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From the Editor's Desk

This is our first publication which encompasses basic linguistics, Sociolinguistics, Psycholinguistics and Culture. We wish to express our heartfelt gratitude to all those who contributed with articles to this publication, peer reviewing and in all the other ways, directly and indirectly.

Please enjoy yourself.

Editor in Chief ZIJLC

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The Language Question in the Constitution Reform Process in Zimbabwe: A Closer Look at Linguistic Policies Outlined in the Kariba Draft Document

by

Wiseman Magwa

Abstract

This paper discusses the language policy that is outlined in the Kariba Draft Constitution and how it can be the basis for the development of a sound language policy for Zimbabwe. The conceptual framework of the paper is based on Ruiz (1988) ideological orientations to language planning in which language is seen as both a right and a natural resource. It is argued in this paper that the new constitution should have as one of its key principles, a language policy that promotes the use and development of indigenous languages. The author proposes a national language policy model codenamed “Integrated Multilingual Policy” (IMP) which would make it possible to accommodate all of Zimbabwe’s languages, using them as essential tools of communication for development irrespective of numbers of speakers. Multilingualism rather than being seen as a hindrance, the paper concludes, should instead be seen as a resource that can be harnessed for the development of Zimbabwe.

Introduction

Constitution making can provide a key opportunity for democracy and peace building in both conflict and post conflict countries hence the process should be seen as a core component of peace building and state building strategy. A national constitution should ensure the protection of linguistic rights of all citizens and should also ensure linguistic democracy. The Constitution should accord people the right to be recognized as members of a language community with a right to use one’s own language both in private and public spheres. It should further protect people’s right to receive attention in their own language from government bodies and in socioeconomic relations. In the year 2000, the Government sponsored constitutional process was rejected because the process did not involve the general populace in its draft making. This takes us back to the words of Pope John Paul who twenty five years ago wrote in his message for the World Day of Peace (1985) saying:

It is essential for every human being to have a sense of participating, of being part of the decisions and endeavours that shape the destiny of the world. Violence and injustice in the past found their root causes in people’s sense of being deprived of the right to shape their own lives” (The Zimbabwean, 2009:8).

The Pope was not writing about Zimbabwe but was simply addressing a common experience in many countries and his message is still relevant to all of us today. In an effort to address linguistic disparities in the current constitution the Zimbabwean Government crafted a Draft Constitution Document on 30 September 2007 at Kariba. The ‘Kariba Draft’ aka the ‘KD’ is one of the several official working documents in the crafting of a new constitution for Zimbabwe (also refer to The 1979 Zimbabwe Constitution, the 2000 Draft Constitution for Zimbabwe, SADC constitution guidelines document, UN constitution guidelines document and the 2008 GPA document). This document from the author’s point of view should be the foundation on which a sound language

policy for Zimbabwe should be built. It should however be noted that this constitution making process in Zimbabwe is not a ZANU-PF project nor is it an MDC programme. It is a process that was agreed upon in the country's Global Political Agreement (GPA). Since the current constitution is not home grown but a Lancaster House Constitution, there is need for Zimbabweans to embark on a 'people driven' constitution that would be trusted, respect, owned and lived with. Language experts should put their heads together and help the new inclusive government to craft language policies that promote national development. The experts should draw up a comprehensive national language policy and specific language policies in education. But Zimbabweans should remember to take cognizance of the mistakes committed by the first Black Government of Zimbabwe from 1980 to the present as they engage in the constitution reform process.

Zimbabwe's Neo-colonial Linguistic Background

It is embarrassing and humiliating to realize that Zimbabweans for the past 28 years of national independence failed to assert indigenous languages as official languages of communication in post colonial Zimbabwe. An examination of the Zimbabwe linguistic situation indicates clearly that there is linguistic discrepancy. The language of government is not the language of the governed. African languages, spoken by the majority population do not feature in national discourses whilst English, a foreign migrant language was allowed to firmly entrench itself as the language of government, business, the media, education, training and specialized information as well as the language of upward social mobility and wider communication within and outside Zimbabwe's borders (Magwa, 2007:2).

The Government was more comfortable in using the same colonial language policies that were used in the past by a racist colonial minority to keep the majority of Zimbabweans, disempowered by making grassroots participation in national issues and debates difficult if not impossible (Chimhundu, 1993). The first black government advanced the same old arguments of their former colonial masters that English facilitates wider communication within and outside their own borders. They hid behind the unfounded myth that says promoting African languages would be equated to promoting tribalism (ibid). As a result of this mentality, no serious attention was paid to language issues in Zimbabwe leaving English to dominate the language map of Zimbabwe.

Of special interest was the withdrawal of the Education Amendment Bill which sought to provide for the teaching of all three main languages of Zimbabwe, ChiShona, IsiNdebele and English in all schools up to Form Two level on an equal time basis. This bill was withdrawn by the House of Assembly on Wednesday 8 February 2006. So far, twenty eight years of debate on the status of indigenous languages have produced nothing significant except academic and legal rhetoric. The then Director of the African Languages Research Institute (ALRI), Professor Herbert Chimhundu, while delivering a public lecture at the University of Zimbabwe on 12 April 2005 had this to say:

The absence of a clear national language policy and the general lack of funding for language research are some of the major factors hindering initiatives in the research and documentation of local languages which had been deliberately denigrated to vernacular status by the colonial establishment (Chimhundu in Magwa, 2007:4).

It is important to note that a number of initiatives for example the setting up of a National Language Policy Advisory Panel (1997) have been mooted in this country to draw up a national language policy but nothing has been done to date to implement the recommendations outlined in the *Report*

on the Formulation of a National Language Policy (1998).

Lamenting on the absence of a national language policy in Zimbabwe, the Minister of Higher and Tertiary Education, Dr Stan Mudenge, speaking at an international language conference held in Masvingo on 18 January 2006 called for the establishment of a comprehensive national language policy that will make African languages more important in education and life in general (Magwa, 2007). Speaking at a graduation ceremony at Bulawayo Polytechnic College on 16 August 2009, Minister Mudenge emphasized the need for Zimbabweans to take advantage of the current constitution-making process to seek for the urgent establishment of a comprehensive national language policy that will see indigenous languages being used as media of instruction in the field of education (*The Sunday Mail*, 2009:3). Similarly, the Minister of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture, Senator David Coltart, whilst addressing school heads in Bulilima District in Matebeleland South Province on 10 October 2009, said he was committed to the growth and development of indigenous languages in Zimbabwe (*Sunday New*, 2009:5). Senator Coltart said his ministry's new policy thrust was to take indigenous languages seriously and restore education to children who should have a right to be taught in their languages. "All indigenous languages are going to be taught in schools and for the first time you are going to get books in indigenous languages" he said. These statements by the two Ministers clearly show that there is no comprehensive document in Zimbabwe that spells out the role and status of indigenous languages.

Furthermore, Zimbabwe hosted the Intergovernmental Conference on Language Policies in Africa (ICLPA) from 17-21 March 1997. A total of 51 out of 54 African nations attended this unique conference that brought together education ministers and language specialists on one table. The conference delegates agreed that each member state should produce a clear language policy document within which every language spoken in the country could find its place. It was again made very clear at the conference that a language policy formulating and monitoring institution or national language council should be established in each country. The deadline given to set up national language structures in all African countries was December 2000 (ICLPA, 1998:139). It is sad however to note that the host country, Zimbabwe, has not done anything to address this important calendar event in Africa.

There is a total absence of language policy in the Zimbabwe Constitution adopted in 1980. The only reference to language in the whole Education Act of 1987, amended in 1990, 1996 and 2006, is Section 55 of part X1 which merely states that either Shona or Ndebele **may** be used as medium of instruction in the first three grades at school and minority languages **could** be taught in addition to these two main languages. These errors of omission and commission should be attended to by the inclusive government (GNU) of Robert Mugabe, Morgan Tsvangirai and Authur Mutambara and efforts should be made to accord indigenous languages their proper status and function in the new constitution.

Theoretical Framework

The conceptual framework for this paper is based on Ruiz (1988) ideological orientations to language planning in which language is seen as both a right and a natural resource. Language is seen as the right of an individual as stated in the 1996 Barcelona Universal Declaration of Linguistic Rights. Ruiz (1988:22) states that language rights denote the opportunity to "effective participation in government programs" which includes such aspects as bilingual voting materials and instructional pamphlets. Mackey (1979:49) claims that language rights include "the right to use

ethnic language in legal proceedings and the right to bilingual education.” Macias (1979:88) adds two kinds of language rights; the right to freedom from discrimination on the basis of language and the right to use one’s language in the activities of communal life. Mother tongue, according to Mackey (1979) is viewed as an inalienable right. When people’s linguistic rights are acknowledged, the full participation of minority groups in all national activities such as judicial and administrative proceedings, civil service, examinations, voting and public employment is guaranteed.

The language as a resource model describes every language as an asset or treasure. Like natural resources, languages are potentially valuable financial assets (McKay and Sau-Ling Wong, 1988: vii). The two authors argue further to say, the value of indigenous languages like that of natural resources such as minerals and wild life depends on a nation’s ability to exploit them financially. Like endangered plants, or animal species, languages also fall victim to predators, changing environments or more successful competitors. Language choices in this approach are made on strictly economic grounds in much the same way as any other resources in the nation’s economy are planned and consumed (Jernudd and Das Gupta, 1971: 197). It follows therefore that language like any other commodity should also be subjected to cost benefit analysis in which the cost of a language selected for a particular purpose can be measured in terms of what could have been gained by the choice of another language for the same purpose. Such a cost can be calculated in macro-terms for the entire community or in micro-terms for an individual language user. For example, what does a country gain or lose by adopting an indigenous language as opposed to an imported language as its national language? However Ridler and Pons-Ridler (1986: 48) note that there cannot be an exact fit between language as a resource and other kinds of resources because language involves attitudes and behavior which may not necessarily conform to rational economic behavior such as usually postulated for non-language resources. The language as a right and language as a resource models are the most appropriate theoretical frameworks that can be used to resolve language problems in a multilingual society like Zimbabwe because in both models, the status of indigenous languages is enhanced, enabling indigenous language groups to contribute significantly towards the development of a nation through use of their languages.

With regard to the above, Vambe (2006:8) argues that the language that people in a community have must be seen as cultural capital that they possess and should be seen as a resource and not a problem. Batibo (2005:32) also reiterates that language is both a right and a resource. He further notes that a language has a right to life like any other living creatures. The death of a language necessarily implies cultural dislocation or to put it differently, deprivation of a certain cultural identity, to which members of that cultural community have a right. Only through empowering these languages can African governments ensure maximum participation of their populace in socio-political and economic development. This is so because these are the languages that people use in their day-to-day interactions. Governments should ensure that their people have the freedom to express themselves in whatever language they want. It is only after establishing this line of communication and freedom that a populace can be mobilized and engaged for development. It can be deduced from the above arguments that language is one of the most precious possessions of mankind since it is the principal factor that enables individuals to become fully functioning members of the group into which they are born. This is affirmed by Magwa (2008:27) who says: ‘can be no sustainable peace or development without use of indigenous languages as official media of communication’.

Admittedly, the language as resource is the most appropriate strategy in resolving language problems in a multilingual society. This approach can enhance the status of subordinate languages,

which implies that minority language groups can contribute substantially to the development of a country through the use of their languages. Language planning in Zimbabwe could benefit immensely from the aforementioned theoretical framework.

The Kariba Draft Constitution

The Kariba Draft Constitution was crafted by the three rival political parties in the GPA and was officially signed on 30 September 2007 by representatives of the three main political parties in Zimbabwe at the height of the negotiations to the Zimbabwe crisis. With regard to language, culture, unity and peace, the Kariba document clearly states that:

- All organs and agencies of the State and Government, including local government and all the people of Zimbabwe must promote national unity, peace and stability.

The State and Government must make every effort to;

- Integrate all the people of Zimbabwe while recognizing their ethnic, religious, political and cultural diversity.

Promote a culture of cooperation and understanding in which there is appreciation and tolerance of and respect for customs, traditions and beliefs of others.

- The State is based on democratic principles which empower all citizens and encourage their active participation at all levels of government (Kariba Draft, 1997: Part 1 Section 10-12).

Where possible, the government must involve the people in the formulation and implementation of development plans and programmes that affect them (Section 16, paragraph 2).

The State must promote and preserve cultural values and practices which enhance the dignity and well being of Zimbabweans.

The State must encourage the preservation, development and enrichment of all indigenous languages spoken in Zimbabwe.

The State and all citizens must endeavour to preserve and protect Zimbabwe's heritage. All indigenous languages spoken in Zimbabwe that is to say Shona, Ndebele, Venda, Nambya, Shangaan, Kalanga, Suthu, and Tonga are recognized. However only three languages, English, Shona and Ndebele shall be recognized as official languages in Zimbabwe (Kariba Draft, 2007: Chapter 1, Section 6).

Furthermore, the Draft stipulates in Section 46 that everyone has the right to use the language and participate in the cultural life of their choice. The proposed new constitution for the first time in the history of Zimbabwe, addresses fundamental language and culture matters hence it should be treated with respect. President Mugabe endorsed the draft constitution while addressing his party's National Consultative Assembly at ZANU-PF headquarters in Harare on 25 June 2009 when he said that the New Zimbabwe constitution must be anchored on the Kariba Draft that was agreed on by ZANU-PF and the MDC formations (*Chronicle*, 2009:1). In view of the above linguistic positives in the Kariba Draft Document, this article therefore proposes an action framework based on the Draft Document which can be considered for the development of a sound language policy for Zimbabwe.

Proposed Action Plan for Zimbabwe

Zimbabwe needs a language policy that emphasizes the use of the mother tongue and other indigenous languages at various levels of social organization, while allowing for a concurrent use of English at national and international levels. It is however important for Zimbabweans to know that in addition to Shona and Ndebele languages, there are other indigenous African languages such as

Changana, Venda, Kalanga, Nambya, Tonga, Chewa, Sotho, Chikunda, Sena, Xhosa, Tonga, Barwe, Hwesa, and Tshawo spoken in the country. In addition, there are also migrant non-African languages such as English, Hindi, Afrikaans, Portuguese, Italian, French and Greek. In a study carried out by Magwa (2008), the linguistic profile for Zimbabwe is as follows:

Table 1: Languages spoken in Zimbabwe

African	Non-African
Shona	English
Ndebele	Portuguese
Nyanja/Chewa	French
Shangani	Hindi
Tonga	Hebrew
Chikunda	Italian
Sotho	Greek
Xhosa	Chinese
Sena	
Tshawo	
Doma	
Venda	
Kalanga	
Nambya	
Total = 14	Total = 8

Adapted from Magwa (2008: 80)

The table above shows that Zimbabwe has got a total of twenty (22) languages spoken within its borders and eight of these are non-African. If Zimbabwe is to make strides in economic development, then its people must participate in the development process through the use of indigenous languages. Our leaders should be reminded that indigenous languages are capable of meeting the demands placed on them provided that they are given the opportunity to do so with clear language planning policies. The following are key linguistic issues that should be considered in the constitution reform process.

1. Formation of the Zimbabwe National Language Council (ZNLC)

The constitution should provide for the formation of the Zimbabwe National Language Council (ZNLC) with a view to promote and develop indigenous languages and cultures of Zimbabwe. Use of indigenous African languages can only enhance people's participation in national development if the Government of National Unity (GNU) establishes a National

Language Council (NLC) as recommended by the National Language Policy Advisory Panel (NLPAP) in 1998. The ZNLC should be a regulatory language council with a national character and it shall be set up by an Act of Parliament. The main responsibility of the ZNLC should be to advise on language planning, policy, standard forms, use, promotion and development of national languages. The Council should operate at the national level and shall have special responsibility to monitor the implementation of national language policy with respect to the languages spoken in the country and in the manner that is described in the constitution of Zimbabwe.

It is envisaged that each of the several indigenous languages spoken in Zimbabwe should have a National Language Board (NLB) of its own name. Above all these national language boards shall be the mother language board, ZNLC that would be set up by an Act of Parliament. At the level below the different National Language Boards (NLBs) there should be Local Language Committees (LLCs) which shall operate at the level of local community where any language group of any size can form such a committee at the local level. The main responsibility of the LLCs should be to make recommendations through the respective National Language Boards (NLBs) to the Zimbabwe National Language Council (ZNLC).

2. Formation of Technical Committees

The Zimbabwe National Language Council should have various technical committees to fulfill functions in the following areas: standardization, harmonization, lexicography, terminology, literature, language in education, language in media and any other area considered necessary by Council. When established the technical committee for standardization should advise the Council on:

- a) Standardization of spelling and orthography
- Generation of standards in all the functions of the languages
- Popularization of standards generated

The technical committee on harmonization should advise the Council on:

- a) Harmonization of divergent orthographies of varieties of the same language, with a view towards ultimate convergence and standardization.
- Dissemination and popularization of the harmonized orthographies and materials written in the language committees concerned.
- Consultation and collaboration with bodies and institutions in neighbouring countries on aspects of harmonization involving those varieties of language that have populations in such neighbouring countries (e.g. ChiNdau and ChiManyika spoken in both Mozambique and Zimbabwe).

The technical committee on terminology should advise the Council on:

- The development and authentication of new terminology
- Stabilization of new terminology
- Popularization of new terminology
- Management of terminology in conjunction with the two Ministries of Education and relevant ministries

The literature technical committee should advise the Council on:

- 1. Strategies to develop and promote indigenous literature
- The acceleration of publication of literature in conjunction with the two Ministries of Education

Finally, the Language in Education Technical Committee should advise the Council on:

- a) The recommendation of appropriate learning support material
- The review and approval of learning support material in conjunction with the two Ministries of Education

The promotion and encouragement of the use of mother tongue in education

The development and monitoring of the language in education policy

The Zimbabwe National Language Council and its technical committees shall be served by a small secretariat to be housed at the Ministry of Education, Sport, Arts and Culture.

3. Formulation of a comprehensive national language policy

A national language policy is intended as an enabling framework for promoting Zimbabwe's linguistic diversity and encouraging respect for language rights within the policy framework of building and consolidating a united democratic Zimbabwe. The purpose of a language policy document is to set out a coherent language policy and implementation plan for a multilingual dispensation within the parameters of the constitution. It is imperative that the language policy be implemented as a matter of urgency because we are at a decisive point in the history of Zimbabwe, a point at which the Government is committed to the constitutional provisions on language and to maximizing Zimbabwe's human resources. It is envisaged that a national language policy will reinforce other government strategies to consolidate national unity and democracy in Zimbabwe. It is government's responsibility to manage and allocate resources at national and provincial level with a view to the implementation of the language policy proposal for Zimbabwe.

This paper proposes a national language policy model codenamed 'Integrated Multilingual Policy' (IMP) which makes it possible to accommodate all of Zimbabwe's languages, using them as essential tools of communication for development irrespective of their numbers of speakers. All languages of Zimbabwe, that is to say; Shona, Ndebele, Venda, Nambya, Changana, Kalanga, Suthu, Xhosa, Chikunda, Tonga, Cewa, Sotho, Pfumbi, Barwe, Hwesa, Sena, English and Sign language should be officially recognized. An Act of Parliament should specify the functions of these languages that cover all spheres of life.

