M: You mentioned Kufakose, to whose house did you say you had gone that day?

F: That is where -

M: You said you were going to your sister's house.

F: Yes, of course. To my sister's house, of course.
N: That is where you were going indeed (sarcastically).
Because, just imagine ... we went and stopped by the gate,
see. They had parked at some distance, say as far as that
house there on this side. That was where the Triumph was
parked, having passed the gate. We came and stopped right
in the middle. We revved the engine and tried every trick.
Then I said to him, 'No, my friend, the girl must be in
there'. And he said, 'No'. Then I said, 'I am sure.
Alright let's wait. Even if you come back here five times
you won't see her'. We revved the engine louder and hooted,
but that didn't work. Then I said, 'Let's go and drink. It's
just not our day with girls'. So we went out to drink.

F: A, I know nothing about that!

Sometimes, however, more than just the odd phrase is thrown in, e.g.:

Umuziva, that's why - that's one of the things chimondi-
bhovwe mumabhebhiOneus umu,
You know, that's why - that's one of the things I really
hate about the local girls.

The short sentence
Life is hard, vakomana.
Life is hard, guys.

is indeed English despite the inclusion of the vocative form vakomana.
Analysed in isolation, it could be said vakomana is the switch, but the
context in which the sentence was recorded was Shona conversation.
Therefore, life is hard is our switch.

Usually where switches are frequent and/or longish, this may be explained
in terms of the idiosyncratic preferences of the speaker, as in the
following two examples from the same subject, a female interviewee:
(a) As tsamba truly speaking ndinonyora ne
English all
the time, asi ...
Truly speaking I write letters in English all the
time, but ...
in which English acts as the switch-word which triggers all the time.

(b) Ndakasvare wa Methodist ndikaitwa baptized kwMethodist
ndikaitwa full member kwMethodist. Kanje pamudzai ndi
out kweve-e kusina Methodist padhuse ndichibva ndazenda
Anglican.
I was born a Methodist, and baptized in the Methodist
Church and became a full member of the Methodist Church.

But then I went out there was no Methodist Church in
the neighbourhood so I went to the Anglican Church.

That this speaker is particularly prone to using switches is indicated
by the use of stock phrases like all the time and unassimilated verb forms
like baptized introduced by the verb -ita.

A somewhat similar type of isolated switch involves adjectives introduced
by the verb to be, auxiliary -iti - ita, as in
Akapiwa imba iri empty.
He was given an empty house.

If, however, the speaker chooses to use the English adjective as a
premodifier, the whole noun phrase is rendered as an English switch:
Akapiwa an empty house.
cp. Ari kutorejase momwe mukadzi achisiya
four-roomed house.

He is now living with another woman as lodgers,
having left his own four-roomed house.

The substitutions
an empty imba; and
four-roomed imba
would be considered awkward in such sentences.
A switch-phrase may be repeated every now and then in a single dialogue depending on the subject matter. In a discussion about lodgers in Salisbury's townships, it was noted that the phrase *one room*, having been established by one speaker, was taken up by the others as a point of reference. Sometimes repeated use of a switch-word or switch-phrase may reflect just a peculiar idiosyncrasy of the speaker, especially in those situations where he is allowed to carry on uninterrupted as when telling a story. The following excerpt from such an unbalanced dialogue shows that the speaker is particularly fond of using the temporising phrase *'You see'* and the enclitic **-so**, which he pronounces /ɪ: si:/ and /sɔ:/ with a rise-fall allitone on a final long syllable (see 12.2.3).

In the transcription below these two are underlined twice and all the other switches once:

... Ndobva, apinda panext-door paye paye manje. Manje vanhu vepanext-door apa - muchinda uyu, a-e, ha-a, ane mukadzi wakezno. Wanga vachangwe pastate iya iyi, you see.

Hubachi make mune about - hansi, a-a, yise kumathirty dollars or something so. You see? Muchinda ndokupinda, you see. Nokutora mari yose achirwa angosiya akanda

Bhachi apa, you see. Fubva anyatsobudzwa zvakanakana


Otarisa mari muhomwe. Kayas.

... And then he went into the house next-door. Now the people at this house - well, this guy had his woman, you see. They had just lapsed into that state, you see.
In his jacket was about—they say, it was about thirty
dollars or something. You see? This man came in, you see.
He took all the money and dropped the jacket right there,
you see. Then he went out quite nicely and closed the
door, making a noise, you see. Now, just as he closed the
door the other man wakened. And he asked who had just
closed the door, you see. He checked the room in which
his sisters were sleeping, you see. Then he went out and
heard the sound of retreating footsteps. He returned to
the house and looked around to see if anything had been
stolen. You see? Then he went back to his jacket. He
looked for the money in the pocket. It was gone.

Another female speaker was noted to be particularly fond of the adjective
heavy, which she used to mean 'good, nice' and to describe any object
she thought she fancied, as in:

Ane kamotokari kaporan kari heavy,.

He has a nice little Prefect.

It is this idiosyncratic tendency, perhaps more than anything else, which
makes the occurrence of switches difficult to predict at the speech
community level. Not only are switches difficult to predict but reasons
for the occurrence of individual switches are hard to find. For example,
no definite reason can be claimed for the inclusion of the three switches
in:

This weekend ndooyavanga vari supposed kuuya.
Mwachawui ndhava ndakaa mdiri ko last week.
They were supposed to come this weekend. They are
no longer coming because I was there last week.

When one considers the adoptive and slang expressions also used in these
last three excerpts, the total non-Shona element becomes almost as high
as in commercial consumer advertising (see 12.5).
12.2.2.1 *UNAVOIDABLE* SWITCHES

What may be viewed as *unavoidable* switching is closely related to 'necessary' adoptives (see 1.1 and 9.10.3). The necessity of adoptives generally may be queried by those who always make the effort to use indigenous coinages and transliterations, and thereby ingeniously avoid 'foreign' forms for which the average speaker has difficulty in finding alternative terms. For the latter many of the indigenous coinages are just not in their active vocabulary. For example, they will use items in the left column of e.g. (1) instead of those on the right:

**E.g. (1)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Shona</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>watch</td>
<td>karinganwira</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bus</td>
<td>dutavnhu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>car</td>
<td>hambautare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>radio</td>
<td>dzimudzanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>breakfast</td>
<td>svotonoro</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is both a question of familiarity (see 9.10.1) and of preference (see 4.1).

In the same way many of the switches which speakers find *unavoidable* can actually be avoided. For example, the English items in the left column in e.g. (2) can be replaced by those on the right:

**E.g. (2)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>English</th>
<th>Shona</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>rights</td>
<td>kodzero</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>election</td>
<td>sarudzo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>society</td>
<td>sangano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>half</td>
<td>chidimba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>fraction</td>
<td>kachidimba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

But the simple fact is that, except where the speakers are trying to speak eloquently on a formal occasion, they are less likely to use the indigenous coinages. More likely they will use the English words, either in their rephonologized forms as adoptives, as in the first columns in e.g. (1) above and e.g. (3) below, or in their original English forms as switches, as in the first column of e.g. (2) above or in the second column.
of e.g. (3) below.

E.g. (3) terevisheni cp. television

sipakisheni inspection

rhoketi rocket

sossiti society

hafu half

From the point of view of their frequency of occurrence and the majority’s attitude towards them, such adoptives and switches are indeed quite unavoidable. Often the adoptive and English forms are preferred because they are also shorter and simpler:

E.g. (4) (a) ice-cream cp. aisikirima

exam zamandi

(b) percentage cp. chidimbu kubwa musana

half white (loaf) cp. chidimbu chechingwa chichena

sixteenth cp. chidimbu chegumi nemashatu.

Sometimes, however, there are actually no known Shona equivalents for the English terms. This is the case with most colour terms. It is not possible, for instance, to distinguish the colours of the rainbow without resorting to English colour terms. Most commonly, reference to colour is made by the use of possessive forms in which the English colour terms are prefixed by the appropriate Shona concords. The English colour term may or may not be rephonologized, as in:

svura yeblue (blue water)

yeblue (blue water)

jira hepink (pink cloth)

ez vending (vending things)

It is possible that the genius of coinage may contrive some circumlocutions labels for these, although he will be running the risk of becoming esoteric. But even such a person will admit that there is no way of referring to the
year 1959 except by actually saying 'nineteen fifty nine', even though
he might be waxing lyrical in an oratorical Shona key [cp. Gleason, 1965,
361] with members of a traditional cultural association as his audience.
It is virtually impossible to avoid switching when referring to dates as
per calendar. Sometimes the name of the month may be given in Shona but
the day and year are always given in English, as in:

six chikumi nineteen forty.

eighteen chikumi nineteen sixty two

but more commonly the Shona speaker would just say:

six June nineteen forty;

eighteen October nineteen sixty two.

I have never heard anybody say anything like 'musi wechima vomwezi
wendinga' (the fourth of January) but 'musi wafour January' would be quite
in order.

Also most difficult to replace or rephonoitize are certain items of
clothing and toiletries such as 'panti-hose', 'corset', 'eye shadow',
'lip-ice'.

Registered trade marks, brand names, official titles and personal and oth-
er proper names are also given in English (see 12.5). These may, of
course, be rephonoitized but where this is attempted the process of
assimilation is usually only partial. Many technical terms used in various
professions and trades are also given in English. Sometimes such special-
ized terms refer to instruments (e.g. thermometer, stethoscope), or
implements (e.g. building or farm machinery), or items of furniture (e.g.
divan, lounge suite) which are relatively new in terms of Shona material
culture.

In this chapter, what we will call 'unavoidable' switches are all those
switches which are actually unavoidable, or those which the speakers believe
are actually necessary, or simply fail to avoid in ordinary conversation.
In addition to those we have already mentioned, the following 'unavoidable' types were also found in our data:

(a) Time, as per chronometer
   e.g.: half past three (at...)
   a quarter past four thirty-five (at...)
   half past five 'clock (around...)

(b) Periods of time, e.g.:
   two weeks
   three years
   five hours
   ten minutes

(c) Names of currencies and amounts of money, e.g.:
   sixty pounds
   eight dollars fifty
   five cents
   sixpence

(d) Numbers generally, as in:
   vana seven (seven children)
   one one room (He has....)

(e) Weights and measure, e.g.:
   kilograms, grams, pounds, ounces, kilometres,
   centimetres, miles, yards, feet, inches, litres,
   gallons.

   With these the English plural suffix is usually retained.

   The uneducated speaker may indeed use such popular forms
   as k.g. without actually knowing there is a measure called
   a kilogram.

From the above, it will become obvious that, quantity, especially as
indicated by number, accounts for a considerable proportion of unavoidable
switches. Although Shona has its own system of counting, the English
terms are preferred because they are simpler and more specific. This
applies particularly to fractions and percentages, although expressions
like chidinhu chegumi reshana kubva musana (fifteen percent) and chidinhu
chegumi (one tenth) may be used in official translations like news
bulletins.

Also given in English are street numbers, private bag or box numbers,
and telephone numbers. During Church Services the sermons proper may
be given entirely in Shona but numbers of verses and hymns are given in
English, as in:

ndima seven (verse ...)
ruiyu one one nine (hymn ...)

It appears that in an effort to keep the amount of English used down to
a minimum, hymn numbers are given symbol by symbol rather than as wholes,
e.g. as
one one nine,
two three eight
but rarely as
one hundred and nineteen,
two hundred and thirty eight.

As will be shown in 12.5.3.1 Shona business talk is heavily laden with
switches, largely because of the frequent quotation of weights, measures,
sizes and amounts of money. Some of the terms actually uttered may indeed
be partially assimilated adoptives, as in the case of faip (cp. Faifi,
cf. five) in this short excerpt in which a shop assistant (A) is counting
change for a customer (B). After the change count he reverts to Shona:

A: Fifty. Ha - dati -

B: Faip bshobho.


Hari yenyu yakwana. Ndiyoka?
Unavoidable switches like numbers may actually trigger further switches like 'That's' which could have easily been replaced here by Yava or Ivo. Most shopping encounters will involve some code-switching to English to refer to quantities or prices, as in this short exchange where the only English switch is uttered by the customer (B):

A: Shamuwa, uri kudziva?
B: Half white.
A: Chete chete?
B: Chete chete.

A: My friend, what do you want?
B: Half white (loaf).
A: Just that?
B: Just that.

12.2.3 ELISION OF ELEMENTS

One feature of Shona conversation which was noted in the data used must be mentioned here, although it is only peripheral to the subject of switching. This is elision of elements which are deemed to be understood by the speaker-hearer. The elements elided may be just segments, especially vowels in rapid speech. Sometimes they may be segments or syllables which are also morphemes. This may amount to what Jespersen called prosiopedia (Leech, 1966, 78), although in Shona the unvocalized grammatical units elided are usually syllables, often merely inflections, as in:

- onaka cp. vaonaka (you see),
- ana cp. anenge (he seems,
- kubva cp. ndokubva (and then).
Sometimes the element dropped cannot be isolated as a morpheme. Such plain elision seems intended to yield what are presumed to be popular short forms as in the following examples:

(i) Chi chi chi chi chabiva
(what could have been stolen)
where chi chi is short for chinadai.

(ii) Oza /Ω, zš/ < unosiva
(You know)
which is often used in initial position as an interrogative form equivalent to unosivaka?

(iii) vaona? /vaona/ < varviona?
(you see)
which is similarly used as a rhetoric device to punctuate narrative.

(iv) The slang usage varviva /varviva/ with the untypical HL tone pattern to show emphasis, surprise or glee on the part of the narrator.

(v) muoregereiko? /morerereikɔ̃ ~ morerei.kɔ̃/ <
muoregereiko? (why don't you?)

(vi) toombo- /tɔmbo̞/ < tinoombo- (we sometimes/often..., in the meantime we...)
in which tino- is reduced to one syllable.

(vii) kvakaa < kvakanga (there was)
cp. kwakee < kvakange

(viii) yenaa < yankanga (they were).

(ix) kokora /kɔkɔ̀.rɔ̃ ~ kɔkɔ̀.rɔ̃/ < kokokora.
(Coca-cola).

The general explanation for such elision of elements seems to be speed of utterance. In the rapid colloquial style, elision of vowel segments is particularly common, even across word boundaries. For example, the sentence

Nsera ndiya nchitisha mungu kured
(Yesterday I had my date waiting by the road)
was transcribed phonetically from one of the tapes as
\[ \text{nesuro} \text{ndalwa ne} \text{taim} \text{y} \text{ny} \text{kro}. \]
Here changu kurod has been reduced by two vowels and nechitina by one.

It can be argued in such cases of vowel elision that the consonant segment carries the tone. Alternatively one can posit a neutral allotone akin to the semi-dependent mid-tone suggested in 6.3.1.1. Something else which became apparent but was not investigated is the possibility that such vowel elision always involves syllables in which the vowel carries a low tone in the full form. Just as in Chapter 6 we suggested semi-dependent mid-tone \( \text{\textasciitilde} \), here we also find that in cases such as examples (ii), (v), (vi), (ix) where two syllables are reduced to one long one, rise-fall and fall-rise allotones \( \text{\textasciitilde} \), \( \text{\textasciitilde} \) can also be posited. This feature also affects mono- and di- syllabic interjectives and ideophones such as \( \text{\textasciitilde} \) and \( \text{\textasciitilde} \) (of being silent or quiet). In the current orthography these long vowels carrying rise-fall allotones are represented by a dash placed between the reduplicated vowel segment, e.g. \( \text{\textasciitilde} \), \( \text{\textasciitilde} \). My own view is that the use of a hyphen here is unnecessary.

12.3 CONVERSATION II

The dialogues on which the reconstructed samples discussed here are based were recorded in Highfield Township, Salisbury, during April-May 1976, during which period I spent many hours observing patrons at the Mashandira Fame Hotel. A few more were made in the same manner during August-September 1979 in Hatfield at Madzvara Bottle Store, at the Kentucky Hotel and at Hatfield Clinic. Throughout the period of this research project I also observed casually speakers in many different situations in those parts of Salisbury I found myself. Although the data actually recorded and used was very small by comparison it is considered typical and reveals the essential patterns of switching in the community. These are much the same as those already outlined in 12.2.
The main difference between the reconstructed samples and the dialogues from the tapes is that the former are much shorter and therefore much easier to analyse. The subjects observed were on the whole much more mature people, usually in drinking situations. The conversation was more relaxed, the topics more serious, the turn-taking more orderly and, except where subjects were getting tipsy or were actually intoxicated, interruptions were much fewer than in the case of younger people recorded on tape. Textual analyses revealed better formed sentences, less slang and adoptive elements but more and longer straight English switches. The language used was still very much colloquial and there was rarely any evidence of affectation or self-consciousness.

The shorter switches were mainly of the repetitive, translation-type, as in:


B: Castle?

A: Chiregerai ndichivapa zyi iri pano iyi. Have this one, sekuru.

C: As, unoda kuipove. Ufuna kundiruwisa?

A: Ya-a. Unarungiswa zvishuvai

A: Give him a Castle, Give him a Castle.

B: Castle?

A: Let me give him this one here. Have this one, sekuru?

C: Ah, you want me to get beaten. You want to get me fixed, don't you?

A: Yes. You will be fixed for sure.

The purpose of such switching is more for emphasis than it is to make sure one is understood by using two languages because all the participants were Shona-speaking. (The last switch in the dialogue is not even English.) Repetition by translation often also produces much longer switches, but usually it is not the whole sentence which is translated thus but just selected phrases and clauses, as in the following dialogue in which may also be noted that the switch-word better is taken up by both speakers:
Iye zvino kumusha hakuchina *business* / biznes /, vakomana. 
Ini svangu mdiri kusevenza muno mdiri *better*.

A: As, shuna uri *better* chaire.

B: Ama mdiri kumusha kubatirwa *much better*.

A: *I am much better because* mukapiwa five dollars yangu mhinodya 
yeso five dollars yacho ichipinda mushumbu mangu wamu. Zvino 
*busines* yacho hapana chañachavama. Vanachomi vakauya 
unonguvapa, svako vakazouya vakama.

A: Guys, these days there is no business in the rural areas.

B: A *working man* like me is better off.

A: Yes, sure you are much better off.

B: I am much better because if I get five dollars I will spend 
that five dollars and feed myself. *But the businessman is* 
getting nothing now. *When friends (i.e. freedom fighters) 
come you just have to give to them, and if these others 
(i.e. security forces) should also come then you are in* 
serious trouble.

It must also be noted here that slang expressions like *chomi* and 
avoidable adoptives like *shona* are also used by adults. During informal 
encounters older people also use much the same casual greetings where 
what we may call reciprocal - *Hi* relationships obtain, as in:

A: *Hello, sir.*

B: Ah, *hello sir.*

C: Kanjani mhani mukhara?

A: Mdiri raiti. Vakadzi zvako iwe?

A: *Hello, sir.*

B: Ah, *hello sir.*

C: How are you, old man?

A: I am alright. *How are you?*

The last sentence, which is the only proper Shona sentence here, is 
important in that after it the conversation switches into Shona.
The longer discussion which followed this initial exchange showed clearly how topic and addresses may determine code-selection. The above was followed by rapid conversation about generalities in Shona, during which switching was minimal. Both men then switched to English as the younger man (A) started explaining entrance requirements in the Faculty of Medicine at the University of Zimbabwe, comparing them with those required for the B.Sc. Engineering and B.Sc. General degree courses. Suddenly, right in the middle of his talk, A called out to a passing waiter in Shona:

Tipekwe muvura changamire.
(Give us some water, sir).

The conversation then switched back to English.

That topic is important in code-selection or in determining the quantity of switching will become clearer in 12.4 and 12.5. Here it may just be mentioned that some of the favourite topics of mature people such as careers and politics definitely compel them to code-switch more than their juniors. A related matter is the degree of technicality of the subject under discussion. For instance, one radio programme I recorded which was on the theory of continental drift was only nominally Shona because of the amount of switches, adoptives and Anglicisms used.

Finally, one may also get an idea of the relative prestige or lack of prestige the speakers associate with their codes from the way in which they give labels to persons and objects according to whether they respect or despise them. In this connection, the following dialogue, which was recorded at Hatfield Clinic is very interesting. It was between a male clerk (A) and a female nursing assistant (B), both of them young.

---

1. 10 May 1978, Radio Two, 10:15 - 10:30 a.m.
2. 18 September 1979.
A: Vimbai! Nha si ndiri kahopela magnosta.

B: Magetsi?

A: Magolesti! Unosiva mutsauko pakati pema-

visitors nemagnosta here?

B: Nhvs.

A: Magolesti anoyva nemotokari asi mavisitors anoyva nehvasi.

(General laughter)

B: Ndanga aididifangakutiri kureva magetsi chivo chivo.

A: Ndati magolesti. Vaenzi. (Pause) Ko svakaita mumve mudhara?

B: E-e?

A: Hanzi mutsauko woomenzi mavisitor ndewekuti muenzi anoyva

metsoka.

A: Vimbai, today I am expecting some guests.

B: Electricity?

A: Guests! Do you know the difference between visitors and

guests?

A: No.

B: Guests come by car but visitors come by bus.

(General laughter)

B: I thought you actually said electricity.

A: I said guests. Visitors. (Pause). And you know what somebody said?

B: Yes?

A: He said the difference between muenzi (visitor) and a visitor

is that muenzi comes on foot.

In this dialogue A has found a very subtle way of indicating his attitude
respecting the relative prestige of his codes, Shona and English. The
despised visitor who has no car and comes on foot (presumably because he
cannot even afford the bus fare) is referred to by the Shona term muenzi.
The one who can at least afford to come by bus is referred to by
can in English term 

visit, while the one who drives in a car is called the more prestigious title guest. Although the conversation was in English, at the time I was obviously trying to tell a joke, the fact that he succeeded in making people laugh at all is significant. If the same joke had been given the other way round with someone coming by car and the guest coming on foot, it would not have been well received. In fact it would have been no joke at all. This joke does tell us something about attitudes to

English as an H and to Shona as an L. However, there is no evidence to suggest that all, or even most, Shona speakers have more positive attitudes to English than to Shona.

12.4 Meetings

From the point of view of switching the three meetings of the Shona Teaching Association I attended followed much the same pattern. Every speaker at these meetings tried to use only Shona, but with varying degrees of success. Both main speakers and questioners showed a considerable flair for transliteration and 'Shonarization'. When adoptives were used, re-phonologisation was much more consistent than in conversation, although a few people actually used only partially assimilated forms with closed syllables such as /gred, pedi, buku/ where the others actually used /giridi, pedzi, buku/. Code-switched elements were mainly of the isolated type which were embedded in what were basically Shona syntactic structures. Sometimes, however, function words like in and and which are easy enough to replace, were actually used to link two unavoidable switches to produce rather longer switches.

E.g. (i) ... vasati vanyora form four in nineteen eighty (before they write .....)

(ii) ... hunaigiriki uku, grade one and grade two (at the primary school level ...)
Huna (in) and ne- (and) could have been used here.

Much more interesting were the difficulties which the speakers experienced in trying to keep the proceedings Shona, and the efforts they made to achieve the same, especially when they were trying to avoid the more specific or more technical English terms. Often such terms featured in repetitive, translation-type switching, as in

... bumbiro redzvinodzidziswa, syllabus ...

where the English switch is actually offered as an explanation because it is better understood than what precedes it. Sometimes while trying to translate the English terms, a speaker actually produced some Anglicisms in rather too literal translations, as in:

Ndatinisei zvididzo zvedu papfungwa yokutaura

(Let us plan our lessons with emphasis on the spoken language).

Because of the nature of the topics the meetings discussed, every speaker appeared to be experiencing the same problem: translating ideas originally thought out in English.

Also because of the topics involved many of the switches recorded belong to the 'unavoidable' category, e.g. alphabet, symbol, Sub-Committee, Deputy Secretary, Curriculum Development. Others could very well have been avoided but were, for practical reasons, considered best expressed in English, e.g. names of school subjects in

Kuwve wakaita woodwork, metalwork ...

(One has done ... or ...);

where kuvungo and kusona could have been used. Invariably school subjects were referred to in English. The first switch in the following example falls in the same category but the second switch is quite unnecessary:

Zvino iye zvino mava kuti mava kunoisa trial material kuna

name ma-schools.

(Now you are saying you are going to use trial material in certain schools).
Sometimes typically English stretches were included apparently for stylistic effect, particularly emphasis in contrast, as in:

"Time so many secondary school places destitute of kwana."

(we have ..... which we can find.)

Other examples involved interjectives like please or hackneyed English stock-phrases, as in:

"Ini vanu mbvunzo, ladies and gentlemen, uri papronunciation yemasconsants and vowels ... Edime line of thought yokuti."

(My question is on ... of ... My line of thought is ...) sometimes a speaker started off in Shona, got stuck in the middle of a sentence and switched to English to express a specific idea which he had failed to put across in Shona, and then reverted to Shona. The president, commenting on the opening address given by the Education Officer for Shona (Secondary Schools), said:

"Apa muroona huti i- a sort of challenge yatapiwa."

(I think this is ... we have been given.)

Here he must have felt that anything else he could have said could not have conveyed exactly that which is in this switch-phrase.

The procedural aspect of formal meetings also explains some of the switches that were recorded. For example, the secretary introduced her minutes of the previous meeting in English:

"M.G.M. meeting held on first November nineteen seventy nine."

But the minutes she actually read were in Shona. In the text she read the headings and sub-headings (e.g. Terminal Objectives, Rationale, Cultural Element) were given in English but everything else was Shona.

One explanation for this ambivalence is the fact that the conventions followed at meetings are English. This applies to all meetings, even and including political meetings and rallies. Therefore there is always also a need to match English designations in Shona, e.g. for office-bearers."
At the last meeting of the Association I attended an election was held and it was called *sarudzo* (lit: selection). The Chairman (who is also called the President) was called *sachigaro* (lit: owner of the seat) and the vice-chairman was simply called *mutevadzeri wake* (lit: his number two). The secretary was called *munyori* (lit: writer) and the treasurer was called *muhati wehomwe* (lit: holder of the purse). But no Shona equivalent could be found for ordinary committee members and these were just referred to by the English title. During the three meetings many other Shona equivalents were used which in effect may be considered mere Anglicisms.

Among these, the following were noted:

- *munhu ari mucheya* - chairman;
- *svidzidzive* - syllabus;
- *chikoro chikuru* - University;
- *kwamba pepa* - to write or draw up a paper or document;
- *svikoro xremagirede* - primary schools;
- *whiri rerotari* - wheel of fortune;
- *svimichia zvinotora masvi* - tape recorders;
- *chismungo* - resolution.

These coinages, often circumlocutory, represent part of the process of adaptation which Shona is undergoing. The general aim is to handle in Shona those areas previously exclusively handled by English, but even in the equivalents suggested the influence of English is apparent.

12.5 ADVERTISING

12.5.0 GENERAL

Advertising offers a very good example of language which has been adapted for a definite social purpose. Reference here is to commercial consumer advertising aimed at promoting sales of products or services (Leech, 1966, 25). The advertisements actually used are those played on radio during commercial breaks or as part of sponsored programmes.
The advertiser is not really concerned with linguistic niceties. Rather he is more concerned with the forcefulness of a communication and with how wide an appeal that communication is going to have. For his purposes he finds the public-colloquial style most suitable. This is the style which has the widest appeal and for the Shona this is based on what we have already called GS (General Spoken Shona). From advertisements then we get further evidence of the ascendancy or even dominance of the Zemuru dialect on which GS itself is based (see Chapter 8). One way in which radio is promoting GS is through advertisements. For obvious reasons, the mass media must use the form of language which will be acceptable to most speakers. This public-colloquial style is popular, has a collective origin and is addressed to a large audience [Leech, 1966, 73]. The formal-literary style would be inappropriate because it is associated with only limited social groups. The slang-casual style would actually arouse public hostility if attempts were made to promote it on radio, while some (probably many) people would object if resort was made to the use of non-central, regional dialects.