4. Formulation of a language policy in education

There is again need to formulate a language policy in education that emphasizes the use of local African languages or national languages at various levels of the education system, while allowing for a concurrent use of European languages at national and international levels. The proposed language policy model is called the 'Integrated Trilingual Education Model' (ITEM), a model that is trilingual in its application at all levels of the education system. The three tier language policy in education will allow children to learn first, their local or mother language, second, a national language, and third, an official language of the African Union (AU) or the United Nations (UN). The policy begins by recognizing the fact that the Zimbabwean society is broad and diverse. Zimbabwe is a multi-ethnic, multicultural and multilingual nation. Needless to say recognition and acceptance of this undeniable and unchangeable demographic reality would go a long way towards the current national healing and building campaign. The proposed new policy model also recognizes the diversity and socio-linguistic peculiarities of each speech community in the country, thus it does not attempt to specify a particular and specific mother tongue for all people at all times. What it does is to address the general diglossic situation prevalent in the country and to propose the promotion of the use of indigenous languages in all sectors and levels of the social organization.

The mother tongue, which in most cases is the child's most familiar language and usually the language of the community, will have at least three essential functions namely:

- To allow the transmission of knowledge and the cultural heritage of the community.
- To contribute to the formation of a symbolic identity in the child.
- To ensure a basic knowledge that is culturally integrated.

Education in the child's most familiar language or mother tongue should be for basic primary education, secondary education and tertiary education. By national or regional language for integration purposes, we mean a language, which warrants some flexibility at the national level. This indigenous African language would function to widen the linguistic possibilities of adaptation to the national or regional context. This regional/national language would not be taught as a carrier or medium of knowledge but quite simply as a subject. In concrete terms, this national/regional language would be taught from primary school up to the final year of secondary education.

When in Grade 3, transition towards a foreign international (European or Asian) language as a school subject for purposes of international communication should begin. The teaching of English/French for example as a subject from Grade 3 upwards will allow geographical mobility, allow the learner to participate in national and international life and finally will allow the teaching of specific knowledge. The Integrated Trilingual Education Model does not restrict education to one European language only. Quite to the contrary, other foreign languages such as Chinese, French, and Portuguese to mention a few would be taught not as media of instruction but as curriculum subjects as needed by the learners. Teaching of these languages will be determined by the needs of the learners in their endeavors to adapt to various socio-economic contexts. An average citizen for example, who has gone through basic education, would be functionally competent in spoken and written discourse in at least three languages namely;

- i) the mother tongue/ local language
- ii) a wider national/regional African language
- iii) an international language such as English, French, Chinese or Portuguese.

The 'trilingualism' however will be different from community to community with different mother tongues at the local district levels but more and more similar languages at the national and regional levels. The point being emphasized here is that mother-tongue medium education should be mandatory in all basic forms of instruction.

Concepts in mathematics and science presented in the mother tongue would be more easily grasped than if they were taught in a foreign language. The use of the mother tongue here will enable the children, who are future leaders of the community, to completely grasp the belief and knowledge systems of the society. Use of the mother tongue at all institutions situated in the district i.e. schools, offices, district parliament and other community gatherings will enable the chiefs and people of the community, achieve maximum participation, in terms of the ideas and information

they receive and provide. They will be able to react to new ideas in the most intelligent way possible. The mother tongue is intimately tied to this level of the social structure and ought to be the most appropriate tool for achieving the development goals of the particular society. Any important goal of the educational system at this level should be to ensure that primary school graduates are well grounded in the mother tongue and can use it to speak and write about any grade level theme, be it in religion, mathematics or science. Workers coming into the district, who do not have competence in the local indigenous language should be given proficiency courses in the appropriate language so that they serve the locals more competently.

For effective development discourse to take place at the national level, the model states that the most appropriate language should be used as the medium of communication at political and administrative institutions. This most appropriate language, which would most likely be a national language, should be the main language of instruction at tertiary institutions. At the level above the nation i.e. the region, Scotton says an indigenous regional lingua franca, does not only foster pride but builds bridges between its people (Scotton, 1978) thus leading to mutual understanding and greater political and economic unity. Fishman (1972:198) echoes the same view when he says:

A common indigenous language in the modern nation states is a powerful factor of unity. Cutting across tribal ethnic ties, it promotes a feeling of a single community. Additionally, it makes possible the expression and development of ideas, economic targets and cultural identity.

KiSwahili, a language mutually intelligible in the greater part of Sub-Saharan Africa, ChiShona or Zulu spoken in Southern African countries are languages capable of playing such a role. Commenting on the significance of a regional language in facilitating unity, Indakwa (1978:58) remarked saying:

Africa needs to build its national states into stronger entities but this work can hardly be achieved when common languages of communication are alien languages rarely spoken and understood by the majority of the people in every African country.

The use of a regional language in official matters and day-to-day business will not only make our people less dependent on European languages but it will also make them proud of being African. Using indigenous languages in education will enable a student graduating with the General Certificate of Education to be useful in the country by demonstrating competence and literacy in the language spoken by the vast majority of the people of that nation. The high school graduate would be able to carry out sustained spoken and written communication on issues from his or her chosen field – arts, science or technology using the language appropriate to the people.

Bodomo (1996) says it is desirable for multilingual countries to formulate language policies, which would seek to exploit the natural model of social organization to achieve optimal communication among the citizenry at each level. The best language policy therefore is one that can promote communication between each level in multilingual set-ups. Language policy must have strong interrelationships with social organization. For effective development communication in each social set up, the most appropriate language, must be used, in both spoken and written discourses. By most appropriate language reference is made to the language in which the majority of participants in any discourse entity have communicative competence.

Conclusion

Zimbabwe needs a constitution that places indigenous African languages at the centre of the development process and the Kariba Draft has been proved beyond doubt that it is a relevant document that can be used as a foundation on which a sound national language policy can be formulated. The country should formulate linguistic policies that will give Zimbabwe a distinct identity in the continent and in the world. A new constitution that places indigenous languages at the centre would be the right option because official language(s) would be accessible to all people. Unless such a process is engaged in and embraced by the government, national development, national healing and sustainable peace will remain an elusive dream and the Government of Zimbabwe will continue to be viewed as a 'Dracula' that thrives through sucking the life out of its own citizens. The use of indigenous languages in official matters and day-to-day business as outlined in the Kariba Draft will make Zimbabweans feel proud of their nationhood and more importantly enhance their participation in national development. Multilingualism in Zimbabwe rather than being a hindrance should instead be seen as a resource that can be harnessed for the development of Zimbabwe, Africa and the world. The author's message to the Zimbabwean government is clear; An indigenized approach to national development cannot be complete without great usage of African languages in the pursuit of scientific artistic and cultural change.

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Liberation War Taboos: Exploiting Indegenous Knowledge Systems a Survival Strategy

by

Jacob Mapara

Abstract

This article focuses on ZANLA forces, ZANU's armed wing that fought for the liberation struggle alongside ZAPU's ZIPRA. It argues that the Maoist teaching that guerrillas had to be like fish among the masses, and the masses becoming the water that ensured the fish's survival proved very useful for ZANLA's guerrillas. It further asserts that in an effort to gain acceptance and support the guerrillas appropriated some traditional Shona cultural practices so as to appeal to the masses, especially to the adult ones. Besides using religion, especially the alleged Nehanda prophecy that is said to have been uttered as she was led to the gallows, that her bones would rise to fight against the white colonialists, the guerrillas also relied heavily on taboos. The focus of this paper is to discuss some of the taboos that the ZANLA guerrillas relied on. These taboos evolved around three important areas that were very essential for the survival of the guerrillas. These areas are security, food and confidence building. A total of eighteen taboos are discussed.

Introduction

The war of liberation in Zimbabwe brought with it the idea of 'back to the past' as one of its major conversion and ideological tools. It gave the general masses the idea that for Blacks to be successful in their war against imperialism and colonialism, they had to work together so as to reclaim their lost dignity and pride. To achieve all this, they had to go back to their past. In this back to the past movement, they were largely led by guerrillas who managed to bring in the traditional chiefs and other older members of the community as recruitment agents.

What the political commissars of Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) and their military wing Zimbabwe African National Liberation Army [for these were the ones operating in predominantly Shona societies] (ZANLA) did was to rely on the Shona's traditional religion. According to Frederikse (1982: 131) the guerrillas sought use of African tradition in their war effort and succeeded where the Rhodesian security forces and the Ministry of Internal Affairs failed because the former respected custom and tradition. They encouraged the people to take pride in their traditional religion and were at times very hostile to the Christian Church (McLaughlin, J. [1995: 95] and Maxwell, D.J. [1995: 76]), which they saw as colonialism's bed-fellow. They even uttered slogans such as, "*Pasi naKristo*" (Down with Christ) in an effort to even win over those who professed to be Christians. Because they had to make the environment conducive for the successful launching of the armed struggle, ZANLA guerrillas after arriving in areas that they intended to operate in would first visit the chief and the chief spirit medium (*svikiro*) of a given locality so as to gain their support. It would then be the chief and the *svikiro* who would introduce the fighters to the immediate villages. The headmen of the other villages at times were requested to send emissaries, or the chief would have his own messenger accompany the fighters throughout his area of jurisdiction. It was quite a risky undertaking by both chief and messenger. The guerrillas realised the advantage of courting the support of the chiefs and their headmen since they were the custodians of the Shona people's culture and customs. They were also government security agents who could pose a serious security threat to them, so one of the best ways of getting these chiefs'

support was to come under the cover of Shona taboos among other cultural practices that the guerrillas chose to appropriate for survival and pushing forward the liberation war effort. This of course was a strategy that both ZANLA and the Zimbabwe People's Revolutionary Army (ZIPRA) used. It was part of the Maoist survival strategies where the masses were to be the water and the guerrillas the fish in that had to be sustained by the said water. N. Mathema's poem in ZAPU's *Zimbabwe People's Voice* (in Frederiske 1982: 214) emphasises the importance of the masses when he writes:

ZIPRA guerrilla fighter,
 Servant of the oppressed,
 Exploited masses,
 The masses around you –
 They are your camouflage,
 They are your quartermaster,
 They are your recruiting officer,
 Your communications network,
 Your efficient, with-many-hands
 Intelligence service.
 Never let them down,
 They are your masters.

In these words Mathema makes it clear that the masses are critical to the survival of the guerrillas. Because of the realisation of this importance of the masses in the execution of the liberation war, most ZANLA guerrillas would at each first meeting that they had with the masses make the statement, "*Tiri vana venyu vamakatuma kuhondo, zvino tadzoka*" (We are your children whom you sent out to train as fighters. We are back). This or words almost in the same became a very common refrain. Here the guerrillas were relying on a significant cultural aspect of Shona and African society. Among the Africans, specifically the Shona, a child does not belong to its biological parents only but to the entire extended family and the community at large. That explains why when a child is born others say to the new parents "*Makorokoto*" (Congratulations) and the response from either parent would be "*Aiwa tese*" or "*Ndeedu tese*" (We share the joy together). The same or similar words are said when one has succeeded in something. Among the Africans there is nothing like an extended family. The purpose of saying a child belongs to the community is meant to ensure that the child conforms to acceptable behaviour because anyone in the community can rebuke him/her. It is because of this that the researcher notes with pride the title of Clinton, H.R.'s book *It Takes a Village* (1996), because it is true that in Africa it takes a village to raise a child. No one can do that single-handedly, including the single mothers. They get assistance and support from friends and other family members.

It is on the strength of the realisation that every child belongs to the village or community that the fighters for liberation came to the masses, as children who had been sent out on an errand to report that they had come back. This created an atmosphere, which was conducive for their acceptance even if they may have come from different districts and even provinces – they were the community's children.

One thing that the guerrillas did was to rely on the age old tradition of giving respect to the chiefs and elders, as well as reminding these same chiefs and elders that they were going to respect the rules and taboos which were significant to hunters who had traversed the length and breadth of the

country before the advent of colonialism. They also relied on other taboos, which they saw as important and which would make them gain respect in the eyes of the elders and the community at large. Some of these taboos were religious ones even though they had a special bearing on the guerrillas' security.

Theoretical framework

This paper is informed by indigenous knowledge systems (IKS) as a major environmental management tool as it relates to the Shona of Zimbabwe. It hinges on taboos, a major IKS component. Taboos were, and still are in some areas of Zimbabwe an important environmental education (EE) teaching-learning aid. Chigidi (2009: 175) states:

Shona culture chose to put in place taboos in the form of what Gelfand (1979) calls 'avoidance rules' in order to control, guide and regulate the behaviour of its members.

They are in short an ethic for sustainable living that has sustained the Shona for centuries. While Tatira (2000: vi) gives the taboos as falling into five categories, Gelfand (1979: 138) places them into six categories. Although the two may differ on the number of categories, they are both agreed that taboos among other things had to do with health matters, security of both person and the environment and good behaviour (Tatira 2000: 1; Gelfand 1979: 138; 1981: 114). Taboos were an important Shona institution that helped in maintaining an environment that was clean and also one that promoted peace and harmony. The harmony was not only between fellow human beings but also between humanity and flora and fauna. Taboos were also used in teaching and warning against danger. Some of the taboos taught against the eating of one's totemic animal's flesh. Bourdillon (1987: 24) comments on the importance of totems when he states that members of a clan are not allowed to eat the flesh of their totemic animal. He goes further to suggest that the totems have a sexual and religious significance (1987: 25). While his observations may be true, he ignores the fact that the use of animals as totems and it therefore becoming taboo for one to eat the flesh of his/her totem was also an environmental management strategy. The Shona saw the totemic animal as their other and those who came across their totemic animal on hunting expeditions always gave a wide berth to these animals. To them, killing such an animal would have been as good as committing fratricide. This practice helped in keeping animal populations in check and nature was balanced not as is happening today when flora and fauna have become victims of the world's greedy where the human footprint has left a trail of destruction behind. Because of the use of totemic animals there was no over exploitation of a particular type of animal since through taboos the locals managed and tapped into their animal resources in a sustainable manner.

Taboos as indigenous knowledge

Taboos are part of traditional Shona knowledge systems. They have evolved from the Shona people's intimate knowledge of the world that they lived in prior to the advent of colonialism and Christianity which taught that some of the Shona knowledge forms were paganism or heathenism. They are a product of long observances and were thus instituted as a deterrent that would cause the people to refrain from infringing on them. Like most indigenous knowledge systems, taboos are also religious in nature because an infringement is usually said to bring the wrath of the territorial spirits (*mhondoro*) on perpetrators. Taboos have for a long time been used as traditional environmental knowledge (TEK) that has played a very significant role in environmental management. Like most forms of traditional knowledge that are expressed through stories, legends,

folklore, rituals and songs, taboos are used as laws or codes of contact on how people are supposed to behave and even relate to one another. They are largely either commands that are in the imperative mood or declarative statements in the negative. As imperatives, taboos are preceded by either /u-/ or /mu-/ followed by the infixal negative formative /sa-/. For example, one can say, '*Usagara danda riri muchoto*' (Do not sit on a log that is in the fire). As declarative statements that are in the negative they are preceded by the prefixal negative formative /Ha-/, for example, '*Haudyi wakatandavara*' (You do not eat with your legs stretched out). This can still be converted into the imperative as '*Usadya wakatandavara*' (Do not eat with your legs stretched out). All these instructions as has been observed in the above example of the forms highlight the fact that the Shona used taboos as an indigenous way of imparting knowledge and inculcating values in its citizens. Through them they avoided pitfalls that were likely to bring harm to themselves or cause friction within the communities within which they lived.

Method of research

The study was carried out through interviews with some people who participated in Zimbabwe's war of liberation either as combatants or as collaborators (mujibhas). It was confined to the areas under focus because they were easily accessible to the researcher. The researcher acknowledges that both ZANLA and ZIPRA participated in the war. He however focused on ZANLA not because ZIPRA is not worth studying but because readings elsewhere have shown that the latter highly disregarded traditional institutions. According to Brickhill (cited in Ranger and Ncube [1995: 35]) ZIPRA was a proletarian force while ZANLA was a peasant one. It is because of this that ZANLA was likely to "respect rural 'traditional' culture" (Ranger and Ncube 1995: 35). When both ZANU and ZAPU were outlawed in 1964, ZAPU continued to operate underground and when ZIPRA guerrillas entered into an area, they drew upon the already established ground networks. This is contrary to ZANLA, which when it was outlawed it was just a year old. So when ZANU embarked on the liberation war:

... ZANLA guerrillas did not inherit existing party committees and had to construct their own networks. They needed to create a combined ideology of guerrilla and peasant beliefs and to work in each place with legitimate religious leaders of the people (Ranger and Ncube 1995: 35).

These two scholars' words justify why the research was carried out in a former ZANLA operational area.

Interviews and not the administration of questionnaires were preferred as a method because the targeted people indicated that they so it as more prudent to talk than to fill in papers. Interviews also gave the advantage that there was no risk that no papers would not be returned. The total number of people who were interviewed is ten. These included two ex-ZANLA guerrillas, six ex-mujibhas (including one who was also a spirit medium), a nun in the Roman Catholic Church and an ex-priest of the Roman Catholic Church. With the exception of one ex-guerrilla, the nun and the ex-priest, the other members are still in Nyanga district, while the nun is now in Chimanimani district. The other ex-guerrilla and the ex-priest are now in Makoni district. All these are in Manicaland Province, to the east of Zimbabwe. For the purposes of this paper, everyone who supported the war of liberation is labelled a collaborator.

Discussion of taboos

In this discussion, a total of eighteen taboos are discussed. These and others that are not discussed in this paper were given by the informants who stated that there were other taboos, but these were the most important since every new guerrilla group that came into an operational zone emphasised on them. This was especially so during the years when the guerrilla war escalating between 1974 and 1977. It had intensified by 1979. These taboos had repercussions that would befall anyone or a group that breached them. The discussion is done in such a way that after each taboo and repercussion is stated, the actual environmental (moral, political or security) reason is given. The taboos are prefixed by *mu-* denoting plural or respect or *ha-* denoting negativity.

Confidence building and security taboos

Some taboos were meant to build the masses' confidence in the guerrillas. According to the ex-combatants who were interviewed, confidence was a major building block in the guerrillas' security.

Musaite upombwe muChimurenga. (Do not commit adultery in the liberation war).
Munobatwa nekuurawa nemuvengi. (You will be captured and killed by the enemy forces).

The following are some of the possible reasons why sexual relations were forbidden. It is important to note that the taboo is not against sexual intercourse in marriage, but the fighters were away from

their wives (those who had them), although most of them were young and unmarried. Again the guerrillas were constantly on the move, so for them to have sexual intercourse was to commit adultery because they were not attached to one partner.

Adultery also has a tendency of destroying one's *unhu* (humanity, personality). The Shona society is very much against *munhu anokundwa nemuchiuno* (one who is controlled by his waist/groin i.e. one who has a high sexual drive). The Shona meant and still mean that one is not supposed to be motivated by high sexual passions but by rationale. If the guerrillas were to be driven by sexual passions, they were going to lose public respect. There was also the danger that most men would fear for their wives. This would lead to two possible dangers – betrayal to the Rhodesian security forces and the withdrawal of most of the masses' support. Raeburn in fact captures well the dangers that could result from guerrillas having sexual relations with young women in their areas of operation. He mentions one guerrilla who had a relationship with Sabina, a young nurse who helped in mobilising mass support (1981: 155). The result is that when her father discovered that this is what was happening he betrayed the guerrillas to the Rhodesian security forces. When the Rhodesian forces came, they killed a woman and her child. This woman was one of the people who were under Sabina's father's headmanship. They also torched the whole village. When the headman saw all this happening he hanged himself (Raeburn 1981: 177). Kriger also refers to guerrillas having relations with young women in their operational areas. She quotes a certain teacher she interviewed in Mutoko who said that the guerrillas were tempted by money, young girls and women whose husbands had left to join the liberation war. She sums this up by stating, "Guerrillas themselves fathered many children during the war" (1992:194). It is such incidents that the taboo against adultery was intended to guard against. The guerrillas who were interviewed confirmed the anger with which the masses addressed those who had sexual liaisons with female collaborators (*zvimbwido*). One *mujibha* said that his cousin who worked as a nurse aid had a long standing relationship with a certain guerrilla. The masses could do nothing because they feared that if they were to reprimand the guerrilla in question they would be accused of trying to frustrate the liberation war effort.

The other reason why the taboo against sexual relations was instituted is that the sexual act itself is also quite an energy sapping exercise. Some people tend to feel tired, and very few are alert after this act. Some even fall asleep. In a war situation, this may lead one to lower his/her guard. For the guerrillas, this was not safe because it was likely to lead to certain death or capture, torture and ultimately death at the hands of the Rhodesian authorities because they did not treat captured guerrillas as war prisoners but as criminals. When one was caught there was also the danger of being used as a turncoat as well as pointing out guerrilla hideouts and arms dumps.

The chances of the guerrillas being caught were heightened if it happened that one chose to visit his lover. It was risky because one could fall into a trap of Rhodesian soldiers if his routine became common knowledge. This as has been discussed in the paragraph above was likely to threaten the security of all other members in the group. Angry parents who felt that their chances of getting bride wealth (*roora/lobola*) out of their daughter's marriage had been ruined could poison the guerrillas as a retaliatory measure.

Sexual intercourse in the operational area was forbidden at all times regardless of marital status. If one was therefore caught committing fornication or was found to be guilty, he/she was punished by being publicly flogged. This punishment was meted out to both the guerrillas and the masses. This did not only serve as a deterrent but also as a confidence builder among the people.

There was another purely scientific reason for forbidding sex. There the dangers of the spread of venereal diseases. If one was infected, there were again chances of this becoming a security threat. In the heat of battle, some venereal diseases have a debilitating effect that one can easily tire. As a result the chances of being caught by the Rhodesian forces were high. There was also the danger that those with infected wives and daughters would turn against the guerrillas and betray them to the Rhodesian forces.

Dietary taboos

Some of the taboos were dietary. These are a small percentage of those that were followed by hunters and fighters in ancient Shona societies. The reason for following the ancient Shona hunters' practices was because the guerrillas saw themselves as hunters as well. The only difference was that they were hunting down the Rhodesian regime's soldiers. This taboo was also likely to win them support from the masses because among them, they knew those who had *mashavi okuvhima* (possessed by hunting spirits).

- *Musadye nyimo*. (Do not eat round nuts).

Munozobatwa nemuvengi makaurungana/umbana senyimo. (You will be captured by the enemy rolled up in one place like round nuts).

The ex-priest said that *nyimo* (round nuts) are very tasty and nutritious and yet the guerrillas did not like to eat them because if one over-eats them, that person is likely to be a liability and not an asset. This is especially so when people are constantly on the move. It is important to note that if one over-eats *nyimo* that person is most likely to have digestive problems and will produce foul smells both orally and through the anal canal. Over-eating *nyimo* tends to weaken one's joints and naturally on a hunting expedition one is bound to be useless. The same is true when it comes to a war situation. One would not only fail to stand up and fight added the ex-combatant who is now based in Makoni district. There was the real danger that the guerrillas' cover would be blown since the member would be constantly visiting the toilet. This was especially so after the guerrillas had had a long night's journey and they had to rest or were making preparations to go and attack an enemy camp.

As the war progressed and reached its height in late 1978 and early 1979, this taboo had an extension added to it. It now was, "*Musadye nyimo dzisina kufukwa/kukundirwa*" (Do not eat *nyimo* that have not been covered by soil). The purpose of adding an extra explanation to the taboo itself is an environmental aspect. At the height of the war, most people had exhausted their fowl-runs. They no longer had any fowls to provide as relish for the guerrillas *sadza*, so something of high nutritional value had to be found. One of the food items that they could utilise was *nyimo*, not as a full dish but as relish. The reason for relegating it to the status of relish lies in the realisation that the guerrillas still had to avoid over-eating them.

The above paragraph shows how the guerrillas adjusted to the masses diminishing fowl stocks. They just went back to one of the taboos that were already there and said that they had been misunderstood. They would only eat *nyimo* only if they had been covered by soil as they had developed and flourished. One other reason why the guerrillas wanted those that had been ridged is that they had a high nutritional value. Of course they did not eat a lot of them because of their effect on the digestive systems of the consumers. At times the masses were encouraged to prepare a

samp (mixture) of *nyimo* and pounded maize.

Musadye nyemba (Do not eat cowpeas).

Munozotandavara serunyemba, movarairwa, mobatwa kana kupfurwa nemuvengi. (You will throw caution to the wind and will be captured or shot by the enemy).

This taboo according to both informants emanated from the ancient Shona society, because *nyemba* have a high nutritional value similar to that of beans. The problem with them maybe is their size. They are smaller than for example, Natal sugar beans.

It is also important to note that since *nyemba* can be eaten as relish (rarely though), and also as they are, they are like *nyimo*. Over-eating them may cause problems similar to those caused by over-eating *nyimo* although their effect is not as pronounced as that of *nyimo*. What then may have led the eating of *nyemba* to be treated as taboo may have been grounded in the same reasons as those for *nyimo*.

The other reason according to the ex-priest is that after *nyemba* have been harvested they are threshed on a bare rock expanse (*ruware*). There are chances that some small stones would have been collected together with the actual *nyemba*. This would create problems especially when people would be eating. So in an effort to avoid having unnecessary clashes with the masses, the best way forward was to come up with a taboo which would not cause the masses to feel unappreciated.

Musadye tsvarapasi/tsvarakuto (Do not eat chicken legs).

Munozobatwa semakonye anobatwa nehuku (You will be caught like worms that are caught by chickens).

The possible reason why guerrillas were forbidden or discouraged from eating chicken legs according to the nun and the ex-guerrilla, who is now based in Makoni where he is employed in a rural hospital as a nurse, is linked to two possibilities. The first possibility has again to do with the nutritional value of the chicken legs. They have very little flesh. Mostly they are covered by a skin, which has very little flesh and veins under it. It can be had as a snack but not as relish.

The second possibility is that chicken legs despite lacking flesh are a delicacy to most people, but they take time to eat. During the war period, eating was not a luxury but a necessity as people had to eat as quickly as possible because a battle could occur at any time. In fact, speed is part and parcel of Shona proverbial lore as reflected in the following proverb: “*Chinono chine ngwe, bere rakadya richifamba.*” (Leopard was very slow, while hyena ate on the run). The point here is that it pays to do something quickly. Those who are slow to eat in a war situation tend to go away hungry if there is a clash. Going away hungry was as well a security threat because very hungry people could be held down by being famished. Once this occurred, the chances of being captured by the Rhodesian forces were also very high.

Musadye makodo/mapfupa (Do not chew bones).

Munovarairwa sembwa dzinopedza nguva dzichiedza kuatsenga. (You will waste time like a dog, which spends days on end on a bone, and yet yield nothing)

The reason why chewing bones was discouraged is the same as that one for chicken legs. Chicken legs are bony and at times like other bones stick in dental gaps thus causing injury to gums at times, and also causing one to loose concentration as he/she struggles to remove the sticking pieces. This

causes one's alertness to be reduced and thus endanger the lives of those in his/her group or under his/her guard if one is on guard duty. The best that could be done with bones was only to suck the marrow. Naturally the marrow is seen as good, and because of its high nutritional value it had to be sucked out of the bone but without chewing the bone itself.

a. Musadye derere (Do not eat okra).

██████████ Munozotsvedza pakudziringirira kana kudzingirirwa nemuvengi (You will slip and fall when pursuing or being pursued by enemy soldiers).

b. Hatidyi derere (We do not eat okra).

██████████ Tinozotsvedza pakudziringirira kana kudzingirirwa nemuvengi (We will slip and fall when pursuing or being pursued by enemy soldiers).

Derere (okra) according to Hannan (1984: 119) “*Derere raierwa navadzimba, uye naavo vana mangoromera: derere* used to be taboo for hunters and those using the medicine called ‘*mangoromera*’). Since the guerrillas saw themselves as hunters, they decided on appropriating this taboo so that their standing before the masses would be enhanced. According to the ex-guerrillas, the fighters also saw themselves as people who were getting into a fight after getting *mangoromera* (charms that fighters, especially boxers are believed to use so that they would win in all their fights). They said that the guns that they had were the *mangoromera* so there was need for them to observe this taboo on the use of *derere* as a side dish whenever they had their meals.

The other informants were of the opinion that *derere* is not nutritious and it quickly fills one's stomach. As a result one would feel satiated when actual fact the same person would fall hungry within a short space of time. This was not conducive especially for people who had to travel at times very long journeys. The nun and the ex-guerrilla who is now based in Makoni where he is employed as a nurse also pointed out *derere* has little or nothing of nutritious value in it since these would have been destroyed by soda or its substitute (*muteka/mutyora*) made from the ash of certain plants or maize cobs.

The ex-Catholic priest made the following observation as he recalled what he had heard in the area around St. Michael's Mhondoro, which he visited some time in early 1979. He stated that the guerrillas' being aversive to okra was immortalised by Muzorewa's *Dzakutsaku*, an auxiliary paramilitary arm of the Rhodesian security forces, that his party, the United African National Council (UANC) preferred to call *Pfumo Revanhu* (The People's Spear) in a song. The *Dzakutsaku* were singing that the guerrillas did not eat *derere* because they were shy. The song went something like:

██████████ *Vana mukoma mukoma, Tanzania*

██████████ *Gandanga haridyi derere mukoma*

██████████ *Rinonyara*

██████████ *Gandanga haridyi derere mukoma*

██████████ *Rinonyara*

██████████ (Oh brothers, brothers Tanzania

The *gandanga* (liberation war fighter) does not eat okra

He is shy

The *gandanga* (liberation war fighter) does not eat okra (He is shy).

Of course the *Dzakutsaku* were trying to paint a good picture of themselves as a people's army when compared to the ZANLA guerrillas, but the fact remains as has been observed above that the guerrillas refrained from eating okra because it is not nutritious enough.

- *Hatidi muboora wemuzhizha/mumaenza* (We do not eat summer pumpkin leaves).

Tinozotambarara semutikiti (We will sit relaxed and carelessly like the pumpkin plant).

By saying that they did not eat summer *muboora* they were really politely telling the masses that since the summer crop had a lot of sand which stuck on it after being kicked up by rains it was difficult to remove, so there was need to avoid vegetables that would lead to appetite loss or would cause a lot of displeasure to those who would be eating. So the best way was again to say that it was taboo to eat such a vegetable.

Another reason is that *muboora* thrives only in summer, and the liberation war fighters said that if they had to have it, it had to be grown in another season is because they knew that *muboora* is difficult to grow in most areas in any other season besides summer. According to three ex-*mujibhas*, it is common knowledge that, with the exception of very few and small places in the Eastern Highlands; Zimbabwe's agriculture is largely dependent on the summer season. This means that the chances of getting winter *muboora* are very slim. It could only be got in areas around Nyanga such as Juliasdale and Troutbeck, and Chigodora near Mutare. All these areas were in white controlled areas, so guerrillas could not have such *muboora*. The three ex-*mujibhas* said they knew this because for one of them, his parents said that they used to have *muboora* all year round from a plant called *kambudzi* before they were moved by the Rhodesian government from Bende. The other two, who include a spirit medium who also doubled as a *mujibha* stated that they had seen this plant as they grew up at Bende before their parents and other were moved from Bende to Nyadowa.

Security taboos

Some taboos had a security inclination. This is clearly reflected in the following taboos, which range from what was not to be put on, to self-introductions to the local community leadership and the people.

- *Musanwe mvura muchikotamira*. (Do not drink water from a well/river with your head down and your bums facing skywards).

Munenge muchifongorera Mwari nevadzimu. (You will be showing disrespect to God and the ancestors by showing them your bums).

This taboo highlights the importance of personal and group security. To ensure that security was at least maintained there was need to appeal to the people's fear of God and the ancestors. If one was to drink water with his/her head in the spring then his/her guard would be down and security would be compromised. In the case of one who will be armed, access to the weapons would be limited. This, in fact made him/her a sitting duck for target. There was also a high possibility of capture.

This was worse than being killed because through capture the security of others in the guerrilla unit and the area would be compromised, since the chances of being turned against one's former comrade-in-arms were very high. Bob North, a former Rhodesian Intelligence Corps officer confirms this reality of some captured guerrillas becoming turn-coats when he states:

“We were also using blacks, captured guerrillas, so the guerrillas would also warn the locals, ‘If so-and-so appears, he’s not with us any more, he’s sold out, he’s not one of us.’ (Cited in Frederikse 1982: 207).

Bob North's words confirm why this taboo was very important as a security measure.

This advice/taboo was also given because experience had shown that water holes and wells were points of ambush by the Rhodesian forces. This was common especially in some dry areas like Katerere (Nyanga North), and some parts of Mutoko where dry riverbeds are a common feature of the landscape. The reality of this was confirmed by all the *ex-mujibhas* and the *ex-guerrillas* who said that because of problems of drinking water in certain parts of the operational zones, especially in the lowveld, most guerrillas were captured as they rushed to drink water.

●Musanwe mvura isina chinoraramamo semataty nenyungururwi. (Do not drink water from a well/river where there are no signs of frogs and whirligig water beetles).

Munosangana nezvamusungazivi uye zvamusingakuriri. (You will come across problems you will not be able to handle).

The whirligig water beetle is black in colour. It thrives in fresh water. It is normally found swimming on the water's surface. It's presence in any water body was therefore an indication that the water was fresh.

Like taboo 8, this one is based on security and safety. During the war of liberation the Rhodesian forces started poisoning certain water bodies, especially in areas which are dry. The best proof to see whether water was safe to drink was to find out if there was any living thing like frogs and whirligig water beetles in it. These two are clear indicators that the water is safe. If the water had no frogs or any fresh water creatures, then it was not be safe to drink.

It is interesting to note that the warning, “*Munosangana nezvamusungazivi kana kukurira*,” had been created to give authenticity to the claim that this is an age-old tradition, which had been learnt from the ancestors. In fact, according to the two *ex-guerrillas* such a precaution may have been learned from Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO), which had gone through a similar war and had come across a similar problem. Although there was this claim that like other taboos this one had its grounding in ancestral instructions, it clearly shows that guerrillas became creative and appealed to the Shona past as they learned how to survive in a war situation. Failure to follow these taboos, which may have appeared on the surface to be silly, was a sure way of courting suffering and death.

Some security taboos related to the colour of clothes that had to be put on. This is clear in taboos

10 and 11 that are discussed below.

- Musapfeka zvitsvuku (Do not put on red clothes).
Zvinoshurudzira kudeuka kweropa. (It is an omen that will lead to death).
- Musapfeka zvichena (Do not put on white clothes).
Munoita target. (You will become a shooting target).

These taboos are linked to the knowledge that red and white are quite easy to identify in the bush during the day. At night, white is still very easy to identify even if an area has not been sufficiently lighted up. According to the ex-guerrillas and the ex-*mujibhas*, when one was putting on white the situation would become very dangerous in the event that people came under attack at night and there was the use of searchlight flares by the Rhodesian forces. It is because of these dangers that not only the two colours, but also all other bright colours such as yellow and some dull ones like maroon were discouraged.

Even if one was not in direct contact with the liberation war fighters, one was not permitted to put on such colours. This is because in the event of a contact between the liberation war fighters and the Rhodesian soldiers, at times even civilians who were in some places distant from the place of battle were shot and killed by the Rhodesian forces. If they had something dark on, their chances of being shot and killed, wounded or captured were slim if they managed to take cover.

- Musasvuure muti wese uchisara usina kana divi rimwe rakanaka.* (Do not debark the whole tree).
Munotsamwisa vadzimu. (You will make the ancestral spirits angry).

13. *Musasvuure rimwe divi remuti wa(ka)mbosvuurwa zvekuti unosara usisina makwande.* (Do not remove the remaining bark of a tree that has been debarked on one side).
Munosvuura musana wamai weanenge a(ka)tanga kusvuura rimwe divi. (You will skin the back of the mother of the one who would have removed the bark in the first place).

It is important to note that taboos 12 and 13 are again in the security category. This taboo, like that of old is on the preservation of the forests and also ensuring the sustainability of the forests. The guerrillas were not encouraged to live in houses but in forests. According to one of the ex-guerrillas, the one who lives in Nyanga, if the forests lost more trees, there would be very little or no cover for their security as well as that of the masses in the event that there was also need for them to take refuge in the forests. The situation could even become worse if trees were debarked right round. This increased deforestation and that is what the guerrillas were trying to avoid by saying that trees were not to be cut down. As far as the guerrillas were concerned, areas with little forest cover or sparse bush were a serious risk to the guerrillas as well as the masses. This same ex-guerrilla said that this explains why for example some places like some parts of Mutasa district where he at one time operated, were referred to as the Ogaden. This was a reminder of the Ethiopian Desert which has very little vegetation. It was also a code to fellow guerrillas especially those who were going to operate in that area for the first time to be very cautious since this place had very little cover. These parts of the district were known for constant clashes and battles that took place between the Rhodesian soldiers and the liberation war fighters.

Forests, especially on mountains also provided cover for *mujibhas* who went out to gather information, or to observe the movements of the Rhodesian forces. If more trees were to be cut down, it would have been a difficult task for the guerrillas and their collaborators. Ironically, the same trees also provided cover for the Rhodesian forces.

Both the ex-guerrillas and ex-*mujibhas* explained that forests also functioned as a valuable conduit for the guerrillas and their collaborators. With plenty of cover, it was easier and less risky for the liberation war fighters to transport war materails, and advance to other areas so as to open up new fronts. Trees, especially the tallest and largest in a given area became important landmarks and markers of where war arms would have been cached.

2.Kana masvika munzvimbo/dunhu sumai midzimu yemo. (When you get into a new area, introduce yourself to the local area ancestral spirits).

Mukasadaro inokupirai gotsi mowira nenjodzi. (If you do not do that, the local area ancestral spirits will not protect you).

This taboo is a social as well as a security one. All informants stated that it is un-African for one who is coming to stay or work in an area not to introduce oneself to the local leadership. Comrade Zeppelin (a liberation war time ZANLA political commissar) in an interview with Frederikse (1982: 131) confirms the importance of meeting the local people's leadership. He states, "We always met the elders first, so they could tell us what procedures to follow in their particular areas." Even the ex-priest concurred and reiterated that he visited the local headmen after his being posted to Avila Mission in late 1976. Since the traditional African life is social and religious as well as political, all those who hold political offices as chiefs are appointed through religious ceremonies. Their acceptability as chiefs is confirmed by the spirit mediums. Thus if the guerrillas failed to do that on their part it meant that they were not likely to be accepted by the masses because they would be seen as people who would have failed to behave in what is socially acceptable behaviour. They also risked being viewed as Selous Scouts (pseudo-guerrillas who were an arm of the Rhodesian forces).

All the informants, especially the ex-priest and the nun stated that the issue was not one of faith, but that of respecting local customs. If the people of a given locality got the impression that the guerrillas had no respect for their customs, there was the danger that they were not likely to cooperate with them. In some instances, some daring chiefs might even have reported the guerrillas to the Rhodesian forces. This explains why in some areas, locals had to flee after being accused of being traitors by guerrillas. Most of these clashes between the guerrillas and such chiefs emanated from such problems. This example serves to confirm that the guerrillas would have failed to understand the local political, security and social environment. Because of treating such an environment without respect, it would mitigate against them.

3.Musachere mvura nekapu yesimbi, asi mukombe, ndiro yevhu kana yemuti. (Do not fetch water using a metal cup/container, but a gourd, wooden or clay/container).