Such dialects are generally "marked" varieties. There is a direct relationship between prestige forms (especially pronunciation prestige) and the perceived quality of a message. The advertiser must be aware that if spoken in non-standard or "marked" varieties, the quality of a communication may be downgraded [Giles and Powesland, 1975, 91]. In our situation, this explains the obvious preference for Zemuru-based GS in advertisements. The general tendency, particularly in Salisbury and surrounding districts, to downgrade certain regional varieties would render those varieties less persuasive in the mass media and therefore less effective in shaping or changing people's attitudes, which is the broad aim of advertising.

In Shona advertisements one also notices the status enjoyed by English.
Generally speaking, Shona advertisements are heavily influenced by English, which language features prominently in adoptives and code-switched elements. One reason for this is that most brand-names of manufactured products are English. A second explanation is that many of the Shona advertisements are not original but merely Shona versions translated directly from English body copy. Even at the semantic level the influence of English remains obvious. At the grammatical level, one expects and finds a high frequency of the same types of clause as would be found in English advertising, viz:

(a) imperative clauses, with emphasis on acquisition (e.g. Tengai) and consumption (e.g. Inval) or use (e.g. Shandisa).

(b) interrogatives used as rhetoric devices, e.g. Uri kunyu kufukutirwa here?

(Are you feeling your stomach distended?)

c) dependent clauses, especially 'if' and 'when' clauses, to isolate the right consumer, e.g. Ipo wakuda mhuri yako, ipe Morolom.

(If you love your family, give them Morolom.)

English advertisements have a rich adjective vocabulary which is augmented by neologisms, compounds and noun phrases with piled-up premodifiers. For these Shona usually finds equivalents in relative clauses because it has only a limited number of adjective stems. Further, the grammar of advertising English is of the disjunctive type, often involving independent use of minor and non-finite clauses. Some of them actually represent elementary communication suggestive of half-formed thoughts rather than concrete lines of argument.

The grammar of advertising Shona is more cursory and the messages more coherent. About the only evidence of disjunctive grammar I found was the independent use of relative clauses. The more elaborate Shona versions come about partly as a result of the translation process and partly because the people need greater explicitness.
A well known feature of advertisements is repetition of brand-name and slogan or catch-phrase. Such repetition, especially in the jingles, is used as a mnemonic device. The motto seems to be to repeat brand-name and slogan until the two become mutual recall stimuli [Leech, 1966, 29]. In the Shona advertisements it appears that sometimes it is felt that memorability or memorisability would be better facilitated by actually using the original English slogan, thereby increasing the amount of code-switching, e.g. in:

(i) Mukaka vakagara vakanakira upenyu hvako. Nanhafi uchiri -

**Mighty good value!**

(Milk has always been good for you. Even now it is still ...).

(ii) ... kubwa kuna ivo magadziri vegoloum, the pure vegetable

**cooking fat.**

(... from the makers of ...).

Indeed code-switching is a very prominent feature of these advertisements.

Before we examine the actual switches, a general criticism may be made here about the general lack of originality in Shona advertisements. The more Shona advertisements I listened to, the more convinced I became that the people employed as Shona copywriters are in fact little more than translators and adapters of English advertising copy. Because originals are always better than imitations, the bilingual probably regards the Shona versions as poorer quality than the English originals. He will find that, as with some new bulletins, sections have to be back-translated into English before they make sense in Shona. In fact one technique the advertisers use is to play both the Shona and the English versions during the same radio programme, hoping perhaps that sooner rather than later the consumer will form automatic associations between the Shona and the English versions, and the product, without actually listening to what is being said. However this may be, the contention being made here is that the common translation-type Shona
advertisement is not quite as effective as the originals would be. Market research would probably confirm this view.

One must also consider that advertisements generally are interruptions to the entertainment for which the consumer has tuned in in the first place and he only listens to them with bored tolerance. Also, since back-translating means extra work for the listener, there is no reason why he should consciously attempt it. Further, translations from English to Shona, although generally dynamic, sometimes tend to be poor literal translations. The Shona renditions will therefore either fail to make sense or somehow offend the listener's linguistic sensibilities, for example, by unwittingly bringing in certain undesirable connotations. For instance, some ten years ago the Gold Star Sugar advertisement which began with a female voice saying

Ndinoda varume vakasimba

(I like strong men)

provoked serious objections from the listeners and was quickly abandoned.

In this line the listener saw implied promiscuity and was not prepared to suffer the embarrassment of listening to it when other people (especially children) were present.

If the Shona copywriter tried more to get away from English advertisements and aimed at producing something more original, he would be much more successful. He should concern himself more with what his words will mean to the Shona listener and worry less about whether he has produced an accurate translation. I am supported in this view by the evidence from the data actually analysed. From the point of view of effective communication, I concluded that those Shona advertisements which are direct appeals and are not translations (e.g. B.7 in Table 1 below) are better quality and must therefore be better received by the consumer. These original Shona advertisements tend to be longer than average and may or may not have jingles, but
what must be remembered is that the potential consumer is in this case generally unsophisticated. He actually appreciates those explanations included in the advertiser's message. Hence the need for more cursive grammar and for a more coherent line of argument than would be used in English advertising.

Word analyses were made of advertisements in three categories A, B, C. In category A are the typical short advertisements carrying no announcement plus or minus a jingle. These advertisements are 15, 30 or 45 seconds long. Word analyses of 13 of them (8½ minutes playing time) yielded 732 words, of which 601 or 82.1 percent were native Shona terms. In categories B and C are sponsored programmes, either very short programmes of between 2 and 5 minutes (B) or full programmes lasting 15 minutes or more (C).

In some of these programmes interviews and music formed the major part and the advertisements proper were played at appropriate intervals. Ignoring the music, the three items in category B yielded a total of 998 words of which 749 or 74.1 percent were native Shona. Category C yielded 1852 words (excluding repeat messages, i.e. some advertisements played more than once in a single programme). Of these 1148 or 60.7 percent were native Shona terms.

Details of the figures are tabulated in Figure 1 below, and summarized in Figures 2 and 3.

From these figures, one conclusion we may draw is that the shorter the advertisements the smaller the non-Shona element (i.e. both adoptives and code-switches). When a great economy of words is exercised and there are no elaborate explanations it seems easier to avoid switches. But when the messages get longer and other contributions in the form of interviews or dialogues are included, the advertisements become more elaborate. Longer explanations are used and often may include lists of items on offer, prices,
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<th>% Adventive/Adjectives</th>
<th>Brand/Other Proper Name</th>
<th>Total Non-ethnic Lexical Items</th>
<th>%</th>
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<td>31</td>
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**Note:**
1. Percentages given to nearest whole number.
2. In B.1 the figures are given for the dialogue only, therefore there is no question of brand names. The only advertisement in this programme was read in English.
3. In C.4 figures are given only for the four commercial breaks, excluding the presenter's introductory jingles and slogans. The figures here represent only the presenter's announcements of items on special offer.
4. In C.6 figures are given only for the interviews, i.e., minus the first jingle ('Have you tried the Frest taste...?') which is in English.
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dates, times, street and telephone addresses which will contain switches in the 'unavoidable' category (see 12.2.2.1). Also the longer-type advertisement of category C tends to shift into the casual-conversational style.

From Figure 2 it will also be noted that about a third of the words used in Shona advertising are non-indigenous. Of this non-Shona element adoptives constitute just between 1/6 and 1/5. Brand-names and other proper names in the 'unavoidable' category account for another 1/4. The rest is English in the form of non-essential code-switches. The adoptive element is quite stable; it remains at about 5½ percent throughout. It is the amount of switching which varies considerably from advertisement to advertisement. The range from our data was 0–70 percent. Within the individual advertisements there is also great variety, with some sections being given almost entirely in English (e.g. price lists in B.3 and B.4). Sometimes there is so much switching and so many adoptives from English one suspects that the aim is to reach a wider listenership while purporting to give the programmes in Shona. Perhaps this is just rationalization on the part of the analyst when, in fact, the advertiser or copywriter does not seriously consider either the amount or the quality of the Shona he uses, as long as what he is trying to offer for sale is made clear enough.

In deciding whether a particular item should be counted as an adoptive or a switch, we will continue to use the same criteria already indicated in 12.2.2. Basically this means looking at the degree of phonological assimilation, although often other things such as changed meaning, English plural suffix / s/ and use of typical English accent as in

Magese akaitwa numaclinics; (Tests which were carried out in clinics)

Choice ine perfume yavuro. (Choice has perfume of love).

will also betray a given word as a switch. Sometimes the switch is introduced by the verb hita, hita, as in
12.5.1 **SHORT ADVERTISEMENTS**

In the short advertisements, the proportion of the non-Shona element is low and actual switching relatively infrequent. But in other ways the dominant influence of English in the Shona-speaking community remains apparent. A number of the short advertisements recorded were not used in the word analysis because they were actually in English. It is common practice at Harare (Radio 2) to use English advertisements during Shona and Ndebele programmes. In fact, cigarette brands are always advertised in English, although one or two advertisements of pipe tobacco are done in Shona.

Sometimes the English advertisement is just read by the duty announcer and it is my distinct impression that the delivery is dull and ineffectual.

The majority of advertisements in this category are 30 seconds long, which is long enough to allow inclusion of short jingles and brief explanations, but not long enough to allow as many adoptives and switches as would feature in the sponsored programmes of Categories B and C. Apparently preferred is the indirect address approach, the general technique being to use alternating voices, usually male and female. The advertisement itself has an 'opening' during which the qualities or uses of the product are explained in principal or indicative clauses. The 'endline' is typically an exhortation to buy, given in imperative clauses, plus or minus repetition of brand-name. The interview technique is also used (e.g. in A.5) in which the potential consumer seeks and is given advice.

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4. Note that A.1 is not really an advertisement in the commercial-consumer sense, being rather an announcement of sponsorship of a Hostess Course by Colgate-Palmolive. It is nominally Shona, but brand-names and other switches account for about half its content.
From the point of view of originality and non-use of adoptives and switches, the best advertisement recorded was A.7 (Royco Usavi) in which the only switch used was the unavoidable brand-name itself. A close second was A.9 (Dairibord Milk) whose slogan, however, has the English slogan 'Mighty good value!' A.7 is much more imaginative and has good idiom. It is because such original advertisements allow for idiom which is typically Shona that they are better quality and linguistically more effective than the more common translation-type advertisements.

Even where the actual message is in Shona, there may still be an indication of the dominant influence of English in the setting and/or in the 'opening'. This is particularly true of A.11 and A.12 (both Close-Up Toothpaste). In A.11, for example, which is set at Borrowdale Race Course, a European male voice making an announcement in English is heard in the background before the Shona dialogue begins. Quite often too the jingle accompanying the dialogue/message is also in English. Often when the words in the jingle are Shona, the melodies used are those of the original English advertisements. Sometimes these words are direct translations, e.g. Ndiyo shaiyo (It's the real thing) in one of the Coke-Cola jingles. Proper English advertisements also feature prominently during the peak listening hours 6 - 8 a.m. and 5 - 6 p.m., during which times many programmes from Radio 2 (Harare) are actually presented in English and advertisements in the three main languages (English, Shona, Ndebele) are played.

12.5.2 SHORT PROGRAMMES

The non-Shona element in this category is greater because the messages tend to be more elaborate and a casual, conversational style is employed. In B.1, for instance, the subject matter (i.e. ingredients and method of cooking) is such that certain adoptives from English become unavoidable, e.g. matomani (tomatoes), hanyanisi (onion), kabeli (cabbage) and moko (pot).
Certain Anglicisms also find their way into the copy, e.g. *kubichi hombo pakati* (medium-sized cabbage) and *svipunu zvepatafura* (tablespoons). In the same advertisement *mbira* and *pate* are used interchangeably but the English slogan *the pure vegetable cooking fat* is preferred after the brand-name Holsum perhaps because an attempt to translate the piled-up premodifiers would not have produced a slogan, but a rather lengthy stretch which, from the advertiser's point of view, would be much less 'loaded'. In the second half of the programme when the presenter explains how contributors of original recipes can win prizes, the dependence on English is reduced to:

(a) two items *pepa* (label, wrapping) and *program* (programmes);

(b) repetition of two brand names (Holsum and Royco Unavi) and the name of the manufacturers (Lever Brothers);

(c) the prize offered, a 'twenty-three piece tea set' for which a direct translation in Shona is impossible;

(d) the address of the competition which is given entirely in English.

Thus from the advertisements as a separate source we get confirmatory evidence respecting types of switches which are avoidable and unavoidable.

Anglicisms are sometimes found in advertising copy but these are more typical of news bulletins, official titles (esp. of V.I.P.s), and other official translations such as public notices and announcements and in newspapers. The main problem with these translations is that they tend to be too literal. For example, a bilingual warning notice outside a home in Umbo Avenue, Mount Pleasant read:

*Dzimba dzino dzakache-negetedzwa namabero (sic.) anorwa*

and

*These premises are protected by Chubb Alarms.*
Compare the following Anglicisms which were used in one news summary:

- nurvi vemusango - guerilla;
- shure - after;
- mutauriri vemapurisa - a police spokesman;
- chombo chinopotsvwa namoko - a hand grenade
- tora matanhe - take steps;
- nemanikidzo - by force;
- masangano enyika dzepasi pose - international organisations.

Although in news bulletins the straight adoptive element is small, the translation often gets so literal that some back-translation into English becomes necessary (cp. van der Kerve, 1975). Another serious flaw is the attempt by the news translator to base his Shona sequences on the original English sentence structures which may indeed have several embedded sentences. There is always the problem of reconciling sense with accuracy of translation. A matter which needs policy decision at the top levels is whether in fact it is not desirable, if the Shona new bulletins are to be more meaningful, to move nearer to the public - colloquial style of advertisements. If this should be done, it must also be decided whether the broadcasting corporation can move towards that style without provoking negative public reaction against 'bad Shona' with too many 'foreign' elements.