Mukadaro mvura inopwa. (If you do that the water source will dry out).

This taboo may appear to be not connected to security but it is. On the surface it appears to have more to do with traditional religion. Gourds and wooden plates are instruments used in religious

ceremonies. This is especially so when the Bantu of Southern Africa, including the Shona of Zimbabwe worship their God relying on the spirits of their departed ancestors as mediums. So to use these in cases of water collection was like constantly offering prayers to God, through the ancestors for the success of the liberation war. The value of this taboo as a security one lies in the fact that very few among the masses were likely to betray them since they appeared to be following the teachings of their ancestors.

Musagurire huni pamhandi. (Do not break firewood using the gap left when a branches off).

Vari musango vanotumburwa/kuurawa nemuvengi. (Those in the forest [who have gone to war] will be disembowelled by the enemy).

The information on this taboo came from the two ex-guerrillas. They stated that this taboo was more for the safety of the masses and those who were in training and refugee camps in Mozambique. There was the danger that breaking firewood in this fashion was likely to lead to the injury of the person involved in doing the task. If this was to happen the chances of the survival of the injured person were very slim given the fact that most hospitals and clinics did not have facilities to handle such injuries. In the event that some did, the chances of getting word to hospital and an ambulance were equally slim because telephone lines had been cut, and most roads had been rendered impassable by landmines that had been planted. In some areas roads had trenches dug across them and this equally rendered them impassable. Like in the old days when this taboo was considered important to hunters, an injury caused this way, when one could have easily used an axe, could cause lack of concentration and thus endanger the life of the hunter.

This taboo shows that the liberation war fighters wanted to minimise danger to themselves. For those in camps in Mozambique, there was again the danger of being injured and failure to get medication and treatment. The whole idea was at the end to release the little medicine that the fighters could get to treat and heal those who had been injured at the battle front or on attacks that were carried out by the Smith regime on training camps in Mozambique. It was also meant for those who had contracted diseases like malaria. There was therefore no need to waste medicines on those who got injured by being careless, since they could afford to use axes.

4. **Musatore (kubvuta) zvinhu zveveruzhinji/povho. (Do not expropriate the possessions of the masses).**

Midzimu inotsamwa, ikatirasa muhondo. (The ancestors will be angry with us and we will perish at war).

Some taboos had social, ideological and security significance. It has no link with the Shona pre-colonial past. It was inserted by the ZANU political commissars as an important security mechanism. Socially, the guerrillas and their collaborators had to bear in mind that each one of them was a public relations officer for the whole group. This means that any socially unbecoming behaviour like robbing or forcibly taking the masses' property was likely to backfire. The acceptance of the guerrillas by the masses would then be threatened. This would have had the effect of reducing co-operation between the guerrillas and the masses. If they were to forcibly take the property of the masses there was a very high danger of compromising the security of the guerrillas. According to the ex-priest, he gave away his wrist watch after one of the guerrillas operating around Avila Mission in Nyanga north had asked for it.

In the event that some people became angry with the guerrillas who would have forcibly taken their

property, they (people) were likely to seek revenge. They could revenge by collaborating with the enemy and get out of the place and relocate to towns and cities where there was relative safety. The more daring ones would use poison to get back at the guerrillas. Again this poison could be got from the Rhodesian forces. It was therefore imperative that the guerrillas and their collaborators observed this taboo. Ideologically, the guerrillas also made an important score. They built the masses' confidence in them, because when the masses compared them to the Rhodesian forces they would see the guerrillas as fighters with a human face. This raised their profile among the masses. This taboo is also related to Mao's eight points of attention made immortal in the song '*Kune nzira dzemasoja*' (Frederikse 1982: 212). In this song the guerrillas are urged among other things to refrain from appropriating the masses' possessions. They are also to return property taken from the enemy as well as to pay cash for the goods that they would have bought. All these points were meant to portray a positive image of the liberation war fighters so that they would continue to enjoy mass support. It also minimised the chances of them being betrayed to the Rhodesian forces by some angry masses.

5. Musadeure ropa risina mhaka. (Do not kill innocent people).

Mweya wemufi unodzoka yave ngozi kuna nyakuuraya uye zvinodzorerera Chimurenga shure. (The spirit of the victim will haunt the killer, and it will be a drawback to Chimurenga).

The purpose of this taboo was to show the guerrillas as protectors of life and not destroyers. If people saw some of their own being killed they tended to withdraw into themselves. Even when they attended *pungwes* (all night political and ideological sessions), their participation and enthusiasm would be lukewarm. They would participate just because of fear of reprisals. In such situations people would not allow their sons or daughters to be sent on errands by people they would be considering to be murderers. According to the three *ex-mujibhas*, this taboo became very important as the war drew to a close, between 1978 and 1979. This is after the guerrillas realised that they had killed many people alleged to be sell-outs by fellow villagers when in actual fact they were being used to settle scores.

Like in taboo 17, there was also the risk of betrayal when people felt that one of their own had been unjustifiably killed. This explains why at the end the guerrillas ended up relying on 'popular courts' to try an accused person.

Ngozi (an avenging spirit) is a reality among the Shona. The belief is that it will not only bring death and destruction upon the perpetrator, but also on his/her family. At the end, one has to appease the deceased. It is said that a lot of guerrillas who had killed people had mental problems. Mental problems had a tendency of compromising the security of the guerrillas. This then explains why one had to be found guilty beyond reasonable doubt before the death sentence could be passed. This also explains why at the end guerrillas now preferred to flog the accused and let her/him live. At least this would ensure that there would be no avenging spirit, and fewer people were likely to seek revenge because they would still be having their relatives.

Conclusion

This list of liberation war taboos is not exhaustive, but it has a bearing on how the guerrillas managed to harness a traditional institution that was environmental management to improve their diet as well as maintain maximum security and at the same time remain in good health. Through the

use of taboos the guerrilla army also managed to score a major cultural and ideological battle against the Smith regime. By using the taboos the guerrillas did not just minimise risks but they also learned to survive in their immediate environment. They became part of the masses, thus becoming part of the environment, unlike the Rhodesian forces who adopted an “us” and “them” attitude which ultimately led to them losing control of many areas in the country. The idea of sustainable living also comes up in these taboos. It is a basic aspect of sustainable living that people do not have to use the environment in such a way that it will militate against them. They dialogued with their environment and this helped most of them to hold sway in both the rural and urban areas. It is therefore clear from these taboos that those who ignore the environment, abuse it, and do not dialogue with it, whether socially, politically, economically or even in the bio-physical sense do so at their own peril. They are doomed.

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‘The Shape of Things to Come’: An Analysis of Child Shona Number Morphemes

by

KALANGA PHONOLOGY, MORPHO-PHONOLOGY AND THE OCCURRENCE OF SOME 'PECULIAR' PHONOLOGICAL REALIZATIONS

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Abstract

The Kalanga (related to Shona of Zimbabwe) language's phonology manifests some morpho-phonological rules that when viewed at the surface realisations may be deemed to operate in a very 'peculiar'. Some phonological changes or alternations derive sounds that are not predictable {lu-endo > gwendo (sg. > njendo pl.)}. Verbs word structures also present forms that are morpho-phonologically complex. For instance, rules such as progressive and regressive assimilation, coalescence, elision, truncation, and vocalic and consonantal alternation can apply concurrently. In some linguistic descriptions of the language the constituent morphemes and or lexical items involved are not treated because they are deemed to be absent even where the resultant structure is a derived from contracted and fused forms without lexical or structure boundary. In verbs, for instance [ndowoyenda] (I shall go) comes from {ndi-na-ku-zha-ku-yenda} (I have to come to go). This paper attempts to discuss these phonological and morphological forms so as to subject them to an analysis that would be based on generalisable rules. The assumption made is that ordinary rules apply and the only 'peculiarity' is that they operate cumulatively and extensively. These rules can be accounted for within the standard theories of morpho-phonology.

Key words: Kalanga; Phonology; Morphology; morpho-phonology rules; Shona

Introduction

Kalanga belongs with the Shona languages in Zone S10 (South Eastern Bantu, North) according to Guthrie (1967 – 71) classification and Doke puts it in Zone numbered 6(a). According to Cole's classification, whose advantage is to list the groups within the Zone, Shona is classified in Zone 61 (South Central), and Kalanga would then be Zone 61/1/1 (Western Shona) (cf. Herbert (ed.), 1993). Cole further gives the following dialects of Kalanga: 61/1/1a Kalanga; 61/1/1b Nyayi; 61/1/1c Nambya; 61/1/1d Rozwi; 61/1/1e Talaunda; 61/1/1f Lillima (Humbe); and 61/1/1g Peri¹(Herbert, 1993). , this language ethnic group has been well documented (Ramsay et al., 1996; Tlou et al., 1984; Mannathoko, 1991). Literacy at elementary levels has been carried out in the past using

¹ In my research in the Kalanga language (History of the Kalanga Alphabet, in Proceedings of the Kalanga Research Conference, Francistown, 1994) I have questioned the 61/1/1a Kalanga label because the historical account is that these dialect in question is a result of influxes from Nyai, Talaunda and Lilima and that they have Kalanga as a common denominator. I have therefore concluded that the only valid dialects for Kalanga are 61/1/1b -f. The so-called Peri is a Northern Sotho group from the Pedi which became assimilated by the Lilima- (Humbe)

materials that were developed by the London Missionary Society (1964; 1957).

Kalanga phonology has been studied elaborately by Mathangwane J. T. (1999: *Ikalanga Phonetic and Phonology: A Synchronic and Diachronic Study*). Other less elaborate analysis of the language existed before (cf. Chimhundu, 2005): There are also extensive historical texts by (1983b - I, *Nau dzaba Kalanga: A History of the Kalanga*. (Texts and Translations). Earlier linguistic analyses were made by Fortune, George (1949, *Ndevo yenombe luvizho and other Lilima texts*) (Fortune 1969, 1977). Since Kalanga falls within the broad Shona dialectology, the analyses of other varieties within Shona are very valuable to understand the phonology of this language, because it is generally in a situation of being under-researched. Doke (1930) also made insightful comments on Kalanga as a Shona related language. Kalanga generally shares its phonetic characterization with the rest of the Shona languages, especially the Western Shona group (Chimhundu, 2005), especially Nambya (cf. Moreno, 1988).

While some important aspects of Kalanga have been studied (cf. Andersson and Janson, 1997; Chebanne et al., 1995; Chebanne, 1995), inter-phrase level phonological interactions have not been given focus. This paper attempts to describe these forms so as to subject them to an analysis that would be based on generalizable morpho-phonological rules. The phonological and morpho-phonological descriptions made should comply to the Tonal domain Theory (cf. Creissels et al. 1997). Within the assumption of this analytical framework, the phonology, morpho-phonology of observable processes will be made. The assumption that will be made is that ordinary phonological rules apply, and their only ‘peculiarity’ is to operate and apply cumulatively and extensively over morpho-phonological domains, as they were also accounted for within the standard theories of phonology by Mathangwane (1999).

Morphology and phonology study in Kalanga is important in that at the word and structure level, the concatenation of units or lexical elements can confuse the analysis of grammatical structures. This is seen particularly in some Kalanga texts, where inseparable coalesced forms are treated as “words” (cf. van Waarden, 1991; Wentzel, 1983b, I & II). At the analytical level most of these problems have not been raised in the study of phonology. First because the premise for syllabication has been posited on the basis of words; secondly, because writers insist on a disjunctive representation of Kalanga which obscure the problems of the analysis of coalesced forms (Mathangwane, 1999). The present discussion and analysis will allow for a clear demonstration that the Kalanga language has extensive morpho-phonological operations that are not limited to individual words, but can occur even across phrasal domains.

The Phonemic System of Kalanga

The main preoccupation of phonology is the study of the functional roles of the sound system of a language. Sounds that present themselves as functional are designated as phonemic, that is, they are the phonemes of that language. By the phonemic system we mean here distributional classes of phoneme segments, that is, the way by which, for instance, Kalanga assigns the phonemic segments that it possesses according to their aptitude to take up syllabic functions (cf. Creissels 1992, ch.I:2). It is often possible at one level to confuse phonetic study with the phonological study of a language. We take the view here that phonetic is concerned with description of sounds in general, whether they are functional or not, while phonology focuses on the functional aspects of these sound units, that is, the phonemic study. It follows therefore that the classification on strict phonetic considerations would vary with that one of phonology. For instance, Kalanga has retroflexed plosives that researchers variably label palatal or retroflex on account of the different descriptive framework that they adopt (cf. Mathangwane 1999; Chebanne, 1994). Phonology would approach this problem by examining whether such phonetic features are critical in the functionality of a given phoneme. It is on this basis that we make the following inventories of consonants and vowels. The phonemic system of Kalanga can be presented according to order and series. The phonemic order of the language is made up of the bilabials, dentals, palatals, velars and pharyngeal. The series are the plosives, affricates, the aspirated, nasals, approximants. This inventory strictly uses the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA), without tones because the target at this stage is the description of consonantal phonemes.

•Inventory of consonantal phonemes

/βala/ ‘count’; /bika/ ‘cook’; /b^h/ ‘mopane area’; /pala/ ‘scratch’; /p^h/ ‘duiker’; /fula/ ‘blow’; /vanga/ ‘mix up’; /tenga/ ‘buy’; /t^h/ ‘boys’ kilt’; /dama/ ‘word’; /tsatula/ ‘burst something’; /ts^h/ ‘step on’; /dzata/ ‘jump down’; /sala/ ‘remain’; /zebe/ ‘ear’; /” / ‘green’; /t^h/ ‘garden’; / / ‘emerge’; /Σ/ ‘grain’; /≠≠ / ‘early harvest season’; /tʃ/ ‘be alive’; / dʒ/ ‘piece of cloth’; /Σ/ ‘shoe’; /maxeu/ ‘porridge drink’; /kama/ ‘milk’; /k^h/ ‘suffocate’; /gala/ ‘stay’; /mavu/ ‘soil’; /naka/ ‘be beautiful’; /leba/ ‘say’; /dororo/ ‘chicken droppings’; /∅/ ‘be tired’; /N/ ‘doctor’; /wangu/ ‘1ps. sg. mine’; /jangu/ ‘cl/9 sg. mine’; /hema/ ‘be mentally unfit’

It must be borne in mind that the IPA convention as used has the inconvenience of using digraphs suggesting segments of consonantal sequences where a unique segment must be admitted. It should further be noted that this phonology is derived mainly from the Lilima (Ririma) dialect which remains the only vibrant in variant of Western Shona (cf. Chebanne et al., 1995; Chebanne et al., 1994).

Diagram 1. Phonological Inventory of Consonants

	Bilabial	Dental		Palatal		Velar	Uvular
	p	t	ts	”	tʃ	k	
p		t	ts	”	k		
β b		d	dz	dʒ	g		

b					
f		s	Σ		χ
v		z	3		
m	n	l / (r)	∅	N	
w		j			h

The above phonemes can occur with some phonetic features which make them complex. The main compounding feature is the [w] or [u] which generates a lot of velarization in the phonemic system.

•Inventory of complex consonantal phonemes

-pk^h ‘dry’; bgwe ‘stone’; -mwa ‘suckle’; -∅ ‘drink’; twakatwaka ‘ideo.walk fearfully’; ” ‘spit’; kwedu ‘cl 20 sg, ours’; khwa ‘grind’; -pkhwaya ‘remove last bran’; pkwe ‘sugar cane’; ‘get out’; swinga ‘korhan bird’; -dzwa ‘belch’; -ΣΣ ‘be with crises’; 333 ‘noise maker’; -tshwaila ‘sweep’; tswiri ‘tit bird’

Diagram 2. Complex phonemic sounds

pkw	tw	”	tsw	tʃ	kw
pk ^h	thw	” h	tshw	k ^h	
bgw	dw		dzw	ɟʒ	gw
			sw	Σ	hw
				3	
mw	(N)		∅	N	
	(lw)				

Note that pk, bg, are otherwise called co-articulations (cf. Mathangwane, 1999; 1998). Their presentation according to orders and series is therefore not the best representation of their phonological characterization. The phonemic symbol [tʃ] corresponds to what Mathangwane and Hayman (1995) render as [c]. The sounds [mw] and [N] are phonetically different. While most speakers would prefer the [mw]-sound as a replacement of the [w]-sound, for instance, /mwali/ instead of /N ‘Mwali - name of God’, it should be noted that in the case of /boN (be seen) and /N ‘drink’ and /mwa/ (suckle) this substitution is not possible, which clearly shows that in the sound system these are two distinct sounds.

- Point of articulation:

Diagram 3. Point of articulation

labials:	p , ph , pk , ps , β , b , bg , b ^h , bz , f , v , m , w ;
apicals:	t , t ^h , d , n , r ;
lateral:	l ;
laminals:	ts , ts ^h , s , z ;

palatals:	ʃ, ʂ, ɕ, ɕʑ, ɕ, ɕ
velars:	k, k ^h , ŋ;
uvular:	χ;
laryngeal:	h;

- Mode of articulation:

Diagram 4. Mode of articulation

plosives (non aspirated, and non voiced):	p, t, ʈ, ts, ʈʑ, k, pk;
plosives (aspirated non voiced):	p ^h , t ^h , ts ^h , k ^h , tɕ ^h
plosives (voiced):	b, β, d, ɖ, g, bg;
plosives (aspirated, and voiced):	b ^h ;
fricatives (non voiced):	f, s, ɕ, χ, h, ps;
fricatives (voiced):	v, z, ʑ, bz;
nasals:	m, n, ŋ, ŋ
approximant:	l;
vibrant:	r;

The palatal sounds [ʂ] and [ɕ] have a phonetic feature + retroflex. Mathangwane (1999) described them as simply palatal. However, compared to other palatals, they have retroflexion as an extra distinctive feature. It is yet to be established whether Kalanga (representing Western Shona) presents fundamental difference with Central Shona (Standard Shona) in its phonology. It is noteworthy to mention here that Doke (1930) found that Western Shona had significantly introduced new lexical and grammatical elements that made it mutually intelligible with the rest of Shona. It is noteworthy to consider some few phonological realizations that warrant some brief comments:

- The neutralisation of the opposition χ Σ

Among some speakers [χ] and [Σ] are found in free variation:

- Free variation of χ and Σ

χ ábá 'red'	Σábá
χ ádzà 'hard porridge'	Σádzá

- The neutralization of the opposition [h] and [≠]

These two sounds are also found in free variations among speakers of Kalanga:

- The free variation of h and ≠

hìhá 'autumn'	ʑìʑá
hòbá 'noise'	'ʑòbá

Here again it could be posited that these variations could also be dialectal.

- The status of [β], [b] and [b^h];

Phonologically there is no opposition with these two realizations. However, in the general orthographic practice b is used for the bilabial fricative, and [b^h] for the bilabial plosive.

- The status of [r] and [l]

The sound r occurs rarely in Kalanga and mainly in words that are borrowed from Sotho-Tswana. This would mean that historically [r] did not exist, or since it exists in Central Shona, that the r was converted to [l]. One strong argument for this conversion is found in certain words where the /lw/ converts in the general palatal shift to /gw/, and which phonetically will make a historical /rw/ most plausible.

- The contextual variation of /lw/

-rwárà (Shona)	‘be sick’	gwálà (Kalanga)	< *-lwálà
rwèndò (Shona)	‘journey’	gwèndò (Kalanga)	< *lùèndò

- The status of [ps], [bz]

The occurring of the sounds ps and bz is very limited, as they occur not as fundamental but as derived sounds in certain contexts.