In the longer advertisements included as part of short programmes like B.2 the non-Shona element can be anything from minimal to near-total, depending on whether a particular section is just a product-and-price list. In the latter case there is frequent switching to English as brand names come up. These in turn act as switch-words which trigger longer stretches in English during which prices are quoted and quantities are indicated. In segments of B.2 where special offers are announced, more than 90 percent is straight English although Shona syntactic structures are retained by using Shona

5. See Appendix IV(c)
adverbial, possessive and other inflections with the switches, e.g.: 

Faketi rine zipo heta dzath and Basin fifty-seven cents
chete chete.

A packet containing three tablets of Bath and Basin soap,
only fifty-seven cents.

Programme B.3 is unique insofar as the switching involves English, Ndebele and Zungulalo. In the case of English and Ndebele the switches seem intended to reach a wider listenership, and in the case of Zungulalo the switching is cacophemistic. Also cacophemistic is the use of certain dialectal features, e.g. -ndo- in hangumhuma (it smells) which usage provokes giggling. In the dialogue the three women conversants use a disproportionately large number of one-word switches with Shona prefixes and enclitics, e.g.

sweating, public, kitchen, sewing, grocery.

Some of the switches used are short phrases intended as explanations after Shona terms, e.g. 'married quarters' is used after imba yokvakeleka which in the text is distinguished from 'hostel'. Sometimes the code-switch is of the repetitive translation type, as in:

... inini ndikiti heraiti svakanaka, it's all well and good.

... and I said it's alright, it's all well and good.

Sometimes too the individual switch may be explained by the speaker's idiosyncratic preference for a particular English stock phrase, as in:

Vanenda kumabhawa, vechienda kupi kwezvumabhawo,

and so forth.

They go to pubs and many other events like football games
and so forth.

Indeed the idiosyncratic nature of switching is brought out by the fact that, of the three women speakers, the first uses most of the English switches (e.g. ari blind), the second uses most of the Ndebele switches (e.g. A, Tendai

6. Here dinóita is understood.
bakiti), while the third studiously avoids non-Shona forms and where necessary uses fully assimilated adoptive forms, e.g., *zikatani zvika tani* (in cartons, carton by carton). This type of switch may give us an indication about each of the speakers' background and character. Here a parallel may be drawn with Natigimu, Tikana and Samere in Chidzero's novel *Nyengamutswa*, There is a bit of Samere and Tikana in the first woman who sometimes uses only very little Shona, as in this excerpt in which the Shona is underlined:

This results in men telling lies *kuna baisa,* "Baas, eh, lobaba kamina ena ifile," *achinyere.* Next time, "Lobaba kamina ena ifile." *Kumunu vosobvunza kuti, "How many fathers have you got?"*

(Laughter)

*Nuti, "Vana ndibabawuditi," Nuti, "It's my brother's bro – my father's brother, my brother's bro –, and what not."*

This results in men telling lies to the boys. "Boss, eh, my father is dead," he lies. Next time, "My father is dead." The employer then asks, "How many fathers have you got?"

(Laughter).

Then he says, "The other one is my uncle," and he says, "It's my brother's bro –, my father's brother, my brother's bro –, and what not."

In this 44 word stretch she has used only 9 Shona words (about 20 percent). This woman either finds it difficult to sustain a conversation in Shona or perhaps lapses into English to reach a wider audience.

In the entire dialogue the non-Shona element is 34%. Programme B:3 is also an extreme example of the rival influences of the main codes of a multi-lingual society. In fact the non-Shona element for the whole
programme is 39 percent. After the dialogue, the programme is rounded off by:

(a) an English jingle;
(b) an advertisement of Supa Soup which is read in English;
(c) an invitation to the listeners to listen again next time, which is also given in English.

12.3.3 FULL PROGRAMES
C.1 and C.2 are programmes sponsored by and promoting two hotels. No brand-names are involved and the non-Shona element consists mainly of place names and directions. Only four adoptives are used in both programmes:

(i) tape (tape recorder, cassette player) for which there is no equivalent Shona word;
(ii) redhiyo (radio) whose Shona equivalent daimisanganya is imprecise in reference, non-colloquial and therefore unsuitable for advertising;
(iii) mabhendi (bands) which may be translated by the much less precise varidzi vomushamwi;
(iv) program (programme) which is preferred to chirongwa.

The non-Shona element of 27 percent for C.1 and 22 percent for C.2 consists mainly of unavoidable switches intended to facilitate reference to:

(a) Time, e.g.
   Lubvira aguva dua-six machere ano.
   From six o'clock this evening.
(b) Place names and directions, e.g.
   (i) Vefambuzuma Hotel, muna Jambo Road, Section Five.
   Vambuzuma, muno Musiambuzi, vanofuna kukupai rufaro teri paGarden Party.
   The people of Vambuzuma Hotel, in Jambo Road, Section Five, Vambuzuma, right here in Salisbury, are happy to give you pleasure at 'The Garden Party'. 
(Garden Party is a popular name for the same hotel).

(ii) Mandezi kweMatema! Mushandira Pame Hotel, Salisbury
neMarandellas. 7
Let's go to Matema's place! Mushandira Pame Hotel, Salisbury and Marandellas.

(c) Words and phrases with no known equivalents in Shona except via circumlocation, e.g.

(i) Vanokupai room service kana machida.
They give you room service when you want it.

(ii) Tsuzika mbeere garden kweMushandira Pame.
We are now in the beer garden at Mushandira Pame.

(d) Telephone addresses, e.g.

Hongu, varidzire mubhure rwunoti double-two-one-double-two
muny Salisbury. (Yes, give them a ring at double-two-one-double-two
right here in Salisbury.)
Throughout the programmes the presenters use simple public-colloquial style.
There is also an attempt to popularize new coinages such as vavaide (entertainment) and to promote the older ones like mubhure (telephone).

C.3 is a complete contrast, having the highest non-Shona element (71 percent)
of which very little seems avoidable. This consists almost entirely of a
list of cars, their descriptions and prices which Mike Harris Car Sales are
offering for sale. This involves straight code-switching. There is no way,
for example, of referring to automatic transmission or six-cylinder engines
without using the English lexical items, even in adoptive form. In this
type of programme there is also a greater need for adoptives because terms
such as -temga (buy) and mutokari (car), which are already fully integrated
in GS, are used frequently.

7. Marandellas is, of course, Anglicised Marondera.
that we have here is a fifteen-minute programme of songs punctuated by
advertisements of the direct address type which may be divided into three
parts, introduction, body and conclusion. The first and the last are
dramatic announcements by the presenter in more cursive grammar than the
body. In the body, the company salesman read lists of cars available,
using mainly English and the sentence frame:

Make, model + Price.

Sometimes iri kuita (is selling for) is also included, as in:

Nineteen-seventy-four Renault iri kuita two thousand eight
hundred and ninety. 8

Here kune (there is) and dollars in first and last positions respectively
are understood. After the first announcement the remainder may be
introduced by kunguva (and then there is) as an optional element, as in:

Kunguva Datsun twelve 5 hundred iri kuita two thousand two
hundred and ninety.

In the body of this programme the Shona element is in fact only 21 percent
(actually 21 words out of a hundred). In the programme as a whole the
Shona element is only 29 percent (41 words out of 140).

After 6.3, 64 with 63 percent has the second highest non-Shona element.

The word analysis reveals more of an English than a Shona programme. Now
and again the announcer interrupts the music to announce the 'Specials'

Jazz stores are offering, e.g.:

Hetenge one hundred grams galwayn French Coffee nemutenge
wanda fifty cents chete chete. Two k. galwayn self-
raising flour, sixty cents. Carling soap yekugumana,
twenty three cents.

You buy ... of ... at the price of ... only... for bathing ...

8. The Shona elements here are actually the switches and are
therefore underlined.

Even counting the adoptive *ntemba* as a Shona word, there are only five Shona lexical items. The Shona element disappears completely when the same items are announced during the second commercial break:

- Darling soap twenty three cents. *Gloria* self-raising flour two k.g. sixty cents. *Lyons* French Coffee hundred grammes forty cents.

After this he adds:

**Kubva kuna Kinyaway nekuna Cameron.**

*(From Kingway and Cameron.)*

The three jingles used in the programme are in English. The first introduces the announcer 'J.C.J.' who is claimed to be 'everyone's favourite guy'. The second declares that at Jass Stores the customer is always king. The slogan 'where the customer is king' is repeated several times because the second jingle is played several times. A third jingle with the single line 'Jass Store Jass' is played three times, each time after the presenter's announcements of goods and service offered.

(In other programmes for the same stores, the same presenter actually uses a slogan of his own which repeats the words 'King' and 'Jass'. He refers to himself as 'The King of Jass' which, presumably, is intended to convey the message that at Jass you too can become a king like him.)

The subject matter is such that, in addition to the straight switching exemplified above, there is also a high adoptive element (underlined twice), as in:

**Kuna Cameron managaita iye inomsai law-by muchitenga mukeka.**

*nhwachana musti avishona mnerishona.*

At the Cameron branch you can buy furniture on the 'law-by' scheme, and pay little by little.
More often, however, code-switching is deliberately contrived to include a slogan as the end-line, as in:

(i) Swika miya \textit{fanicha yavo nemitenga iyi pasi pasi pamunenge muchitenga grocery kuJazz Stores}} kuna
\textit{Cameron, where the customer is king.}
Come and see their furniture selling at low, low prices then you come to buy your grocery at Jazz Stores in Cameron Street, where the customer is king.

(ii) \textit{Vunzai mapote, mapasi, niro, madhishi, choto chamanusa kushandisaara chimiko kuna Kingway nokuna}
\textit{Cameron, where the customer is king.}
Ladies, pots, pans, plates, dishes\textit{\{basins\}}, any utensil you may want to use is there at Kingway and Cameron, where the customer is king.

In both (i) and (ii) the English street-name \textit{Cameron} triggers off the switch to the English slogan and thereby acts as a switch-word.

C.5 serves as an immediate contrast to C.4 and C.3 because C.5 has no English switches as such, except for the usual trade names and street addresses. There are only five adoptives and the total non-Shona element is 27 percent. The four commercial breaks which interrupt the music are direct address type of advertising in public-colloquial Shona. The first introduces the programme,

\textit{Haye dandaro navegoto} \textit{\{It’s now fun time with Mr Goto.\}}

and the other three contain the actual advertising content.

12.5.3.1 \textbf{BUSINESS TALK}

Paul Mukondo’s programme \textit{Karoi ayezviri yachviri} \textit{10} is unique in commercial-consumer advertising because although there are three advertisements proper which seek to promote the man and his insurance company, most of the programme is \textit{lecture-type business talk}. Superficially it aims to educate
people about insurance and to that extent it may be viewed as a public service. But a closer examination of the programme's content shows that his real intention is just to give the man the publicity he needs in order to sell more policies to more people. The entire programme is designed to portray
him as the expert in insurance business. His appeals to the people are
direct and the entire programme was transcribed and analysed because the
language used was typical of business talk in general.

The fifteen-minute programme is divided into seven segments:

**Segment 1:** First voice promoting the Southampton Assurance Company.

**Segment 2:** Second voice (the presenter) introducing the advertiser/
agent, Paul Mukombo.

**Segment 3:** Second voice announcing the subject of Mukombo's talk
for the day.

**Segment 4:** Second voice promoting Mukombo who, it is claimed,
offers the very best advice on insurance:

YaPaul Mukombo inyanzvi, ishasha mune svema=

**insurances. Zvavanotaura zvinowanzoitika.**

**Zvavanotaura zvinowanobetsera.**

Mr Paul Mukombo is an expert, the best in
insurance. What he says usually happens, What
he says is usually useful.

**Segment 5:** Third voice (Paul Mukombo) and fourth voice
(Arthur Dhlwayo). Mukombo's guest, Dhlwayo, has
been invited to explain why he has decided to revive
his hundred-dollar-premiums policy.

**Segment 6:** Third voice. During this segment, which is
reproduced as Appendix IV, Mukombo talks about
Income Tax Savings; i.e. how to save money by
paying into schemes which will entitle you to higher
rebates. This segment is typical of code-switching
in business talk which always includes both avoidable and unavoidable elements. He talks non-stop for six minutes, during which time he uses 429 words, of which 178 or 41 percent are straight English and 39 or 10 percent are adoptives (mainly from English). The total non-Shona element is therefore just over half (51 percent) of his talk.

**Segment 7:** First Voice, but now speaking in English and promoting the agent (Mukondo) and his company. Business addresses are given, both postal and telephone, after which the presenter switches back to Shona and says:

Vafaul Mukondo vanoti -
(Mr. Paul Mukondo says - )
to which Mukondo himself, in a voice loaded with commercial 'sincerity', adds:

Upanya hwenyu idembudziko romwoyo wangu.
(Your well-being is my genuine concern).

Quite appropriately, the programme ends with the G.I. Success Band's song *Itai Sendi Sendi* (lit: Contribute a - cent - a - person).

Throughout Segment 6, the speaker is slow and deliberate like one giving a sermon but quite impressive. The programme seems quite effective, at least from the point of view of its ability to hold the listener's attention. What is said is of practical value since every taxpayer is always keen to find ways of saving on income tax. But whether the listener will actually go to see the advertiser afterwards is quite a different matter.

All the types of switches outlined in 12.2.2 are represented in this programme, right from unavoidable isolated switches like policy, insurance, statement and P.A.Y.E. (pronounced 'paji') to medium and long stretches. Amounts of money are mentioned several times and these are always given in English. Percentages are given once or twice. So are telephone addresses. Two rather unusual cases of switching need mention here. The first was
Nukondo's tendency to use the English indefinite article with certain isolated switches, e.g.:

(i) ... ndinganana a rebate pamuri iyi

(... I may get a rebate on this money)

(ii) Yana munhu akatora maimurance, maliife Policies,
anokwanisa kwanara an abatement.

(If a person takes Life Insurance policies he can get an abatement).

Most speakers normally drop the English articles when they have to use isolated switches. A second unusual case of switching is done by the presenter when he gives a percentage to indicate that you can always trust Nukondo to give you the right advice:

Yashinji ndingati out of hundred ninety-eight zvinoitika

(98 percent of the things /he says/ happen).

What is unusual here is the use of a second switch to explain an earlier one, 98 percent. A third case, again by the presenter, was a switch back into Shona to explain a single word in a longer English stretch:

Kana kuyenka Paul Nukondo Insurance Services, telephone
seven-o-triple five-nine, seven-o-vanafii vatatu namaint.

(Or just remember Paul Nukondo ...... threeives and a nine.)

The main purpose for the inclusion of the part underlined twice here is to explain the word 'triple'.

What makes a lot of switching unavoidable are the number of technical terms he has to use, e.g. in the following where he is trying to explain 'deductable item':

Kana munhu akasvara mvana one veincome tax vanoti ivo tinokupa item yavanoti deductable item, mara yuunokwanzisa kubwisa pamuri yuunotambira yose pagore, three hundred in eighty four dollars.

11. Pronounced / hwan /.
12. For translations of the examples in the remainder of this paragraph, see Appendix IV(a).
sometimes, however, the switches are easy enough to avoid, as in these two excerpts in which Mukondo purports to be quoting a client:

(i) Ini mhinotambira two hundred dollars asi after deductions
    ndinovane hundred 'n ninety dollars.

(ii) Vana Mukondo mhinotambira two hundred dollars, eh, take home
    hundred and ninety.

No doubt the unnecessary switches here (underlined twice) are brought in for cacophenistic effect, as becomes clear from Mukondo’s next statement:

Jana vachitira take home imve inogorambika home seiko?

Take home ndokuti kufii?

A technique which the speaker uses repeatedly is to use the deficient verb
-ti and its passive -tsi to introduce terms relating to insurance jargon,
as in:

(i) ... yavanoti ivo deductible item
    (what they call ...)

(ii) Muchapihwa mafoma anonzi mIncome Tax Return Forms.
    (You will be given forms called ...)

(iii) ... nerimwe zita rinozi F.A.Y.E., Fag as You Earn.
    (... by another name called ...)

The verb -tsa and its passive -atsa are also used in the same way, as in:

(i) ... pamuri yaruntsa take home
    (... from the money you ...)

(ii) Ndoozumununzwa mumapepapa vachinsizipenjini sithwa
    guarantee overseas.
    (This is what you hear in the newspapers when they say
    pensions have been guaranteed overseas).

In addition to switches, the non-shona element is also augmented by such
recent adoptives as -peya (pay) and peyi (F.A.Y.E.). The speakers in this
programme are also different from the teachers referred to in 12.4 in that they do not make a conscious effort to use Shona throughout. But they still manage to bring in Anglicisms like:

- *ruvimbo* - (financial) security;
- *masimba emari* - assets;
- *kutsigire nemasimba emari* - financial backing;
- * kutenga penjeni* - pension scheme (lit: buying a pension).

Such terms are more typical of speakers with a special interest in language.

This programme confirms our earlier observation that business talk involves considerable switching and our suggestion that everybody talks about money in English, not in Shona. The high non-Shona element in 6.7 is explained more by topic than by idiosyncratic tendencies.

6.6 is a complete contrast to 6.7. Not only is the non-Shona element the smallest in Category C (17 percent, or 10 percent if brand-names and proper names are excluded) but the adoptives used are mostly phonologically assimilated although some may be quite controversial, e.g.:

- *nmambha, ticha, mudhara, -sevenza;*

Names are actually pronounced in SE (see 6.5), e.g. Alexander, Patrick, Martin and Stanley are pronounced /\l'ekz\^{a}nd\r\`{a}, p\^{a}tr\`{e}k, ma\^{t}\'em\^a, s\^i\t\`{e}n\l\^{a}/. The few straight switches used refer to addresses, comprising house and section numbers, as in:

(i) **nine-six-eight, Section Three, Kambuzuma;**

(ii) **two-eight-one, Section One;**

(iii) **pahamba ten fourteen.**

In this programme the presenter interviews residents of Kambuzuma Township. Among other things, he asks them whether they like Krest drinks, and he allows them time to send messages to friends and relatives. This is not
serious or business talk and a free colloquial style is used throughout. The advertising proper is done in English and the jingle 'Have you tried the Frest taste?' is played several times. In the interviews the main linguistic problem seems to be English names for numbers. Actually the interviewees don't try but the interviewer attempts to 'correct' them now and again, as in this exchange:

A: Une makore mangani okuzvarwa, Judith?
B: Ndine eleven.
A: Eleven. Ndomangani neChishona?
B: Gumi nehwa - merime cheza.
A: Gumi nehwa? (laughs)
B: Ehe.

A: How old are you, Judith?
B: Eleven.
A: Eleven. What's that in Shona?
B: Gumi nehwa- merime cheza, (lit: Ten and one)
A: Gumi n'one?
   (laughs)
B: Yes.

The problem experienced by the girl in finding the Shona equivalent for 'eleven' (and other numerals) is not uncommon.

12.5.3.2 ON TOPIC AND AGE

One interesting thing is that, as in 12.2, most of the speakers in programme C.6 are fairly young people. The Shona youth have been accused on numerous occasions of various linguistic crimes, among them actual failure to speak the language properly, 'corrupting' it by bringing in 'foreign' elements, or actually preferring to use English. And the youth seem to have been actually convinced that they are guilty. This is a myth, albeit a popular one. Certainly the more mature Shona speakers generally
use better-formed sentences, less slang and fewer adverbs but they actually use more and longer code-switches than younger people (cp. 12.3).

In general terms the evidence from the data used in this chapter supports this view. The highest non-home element is to be found in the speech of mature Shona speakers discussing what they consider serious topics in a rather semi-formal style, at meetings, during their day-to-day business, then discussing their careers, politics, sport and so on. Sometimes some of them may actually contrive to use high-sounding English switches just to impress at social gatherings. As for code-switching involving 'unnecessary' stretches, the younger speakers are not really the 'culprits'. The youth are, however, easy scape-goats because the subject of their talk is generally mundane or even trivial and because of their preference for the casual-slang style.

Adults seem quite intolerant of the casual-slang style of younger people, partly because they do not understand some of it and partly because they have forgotten about their own slang of yesteryear. They may seriously believe this mutauro usina rdzai (a language without a tradition) is threatening the language as such. But when the adults themselves occasionally slip and use the same slang forms they rationalise and claim they are just imitating their youth in order to divert. Or when, as is more frequent they lapse into English every now and then they can always claim that in certain situations alternation between codes is quite appropriate. But similar code-switching by younger speakers is not well received. The younger speakers' offence is not so much lack of respect for the mother tongue as public use of more intimate keys in their speech. The older people have lost interest in slang, which is always transient anyway. They find its use by younger people becomes even more offensive because it is essentially a private code which is fully understood and appreciated only by the peer group.

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If the quantity of code-switches and other non-indigenous forms in Shona speech is taken as a measure of its dependence on at least one other language in a contact situation, the data used in this Chapter can be graded along a scale or continuum of dependence. At one extreme and where the adoptive and code-switched elements are minimal we have literary Shona. Here any code-switches used are clearly of the unavoidable type and lexical adoptions are necessary. Normally an attempt is always made to use integrated or at least phonologically assimilated forms. This literary Shona is normally realized only in the written medium. Public speakers emulate it with varying degrees of success. From the point of view of consistency the literary style seems to be put to best effect in religious sermons. In political speeches often the subject matter inhibits full exploitation of this style. Of those political speeches I listened to during the research stage of this thesis, only one by Chief Jeremiah Chirau 14 can be properly placed in this category. Speakers at other meetings or functions (cp.12.4) may be quite unsuccessful.

At the other extreme we have what may be called inter-language Shona (cp. Chapter 8) which has a high non-indigenous lexical element and involves considerable code-switching. In this category are our Shona advertisements. Not far behind along the scale would be our data from the Shona Teaching Association's meetings, in spite of the efforts made by members to keep the proceedings Shona. The problem here is subject technicality and a tacit acceptance of the appropriateness of code-switching on such situations. An indirect result of attempts to indigenize is the occurrence of Anglicisms.

In the middle of these two extremes is Conversational Shona containing varying amounts of non-indigenous elements, depending on occasion, topic and effort or lack of effort made to avoid switching and to indigenize.

All the types of data analysed can be placed along five points of the dependence continuum as follows:


These may be reduced to three points:

Literary Shona → Conversational Shona → Inter-language Shona.

An even broader binary opposition would be:

Formal - Literary Style → Casual-slang style

Positions 2 and 4 may be reversed when one considers only the code-switched elements as non-indigenous and ignores lexical adoption. None of the forms 1 to 5 is 'pure' in the sense of being free from influence by other languages. Even the material in ngano (folk tales) was found to contain at least some adoptives and the odd Anglicism. A case in point is the story 'Chishiri Chaiinzii Chinyamungune' in Ngano Volume edited by G. Fortune in which such words as bhoze ( < boat) were used.

12.7 DISCUSSION

Reasons for the use of individual switches can always be suggested but their actual occurrence is quite unpredictable. It is, therefore, quite impossible to arrive at rules that describe patterns of code-switching. Sometimes it is even difficult to decide what language is actually being used at a specific point although we are always vaguely aware we are using both Shona and English. From a purely theoretical point of view it may be argued that as long as the languages of the bilingual are viewed as being discrete, and as long as we think in terms of the mutual impact or bidirectional transfer of elements, we will fail to give a proper account.

15. cp. Appendix IV(b).
of the bilingual's behaviour. Pursuing this line of argument one could perhaps postulate an inter-language, which is a form of linguistic behaviour that should be described in its own right (Glyde, 1967; Selinker, 1972).

My main criticism of this theoretical stand is that you cannot describe an inter-language except in terms of a process in which reference must be made to the languages of the bilingual in some contact situation. It is conceded that diffusion may become thorough and that the bilingual may exhibit linguistic behaviour which may be described in terms of its own rules. But that behaviour and that inter-language will remain analytically separable into two languages. It is all very well to say that the standpoint of having two languages is unrealistic, and to suggest that the researcher should just go out and look at language variation as behaviour, but one must find some framework within which one will describe that variation. It is in this connection that it seems convenient to retain the concept of analytically separable languages.

Code-switching is complex behaviour and the linguistic output is quite untidy. There is no evidence of the existence in the Shona speech community of the ideal bilingual who uses only one of his languages at a time, but never both in the same sentence (cop. Weinreich, 1953). This sort of switching is possible in such situations as job interviews, but then this is transactional switching. More typically, there is always so much freedom and flexibility that our languages, as codes, may cease to be role-related and role-defining because there will always be a greater or lesser amount of switching in most role-relationships and on most occasions, that would seem most fruitful is quantitative analysis of switching in specific texts. This would reveal what topics, what role-relationships, what occasions will allow relatively more or relatively less code-switching and by what class of speakers (e.g. age groups). Quantity may also be related to Hymes' situational components of speech (Hymes, 1968, and
Bell, 1976, 79-81, and to standard of education and proficiency in
English. Perhaps this is the furthest we can go but the question is not
when to expect a switch since there is so much flexibility within one's
bundle of codes as the overall repertoire. Hence the need for the broad
and permissive definition of code we started with in 12.0. Any, or all of
the speaker's codes may be involved, as long as there is the assumption of
substantially shared repertoires (Bell, 1976, 117).

The data used shows that in terms of grammatical formulation, it is always
possible to say that a speaker is using Shona or English sentences, but at
any point in those sentences the bilingual speaker will use elements from
either of his languages. (Actually the speech is always predominantly Shona
and in 11.4.3 we actually suggested that even the highly educated speakers
prefer Shona in most situations). In very superficial terms it is possible
to state the general linguistic environment for code-switching. Switching
is always possible there, for all practical purposes, the Shona and the
English structures are syntactically equivalent. Where there is lack of
total syntactic equivalence, congruence is still maintained in that portion
which falls under the actual switch; so that whereas the portion of the code-
switched utterance which comes before the switch may indeed contain syntact-
ically divergent elements, these portions coming after the beginning of the
switch must be essentially identical syntactically (Lipski, 1978, 258).
If one ignores isolated switches, it seems the general tendency is for a
sentence to begin in one language and to switch only once and end in another
language. Lipski has suggested that immediately preceding a code-switch,
there occurs a brief moment of anticipation during which, at some subliminal
level, the basic structures of the remaining portions of the sentences in the
two languages are compared and tested for congruence. "The overall motivation
behind such a comparison seems to be the achievement of a unified superficial
syntactic pattern, regardless of the linguistic code in which individual
elements are represented." (Lipski, 1978, 262).
What is needed for Shona is a more systematic search to establish more
definite linguistic environments for code-switching, plus any intra- and
inter-linguistic constraints on both intra- and inter-sentential switching.
This would need grammatical analysis of a large corpus containing code-
switched elements, both isolated and longer stretches. Eventually the
analyst might hope to arrive at definite rules and to posit the impossibility
or unlikelihood of particular types of code-switched expressions — word types,
phrase types, and clause or sentence types. It is just possible the
researcher might be able to establish grammatical patterns involving code-
switching and then indicate prohibited expressions in terms of these patterns.

We have already suggested that a quantitative analysis of switching would
be more fruitful because the individual switches are unpredictable. What
makes the occurrence of individual switches so difficult to predict is that
code-switching is largely idiosyncratic. Since the role of idiosyncratic
factors seems to be such an important aspect of code-switching [Lipski,
1978], it would probably need applications of psycholinguistics to determine
any factors at all. It seems that endogenous factors are also important in
determining speech choices: the speaker's physiological and emotional
states may predispose him to make particular selections from his repertoire
[Giles and Poyesland, 1975, 119].