- The derivation of ps and bz

mpsáná	‘boy’	< mbísáná	< *mbsáná
-bzálà / bzwálà	‘sow’	< -dzwálà	< *- álá

In [mpsáná] the loss of voicing in [*mbsáná] accounts for the change. However in [bzálà] it must be posited that the historical sound was something like [*bj] which should be assumed to be the reflex of [bz] and [dzw], albeit in very limited historical context..

- The status of bg and pk

The realization of the sounds [bg] and [pk] and their associated velarizations is very limited, as these sounds should be deemed to be deriving from certain contexts. There are therefore not to be regarded as fundamental sounds.

•The status of [tʃ]and [c]

These two sounds are opposable, but that opposition occurs in very few phonemic cases that they could be deemed historical free variations.

•The opposition and variation of tʃ and c

màtʃíló ‘lives’ as opposed to màcílá ‘cloth materials’

but a free variation in

tʃíkè and cíkè ‘girl’

However the alternations could also be consider dialectal variations within Western Shona. The table 1 that follows illustrate some of these variations.

Table 1. Inter-Kalanga sound variations

rdrtSound	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
8910	bv	pf	mw	m ^h	n ^h	χ	
lx6994East							
h†ɓd lx6994	↑		↑	↑	↑	↑	↑
↑↑↑↑		₂, hw	N	p ^h	▪, h	Σ	
lx6994West							
ɓtʃdɓ							
ɓtʃdɓ							

•Inventory of inter-Kalanga sound variations

bva ↔ - ‘come out’; -mwaya ↔ -Ncut grass’; m^h ↔ p^h ‘duiker’; n^h ↔ ”, h^h ‘garden’; χ ↔ Σ ‘rod’; hiha ↔ ɓɓa ‘autumn’; -t ↔ tʃ ‘fear’; -ɓ ↔ -dɓ ‘eat’; nda ↔ n ‘field; -pfha ↔ 8^{z, h} ▪ espit ▪ f.

There are other consonantal realizations that are essentially from borrowed words, but they are of no interest in the present discussion. Dialectally or what may be termed inter-Kalanga variations there are some correspondences that are worth noting as the table below illustrates from 10 of them. In the present analysis of the language, it is prudent not to assume the directionality of these sound correspondences because of the lack of systematic studies within Shona languages. For instance, Central Shona, which is in the east has no [χ], [†], and [ɓ]. However, [χ] may be found in the northern varieties of Central Shona, but not in the same phonological context as the one in Kalanga. The [†], and [ɓ] is not uncommon elsewhere in Eastern Central Shona, and that, in the same phonological context.

Phonological inventory of vowels

A phonological inventory of five vocalic segments can be established from the language lexicon.

This inventory can be presented in the form of a triangle with three degrees of distinct apertures. For the degrees of aperture 1 to 2, there are front vowels {i, e (◻)}, back vowels {u, o (◻)}, and one vowel {a} with the aperture 3. The following diagram illustrates:

•Inventory of vowels:

/sindi/ 'squirrel'; /senga/ 'carry'; /sala/ 'remain'; /soba/ 'give a tribute'; /sungu/ 'tie'

Diagram 5. Vowels of Kalanga

1. Front ~ High	i	u	Back ~ High
Middle	e	o	
Low ~ Central	a		

The phonemic distinctions between [e ↔ E] and [o ↔ O] are not pertinent and should not be retained at the level of phonological description of realizations, be they phonological or morpho-phonological. Phonemically therefore, Kalanga has 5 vowel distinctions. The vocalic system can be said to have closed vowels {i, u} and open ones {e, a, o}. There are no semi-closed vowels corresponding to {e, o} in this system. It should be noted that phonetic rather than phonemic differences exist between certain qualities of /E/ as in /EE/ (yes) or /mmE/ (mother) and of /O/ heard in /anditOOO/ (I really never know him). Vowels are the main source of phonological rules alterations such as assimilation; coalescence; and gliding. Diphthongs have no significant role in the phonology of the language.

Contextual phonological interactions

The phonological inventory that has been presented above only accounts for the basic consonantal and vocal realizations. However, in the morpho-syntax of the language it can be observed that certain contextual interactions result in sounds that may seem most unlikely. The following examples illustrate.

Diagram 6. Sound changes in various word categories

n + bi	>	mbs	>	mbsana	>	mpsana 'boy'
lu + endo	>	gu-e	>	gw-endo	>	gwendo 'journey'
pind + is-	>	pitsh-	>	pits ^h	>	pits ^h 'bring in'

wand-is	>	wats ^h -	>	wats ^h	>	watsha ‘multiply’
pol-is	>	podz-	>	podza	>	podza
dzw-	>	bz-	>	bzala	>	bzala ‘sow’
tshw	>	ps-	>	psaila	>	psaila ‘sweep’
bw-	>	bgw	>	bgwe	>	bgwe ‘stone’
k ^h -	>	pk ^h	>	-pkwa	>	-pk ^h ‘dry’

Since these realizations occur at the level of combinatory processes, they are often not listed among fundamental sounds of the language. However they should be considered part of the phonology of the language. It should be noted here that aspiration tends to be associated with de-voicing and de-nasalization. For instance:

- The de-nasalization and its phonological results

[-pìndisà	>	-pìts ^h à]	‘make to come in’
[-wàndisà	>	-wàts ^h à]	‘cause to make a quantity’

A phonological process of this derivation can be briefly demonstrated.

- Imbrication in certain contextual phonological derivations

[wànd-a	‘make a quantity’
→[wand-i.s-a	‘cause to make a quantity’
•[wand-s-à	elision of the first morpheme of the causative
•[wànts-à	de-voicing of [d]
[wàtsh-à	elision / de-nasalization of [n] and aspiration

Note that the causative is posited as a morpheme that can be considered long or short, and it would be appropriate to present it as [-i.s-]. Verb stems can truncate it, and this motivated by their internal phonology. It should be noted further, that de-voicing and de-nasalization are phonological context determined. For certain other contexts they do not occur.

- The phonology of the verb stem and the nature of suffix adjunction

[-bìlisà	>	bídzá] ‘make to boil’
[-lóbá-isa	>	lobesa] ‘make to beat’

Note that derivation can be a simple addition of a suffix as in the case of [lóbá-isa →lóbésà] or and imbrication, that is embedding of the suffix as in the case of [bìl-a →bìdzà] where the morpheme

boundary between the stem and the suffix can no longer be made.

Some alterations in the singular plural pairs show that some phonological processes are in play in the contact of singular or plural morphemes.

Diagram 7. Sound changes and alternations involving singular and plural pairs

[gàmbà] gamba ‘shell’	[màkàmbà] makamba ‘shells’
[gwàkwà] gwakwa ‘monkey orange’	ma-kwakwa ‘monkey oranges’
[gòlé] gole ‘year’	ma-kole ‘years’
[mwàká] mwaka ‘season’	[mìjàkà] mi-yaka ‘seasons’ (Talaunda)
[lùgó] lugo ‘spoon’	[nɔʒìgò] njigo ‘spoons’
[gùéndó] gwendo ‘travel’	[nɔʒèndò] ‘njendo ‘travels’
[lùkúní] lukuni ‘piece of wood’	[wùní] wuni ‘pieces of wood’

The other area of active phonological changes is in the formation of diminutives where the diminutive –ana comes in contact with various phonemic realizations and produce certain surface mutations.

Diagram 8. Diminutive formation sound changes

[vúlá] vula ‘water’	[vúɔʒáná] vujana ‘little water’
[p ^h ùlú] phulu ‘calf’	[p ^h ùgwáná] phugwana ‘small calf’
[lùfú] lufu ‘death’	[lùfwáná → ùswáná] ‘small death; (Talaunda)
[lùgò] lugo ‘spoon’	[lùbgwáná] lugwana /lubgwana ‘small spoon’
[wòmbá] womba ‘nail’	[wòmbgwàn’a] wombgwana ‘small nail’
[màrí] mari ‘money’	[màtsháná] matshana ‘small money’
[zèbé] zebe ‘ear’	[zèbgwáná] zebgwana ‘small ear’
[gwàtí] gwati ‘bark’	[gwàtʃáná] gwatjana ‘small bark’
[· à · h ^h ú] ‘axe’	[· àk ^h áná] shakhwana ‘small axe’, also [· à · h ^h áná]

One further observation is that with the diminutive suffixation there could be simple morpheme addition or a complex imbrication occurring. This suggests that the diminutive morpheme is [-j.ana] not just [-ana]. These phonological alterations and changes are not exhaustive; however, the important thing is to account for the realizations that are observable in the morpho-phonological inventory of the language. It should be noted that some class prefixes have a de-aspiration effect on some words with fundamental aspiration. For instance, /p^h/ ‘small calf’ becomes in class seven singular, /tʃ/ ‘queer small calf’.

When observed from their surface realizations some of the phonological and process and alterations in Kalanga can be deemed ‘peculiar’ in the sense that they manifest phonemes or morphemes that

are structurally not predictable. The role of [Nasals + i] in phonological transformations and alternations is noteworthy. The occurrence of a nasal [N+ i] results in various realizations according to context and the grammar of the structure. The [i] can be dropped after causing phonological changes.

•Phonological variations in some derivation

pindisa ‘put in’ > pits^h ‘bring in’

mbisana ‘boy’ > mpsana

Also the case of [màrɪ] (money) which in the diminutive becomes [màts^háná] (little money) shows that the [i] in this context cause the transformation and then drop. Table 2 summarizes some of the salient phonological process of Kalanga.

Table 2. Consonant transformations / alternations

Consonant	Nasal +Consonant	Consonant +u/w	Consonant +i
p		pk ^h	
b	ps	bgw	(ps)
m/n	ŋ		
l	d	gw	dz
g		k	
k		hw	
n....		w /ø	
(dzw)		(bz)	
‘nd’			ts ^h
ø	dZ		

The following notes need to be made in respect to the above table:

1. The [ø] is an underlying onset which is never realised or represented on the surface structure except in the context NV when it is manifested as / dZ/.
2. The [n] should be understood as representing nasal preceded segments which are transformed to ø or w.
3. The ()brackets indicate marginal realisations in the system
4. The / (slanting bar) indicates that the results of certain encounters may vary according to the grammatical nature of the constructions or it is a lexical conditioning.
5. The “” inverted marks indicate a nasal plus C segment, where this nasal is not syllabic.

Phonology and Morpho-phonological Structure Realizations Rules

In the preceding sections lexical level transformations of sounds have been accounted for within the framework of individual or combining or derivative units. However, as the following section will show, the phonological and morphological processes can also occur at syntactic structure level, and this requires that the description should be done within a morpho-phonological framework. The understanding of the syllabic structure is important especially at the level of the description of the phonological rules that operate at derivational and morpho-phonological processes. It should be stated that Kalanga has uniquely open syllables (and has no syllabic coda) consisting of:

- Syllabic structures and types

5.1V; CV; CCV; CCCV,

which can be simplified: C 0- 3 V (that is, up to 3 onset-nucleus to a consonant or a cluster of consonants):

Diagram 9. Syllabic Structure in Kalanga



Some CCV co-articulations, emanating from CWV should be interpreted as Root-Root-V:

- Sources of consonant clustering

[lù-èndò] [gwendo] ‘journey’

[lù-ìzí] [gwìzí] ‘river’

[kù-íbá] [kwíbá] ‘steal’

[gwàtà → bgwàtá] ‘hide’

The velar formation rule can thus be presented as: [C+w] → [C^W] → [CC^W]

- Consonant compounding derived by phonological rules

[làpa → làp-iwa → làpwa → làpkhwa] ‘be treated’

The glide formation rule is critical in the whole phonology of the language as it also prevents the occurrence of diphthongs in the case of adjacent vowels, except for those that may occur as autonomous grammatical units (ndoibona 'I see it').

- Glide formation rule (de-diphthongization)

u + i → -wi

u + a → -wa

u + e → -we

However certain onsets such as nasals may occupy positions that must be considered at the same time as onset and nucleus. The example is that of syllabic nasals:

- Syllabic nasal in morpho-phonological context

ndo n' a la ka na (I remember him) > [ndón'álákána]

x o x o x o x o x o x o

(where "x" represents a consonantal onset and "o" represents a vocalic nucleus). In the phonological description of Kalanga therefore, one may define the syllable as the combination of the onset which may be empty and of the nucleus which may not be empty:

- Syllabic nasal syllabic structure

S → (∅) N

Onsets in Kalanga may be simple or complex. Simple onset here would refer to CV combination, while complex onset would refer to CCV combination or CVV. The second C position may be occupied by the semi-consonant [w] or when there is a co-articulated sound [bg; pk; bz; ps]. Affricated and aspirated onsets are considered here as monosegmental. To be valid this [w] should not be the same as the passive derivative which has a morpheme boundary and may be moved in derivation to occupy another syllabic position, for example, /lobgwa/ (be beaten) becomes in the applicative /lobegwa/ (be beaten for). Some phonological realizations can be observed in Kalanga where syllabification rules are perturbed by the language contextual variations.

- Velarization:

A non-velar sound derives a velar:

lw /lu → gw: ludo lu+angu → gwangu

- "Strengthening

In 'strengthening', (which is phonological a re-emergence of a muted plosive consonant), a historical plosive is obtained:

l → d: lapa → ndapo; h → g: hamba → gamba; huku → guku(lume)

•Devoicing:

A voiced sound loses its voiced features:

g → k: gudo → makudo; gamu → makamu;

•Imbrication

A suffix is embedded, that is, imbricated, into the lexical stem:

l+i → dz eg. -lilà 'cry' → -lìdzà 'play an instrument'

•Labialization

A labial sound emerges in a co-articulated sound:

-tshw → ps eg. -tshwaila 'sweep' → psaila

-dzw- → bz eg. -dzwala 'sow' → bzala

Some alternations make semantic distinctions and may have arisen from allophonic units which are no longer synchronically apparent in the system:

•Alternations and semantic derivation

1.-lila 'cry' → -lilisa 'make cry' → -lidza 'play an instrument'

-gwala 'be sick' → gwalisa 'make sick' → gwadza 'pain'(v)

For example the causative derivative which is to be posited as [-i.s-] may cause two realisations of a verbal lexeme to imply two things:

•The structure of the causative suffix

-gwála (to be sick) may become (with the long form of the causative morpheme) -gwálísà (to make sick) or (with the short causative morpheme) -gwádzà (to pain);

-mùkà (to wake up) may become (with the long form of the causative morpheme) -mùkìsà (to ask

“how are you” in greetings) or (with the short causative morpheme) -mùsà (to awaken).

The case of the [Ø], that is, the empty C, that surfaces as /dʒ/ or /g/ can be assumed to arise from a diachronically muted phoneme:

- Muted historical consonant

A historical sound is brought to prominence in certain phonological contexts:

-alakana → n-dʒalakanwa;

-amutjila → gamutjilo

The above phonological changes can be summarized in the following table. It should be noted however that the table does not exhaustively account for all the alterations that maybe observed in the language.

Table 3. Table of sound changes

Sound	Nasal + C	C + V (u/w)	C + V (i)
p		pk ^h w ← pw	
b	ps	bgw ← bw	
m/n	N	Nw ← mw	
l	d	gw ← rw (strengthened)	dz or lis- (lexico-semantic selection)
g		k (de-voicing)	
k		hw (de-strengthened)	
n...		w / ø	
(dzw)		(bz)	
'nd'			tsh- ← ndis- (de-voicing)
ø	dʒand/ or g		

Phonology is concerned not just with the description of phonemes but their varied interactions in phonological contexts and in morpho-phonological structures which occur in normal speaker's communication:

- Phonetic context generated

l+u → gw;

Ø+V → dʒ or g

- Morpho-syntactic domain generated

Morpho-syntactic domain generated through the concatenation and fusion of some grammatical elements (prefixal, tense-aspect-markers (TAM), separated by an internal domain demarcation marked by (#):

pà # Σángó # pà-ná # kù-tǿísà; → pà-Σángó pánótǿísà

‘in the wild it is frightening’

kù-nzì kù-ná kù-zìpà → kùnzi kózìpà ‘At home it is nice’

- Phonological domain generated

ndi + imi → ndimi ‘it is me’

copul. 1ps.sg Pro.

ndì + ná # kù-èndà → [ndóyéndà] ‘I go / I am going’;

1ps.sg SM +Imperfective # cl.15-go

ndì-ná # kù- à # kù-èndà → [ndówóyéndà] ‘I’ll go’

1ps.sg SM# cl.15-come#cl.14-go

- Tonal coalescence:

L#H# L/H → ...H.):

kózìpà ← kù-ná#kù-zìpà ‘it is nice’

The peculiarity of the application of these morpho-phonological rules is that they traverse some morphological domains even as they have their own internal boundaries. This phenomenon interests also the phonological word division rule that is applicable in orthography.

Phonological Structures and Realisation Rules

The preceding examples and discussions show the extent to which morpho-phonological units can interact with each other facilitated by adjacency of lexical and syntactic words and even at the level of inter-phrasal units. It can occur in Kalanga that even a minimal significant unit may undergo changes of its phonological form caused by morphemes that associate with it, and some of these changes may be semantically conditioned as we have seen in earlier examples.

- Derivation semantically conditioned

-lila 'cry' → -lilisa 'make cry' → -lidza 'play an instrument'

-gwala 'be sick' → gwalisa 'make sick' → gwadza 'pain'(v)

Some coalescence operations which result in structure contraction intervene during syllabification:

- Syntactic coalescence

Concatenations of grammatical units result in a fused structure:

ndi-ku-ti → wuti;

u-na ku-tʃa ku-zha -ku-enda → wotʃowoyenda

Note that tense and aspect markers (TAM); [na] for the imperfective; [zha] for prospective; [ku-] for infinitive. The resulted structure has grammaticalized the structure that while it recalls the historical value, has derived a subtle semantic value.

Some of these changes in realisations may be conditioned syntactically. For example, in Kalanga the difference between a relative form and a non-relative form is in the surface structure realisation of the deep structure forms. For instance:

- Morpho-syntactic conditioning

[ɪmì ndóyéndà] (me, I go) contrasts with the relative
[ɪmí ndínóyéndà] (I, who goes or also, 'me, who I am going),

where in one form the contraction is partial and in the other it goes further.

In accounting for these phonological structures, one has to assume, as earlier alluded to, that they are diachronically as well as contextually motivated phonological processes.

- Concatenation of phonological processes

Assimilation → Fusion → coalescence → inter-domain conjunction:

1.[ndi-a # ka-fanila # ku-yenda] ← SM-TAM # TAM-VS # PREF.-VS:

1.[ndì-à # ká-fáníl[à # kù]-èndà]

1ps.sg.SM-Past. Remote-must#cl.15-go'

2.[ndà-káfání[lò]èndà]

→ ndàkáfánílòyèndà

'I must (necessarily) go'

2.[ndi-na #ku-shaka # ku-m-bona]

▪ [ndi-na] #[ku-shaka] #[ku-mbona]

[1ps.sg.imperf. #inf.-want #inf.-3ps.sg.-see]

▪ [ndoshokombona]

'I want to see him'

Syllabic reductions can occur in the context of an N preceded by high vowels [i] or [u] and low vowel [a]:

- Phrase level conjunctions and vowel coalescence

1.ndóyèndà 'I am going / I go' ← ndì-ná # kù-èndà

1ps.sg-imper. inf.-go

2.ndowoyenda 'I shall go' ← ndì-ná # kù-3à # kù-èndà

3.ndóndómá kùmìndà 'I shall go and stop at the fields'

▪ ndì-ná kù-ná kù-má ku-mìndà

4.wówózhà '3ps.sg.prospective-come' ← ú-ná kù-zhà kù-zhà

5.ndóshókómbónà ← ndì-ná kù-shàkà kù-n-bóna 'I want to see him'

1ps.sg-imperf. inf.-want inf.-see

6.ndábé ndibùzwa ← ndì-a-bé ndì-bùzwà 'I was asking'

1ps.sg-past-verb (to be) 1ps.sg.-ask

Note:

- 1) These syllabic concatenations and reductions apply across even where there are interposed morpheme / enclitic, word and phrase level boundaries.
- 2) In licensing of these morpho-phonological rules, low tone syllables are “weak syllables” and become dominated by the available high tone.
- 3) Diphthongs play no significant role in the phonological and morphological processes; only gliding may occur.