Quantitative analysis can also be related to exogenous factors, i.e., those
factors which are external to the speaker but are present or relevant in the
immediate social situation: general context, and the purpose of a
communication; the degree of privacy; the key or style used; the participants
and the topic itself. The topic itself has a number of aspects to it [Giles
and Poyesland, 1975, 122-7]. There is the question of topic salience. One
would expect, for instance, that the more relevant a topic is to Shona life,
the less the amount of switching into English and the smaller the non-Shona
element generally (i.e., even including adoptives). One may also consider
the level of abstraction and degree of technicality of the topic, plus such interpersonal aspects as how much the speaker thinks the listener knows about the subject. It may also be felt that certain topics are somehow handled better or more appropriately in one language than in another.

Fishman, 1972 (b), 17. Some evidence of this was found in our data from meetings of the Shona Teaching Association. Speakers may acquire the habit of speaking about a given topic in English because:

(a) that is the language in which they were trained to deal with the topic;

(b) they (the speakers) may lack the necessary specialized terms;

(c) the language (Shona) may lack as exact or as many terms for handling the topic.

Usually all three factors are operating and the preference for English shows itself in the numerous adoptive and switch statements. It is not really a question of speakers avoiding a language because it is considered strange or inappropriate to discuss a particular topic in that language. In any case the sentences used are at least nominally (i.e. syntactically) Shona. A serious attempt may actually be made to use as much Shona as possible. The influence of English is mainly lexical, less often phonological, and more rarely grammatical.

There is also the question of emotionality, i.e. whether the topic is anxiety-loaded and whether the speaker gets so emotionally involved that he just lets himself go without any self-monitoring of his speech. Also, one topic may be considered serious while another is considered humorous, and if the latter some of the switching may be merely tactful. The supposed humourousness of a topic may constitute a linguistic choice determinant [Gumperz, 1972]. 'Serious' topics (e.g. promotions and salaries) may elicit a switch from Shona to English even when the group members may be friends and the gathering informal.
From the students' responses in 9.9.3.1, it is clear that even where the occasion is non-formal, 'slips' into English may be frequent.

The difficulty in trying to explain code-switches is well known:

'Multi-code situations often appear to be marked by frequent and rapid switching which, to put it bluntly, defies explanation, if, by explanation one means accounting for every switch.' [Lyskoff, 1972, 36.]

The explanations that can be offered are rather rationalizations after the event. In general terms, we can go along with Rayfield and say that code-switching is used mainly as a rhetorical device and in accordance with the more subtle changes in circumstance. The bilingual has a double lexicon, an almost double stock of rhetorical devices, and he takes full advantage of them. 'to emphasize and dramatize his speech.' [Rayfield, 1970, 58.] In this way the bilingual will more than compensate for any lack of expressiveness due to his unfamiliarity with the full rhetorical devices of either of his languages. However, Rayfield's other suggestion that the patterns of switching are quite regular is not supported by our data.

Such rationalization as the analyst may make is only possible because he will have an overview of the full text, but there is always the possibility that he is seeing logical explanations for the speaker's shift where in fact there are none. Perhaps it would be more truthful to say that under pressure of extempore speech, the bilingual will switch back and forth between his codes quite erratically. Anyway, by way of rationalizing after the speech event, the analyst can, from his advantageous position, suggest two very general explanations for the bilingual's switches: (a) switching as a rhetorical device, and (b) switching in response to the immediate social and speech situation.
As a rhetorical device code-switching actually increases communicative competence. Switches may be used to emphasize or add colour to speech by repeating a statement in two languages. Emphasis of a contrast may also be achieved by giving the second clause (i.e. the contrast) in another language. Such switches are often triggered off by conjunctives like but, yet, since, still. It is possible to construct a whole string of switches indicating a sort of argument in monologue. A switch may also be used to make a parenthetic remark where a phrase or clause is set off for emphasis. Switches are also used for statements or remarks which the hearer might not expect. Some of the switches and adoptives are actually swear words which do not translate well or which the speaker just fancies (e.g. bhuratimurung, shit, futafta). Of course adoptives and switch-words may also be used with euphemistic effect instead of certain taboo words or topics such as sex and the excretory functions of the human body.

Speakers may also resort to switching in response to the immediate situation. A subordinate bilingual might wish to turn the conversation to the language in which he is more proficient. A particular language may be preferred at the initiation or termination stages of the encounter. Quite often when people meet, they exchange greetings in English, converse in Shona and then say goodbye in English. A switch may sometimes be a direct quotation attributed to a third party. Switching can also be stimulated or triggered by an adoptive which, although accepted in Shona and phonologically assimilated, nevertheless triggers the switch. Finally, one speaker may switch into another language when the conversation turns to a topic he associates with that particular language.
CHAPTER THIRTEEN

CONCLUSION

This study may be regarded as a preliminary survey for Shona, which, I hope, will be followed by sustained research into the various related aspects of the national language situation before Government makes decisions on language policy. Research is particularly necessary into the following areas which must be considered as factors in the choice of a national language (cp. Le Page, 1964, ch. v):

(a) the demography and sociology of the languages involved;
(b) the past history of the linguistic situation;
(c) the political, social and economic situation in the country where this might affect language policy and its implementation;
(d) the present organisation and structure of the educational system in relation existing linguistic factors;
(e) the cost of implementing changes in the educational system, and in the administrative, commercial and other spheres;
(f) the comparative structures of the languages involved as described scientifically by linguistics and the processes of change operating in them, resulting both from dialectal diversification and from contact with other languages.

My contribution in this study is in area (f). If drastic changes are envisaged, Government must decide how ruthless it is prepared to be in implementing its decisions. My own suggestion would be to opt for decisions which do not run counter to the evolutionary linguistic changes currently taking place in the country.

As for the language researched into here, Shona, perhaps this study offers more description than explanation. It also indicates problem areas which need attention from chapter to chapter. It is no use, for example,

\[440\]
for Government to make quick decisions "for political reasons which may seem valid at one moment but may have lost much of their force ten years later" (Le Page, 1964, 80)

Further to those problems already indicated in the preceding chapters, still many more sociolinguistic questions need to be researched into. For example, when patterns of co-variation between speech and social variables have been established, to what extent can they be used as indicators of social change? It is tempting, for example, to associate semantic change with social change; loss of a semantic component means loss of a social distinction; change in a semantic component means change in social ranking.

In the area of education, what should be the government's policy on standardization within the main languages? To what extent does or should the education system accommodate linguistic differences? Are non-standard dialect speakers (e.g. Kalanga and Nambiya) disadvantaged because of an unfair precondition; that they are required to learn a "new" language (i.e. a different code) before they can cope with formal education? Are the non-European vernacular speakers (e.g. the Shona) disadvantaged because of the same unfair precondition vis-a-vis English? How can the differences of the African majority be accommodated in multiracial (previously whites-only) schools? What is preferred in these situations: is it compensatory education in the form of special second language teaching to raise proficiency levels to approximate those of mother-tongue speakers, or is it emancipation of freedom for each group to use its own variety as a medium of instruction?

A very important observation which must be made here is that there is a new, general sociopolitical awareness which has come via the liberation struggle and political independence. This awareness has removed tendencies towards negative self-evaluation even at the level of the dialect among the Shona. The people generally expect independence to bring about some form of campaign for general cultural revival. But, as far as I could determine, nobody holds negative

440c/........
attitudes towards English. Some Shona speakers may even advocate systematic adoption from English in the process of elaborating Shona in the technical and scientific fields rather than opt for conscious coinage of "authentic" equivalents. In the main body of this dissertation I have already explained why such indigenous coinages fail to take over the content of the adoptive forms, particularly where these refer to objects or concepts introduced via English. Further, the speakers, both old and young, both rural and urban, have developed as part of their communicative skills, certain linguistic and paralinguistic habits that are foreign in origin but nevertheless real. They may deplore this state of affairs, as indeed many of my informants did, but they will not abandon their acquired habits. I have also found that while most parents insist that their children use Shona at home, the children learn many of their adoptives (and some slang!) from their parents, at home, even before they reach school-going age. I concluded that attitudes to language are more varied than speech habits and the individual's sense of language loyalty is not matched by an effort to adhere to strictly authentic forms, sometimes even where equivalents are available. Indeed attitudes to language are easier to change than established speech habits.

This being the position, I feel that the language planner must not get impatient with the ordinary speakers whose total verbal output in fact reflect the natural direction of development for their language. The planner cannot expect to see dramatic changes in linguistic behaviour within his own generation, except perhaps on public platforms where prepared speeches may be used. He must not make too many simultaneous demands on the ordinary speaker in a situation where bilingualism is a must. He needs a certain detached but sympathetic understanding of the bilingual's problems. More importantly he must not take it for granted that the ordinary speaker will adopt a vocabulary or idiom coined by a committee or language academy, listed in "A Dictionary of Modern
Terminology*, and promoted in books, newspapers, and on the radio and television (op. Ngarare, 1977, Ch. 10, Recommendation 3, esp. pp. 306 – 8) The planner must understand and respect the speaker’s acquired repertoire, and for this preliminary research of the kind undertaken here is vital. If the current state of the language is not fully appreciated because of insufficient knowledge or if it is simply rejected because it is not wholly authentic, and if policy is rushed, the speakers may actually find their ability to communicate in Shona reduced rather than increased.

Of course, there is need to elaborate and modernize the language(s) of the majority so that our national education system can fulfil two important tasks: (a) to establish cultural homogeneity and a common sense of identity among the entire population; and (b) to fulfill an economic function, viz: facilitating national development. These tasks may not be easy to reconcile with the ideals of educationists when deciding upon the medium of instruction to be used. Further, if a vernacular language must be promoted to the status of national official language, it needs lexical up-dating or elaboration as an on-going process. Such a language must be brought up-to-date in advanced literature and specialized vocabulary if it is to become fully viable as a national language. This up-dating must not be based on some misguided policy of "language purity". In Zimbabwe we would do well to note Le Page’s observation that:

"nearly all languages have at one time or another had to borrow large numbers of words, in order to handle new concepts introduced by contact with other societies, or by their own discoveries." (Le Page, 1964, 51).

There is no need to be emotional or alarmed about harmful external influences on the mother-tongue because, as I have tried to show in this...
study, these influences are actually operating with positive effect at the lexical level. The basic structures of the language are left intact. Our bilingualism is not replaceive. There is no possibility of Shona becoming extinct.
Findura mibvunzo yose.

CHIKHU 1

(Zvichakubatsira kuti upedze avo imwe chete pachikamwino.)

1. Sarudza musoro (topic) mumwe chete chete kubva pane iyi inotevera. Zvino chinyora neCHISHONA kombozisheni, kana tsamba, kana hurukuro ine mapeji anokwanza matatu.

(a) Kanhu kudzii aunovanza kuda kuverenga? Tsanganura zvikonzoro zvinokuita kuti uado.

(b) Tsanganura kuti mvuka (seasons) yegore inoita kuti mabasa nemitambo zvaitinoita munyika muno zvisiyane-siyane zvakadzii?

(c) Vakomana navasikana vangasvipire nemitoo ipi kubatsira vanwe vanhu pasina kubhadharwa muripo.

(d) Natha kwaunobva, kwaumoenda usiku.

(e) Vjesi.

(f) Nyora tsamba kune mukuru wezvikoro uchimwa zvaunofunga kuti zvingabatsire mukudzidziswa kwerurimi rechishona muvnikoro zvosekondari kupfura zvisi mukita iye zvino.

(g) Nyora kahurukuro pakati pent'anga navabereki vemwana ari kurwara xuywa xaye kuzorapwa.

(h) Nyora kahurukuro pakati pasibuya nemuzukurusikana vavo vachitaora pamusoro pezvinhu zvava kushandiswa nevanhu kudzii kuti vachene, senzakaita mavigi nemafuta umbo.

(i) Kabiro avo kuita mbavha munyika muno.

(j) Nyora rungovo rungutsange nemasvi anoti:

"Mumwe musi mameru ndakagara zvangu pachigaro mumba medu ndakazora, ndakoswa kugogozi paogoni (pačimba). Zvandakavhura gonhi ndakaona kakomana kadiki kaire pamusoro (pasukova)........."

(50 marks)
**APPENDIX 1(b)**: The total adaptive vocabulary list from compositions written by 526 C-level candidates.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LEXICAL ITEM</th>
<th>TIME PATTERN</th>
<th>CATEGORY</th>
<th>VARIANTS</th>
<th>SOURCE LANGUAGE</th>
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1. **L**: bump, v.i. cf. Bhanosha. **E**: bump, which has the variants Bhanosha, Bhanosha, Bhanosha.
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<th>variants</th>
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<td>A</td>
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1. Items marked with an asterisk are codings which may be indigenous or may have nontraditional elements. These have been included for comparison.
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3. Described in the Standard Shona Dictionary by Hassen as 'adj. 5 & 9' but used as a noun in data collected.
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**Note:** The table contains a list of terms in various languages with their corresponding glosses and English translations. The table is divided into columns for Language, Tone Pattern, Category, Variants, Source Language, and Gloss, with additional columns for English Equivalent.
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5. The plural form muphoni (policemen) is commonly used, and was used in the data, to refer to 'the police force'.

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<td>A</td>
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<td>LB 5 5</td>
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<td>E</td>
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<td>dona</td>
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<td>vt</td>
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<td>dona</td>
<td>HLL n 9 j</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>Truth, certainty, sincerely</td>
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<td>E</td>
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<td>E</td>
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<td>–</td>
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<td>–</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>Soap</td>
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<td>E</td>
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<td>Sister</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Statement (esp. made to police)</td>
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<td>sit</td>
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<td>E</td>
<td>Seat (esp. of car)</td>
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<td>shembindi 6</td>
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<td>sitombindi</td>
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<tr>
<td>ene</td>
<td>nia</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>Like this, in this manner. (esp. in-dariga)</td>
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<td>ahi</td>
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<td>E</td>
<td>Seats</td>
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<td>masi 6</td>
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<td>–</td>
<td>E</td>
<td>Half-pair of socks or stockings</td>
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4. Commonly used in the plural form, masi and masi.

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<th>Variant(s)</th>
<th>Source Language</th>
<th>Gloss</th>
<th>First Keyboard</th>
<th>(Number of Candidates per Context)</th>
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<td>LRL</td>
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<td>S</td>
<td>Revolver</td>
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<td>Wash</td>
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<td>Wire</td>
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<td>S</td>
<td>Urine</td>
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<td>S</td>
<td>Vîg</td>
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<td>Seme</td>
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<td>LL</td>
<td>m 5</td>
<td>Chingya</td>
<td>Sg</td>
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APPENDIX II (a)

RECOLLECTION TEST

AND

QUESTIONNAIRE I

GENERAL INSTRUCTIONS

Please complete the questionnaire on your own. You may seek clarification of instructions as set out in the questionnaire, but please do not ask anyone else how he/she would answer any given question.

Please give honest answers, particularly in the 'Reason' columns. Not just write what you think would be the popular thing to say. The purpose of the whole exercise is not to seek out the "fashionable" and "squares". Neither is it to seek out the "pure" and the "impure" ama speakers. In fact, where you wish to state something (e.g. a reason for a particular preference) you may use English, Shona or slang it suits you – or even switch back and forth between these language varieties.

Please do not feel obliged to fill in all the spaces provided in columns. If you cannot think of an answer, say to question X, odd wild guesses. If you find you are leaving many blanks where you see no answer to offer, do not get alarmed as long as you attempt all questions for all the word groups.
**INSTRUCTIONS**

Columns (a), (b), etc. correspond to the numbers of the questions that follow each group of words as given (Group A, Group B, etc.).

Please indicate your answers in the appropriate spaces provided. Where no answer is offered indicate by a (–) in the appropriate space. Please do not consult a dictionary.

**EXAMPLES** (Questions as on next page)

**GROUP A:**

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<th>(a) Yes/No</th>
<th>(b) Foreign Language</th>
<th>(c) Equivalent ('Two')</th>
<th>(d) One/Two</th>
<th>(e) Reason</th>
<th>(f) Indicate number; e.g. (iii)</th>
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<td>Yes</td>
<td>–</td>
<td>Kudzvarya</td>
<td>Two</td>
<td>I don't like the sound 'kudyara';</td>
<td>(v)</td>
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<td>Poriji</td>
<td>No</td>
<td>English</td>
<td>bota</td>
<td>One</td>
<td>All my friends use 1.</td>
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<td>Equivalent 'ONE'</td>
<td>(a) Yes/No</td>
<td>(b) Foreign Language</td>
<td>(c) Equivalent 'TWO'</td>
<td>(d) One/Two</td>
<td>(e) Reason (if any)</td>
<td>(f) Indicate No. e.g. (iii)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 fodya</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Questions

(a) Do you think the word given is an original Shona term or not? ('Yes'/ 'No')

(b) If not, from which foreign language do you think it was borrowed? ('Foreign language')

(c) Can you suggest another word which means the same thing in Shona? ('Equivalent')

(d) Which of the two do you use more often? ('One/Two')

(e) Why? ('Reason')

(f) Fodya is pronounced differently by different speakers. Which of the following spellings is the most accurate representation of your own pronunciation of the word:

   (i) folha
   (ii) folha
   (iii) folha
   (iv) folha
   (v) folha
   (vi) folha
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Equivalent 'ONE'</th>
<th>(a) Yes/No</th>
<th>(b) Foreign Language</th>
<th>(c) Equivalent 'TWO'</th>
<th>(d) One/Two</th>
<th>(e) Reason (if any)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 chinja</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 fakasa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 mariro</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 bhonso</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 padhuse</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 chepfu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 susupenzi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(sisipenzi)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 sitabhu</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 bhudhi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 hure</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</table>

Questions
(a) to (e) exactly as for Group A.
Note that (f) is left out here.
### GROUP C:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Equivalent 'ONE'</th>
<th>(a) 'TWO'</th>
<th>(b) ONE/TWO</th>
<th>(c) REASON</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>bhazi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>soba</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>penjeni</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ticha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nesi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>purakitsi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>reza</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>rin'i (ringi)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>wachi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>redheyo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Questions

The words 1 - 10 above have all been borrowed from English.

(a) In each case give an original Shona word with the same meaning. If you cannot think of one just indicate by a dash (--) but please do not use a dictionary.

(b) Where you have given an equivalent Shona term, indicate which word you use more often. (One/Two).

(c) Why? (REASON)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Equivalent 'ONE'</th>
<th>(a) Yes/No</th>
<th>(b) Foreign Language</th>
<th>(c) Equivalent 'TWO'</th>
<th>(d) ONE/TWO</th>
<th>(e) REASON</th>
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<td>2</td>
<td>Hangurwa</td>
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<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Runsinai</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>Chipfudzo</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Chiisambo</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>Chionioni</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Mdanda</td>
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<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Ndandi)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>Runhare</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Muchinjikwa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Muchinjiko)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>Zhimura</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(Zhimudza)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Questions:**

(a) Do you think the word is an original Shona term or not? (Yes/No)

(b) If not, from what language do you think it was borrowed? (Foreign Language)

(c) Give another word which you could use in its place, either a borrowed word or an original Shona term if you can think of one. (Equivalent)

(d) Where a synonym has been given, indicate which word you use more often. (One/Two)

(e) Why? (REASON)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Equivalent</th>
<th>(a) Yes/No</th>
<th>(b) Foreign Language</th>
<th>(c) Equivalent</th>
<th>(d) One/Two</th>
<th>(e) Reason</th>
</tr>
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<tr>
<td>2 chingwa</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 masamba</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 rokwe</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 mari</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 bhadinara</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 bhava</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 bara (bullet)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 chikerema</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 sevenza</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11 bwakacha</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12 bweza</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13 muchini</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 ndege</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15 njanji</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Questions:
(a) Do you think the word is an original Shona term or not? (Yes/No)
(b) If not, from which language do you think it was borrowed? (Foreign Language)
(c) Where you indicated a word as having been borrowed from somewhere else, suggest a synonym for that word which is not derived from a foreign language. (Equivalent)
(d) Where you have an equivalent in (c), indicate which word you use more often. (One/Two)
(e) Why? (Reason for your choice in (d), where applicable).
GROUP F1

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Equivalent 'ONE'</th>
<th>(a) Yes/No</th>
<th>(b) Foreign Language</th>
<th>(c) Equivalent 'TWO'</th>
<th>(d) One/Two</th>
<th>(e) REASON</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
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<td>1 soseji</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 poriyo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3 whiri</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4 robhoti</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 awa (hour)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6 tai (neck-tie)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7 wigi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 dhiaiko</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9 shabbin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10 dmuku</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Questions:
Exactly as for GROUP E.
### Questions:

1. The words in GROUP G are derived from a variety of languages. For each word indicate:

   (a) the language from which you think it was borrowed (Foreign Language)

   (b) how often you use it in speech (Often/seldom/never)

**II.** For words 1 - 10 as a group give one answer to each of the following questions:

   (c) What is your general attitude to the use of these words and others like them? Indicate your answer as follows:

   - "FOR" - if you feel you would encourage their general use in Shona;
   - "AGAINST" - if you feel you would discourage their general use in Shona;
   - "INDIFFERENT" - if you don't care either way.

   (d) Give a reason for your answer to (c). You may use the whole of column (d) to explain your general attitude.
APPENDIX II (b)

Performance of Non-Student Informants in Recollection Test.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CODE NAME</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
<th>D</th>
<th>E</th>
<th>F</th>
<th>G</th>
<th>TOTAL SCORE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mr. 0.1</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss 0.2</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss 0.3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. 0.4</td>
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<td>26</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>88</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss 0.5</td>
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<td>17</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
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<td>74</td>
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<td>22</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9</td>
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<td>17</td>
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<td>85</td>
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<td>Mrs. 0.8</td>
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<td>16</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>98</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. 0.9</td>
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<td>24</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
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<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>4</td>
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<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>46</td>
</tr>
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<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. 0.13</td>
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<td>21</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>19</td>
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</table>

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APPENDIX II(b)

Notes:
1. 'Special Case'.
   Miss 0.11. From affluent and rather sophisticated business family.
   Attended multiracial school but not highly educated. Speaks Shona
   alright but poor literacy in Shona. Needed assistance in reading
   some of the examples and in spelling equivalents offered.
   Claimed she had never heard many of the words but had no problems
   with Lists G and F. Registered Lowest Score.

2. Highest Scores.
   a) Mr. 0.9 and Mrs. 0.8
      Husband and wife. Have worked in various parts of Zimbabwe
      and in South Africa and Zambia. Between them can speak
      English, Ndebele/Zulu, Fanigalo, Bemba, and Shona.
      Husband also has some knowledge of Afrikaans and
      Swahili. Discussed some of their answers.

   b) Mr. 0.11. A graduate of the University of Zimbabwe. Has
      been teaching Shona at Secondary School and Teachers'
      College for twelve years.

   c) Mrs. 0.10. A housewife.
### APPENDIX II(c)

**Performance of Student Informants in Recollection Test.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CODE NAME</th>
<th>SCORE FOR TYPE-WORD LIST</th>
<th>TOTAL SCORE</th>
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<td></td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
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<tr>
<td>Miss S.1</td>
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<td>Miss S.2</td>
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<td>Miss S.4</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. S.20</td>
<td>RETURNED QUESTIONNAIRE NOT UsABLE</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. S.22</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>18</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mr. S.22</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mr. S.23</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POSSIBLE SCORE</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
General conclusion from Appendices II(b) and II(c):
The intellectual, as represented by our 'S' data, has greater
language loyalty but less knowledge of the PL than the ordinary
speaker, as represented by our 'O' data.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>60</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>b</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>64</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>c</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>67</td>
<td>68</td>
<td>d</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>f</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>h</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Recommends Test Group: v

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69-99</td>
<td>70-101</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>q</td>
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</table>

Recommends Test Group: l

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</tr>
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<td>47</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69-99</td>
<td>70-101</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>l</td>
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<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>q</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Recommends Test Group: l

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69-99</td>
<td>70-101</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
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<td>n</td>
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<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>o</td>
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<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>q</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Recommends Test Group: l

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69-99</td>
<td>70-101</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>q</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Recommends Test Group: l

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Score</th>
<th>Group</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>46</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>57</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>69-99</td>
<td>70-101</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>72</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>75</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>78</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>81</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84</td>
<td>85</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>q</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Recommends Test Group: l
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>0-20</th>
<th>20-60</th>
<th>60-80</th>
<th>80-100</th>
<th>100</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>75</td>
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<tr>
<td>20</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
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<td>50</td>
<td>65</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<td>60</td>
<td>80</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>70</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>80</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** The table represents the percentage distribution of scores within different ranges. The ranges are from 0-20, 20-60, 60-80, 80-100, and 100, with corresponding percentages for each range.
### FACTORS FOR LEXICAL ADOPTION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>FACTOR</th>
<th>'O'</th>
<th></th>
<th>'S'</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Times Recorded</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>Times Recorded</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Familiarity</td>
<td>105</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>48</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Necessity</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semantic</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnicity</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pronunciation</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aesthetic</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>209</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>241</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Notes:**

1) 'O' pattern reshuffled in 'S' by
   a) increased importance of 'ethnicity'; and
   b) the decline in importance of 'semantic'.

2) Other factors relatively stable except that aesthetic recorded NIL in 'S'.

3) Average for both 'S' and 'O' was 10-11 reasons recorded per informant.

4) General conclusion respecting language loyalty in 'S' confirmed.
APPENDIX III (a)

QUESTIONNAIRE II

A. BIOGRAPHIC INFORMATION.

B. REPertoire AND PREFERENCES.

INFORMANT NUMBER

CODE

NAME

ADDRESS

PHONE

THE INFORMATION YOU GIVE IN THIS QUESTIONNAIRE WILL BE TREATED
CONFIDENTIALLY. YOUR IDENTITY WILL NOT BE REVEALED, EVEN WHERE THE
INVESTIGATOR MAY SELECT ANY OF YOUR ANSWERS FOR QUOTATION.
SECTION A

1. | SELF | WIFE/HUSBAND |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sex</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birthplace</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tribe</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

2. Father's original home district ........................................

3. Mother's original home district ........................................

4. What tribe is your mother ..............................................

5. Where did you spend most of your childhood? ........................

6. (a) If you or your parents have since moved from your original tribal area, what is your new home district? ...................

   (b) How often do you go there? Tick the right answer: NEVER
       Seldom
       Often

7. Standard of education: Self ............................................
       Wife/husband ............................................

8. What type of schools did you attend and at what levels? Tick appropriate 'Type School' in the first column and indicate 'LEVEL' in the second column.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE SCHOOL</th>
<th>LEVEL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiracial</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correspondence</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TYPE SCHOOL</th>
<th>LEVEL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African ✓</td>
<td>PRIMARY &amp; J.C.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Multiracial ✓</td>
<td>University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correspondence ✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Foreign ✓</td>
<td>Matric</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

471
9. Occupation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SELF</th>
<th>WIFE/HUSBAND</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>SELF</th>
<th>WIFE/HUSBAND</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Present</td>
<td>Businessman</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Former</td>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>Nurse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Clerk</td>
<td>Nurse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Personnel manager</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

10(a) How long have you lived at your present address: ........................................

(b) How long have you lived in Salisbury? ...........................................................