According to Creissels (*Phonologie du tswana*, VI,1), the postulated underlying forms must allow one to correctly predict the forms that are realised by means of rules that verify as much as possible the following conditions:

- each realisation rule must be motivated in an independent manner to take into account several processes that are produced in different grammatical contexts;
- each realisation rule must operate on all phonological units belonging to a given class and must modify all these units in the same manner;
- the conditioning must be formulated in general phonological terms

The following examples provide illustrations for some of these phonological rules:

- The role of High Vowels [i] & [u (w)]

-lapa (give medical treatment) has in the passive two variants:

-lapiwa < -lap+iwa
 -lapkhwa < -lapwa < lap+iwa < (complex labio-velarization)

-loba (to bit) has the following variants of the passive:

-lobiwa < -lob+iwa
 -lobgwa < -lobwa < -lobiwa (simplex labio-velarization)

-shola (check on something or someone) becomes -shogwa in the passive

b,p,l, ----> g / - (i)w or -uV

- Transformations in ‘normal phonetic environment’ - assimilation

ndonloba ‘I beat him/her’ < ndì-ná kù-n-lóbà and

ndombona ‘I see him/her’ < ndì-ná kù-n-bóbà

As it can be observed from the analyzed phonological processes and their associated context, the rules that derive certain morpho-phonological structures are very extensive and also complex as they may arise from diachronic processes or from units that have grammaticalized and are therefore

not evident in synchrony.

The described phonological processes can occur in structure individually or collectively, concurrently and simultaneously. All depends on the phonological contexts interactions licensing mechanism that come to play in a given morpho-phonological context. alanga is therefore a morpho-phonological language. In the theoretical account that is advanced, it should be stated that the interaction of phrase level elements is semantically conditioned, before phonological rules can apply:

- Syllabic structure of fused forms

CV # CV # CV → CV; CVCV...

5. [ndi-na ku-yenda → ndoyenda] 'I go/ am going'

6. CVCV...# CVCV...#CVCV → CVCVCV...

[ndì-ná# kù-fánílà # kù-èndà → ndófánílóyéndà] 'I need to go'

It should be posited that:

- The grammatical structure of fused forms

SM#TAM#PREF-VERB → [SM-TAM-VERB];

SM-TAM-VERC#PREF-VERB → [SM-TAM-VERB],

and therefore a verb word can be made up of the concatenation of subject marker, tense-aspect marker, auxiliating verb (verb-prefix-verb stem), main verb (prefix-verb stem). Consequently inter-verbal domains are linkable, and thus

- Tonal derivation of fused forms

[ndófánílóyénda] is basically [nd[ná#kù-]-yenda] 'I must go', tonally derived (and note the propagation of the high tone in the fused tonal domain)

LL..[HL]...LL... → HHHHHL

If the interposing elements are non-verbal the concatenation is minimized:

•Verbal and non-verbal junctions and minimal fusion

[ndì-ná # kù-kù-lóbólélà # bubuya → ndókúlóbólélà bùbùyà]

1ps.sg-imp.asp. 2ps.sg-inf-marry-appl beauty

‘I marry you for beauty’

The syllabification of the structure further illustrates:

CVCV...# CVCV...#CVCV → CVCVCV...

[ndì-ná # kù-fánilà # kù-èndà ← target by assimilation (progressive./regres.)

- *ndinokufanila kuyenda ← re-targeting (progres./regressive. Assim.):
coalescence; re-phonologization

ndófánilóyéndà] ← tonal and syllabic alignment

‘I need to go’

The morpho-phonology of Kalanga, phrase level coalescence mimics the word internal coalescence. In these structures, sound tonal changes also suggest that syllables fuse at the phrase level. There is also tonal neutralization which must apply before two phrasal conjunction coalescences could occur. These phonological and morphological rules that apply in coalescence do not licence diphthongs but glides may occur. These rules apply mostly at verb word class but may occur in some other word classes. Kalanga consequently does not seem to have constraints on the minimal word effects (that is, it allows an elaborate number of syllabic sequencing. The full account of all these phonological and morphological processes can only be elaborated in a comprehensive grammatical study of the language.

Conclusion

The discussion of the phonology and the morpho-phonological rules that operate in Kalanga language grammatical units has demonstrated that some morpho-phonological rules function underlyingly and have surface realisation that may be deemed to work in a very ‘peculiar’ phonological manner, if and when the observation and the attended analysis does not assume diachronic evolutions that has resulted in the surface realizations of the current language. It has been demonstrated that within a given verbal syntactic structure, there may often apply concurrent as well as progressive rules which have the effect of regressive assimilation, coalescence, elision, truncation, and vocalic and consonantal alternation. As it has been observed, some of these morpho-phonological rules can be extensive or altogether unaccountable diachronically. However, they can be deduced from the general phonological rules that are observable in other comparable units. The hypothesis that has been underlying in the discussion is that these are ordinary rules whose only

'peculiarity' is to operate and apply cumulatively and extensively, and they can be accounted for within the standard theories of morpho-phonology.

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Abstract

This article falls under the broad area of child language acquisition. It aims to present a qualitative analysis of the acquisition of Shona number morphemes (NMs). The data collection procedures for this research involved a fortnightly observation and audio-recording of the spontaneous speech of three children who were acquiring Shona as a mother tongue (L1). The results of this investigation show that NMs are acquired in three partially overlapping stages. In the first stage, nouns are produced without NMs and as time progresses, in the second stage, they are produced with them but in the form of an onsetless vowel. In the third stage, nouns are produced with full and phonologically appropriate NMs. The empirical and theoretical findings of this article are expected to broaden and deepen our knowledge of morphology and phonology-morphology interface in the context of child language acquisition. As there are few descriptive and theoretical studies on the acquisition of Shona, this research recommends more studies on this subject.

Key words: Child language acquisition; number morphemes; grammatical morphemes; morphology; Shona; children

Introduction

The acquisition of Shona child number morphemes is investigated in this article. The main aims of undertaking linguistic research are summarized by Chomsky (1986) in the form of three questions, which are:

6. What constitutes knowledge of language?

How is such knowledge acquired?

How is such knowledge put to use?

The first question is concerned with the description and modeling of what people know about language, that is, whatever they have in their minds when they know Shona, Ndebele, Nambya and English, among other languages. This is what is referred to as the internalized language (I-language) by Chomsky (1986). There are many theoretical and descriptive studies that have been done on the grammatical structure of Shona and not much has been done on the acquisition of this language. The second question, which directly relates to the concerns of this investigation, shows that the aim of doing linguistic research is to discover how people acquire language. It becomes logical that studying the acquisition of language means first establishing what the knowledge that is actually acquired consist of. The aim of the third question is to look at how the linguistic knowledge that is acquired is put to use. This article is mainly inspired by the second question and its broad objective is to examine how the Shona language is acquired. Through this article we hope to contribute towards a better understanding of the processes and patterns of child language acquisition.

This research seeks to analyze the acquisition of Shona morphology; in particular the development of Shona number morphemes (NMs). Morphology is the study of the internal structure of words. It looks at how morphemes are combined to yield words. This study, therefore, presents a descriptive morphological analysis of the internal structure of words that are produced by children in acquiring Shona as a mother tongue.

It is worth noting that, in Shona, as in other Southern Bantu languages, all nouns are inflected for number and this is one of the criteria that are used for noun classification (see Fortune, 1980). All Shona noun inflectional markers (IMs) are prefixal (see Mkanganwi, 1995; 2002). It is important to examine the acquisition of Shona inflectional morphology because inflection is an obligatory morphological operation and this is, perhaps, why inflections are sometimes referred to as 'grammatical morphemes'. Failure to inflect substantive stems makes Shona ungrammatical (Mkanganwi, 1995; 2002). This article, therefore, seeks to characterize the stages in which Shona NMs are acquired by children acquiring the language as a mother tongue. The following section briefly discusses previous studies that have been done on the acquisition of Bantu languages. This is done in order to contextualize the study and demonstrate the gap in knowledge that it attempts to fill.

Previous studies on the acquisition of Bantu languages

There are a number of systematic studies that have been done on the acquisition of various grammatical aspects of different Bantu languages for three decades now (Demuth, 2003). Kunene (1979) is one of the earliest to undertake systematic investigations of the acquisition of Bantu languages and examines the acquisition of the nominal morphology of Swati, focusing on noun prefixes and nominal agreement such as possessives and demonstratives. The data for the study are drawn from spontaneous speech samples and informal elicitation sessions with two children aged 2;22 -3 and 2;11-3;6 and an experimental study with three children aged 4;6-6 (Demuth, 2003:209). Studies on the acquisition of the Zulu language examine its noun class system, agreement and the passive (Suzman, 1991). Another closely related research is the one that was done by Tsonope

2 For the purposes of this article, 2;3 represents two years and three months, 2;11 represents two years and eleven months etc.

(1987) who conducted a longitudinal study of two Tswana-speaking children, focusing on the noun class system and nominal agreement with possessives and demonstratives. Generally, these studies report that children acquiring Bantu languages have mastered the noun class and agreement system before the age of 3 and the competence with complex grammatical constructions and the grammatical tone systems is well underway.

The amount of literature on the child language acquisition of Shona is very meager. To date Chiswanda (1994) and Mudzingwa (2001) are the two systematic studies that have been done on the acquisition of Shona. Chiswanda (1994) presents a cross-sectional study of four children between twelve and twenty-five months. She discusses the meaning, number and size of syllables in children's utterances. Under semantics, she examines overgeneralizations, onomatopoeia and the use of action words for making demands. One of her major findings is that, contrary to Brown's general claim that demonstratives are acquired fairly late, in Shona, demonstratives actually appear very early. Contrary to Clark and Clark's (1977) and deVilliers and deVilliers' (1973) claims that passives are acquired very late, in Shona, the passives appear in the speech of an eighteen months old child, which is earlier than in English. She also briefly looks at the substitution of phonemes, syllable omission patterns and the development of phrases and sentences. Chiswanda's (1994) investigation is very general and does not give due attention to any of the aspects of Shona child language acquisition that she sets out to investigate.

Mudzingwa (2001) descriptively examines the phonological structures of early Shona words. He looked at the development of phonological structures of his daughter over a period of two years. In collecting data, he used a parental diary which was complemented by fortnightly audio-recordings. The findings of his study show that in each of the phases that he established, the adult word was adjusted in flexible ways in order to achieve a preferred pattern (template). It was observed that the phonological complexity of the structure of the child's words developed gradually, with reference to syllable count, syllable structures, variety of syllables across the word, permitted consonant co-occurrence patterns, within phases as well as across phases.

According to Mudzingwa (2001), the development or growth of the phonological structures of the child's words came as a result of successive 'relaxations' or an overcoming of previous restrictions on the phonological complexity of the word. This was accounted for using the 'assimilation' and 'accommodation' concepts. He goes on to say that 'assimilation' was where the child adjusted the adult word so that it matched a particular template, whereas 'accommodation' was where more complex words were accommodated as a result of overcoming or relaxing some previous constraints.

The results of his analysis show that during the earliest period of observation (i.e. 1;3-1;8), the word is the basic phonological unit around which the child organizes her phonology and around 1;9 this gradually shifts to the syllable. Mudzingwa's (2001) study is valuable to the area of child language acquisition because it presents insights into the acquisition of most aspects of Shona segmental phonology. In addition, the corpus of data presented in Mudzingwa's (2001) longitudinal study can contribute towards the building of a database on the acquisition of not only phonology but the acquisition of Shona grammatical structures in general. However, there are many insights that can be gained by applying the tenets of Optimality Theory (OT) to Mudzingwa's (2001) data. This is important given the fact that, under OT, part of acquiring a language is acquiring the critical constraint rankings of that language.

Acquisition studies of Bantu morphology report very similar findings. Concerning the acquisition of

prefixes, studies report the following overlapping stages of development during the ages 2-3 (Demuth, 2003):

- No prefixes (full or partial noun stems)
- ‘Shadow’ vowel and nasal prefixes
- Full and phonologically appropriate noun class prefixes

In light of these observations, this study seeks to examine the development of NMs in Shona. In order to achieve this goal, the following research questions guided the study:

- What is the morphological structure of NMs that 2-3 years old children acquiring Shona as a mother tongue produce?
- What strategies do children acquiring Shona as a mother tongue adopt when acquiring Shona nouns that mark plurality using different inflecting affixes depending on the class of the noun?

In order to address these research questions, we examine the morphological structures of the words that are produced by children acquiring Shona as a mother tongue and we also look at how these structures reflect the strategies and/or operating principles that children employ when acquiring the morphology of a language. In the following section, we describe the data gathering techniques that we employed in this research.

Data collection procedures

The findings that are presented in this article are based on the data that were collected from the speech produced by three children. The data collection procedures were primarily observational and/or naturalistic. We employed participant observation and tape-recording as the main two data collection techniques. The data collection procedures were the same for the three children. The data were collected through observing and tape-recording the spontaneous speech of the three children while interacting with family members in play situations with toys, balls and animals. The use of a tape-recorder has the advantage of collecting data as it occurs naturally, hence this data collection approach provides a “...linguistically accurate corpus of data” (Samarin, 1967:8). Crystal (1987:170) acknowledges the value of naturalistic data and he says:

if one is to undertake a language investigation it is imperative that he or she records each and every sound. This is important because more accurate insights can be gleaned from naturalistic data than data collected from controlled settings.

The data were collected in each of the children’s home and this was done to ensure that the data were collected in naturalistic settings (real life situations) in order to avoid artificiality. The data were collected over a period of six months. This time frame allows for developments in child language acquisition to occur. The six months period was considered to be adequate to gather a representative corpus of data on the acquisition of NMs.

The three children that we observed are Tatenda Hazangwi (two years, four months old), AnnaLois Sibanda (two years, six months old) and Tafadzwa Kurotwi (two years, nine months old). We

examined the speech of three children because this is the number that we could handle, given the available resources and time that is required for tape-recording. In addition, generally, three is considered to be the absolute minimum number of children for one to make generalizations on child language acquisition. This study follows the methodologies that were employed in longitudinal studies by Braine (1963), Bloom (1970) and Brown (1973). Ingram (1989:21) is of the view that:

...if one child is chosen, we do not know if the child is typical or not; if two we do not know which of the two is typical and which is unusual; with three, we at least have the majority that can be used to make such a decision.

The choice of the age ranges for this research was mostly influenced by the suggested stages of child language acquisition by Stern (1924), Nice (1925), Braine (1963) and Brown (1973). In their stages of acquisition, these scholars agree that morphological markers begin to occur during the multiword stage, which begins around the age of two.

The three children that were chosen for this study share common demographic characteristics, that is, they all come from urban families, stay in low density areas, are female and have almost similar socio-economic statuses. They are the only children in their families, and live with both parents and a maid. It is noteworthy that although the three children are acquiring Shona as their mother tongue, they are simultaneously acquiring English. This is because they stay with people who are Shona-English bilingual who also regularly use English in their everyday speech. The choice of female participants was not deliberate but was because these are the ones who were easily accessible to the researchers.

Tatenda was first tape-recorded when she was two and half years old. She is the youngest participant in the study. She was very active and liked to talk so much (not as much as the other two), but her speech was a bit unclear during the familiarization sessions. She was tape-recorded for twelve months. AnnaLois (Catherine Ruvimbo Sibanda's daughter) was two years and six months old when she was first tape-recorded. She talked a lot. Since she is one of the researchers' daughter it was easy for the mother to take note of any minute phonological and morphological developments. She was also-tape recorded for twelve months.

Tafadzwa is the eldest of all the three subjects in this research. She was two years and nine months old when she was first tape-recorded. She was tape-recorded for eleven sessions. The twelfth recording was missed because she had left Harare for holiday with her parents.

The children's utterances were audio-recorded using a high quality tape-recorder and low noise tapes in order to capture the children's utterances clearly. The observation and tape-recording sessions were held at fortnight intervals. Each tape-recording session lasted twenty to thirty minutes. The recordings took place at each of the three children's homes where the children typically engaged in verbal communication with their families. The collection of data in natural environments (in the children's homes) enabled the children to communicate (talk) freely. The audio-recordings were done where there was no background noise and where there was little or no reverberation. After the tape recording, the tapes were dated, numbered and kept safely together with their transcriptions.

The data analysis was done by breaking the children's words into their smallest morphemic units. This is because the focus of this study is on the acquisition of inflectional morphology, with specific reference to the development of NMs. It must be

Some plural morphemes of class 11 nouns are in class 6, while others are in class 10. For example, the plurals of the class 11 nouns *ruwoko* ‘hand’ and *ruwa* ‘district’ are *mawoko* ‘hands’ and *maruwa* ‘district’ in class 6 respectively and the plural form for *rukukwe* ‘sleeping mat’ is *hukwe* ‘sleeping mats’ in class 10. Class 19 is marked for plurality using the class 14 morpheme. For example, the plural of the class 19 noun *svimbudzi* ‘goat’ ‘small, thin goat’ is *vumbudzi* ‘small, thin goats’ in class 14. It must be noted that the class 19 is found only in the Karanga dialect of Shona. Class 21 nouns are marked for plurality by the class 6 morpheme. For example, the plural forms of *zigadzi* ‘huge woman’ and *zinzeve* ‘huge ear’ in class 21 are *mazigadzi* ‘huge women’ and *mazinzeve* ‘huge ears’ in class 6 respectively. Further, classes 3 and 11 prefixes do not function as number morphemes in mass and abstract nouns. Typical examples are *mukaka* ‘milk’ in class 3, *muto* ‘soup’ in class 3, *rugare* ‘good living’ in class 11 and *rudo* ‘love’ in class 11. These words are put in their respective classes on the basis of con-cordial agreement. The table below provides a summary of the linkage of NMs that we find in the Shona language.

Table 2: A summary of the singular-plural linkage of NMs in Shona

Singular		Plural	
mu- (class 1)		va- (class 2)	
∅- (class 1a)		Va- (class 2a)	
a- (class 2b)			
Mu- (class 3)		mi- (class 4)	
ri-/ ∅- (class 5)		ma- (class 6)	
chi- (class 7)		zvi- (class 8)	
N- (class 9)		dzi-/N- (class 10)	
ru- (class 11)		ma- (class 6)/ dzi - (class 10)	
ka- (class 12)		tu- (class 13)	
svi- (class 19)		u-/vu- (class 14)	
zi- (class 21)		ma- (class 6)	

Hypothetically, this wide range of number morphemes can be a challenge to a child acquiring Shona, since there is need to map out the morphosyntactic position of each of these morphemes. However, the results of this study demonstrate that the child is neither challenged nor vexed by this array of morphemes. The singular–plural morphemes given in Table 2 signal semantic information about number and they are the targeted morphemes of the participants in this research.

The NMs bring out grammaticality in a sentence. They also bring concordance in sentences. These number marking grammatical morphemes in Shona are important because they govern the form of many other morphosyntactic elements that may occur in a sentence. The following section presents the findings of this investigation.