11. Former places of residence within Zimbabwe. Give name of town or district, length of stay and indicate language or dialect used most often.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLACE</th>
<th>LENGTH OF STAY (IN YEARS)</th>
<th>LANGUAGE/DIALECT MOSTLY USED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Karanga</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

12. If you have ever lived outside Zimbabwe, give the names of the foreign countries involved, and indicate duration of stay and the language you used most often while you lived there.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>COUNTRY</th>
<th>LENGTH OF STAY (IN YEARS)</th>
<th>LANGUAGE MOSTLY USED</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
<td>Bemba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td></td>
<td>English</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
13. Other countries visited, if any:

1. ..............................................................
2. ..............................................................
3. ..............................................................
4. ..............................................................

14. (a) Number of children (including by former marriage) .........

(b) Children attending school:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>TYPE SCHOOL</th>
<th>LEVEL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e.g.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Multiracial</td>
<td>Pre-school</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(creche)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>African (day)</td>
<td>Primary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Multiracial</td>
<td>University</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>African</td>
<td>Secondary</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) If, among the children who still live with you, any have left school, what was the highest standard of education reached by one of them? ....

15. If persons other than members of your immediate family (i.e. your wife and children) live in the house, indicate their age and relationship with you as follows:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>RELATIONSHIP</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Maid or 'housegirl'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Nephew</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Grandmother (paternal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Grandfather (maternal)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Lodger (male)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

SECTION B

1. What dialect of Shona did you learn as a child?

2. What other dialects of Shona did you learn afterwards?

3. What languages did you learn at school?

4. What other languages did you learn afterwards?

5. What dialect of Shona do you use normally when you visit your parents or your home in the country?

6. What dialect of Shona do you normally use when you visit your wife or husband's folks in the country?

7. If and when you speak Shona in the following situations at your present address, what dialect of Shona do you use most often?
   - Within the family: ............................................
   - With relatives: .............................................
   - With friends: ..................................................
   - Among other Shona speakers in your neighbourhood: .............................................
   - At work: ......................................................

8. Which dialect do you think you know best? ....................................................

9. Which dialect do you prefer generally? ......................................................

10. Which dialect or dialects do you despise? ................................................

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11. How good is your English? Indicate by a tick in the appropriate box (one only)

a. I have no knowledge of English

b. I can understand a conversation in English

c. I can carry on a conversation in English

d. I can speak English with confidence

12. What language do you normally use when talking to the following groups of people? (If you think you use more than one language about equally frequently in any one situation, give the names of the languages concerned)

To your wife/girlfriend ........................................

To your husband/boyfriend ...................................

To your children ............................................... 

Within the family generally ..................................

Among relatives ............................................... 

With friends generally ...................................... 

When entertaining at home ...................................

With colleagues (at work or in business) ..................

For business generally .....................................

In the neighbourhood generally ...........................

13. (a) What language do you prefer to use in the most situations?................

(b) Why? .....................................................

14. (a) If you were to choose only one language that your children should be taught, what would your choice be? ..................

(b) Why? .....................................................

15. (a) Do you sometimes have to make an effort to use a particular language?

(b) If yes, (i) what is the language? ....................

(ii) in what situations? .................................
16. Do you sometimes consciously avoid using a particular language or dialect? 

If yes, indicate as may be applicable:
(i) dialect avoided
situations
(ii) language avoided
situations

17. When your children are at home, what is your attitude to the language they may use? (Put tick in the box beside chosen answer.)

a. I insist that they speak in my own dialect

b. I encourage them to speak Shona like the other children in the neighbourhood

c. I encourage them to speak in my own dialect

d. I insist that they speak English

e. I encourage them to speak English

f. I discourage them from speaking English

g. I discourage them from speaking Shona

h. I don’t mind what language they use

16. Do you mind if other people speak to you in a language which you don’t normally use? (Answer yes or no)

19. (a) Are you particular about the language or dialect you use or do you think it does not matter as long as you are understood? (Answer yes or no)

(b) If particular, (i) what is the language or dialect?
(ii) why?

20. What sort of speakers do you admire?
21. What sort of speaker do you hate?

22. If you have any other views on language, state them briefly in the space below.

(about ½ page)
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CODE NAME</th>
<th>COURSE</th>
<th>AGE</th>
<th>TRIBE (as given)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Miss S.1</td>
<td>B.A.I</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>Zesuru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss S.2</td>
<td>B.A.II</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Manyika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss S.3</td>
<td>B.Acc.II</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Zesuru</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Miss S.4</td>
<td>B.A.II</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Ungwe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>B.Ed.I</td>
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Excerpt illustrative of code-switching in business talk (Segment 6 of C4)

(Switches underlined once and adoptives twice)

Baba Arthur Chilwayo mangawana vachitaura. Iniini hangu ndinoda kumubira mbirikumyengedza kutsi muzive zvimwe zvamungai kutsi muswvuku mari yeincome tax. Kana munhu akasvura mwanu one, income tax vanoti tvo tinokupwa item yawanoti deductible item, mari yaunokwanisa kubvisa pamari yaunotambira yose pagore, three hundred 'n eighty four dollars. Kana munhu akatora maimurance, malife policies, anokwana-, anokwana kuvana an abatement. Anokwana kuvana mari yaunokwanisa kubvisawo mumarari yake zhinji inoita three hundred and sixty dollars pagore. Kana munhu akatenga mapenjeni, ngatitiri munhu uye i bushinessman, anotenderwa three thousand six hundred dollars pagore. Ngatitiri munhu anosevenza kune mune base kwavanobvisirwa mari yepenjeni, anotenderwa kunotenga yavo, kuti vabatsirimane paincome tax, inoita two thousand four hundred pagore.


Ngatitiri munhu unotambira two hundred dollars, ototerva Pay As You Earn ten dollars pamwedzi, iye votora kudza nayo kumba anenge achitora mari inokwana kuita one hundred 'n ninety dollars. Kvaari iye yasona numaoko ndiyio yasezvisva chete. Iyi ten dollars hani, 'Ha, handizivi. VeMukondo, eh, ini mnidambirwa two hundred dollars, eh, take home one hundred and ninety dollars'. Kana uchiti take home ime inogoraumba kundu home seko? Take home mokuti kudii? Zvinoreva kuti inenge ime imwe yabviswa, asi ime pakanyorwerwa mune mwife ako kuti tichakupa two hundred dollars. Bumbari inomundeza ipwo, inobosora isingaitwe take home, isingaitwe after deductions ndinowana mari yakati.

Insikiza, midinda kuti tidai. Muna March uno a'a kusvika uno wuy, munhu akanya ngatiti ne two thousand four hundred dollars kwatiri pamwedzi uno wuy akakwanisa kupera penjami yake midinokwanisa kumupa Income Tax Certificate ya midinokwanisa kusvemhanda pagore rino iri. March achingopera uno wuy anokwanisa kurisvazona, midichitombatsira kuti angavana rebatsa kana kuti angarega kubhadirewa income tax yakawanda. Nekuti anenge anayo.


Translation (near literal)

Mr Arthur Dhlívayo you have heard him speaking. As for me I want to ask you, to persuade you, to know some of the things you can do to save money on income tax. If a person has one child, the income tax people say we will give you an item they call a deductible item, money which you can deduct from the money you earn during the year, three hundred and eighty four dollars. If a person takes life insurance policies, he can get an abatement. He is allowed three hundred and sixty dollars deducted from his annual income. If he buys pensions, let us say this person is a businessman, he is allowed three thousand and six hundred dollars a year. If a person works in a certain job where contributions for a pension scheme are deducted from his salary, he is allowed to buy a further pension which may help him save on income tax on up to two thousand four hundred a year.

How are all these things done? What is income tax? For those who are employed you have your income tax deducted under another name called P.A.Y.E., Pay As You Earn. You will see P.A.Y.E. written on your papers (pay-slips).

That money which is deducted monthly as P.A.Y.E. is the money which the employers estimate is the income tax you should pay. At the end of the year you will find that some people get what are called rebates, but others are actually required to pay more money because the Pay As You Earn paid was actually less than should have been paid. Many workers have Pay As You Earn deductions made but they do not know what it means.

Let us say a person earns two hundred dollars a month and has ten dollars deducted as Pay As You Earn, he then takes money amounting to one hundred and ninety dollars and goes home. As far as he is concerned the amount he actually receives is all he knows. This other ten dollars he says, 'Well, I don't know. Mr Kubondo, eh, my salary is two hundred dollars, eh, take home one hundred and ninety dollars.' When you say 'take home', how does the remainder refuse to go home? What does 'take home' mean? This means that some money will have been deducted but on your papers it is written you will be given two hundred dollars. That is the money which is not
taken home after deductions.

These deductions are the subject of my talk today. One of this is Pay As You Earn. The income tax people say if you can you may deduct from your net pay, say ten dollars from the amount you should 'take home', so that by the end of the year you should have paid one hundred and twenty dollars, for which you will get from Mr. Makondo what we call an Income Tax Certificate for your pension of one hundred and twenty a year. I will give you a hundred and twenty, your employer will give you another hundred and twenty, and you will have two hundred and forty which will enable you to get a refund on your Pay As You Earn. Many people do not know what this means. You will know when you earn real money. You will earn money, won't you? Some have had pay increases! You will know these things sooner or later even if you don't want to learn about them you will still get to know how these things go. Because at the end of this coming March many will be given forms called Income Tax Return Forms. Then you will see what all this means.

As for me, I want us to do things this way. During this coming March, if a person comes to us with say two thousand four hundred dollars and if this very month he can pay for his pension, I can give him an Income Tax Certificate which he can use this year. Just after the end of March he can use it, and I will actually help him to get a rebate or even to pay less income tax because he will have this pension.

How does this pension money work? It works like this. When you are for your pension, say sixty-five, you will get it back and you yourself will spend it with your children. Being paid monthly, yearly or just as you wish — and you will get a lot more than you paid in. Often it will be five times more. You will get that much back. This is the money referred to in the papers when mention is made of pensions having been guaranteed overseas, and such other things about pensions. This is all it means. If we do not understand this now it does not matter, because our ignorance is due to the fact that we do not earn that much. Those who get the money know this very well. Maybe when more people get more money, we will all come to understand this. Come and let us sit down together and sort out money matters properly, so that we may save the money which goes to income tax in this our very own programme which we call 'Money and our very own lives'.
APPENDIX IV (b)

Excerpt illustrative of spontaneous speech in the casual-slang style.


Translation

At that time I was wearing some really fantastic high-heeled shoes. They were this high, baamunini, this high. Red ones, see? Aa, even Kenge himself has never courted a girl who wore such a pair. But it was later stolen at the band, see? I bought it for twenty three dollars. It was super! Just when Linds came onto the market. Then I —. With a certain wig of mine which I used to curl up like this. That one was really out of sight! It was — was — va —. I would curl it up to this point. I rolled it, rolled it, dressed to kill for sure. Cos we go for the good gear, see? Really good clobber we get. Yes! Cos we bands — people have to compete, just so as we get noticed.

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APPENDIX IV(c)

Two news items from the same bulletin:

(a) Nume murwi vemusango akapunyika kubva kumagurira musingidzidzisa Thwamba
manyundau nemusi vemugoreva, chire kokukuvezwa mukurwisa pakati
pakato chigurevura. Pamagurira nemusunguwa muchwe mukupedzisa kwechimbo chinokanda nemaako
mukurwisa uku. Kutauri vemagurira akataura kuti nemuva
dzakapast five mazvamani chikwata chenagurira chakanga chenya
kunatunga yako pane inwe inha murungisheni umu 10 kilometre anga
kubva mase re kubva pakati peguta. Chikombo chinotserwa nemaako
chakakanwa kuchikwata chenagurira iyi asi rapana mukhu akawara.
Zvisamai havo mune murume wawamana akanga ari nomba umu
ndiye akakwadzwa mumashure mokupedzisa kwacho.

(b) Chikwata chisivozidzisa sezita re kuti Save Uganda Movement
chakataura kuti ndico chakaita nabora okuparadza zvinhu
mukurwisa noko chikwata chenagurira iyi asi rapana mukhu akawara
kwezvondo.

Translations

(a) A guerilla escaped from the police in Sizinda Township in Bulawayo
on Saturday after being injured in a clash with the police.
Bulawayo police said a civilian man was injured when a hand grenade
exploded during the fighting. A police spokesman said that at half-
past five in the morning a police patrol had gone to investigate at
a house in the township, about eight kilometres from the city centre.
A hand grenade was thrown at the group of policemen but no one was
hurt. However, an African man who was in the house was injured after
the explosion.

(b) A group which calls itself the Save Uganda Movement claimed responsi-
bility for the destruction which occurred during recent fighting in
the capital Kampala at the weekend.

# From the 10a.m. news summary of 6 February 1979. Because indigenization
is overdue, the translation tends to be more literal than dynamic, and
the original English sentence structures are retained in the Shona
translation, sections may need back-translation into English before full
comprehension is achieved.
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Adoption and Adaptation in Shona
Herbert Chimhundu

In this book, Herbert Chimhundu examines how the Shona language adopts and adapts words and concepts from other languages in order to function in a changing society. This case study of Shona can be considered as an example of an African language which is heavily influenced by English during both the colonial and post-colonial periods, but nevertheless finds strategies to maintain its identity.

One section of the book deals with the language in use. Word and concept borrowing, as well as code-switching and diglossia, are discussed in a familiar African context in which the colonial language still predominates in many domains. A critical review of the development of Shona as a standard written language is also provided, with a description of attitudes to the mother-tongue in both colonial and post-colonial settings when no formulated language policy was available.

Written about the time that Zimbabwe gained its independence, and based on research from the late seventies, this book was originally presented as Herbert Chimhundu’s dissertation for the doctor of philology degree, which was awarded in 1983. A facsimile edition of the original manuscript is provided here, in response to demand from the tertiary education sector of Zimbabwe.

This study, while defending its place as a work of linguistic scholarship in its own right, can also be regarded as a preliminary work to the two Shona monolingual dictionaries of which Herbert Chimhundu is editor in chief, namely Duramazwi reChiShona (1996) and Duramazwi Guru reChiShona (2001).

Herbert Chimhundu is a professor of African Languages and Lexicography, and director of the African Languages Research Institute (ALRI) at the University of Zimbabwe.

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