Data Analysis: Categories in the data

In analyzing data, we observed that NMs that are produced by the children under investigation have different phonological structures (shape) and we placed the words into three different categories on the basis of the differences. The term category is used in this article to refer to a set of words that have NMs that are similar in structure. The

three categories are: Category 1: No NMs, Category 2: Partial NMs and Category 3: Full NMs. Category 1 words are characterized by the omission of the NM. The words in this category do not have NMs in contexts where they are required to have them in line with the requirements of Shona grammar. The children's forms in this category show that NMs are omitted resulting in words that consist of bare stems.

Category 2 shows the beginning of the emergence of NMs. It indicates a step up in the development of NMs. While in Category 1 words do not have NMs, in Category 2 part of the targeted NM begins to emerge. The set of words in this category share the feature of having part of the target NM in the form of an onsetless vowel. This means that in this category children omit the consonant of the target NM in their speech. In other words, the NMs that are produced at this stage do not have sufficient phonemic content.

The third category is the one in which a word is produced without any 'errors' and resembles the morphological structure of the adult form. The phonemic structure of the children's NMs resembles what we find in adult speech. This means that the words consist of both the NM and the content or lexical morpheme (prefix and stem). At this stage, the target NM is supplied correctly. The following section describes the features of Category 1 words.

Category 1: No NMs

From the results of this study, Category 1 words are the first or earliest step in the development of Shona NMs. The fact that NMs are not appearing means that at this stage they have not yet been acquired. This is not an idiosyncratic feature of children acquiring Shona as L1 because studies by Connelly (1984), Demuth (1993) and Kunene (1979) indicate that the omission of noun prefixes is the early stage in acquiring the morphologies of Bantu languages. Table 3 below shows the words that were produced without NMs:

Table 3: Children's words without NMs

Child word	Omitted NMs	Adult word	Gloss
-chairo	mu- (class 3)	mutsvairo	broom
-koro	chi- (class 7)	chikoro	school
shonga	mu- (class 3)	mushonga	medicine
-ana	mu- (class 1)	mwana	child
-riwo	mu- (class 3)	muriwo	vegetables
-bage	Chi- (class 7)	chibage	maize

Table 3 shows children's words that are produced without NMs and the targeted adult words, which have NMs. Children's words, are made up of lexical morphemes only. For example, children's words such as *-chairo*, *-shonga*, *-koro*, *-ana*, *-riwo* and *-bage* are produced without NMs which are {mu-} for *mutsvairo* 'broom' and *mushonga* 'medicine' and {chi-} for *chibage* 'maize' and *chikoro*

'school'. Only stems of these words are appearing in child speech. This gives us ample evidence that lexical morphemes are acquired first before grammatical morphemes.

Furthermore, the words given in Table 3 indicate that children store lexical morphemes as whole words, leaving out NMs. Thus, the lexical morphemes that are produced by the children are not assigned grammatical information of number. Though meaningful, these lexical morphemes lack grammatical information for them to be syntactically acceptable.

One question that quickly comes to mind is: Why do children omit the NMs and not lexical morphemes? One possible answer could be that they acquire lexical morphemes first because they carry the actual semantic content of the word. This observation is confirmed by Slobin's (1985) operating principle which predicts that children pay attention to the end of a word. Therefore, children acquiring Shona as a mother tongue omit NMs because they constitute the beginning of a word while the lexical morphemes are retained because they form the end of a word. From this principle, we can hypothesize that in acquiring Shona nouns and nominal agreements children will produce lexical morphemes first without NMs.

This pattern of child language acquisition could be accounted for by the fact that the end of a word is more salient than the beginning. It is possible that although lexical morphemes are relatively morphologically complex, they are more salient for the child, as they always appear in a fixed position, which is at the end of a word. Furthermore, the end of a word is best retained in short memory. Newport et al. (1977) say that children selectively pick up information at the end of a word or a sentence. In the same vein, Slobin employs the principle mentioned above to account for the fact that the acquisition of suffixes is easier than the acquisition of prefixes (Slobin, 1985). The salience of units that occur at the end of words has been reported in serial recall studies (see, for example, Hagen and Stanovich, 1977).

Another possible explanation for this pattern of acquisition is that lexical morphemes have concrete meaning. Scholars such as Brown (1973), de Villiers and de Villiers (1978) and Kunene (1979) have used the form/content distinction in explaining why children produce lexical morphemes first. Shona morphology, like any other Southern Bantu morphologies, shows that the language's words have a form/content distinction, of which the NMs are devoid of any intrinsic specific meaning whilst the lexical morphemes carry concrete meaning. The fact that lexical morphemes carry the main meaning of a word can be given as the justification for the occurrence of words consisting of lexical morphemes without NMs in the first stage of language acquisition. Although this is a plausible explanation it is important not to overlook the fact that it is based more on adult knowledge of morphological structure of words and does not adequately explain how the child gets to know about the form/content distinction.

In addition, Table 3 indicates that at Category 1 stage lexical morphemes are stored in the word category. The fact that children produce the lexical morphemes without NMs is an indication that they are stored as words. This means that when retrieving the stored lexical morphemes the children do not assign them any NMs since they perceive them as complete words. In this case, findings from child language acquisition are giving us an insight into language storage.

We also observed that words in classes 1a, 5 and 9 were produced without grammatical morphemes. Words in these classes share a common morphological feature that is; they do not have marked class morphemes. It is interesting to note that the children produced these words holistically without

segmenting them. This is partly because the words that are in these classes are free morphemes. This shows us that children do not haphazardly segment the words that they hear. Examples of words in classes 1a, 5 and 9 which were holistically produced by the children are *basa* ‘work’ (class 5), *Mutare* (class 1a), *mota* ‘car’ (class 9), *gogo* ‘grandmother’ (class 1a) and *zai* ‘egg’ (class 5).

This article proposes that context and frequency play a significant role in the choice of lexical morphemes over NMs in the speech of children acquiring Shona as a native language. In this case, we are considering the role of linguistic exposure in child language acquisition. It seems children rely, to some extent, on the interaction that they have with the speakers of the language that they acquire. The frequency of the use of lexical morphemes in adult speech can be said to be an important factor to consider when explaining the emergence of bare lexical morphemes in the early stages of child language acquisition. Although there is no empirical evidence to support this claim, it is our impression, as native speakers of the Shona language, that adult speakers produce lexical morphemes more frequently than NMs. In order to insightfully explain how frequency plays a significant role in language acquisition, we use the example of the Shona class 1 noun *musikana* ‘girl’. The [+human] noun *musikana*, in adult speech, takes various NMs depending on the environment in which it occurs. The assumption here is that a child acquiring Shona hears the lexical morpheme *-sikana* more frequently than all the other grammatical morphemes that can be assigned to it.

Figure 1: The frequency of the lexical morpheme *-sikana* in Shona words

mu + sikana	IM + lexical morpheme
	va + sikana (class 2)
	chi + sikana (class 7)
{ -sikana }	zvi+ sikana (class 8)
(LM)	ka + sikana (class 12)
	tu + sikana (class 13)
	svi + sikana (class 21)

Figure 1 shows that the lexical morpheme *-sikana* occurs in a number of morphological environments without altering its base form or deep structure. It takes different NMs such as {mu-}, {va-}, {chi-}, {zvi-}, {ka-}, {tu-} and {svi-} as shown in Figure 1 above. It is our contention that a child acquiring Shona hears more of the invariant lexical morpheme than the variant NMs. This explains why children first produce what they hear more, in this case, NMs. It seems the child comes face-to-face with the challenge of choosing the appropriate NM. de Villiers and de Villiers (1978:69) describe words that are produced with lexical morphemes without NMs as telegraphic speech. The adjective ‘telegraphic’ is an apt metaphor because adults produce similar sentences under conditions where words cost a lot of money such as in telegrams, short message services and classified advertisement.

What is striking about the behavior of children at this stage of language acquisition is that even in vowel hiatus resolution there is general preference for phonological material in the lexical morpheme to material in the prefix. For example, Shona vowel hiatus resolution strategies such as glide formation and vowel deletion target the vowel of the prefix and retain the vowel of the lexical morpheme (see, Kadenge, 2010a) as shown in the examples given below:

Glide formation	
(2a) mu + ana	mwana (child) ‘class 1’

(2b)	tu + ana	twana	(children) 'class (13)'
	Vowel elision		
(3a)	mu + oto	moto	(fire) 'class 3'
(3b)	chi + oto	choto	(fire place) 'class 7'

Examples (2a) and (2b) show that, in Shona, the prefix vowel /u/ is realized as [w] when followed by a vowel-initial stem. The vowel of the stem is not affected by this process which shows that the stem or lexical morpheme is the preferred part of a word. The phonological material of the lexical morpheme is left intact in phonological processes. The same observation is reflected in examples (3a) and (3b) in which the vowel of the prefix is deleted while the vowel of the stem remains intact. Similar hiatus resolution strategies are reported for Nambya by Kadenge (2010b). These processes show that in language processing there is a general tendency to maintain the structure of lexical morphemes (structure retention). As time progresses, the child gradually manages to map out the syntactic function of these grammatical morphemes and lexical morphemes will slowly be assigned grammatical information in speech. The following section analyses the morphological structure of Category 2 words which show the beginning of the emergence of NMs.

Category 2: Partial Nms.

While in Category 1 the words that are produced do not have NMs, the ones that are produced in Category 2 show that children inflect the lexical morphemes with a partial NM. It is partial because it is made up of an onsetless vowel instead of a canonical Shona syllable shape consisting of an onset (margin) and a nucleus (obligatory center). This shows that, at this stage, children have not yet mastered the full phonemic and/or syllabic structures of the NMs, which resemble those of adult words but, as mentioned earlier in this article, the children are beginning to inflect the lexical morphemes with NMs. This means that the children have acquired the appropriate rule for assigning grammatical markers to lexical forms to come up with well-formed words. The table below presents the examples for this category.

Table 4: Omission of consonantal onsets in NMs

Child word	Omitted consonants	Adult word	Gloss
-inga	ch [tʃ]	chingwa	bread
-ikoro	ch	chikoro	school
-afuta	m [m]	mafuta	lotion
-apegi	m	mapegi	pegs
-ota	m	mota	car
-ainini	m	mainini	aunt
-ipunu	s [s]	sipunu	spoon
-epa	b [b]	bepa	paper

Table 4 shows that at the stage of child language acquisition under discussion the children omit the consonantal onset part of the syllable structure of the NMs and the word-initial consonants of other

free lexical morphemes. For example, in the Shona word *chingwa* 'bread' (CV.CV.), which is produced as *ingwa* (V.CV.) by children, the onset [tʃ] has been dropped leaving the onsetless vowel [i] functioning as the NM. The remaining word-initial onsetless [i] is used as a 'place holder'. Connelly (1984) describes such 'place holder' segments as amorphous and generalized entities that show that the child has marked the obligatory presence of an NM without yet being able to produce the correct form. In terms of Chomsky's (1986) internalized-language (I-language) versus externalized language (E-language) dichotomy, we can conclude that, at this stage of child language acquisition, children have developed the internalized language which is being poorly reflected on the surface as externalized language.

The phonological process that seems to be in operation at this stage is consonant omission. It seems the children drop consonants in order to facilitate easy of articulation. Owens (1988:393) explains the consonant omission process by highlighting the difference in complexity between consonants and vowels and he says that the former are more phonologically complex than the latter. While the consonants are dropped for phonological reasons, the impact is on the production of NMs. For example, the dropping of 'ch' [tʃ] in *chingwa* (bread) to come up with *-ingwa* in child speech results in an ill-formed NM. As a result, the word becomes ungrammatical and phonologically incomplete. It can be argued that children drop the consonants because they are the optional elements in syllable structure while the vowels are retained because they are obligatory constituent of the syllable.

It is also interesting to note that the omission of consonants does not result in the modification of the remaining vowel of the NM. For example, when the 'ch' sound of the NM 'chi' (class 7) in *chikoro* 'school' is deleted the vowel of the NM maintains its original shape [i]. Furthermore, Table 4 shows that the omission of consonants is not restricted to morphologically complex words (words with more than one morpheme) but is also extended to free morphemes. For example, the word *mota* 'car', which is morphologically simple (one morpheme), is realized as *ota* in the children's speech. In this case, the word initial 'm' has been deleted though it is not part of an NM.

The data for this research show that in Category 1 children did not drop consonants for free morphemes but at stage 3 they did. This becomes a case of overgeneralization. This is mainly because a process which applies to morphologically complex words is extended to the production of free morphemes. The following section examines the morphological structure of Category 3 words.

Category 3: Full Nms

It has been shown in this article that the acquisition of NMs follows a systematic pattern. The first stage is characterized by the absence of NMs whilst the second stage shows the partial development of NMs in the form of onsetless vowels. This section deals with the final development of NMs. At this stage, children produce words that are similar to adult words. They produce full and phonologically appropriate NMs. These observations are shown in the following table.

Table 5: The production of full NMs

Child form	Target form	adult	Gloss
chi + ngwa	chingwa		bread
chi + oto	choto		fire place
mu + ana	mwana		child

va + ana		vana		children	
ma + bhuku		mabhuku		books	
ma + pepa		mapepa		paper	
ma + kumbo		makumbo		legs	
ma + sikati		masikati		Good afternoon.	
mu + soro		musoro		head	

Table 5 shows the full realization of NMs in the speech of children acquiring Shona as a mother tongue. At this stage, which occurs around the age of two years and six months, the NMs are correctly produced and appropriately assigned to their lexical morphemes. Furthermore, at this stage children have mastered the appropriate production of grammatical morphemes (NMs) and the rules of assigning them to the relevant lexical morphemes to come up with syntactically acceptable words.

Conclusion

This article set out to examine the early morphological structures of NMs in the spontaneous speech of three children acquiring Shona as a mother tongue. It has been shown in the foregoing discussion that the acquisition of inflectional morphology in the form of NMs occurs in three overlapping stages. The first stage is marked by the absence of NMs and the second stage is characterized by the partial appearance of NMS in the form of an onsetless vowel while the third stage shows a complete mastery of their production and appropriate assignment to lexical morphemes. However, there is a tendency of overlapping these stages, where a child masters the production of a particular aspect and at later stages regresses to an earlier stage of language development. A follow up article will present an OT account of the acquisition of Shona inflectional morphology. We recommend more studies on the acquisition of other morphological structures of Shona and other grammatical structures of this language such as its semantics.

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Language change: The special case of Shona in the era of the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

By

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Abstract

The article makes an analysis of the impact of the HIV/AIDS pandemic on the Shona language. It examines how and why the language has been affected by the pandemic. The article argues that HIV/AIDS has effected change into the language through the borrowing of lexical items from English to fill a gap in its linguistic requirements and through a multiplicity of word building processes. It also asserts that the whole word-building exercise has been facilitated by some sociolinguistic factors inherent in the Shona speech community. The research shows that Shona as a language has not remained static in the advent of changes taking place in the environment in which it is spoken. Whatever has affected the speakers of Shona has in turn had an impact on the language itself. Thus the advent of H.I.V./A.I.D.S. has resulted in the expansion, in most cases, of Shona as a language as the speakers try to make sense of how the virus came into their world and also show how they perceive it and the people who are infected.

Introduction

Change is an irresistible and inevitable law of nature. It affects both the living and non-living things on earth. Language, like everything else in nature, cannot escape this universal law and so it gradually transforms itself over time as new words and new idiomatic and metaphorical expressions

come in to designate new objects, new ideas, new perceptions and ideologies. Trask (1997: 25) calls this process language change and further points out that:

Every language that is spoken as a mother tongue is changing constantly in pronunciation, in grammar and in vocabulary. There is no such thing as a living language, which fails to change.

Keith and Shuttleworth (2006:219) share similar sentiments when they say:

Caterpillars change into butterflies, tadpoles into frogs and winter into spring. Change is an essential part of life. Without change, life ceases. Language too must change, if it is to remain alive.

What should be noted here is that, as this language change takes place, other terms and expressions drop out naturally when society no longer needs them. It is this propensity to change that language has (Aitchson, 1981; McMahan, 1996; Trask, 1997; Poole, 1999; Wardhaugh, 1998; Keith and Shuttleworth, 2006) that has also impacted on Shona as a language, in the advent of the HIV/AIDS pandemic.

The HIV/AIDS pandemic has brought with it foreign linguistic items into the Shona language through superstratum influence. The linguistic habits of English, which is the superlanguage (the high) /H/ in the diglossic Zimbabwean linguistic landscape, have been superposed on Shona (the Low) /L/. New words to describe the virus have surfaced in the Shona vocabulary, mainly through borrowing from English and fitting them into the structure of Shona which is the /L/. Phonologizing of such terms as AIDS to 'edzi', virus to 'vhairasi' and test to 'tesita' is indicative of the dynamism of language mentioned earlier on.

Background

Since the era of the early missionaries and Clement Doke, Shona as a language has undergone a lot of changes that have seen it grow in leaps and bounds in terms of unification and harmonization of its dialects, lexicographic work and the production of grammars (Chimhundu, 2005; Magwa, 2006; Mapara and Nyota 2008). The production of dictionaries such as *Duramazwi guru reChiShona* (Chimhundu, 2006) and *Duramazwi rourapi neutano* (Mpfu et al 2004) and a forthcoming Shona dictionary in Mathematical terms (*Duramazwi reMasvomu*) all spearheaded by the African Languages Research Institute are indicative of the growth that has taken place in the development and elaboration of Shona as a language. All these dictionaries capture terms that show how dynamic Shona as a language is, as medical, musical and information technological terms are among those explained. Some of the terms are borrowed, others coined and yet others are novel creations that show how the Shona people perceive the world around them and the changes that occur within it.

Many books on grammar have also been written since George Fortune's *Grammatical Constructions Volumes 1 and 2*. For example, Nyota (1999) and Mashiri and Warinda (1999) have made their contributions in this area with *Dudziramutauro reChiShona* and *Dudziramutauro* respectively.

Monographs on harmonization have also been written lately for instance Chebane et al (2006) and Magwa (2008). Works of this nature are clear testimony to the fact that there is no limit to what can be done to enhance the growth of Shona as a language. This has led to the expansion of the Shona literary heritage as novels, plays and poems have been written to capture the changes and topical

issues that affect the Shona people in the global village. Themes such as HIV/AIDS, information technology, economic development among others, are dealt with in these works of art, hence the emergence of such terms as 'kombuyuta' for computer, 'nyanga' for internet, 'dandemutande' for website, 'vhairasi' for virus, and many others.

The impact of HIV/AIDS on Shona has thus become of interest to the researchers because it is a pandemic of unprecedented proportions, which at one time threatened to wipe out the Zimbabwean population, as one in every four adults was HIV positive. Zimbabwe was even one of the top three worst affected countries in the world. Even Shona cultural practices such as 'nhaka' (levirate or [wife] inheritance) and 'nyora' (incisions) suffered a huge blow as people began to shun them to the extent that musicians like Oliver Mtukudzi composed songs like "Nhaka sandi bonde" (inheritance does not mean sex), yet in the Shona patriarchal culture inheritance had everything to do with sex in order to keep the deceased's family line alive by bearing more children for the deceased. This change in meaning therefore, in some quarters of Shona institutions, is indicative of the fact that HIV/AIDS has had an impact on Shona culture that finds its expression in the language. It is this impact that this research then seeks to analyze. The first recorded case of HIV/AIDS in Zimbabwe was recorded more than 20 years ago and this length of time has obviously had an impact on the language as people talk about the origin, transmission and impact of the disease on People Living With HIV/AIDS as well as those who are affected on a daily basis.

Conceptual framework

Sapir defines language as 'a purely human and non-instinctive method of communicating ideas, emotions and desires by means of voluntarily produced symbols.' (cited in Crystal, 1992:396) while Pearson et al (2003:74) define it as 'a code consisting of symbols, letters or words with arbitrary meaning that are governed by rules.' As a code, language has many characteristics, some identified by the cited authorities, that result in it not being static, but changing with the times in order to accommodate, do away with or expand its linguistic repertoire and address issues as they arise, hence the notion of language dynamism.

Among language's many characteristics, of interest to this research are its characteristics such as productivity, duality and being culturally transmitted (Brown, 1973; Fodor, Bever and Garrett, 1974; Yule, 1996). Arbitrariness refers to that property of language of not having a natural connection between a linguistic form and the object it refers to. For an example, there is nothing on a cow that denotes its 'cowness' except that speakers of Shona have agreed upon the use of 'mhou' to refer to a cow and have used it over a long period. The same term in the same language in the bird world refers to an ostrich. Therefore when talking about cattle, for speakers of the language, the mention of 'mhou' creates the image of a cow and not any other thing in their minds. But when it comes to birds, 'mhou' creates the image of an ostrich and nothing else. Pearson et al (2003) succinctly put the idea across when they point out that language is arbitrary in that the words or symbols represent things without being those things; words have no inherent meanings but have only those meanings that people give them. The exceptions are the relatively much fewer onomatopoeic words.

Thus in the context of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, words have come to refer to things that they have always referred to as well as conveying the new/extended meaning, a concept referred to as semantic broadening 'which takes place when a term takes on new meanings while still retaining its original meaning...' (Malmkjaer, 1991:83) For example, 'museve' (arrow), 'mudonzvo' (walking

stick) and many others used to refer to the male reproductive organ. These have something to do with the male organ, for example, its shape. Other shifts in meaning have also affected words like 'chirwere' (disease) and 'murwere' (patient) as will be shown in the analysis later on.

Productivity is a characteristic of language that has to do with novel utterances, words or expressions being continually created. Children learning language are said to be actively involved in forming and producing novel utterances while adults, when in new situations that demand novel creations do create them (Yule, 1996). According to Robins 'language is infinitely extendable and modifiable according to the changing needs and conditions of the speakers. (cited in Syal and Jindal, 1999:3). Word formation processes like coining, borrowing and a few others come into effect. Thus the HIV/AIDS pandemic era is one such new situation, hence novel creations cannot be avoided, in the end impacting heavily on Shona as a language.

Another property of language that also comes into effect when coining new words is its duality. Language has two levels: the sound level and the meaning level. New words can be created by borrowing from other languages at sound level, through phonologizing so that they fit into one's own language. For example, AIDS (English) is simply changed to 'edzi' (Shona) through the sound system. More examples of these will be given later on during the analysis.

An important aspect of language to note as well is that of it being passed on from one generation to another hence the contention that language and culture are intertwined because the transmission of culture happens through language. In fact, in some cases language is considered a carrier of culture (Pearson et al, 2003; Ngugi, 1986). It then follows that when culture considers certain words taboo, new ones will come into play when certain concepts have to be talked about, which is of paramount importance especially where topics such as sex are discussed in the context of HIV/AIDS.

Another aspect of language is its semanticity, that is, the fact that it can represent ideas, events and objects symbolically.

It is also appropriate to note the view raised by Sapir and Whorf in what has become popularly known as the Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis that our thought processes determine our perception of reality, and our languages limit our thought processes; therefore language shapes our reality (Pearson et al 2003). Thomas Carlyle (cited in Keith and Shuttleworth, 2006:200) refers to language as 'the body of thought', that means implying that language is the form taken by 'abstract' thought-the 'physical manifestation' of thought. The question that arises then, in the context of this research, is how the speakers of Shona have perceived HIV/AIDS, how these perceptions have impacted on their thought processes and how in turn this has impacted in their expression through their language, resulting in what Trask (1997) calls language change. This leads us to another important factor when discussing language change, that of semantic shift.

Semantic shift

Language has been noted to be dynamic resulting in changes in meaning (Malmkjaer, 1991;Crystal, 1992; Machakanja and Machakanja, 2004) point. The change in meaning is what is called a semantic shift. These changes in meaning have been attributed to a number of causes, among them the following: linguistic, historical, psychological, social (taboo), amelioration, deterioration, generalization, specialization and metaphor. Some of these causes deemed relevant to this research will be discussed below.

Linguistic causes become responsible for semantic change when words collocate. The mention of one word automatically triggers the meaning that words evoke when they collocate. This is because when words constantly occur together, their respective meanings rub onto each other. For example HIV and AIDS have become so closely related to the extent that when one is diagnosed HIV positive, people will automatically regard him as an AIDS patient yet the two are different. A person could have the HIV virus without having AIDS.

Historical causes relate to instances where people have the desire to maintain tradition. Even if the objects being referred to might have changed considerably, people still maintain the traditional names, for example, 'barika' (polygamy) meant a man married to more than one wife and staying with them in the same homestead. This marriage practice has since assumed a new meaning in the modern world in that married men who have many girlfriends are said to be polygamous as reflected in statements like 'barika remazuva ano' (the new form of polygamy) or 'barika remashefu' (the rich [modern]men's polygamy)(this is because the rich can buy their many 'small houses'(unofficial wives) houses to stay even in different towns and roam from one family to another).

Social causes hinge on what is considered taboo in a language. In Shona for example, issues to do with either sex or sexual reproduction are considered taboo. The mentioning of male or female sex organs is taboo. In the advent of HIV/AIDS however, one cannot help but talk about them, be it in awareness campaigns, as part of reproductive health or in HIV/AIDS lessons even in schools. In such cases, these taboos which should not be referred to in public, are then referred to using different words, at times not in any way related to the taboos resulting in those words acquiring new meanings.

Related to social causes are euphemisms, which also enter the language as a result of certain words being avoided because they have unpleasant connotations or are deemed impolite. Another word or a whole expression is introduced to replace the impolite one because it is seen to be more polite or less painful resulting in change of meaning. Thus, euphemisms enter the language to camouflage the naked truth. They are used to avoid rude and obnoxious commentary (Rothwell, 1982). De Vito (1986) points out that this is so because they are more polite, pleasant words or expressions used in place of socially unacceptable forms. Use of such words may be perceived as exuding an empathetic disposition towards People Living With HIV/AIDS instead of using the 'blunt' unfeeling ones.

Metaphor is also closely related to euphemism. Many words have conceptual meanings but also have other meanings deriving from them through association or perceived similarities. For example, what is it that a robber does that HIV also does? What is the similarity between sewer water and a prostitute? It is through metaphor that the Shona have also managed to express their perception of HIV/AIDS and in turn having an impact on the form and meaning of Shona as a language as will be illustrated in this article.

Semantic shifts also occur when words acquire either favourable or unfavourable meanings. If the meaning is favourable this is called amelioration but when the meaning is unfavourable this is called deterioration (Crystal, 1991; Crystal, 1992; Machakanja and Machakanja, 2004). A lot of this has happened with the Shona language where HIV/AIDS is concerned, as will be discussed later.

Closely related to amelioration and deterioration are the concepts 'generalization' and

'specialization'. Generalization occurs when a word widens its sense and specialization when a word narrows its sense.

To cater for new concepts, for example, a new and devastating disease like AIDS, Shona has also turned to multifunctionality (one word to many syntactic uses), polysemy (one word to many meanings) and circumlocution (use of a phrase instead of a single word) so that the linguistic system remains relevant (Holm, 1988).

Last but not least among the causes of semantic change are psychological causes. These are a result of disasters that affect people psychologically. The traumatic experiences that people encounter cause them to change meanings of words normally used to refer to such experiences in order to reduce the impact of the horror that they create in the mind's eye or to create fear. For example people are afraid of 'matsotsi' (robbers) so when the term is used in connection with HIV/AIDS psychologically people would want to avoid something that would cause them pain and fear like that caused by robbers, hence 'unorohwa nematsotsi' (loosely translated: you will be assaulted by muggers) meaning you will catch the virus. More examples will be given in this analysis later.

HIV/AIDS pandemic and word formation

According to Mutaka (2000:279) "languages usually possess adequate morphological and syntactic processes to cope with the expression of new ideas." The Shona language is no exception in this regard. The advent of the HIV/AIDS pandemic has brought with it new ideas or perceptions that require designating among the Shona. This need has facilitated word building to meet this linguistic gap mainly through such word formation processes as borrowing from English, coining, compounding, blending and derivation. Borrowing in this instance is not prestige motivated, but is prompted by the need to designate the pandemic and the other objects foreign to the Shona that came with it.

Borrowing of new lexical items from English by the Shona language is mainly at vocabulary level. The borrowed items still retain their phonology, which the Shona people endeavour to phonologize to suit their linguistic purposes. Words that the Shona language has borrowed from English as a result of the need to designate the HIV/AIDS pandemic are *edzi* (AIDS), *vhairasi* (virus), *furuwenza* (influenza) and *hepisi* (herpes), *sikani* (scan) and *tesitwa* (test) among others. (Mpofu, Chimhundu, Mangoya and Chabata, 2004)

Apart from borrowing at the sound level another area where borrowing has taken place had an impact is the area of acronymy. While acronyms are not common in Shona, the pandemic has expanded the Shona language through these. English acronyms on H.I.V./A.I.D.S. have been taken wholesale and fitted into Shona vocabulary. It is now common to hear Shona speakers, both young and old, use acronyms like H.I.V, A.I.D.S, ARVs and CD4 within Shona utterances. Conversations about the pandemic in Shona are littered with these acronyms because the speakers feel they are understood better as they are rather than otherwise. The users may not even know what the acronyms stand for in terms of meaning but they know what they are saying when using them.

The mystic nature of the pandemic has prompted the Shona to find several terms to designate it as no single term would adequately define it. Most people among the Shona cannot distinguish AIDS from HIV. They view the two as one and the same thing. As a result they use the two terms interchangeably to refer to the pandemic. Some also liken it to influenza (in apparent reference to

the killer influenza which devastated the country in the 1940s) and herpes, an opportunistic infection that is often associated with AIDS, hence the use of the terms *furuwenza* and *hepisi* respectively to designate it. The pandemic is also viewed as a virus and so the Shona refer to it as *vhairasi*. All these terms have been borrowed from English and have been phonologized to fit into the vocabulary of the Shona, thereby expanding it.

Some terms have also been borrowed from English for pedagogical purposes. In schools, in institutions of higher learning and in government and private media, Aids Education has become a topical issue. As such words like *kondomu* (condom), *gumubutsu* (gumboots for condom), raincoat (for condom) *purotekita* ('protector' is a type of condom widely used in Zimbabwe), *andibhayotiki/maandi* (antibiotic(s)) and *kotira* (cotramoxazole) have been borrowed and made to fit into the vocabulary of the Shona to facilitate the whole educational process. It has been established by AIDS educators throughout the country that there are English terms that express new ideas or concepts better than those coined out of internal linguistic resources. The Shona have therefore found it appropriate to absorb these borrowed words into their vocabulary for educational purposes, as they do not have coined words in their language for the same purpose. The Shona have therefore borrowed out of the need to fill a gap in their language.

The HIV/AIDS pandemic has also enabled the Shona to coin new words as well as idiomatic and metaphorical expressions to describe it and the people living with HIV and AIDS. Most of these words and terms have been coined derivationally at morphological, syntactic and semantic levels through internal lexical change. These are developed from those already in existence in the Shona language. Like most African languages, Shona is agglutinating. This means that words are built by combining various morphemes, each maintaining its distinct and fixed meaning. Its prefixes, suffixes and even infixes are used over and over again to build new words (Fromkin and Rodman, 2000).

In Shona there are certain social traits commonly associated with the HIV/AIDS pandemic, which are used to form new terms through blending, that is, the combining of two separate forms to create a new term. For example, a verb 'raira' + a noun 'nhaka' gives 'rairanhaka', then a class 7 prefix /chi-/is added to turn it into a noun 'chirairanhaka' in a morphological process called prefixation. Other examples of blending are the following:

7. '-sveta' (suck) + mafuta (fat) = 'chisvetatamafuta' (something that sucks [all] fat).

'-pedza' (finish) + mbudzi (goats) = 'chakapedzambudzi' (something that destroys all goats [mysteriously]).

'-ranga' (discipline/punish) + mapenzi (fools) = 'chirangamapenzi' (punisher of fools/something that disciplines all those who are foolish). The class prefix used to create nouns is that of class 7 /chi-/.

The following are also examples relevant to the process discussed above:

kuramba nhaka (the shunning of the traditional practice of inheriting dead relatives' husbands or wives).

kuraira nhaka (informing relatives on how best one wants his/her estate to be distributed/determined after his death).

kushayisa mufaro (bringing desolation in families).

kukwenyakwenya (the persistent scratching of the body).

kuchemachema (mourning in families).

Initially all the above phrases had been verbal before being nominalised by the addition of the class 15 noun prefix /ku-/. However through prefixal substitution of class 15 /ku-/ by prefixes /chi-/, /i-/ and /ri-/ respectively the once verbal phrases become single verbal nouns still maintaining the same function of defining (this time) metaphorically the HIV/AIDS pandemic. For example,

kuramba nhaka becomes *chirambanhaka* (class 7) (that which causes people to shun the practice of inheriting relatives' wives or husbands).

kuraira nhaka becomes *chirambanhaka chirairanhaka* (class 7) (that which causes people to inform relatives on how they want their property distributed when they die).

kushayisa mufaro becomes *shayisamufaro*(class 9) (that which brings desolation in families).

kukwenyakwenya becomes *gwenyakwenya*(class 5) (that which causes the infected to persistently scratch their bodies).

kuchemachema becomes *jemedza*(class 5) (that which brings mourning in families).

All the above nominals are verbal in the sense that they are all based on the verb radical.. At syntactic level before prefixal derivation, the whole verbal statement would have read:

subject + predicate

Edzi inoramba nhaka.

Edzi inorairisa nhaka.

Edzi inoshayisa mufaro.

Edzi inokonzera kukwenyakwenya.

Edzi inokonzera kuchemachema.

The syntax of each of the above sentences has been condensed to a single nomino-verbal construction through prefixation and the compounding of a verb and a noun or a verb and a verb as in:

prefix + verb(VR + tv) + noun > verbal noun (nominal)

chi- + -ramb-a+-nhaka > chirambanhaka

chi- + -rair-a+-nhaka > chirairanhaka

i-+-shayis-a+-mufaro > shayisamufaro

prefix + verb(VR +tv) + verb(VR +tv) > verbal noun (nominal)

ri-+-kweny a+-kweny a > gwenyakwenya ri-+-chedmedza >jemedza

The addition of these lexical items into the Shona language through prefixal derivation and compounding has come as a result of what Barber (1972:59) terms “the principle of ease or minimization of effort” or indolence on the part of the speakers. Barber (1972) has observed that humans are naturally lazy as a result they tend to take shortcuts in speech, omitting words or sounds that do not change the meanings of statements when left out. Long sentences that define the HIV/AIDS pandemic have therefore been condensed into single words that still retain the same meanings. These new words have become a necessary addition to the vocabulary of the Shona.

Most of the names used to refer to the H.I.V./A.I.D.S. virus and disease respectively are complex nominal constructions that express the speakers’ perceptions of what the pandemic does. A few of the names will be analyzed into their immediate constituents and the perceptions of the speakers commented on briefly:

(i) chisvetamwongo/chisvetamafuta (class 7)

noun	prefix	+ verb radical	+ terminal vowel	+ noun prefix	+ noun stem
chi-	+ -svet-	+ -a	+ ma-	+ -futa	
chi-	+ -svet-	+ -a	+ /N-/	+ mwongo	

What is expressed here is the fact that once one gets the virus, one gets thinner and thinner through attacks by opportunistic infections to the extent that people conclude all fat has been sapped out of his/her body and the bones have also been siphoned of all their marrow. Thus the person no longer has fat (mafuta) in his/her body or even bone marrow (mwongo) in his/her bones. Marrow is associated with strength as reflected in expressions like ‘haana mwongo’ (loosely translated: he/she does not have bone marrow i.e. physical strength).

(ii) shuramatongo/mukondombera

These are apt terms derived from the effects of the scourge once it strikes. In Shona, ‘dongo’ is an abandoned homestead. It is a haven for nocturnal creatures linked with witchcraft and the underworld such as snakes, bats and owls. ‘Shura’ means a bad omen. When the two ‘dark’ words are combined to form the compound word ‘shuramatongo’ fear of what the disease does is encapsulated: it wipes out whole families, therefore it is like a bad omen signifying the total destruction of whole families, leaving homesteads in ruins. Husband and wife usually die one after the other, after infecting each other. Some offspring conceived by H.I.V. positive parents also die early—often before reaching age five. The same idea of wiping out is also expressed through ‘mukondombera’ which means pandemic. A pandemic does not affect a few individuals but is a disaster of immense proportions; people are, in the wake of such a phenomenon, either infected or affected by it. Both nouns still fit in the category of complex nominal constructions:

shuramatongo (class 9):

noun	prefix	+ [Noun Prefix	+ Noun Stem	+Noun Prefix	+Noun Stem]
N-	+[(ri)	+ -shura	+ ma	+ -tongo]	

mukondombera (class 3):

Noun Prefix + Noun Stem

mu-	+ -kondombera
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(iii) chirangamapenzi

This noun is derived from the main mode of transmission of the virus that is heterosexual sex, hence sometimes it is referred to as ‘chebonde’ ([the disease] of the [sleeping] mat). In Shona

'bonde' is the sleeping mat where, under normal circumstances, couples would have sanctioned sex. So when one has unprotected sex with an infected person, they get infected. The idea of having sex with just anyone triggers the issue of promiscuity, which the Shona people associate with people of loose morals, in this case, commercial sex workers. Thus, the Shona initially had the perception that only those of loose morals were infected. Once one got diagnosed H.I.V. positive the verdict was final that the person was being punished for being loose, hence the virus was named 'chirangamapenzi', the discipliner of those who act foolishly, sexually. The fact that one could be faithful and still be infected through other means did not matter at all in the early days of the scourge. The category for the name is still that of complex nominal constructions:

chirangamapenzi (class 7)

noun prefix +Verb Radical+Terminal Vowel + Noun Prefix + Noun Stem
 chi- + -rang- + -a + ma- + -penzi

HIV/AIDS and semantic shifting

The HIV/AIDS pandemic has also widened the vocabulary of the Shona through semantic broadening/extension, shifting and transfer of meanings of existing words in the Shona language. As a result words end up having secondary meanings brought into existence through the need to define the pandemic and its victims. These meanings in most cases are a result of analogy with that which the Shona know to have similar characteristics with the pandemic. The meanings of these words are therefore metaphorical. Anderson (1973:181) says:

Sometimes a new thing enters a culture for which there is no word. In such a case, a word or phrase is found for it by expanding the meaning of existing words, often in a metaphorical way.

He further argues that all languages have built-in characteristics that allow changes in meaning to occur and that without this characteristic each word in a language would have had an exact meaning, resembling symbolic logic or a mathematical formula. The HIV/AIDS pandemic has therefore widened the semantic range of some words already in existence in the Shona language. The Shona perceive the pandemic as having similar characteristics with each of the nouns whose meaning is widened, narrowed or specialized. (Crystal 1992;Syal and Jindal,1999).

A lot of narrowing (specialization) of meaning in the use of certain terms has cropped up. For example the denotative meanings of 'murwere' (patient) and 'chirwere' (disease) are no longer relevant in the context of the pandemic .The agreed or dictionary meanings of 'chirwere' referred to any illness be it headache, stomach pains, diabetes, asthma etc. while 'murwere' (patient) referred to anyone suffering from any disease. However, in the context of the pandemic 'chirwere' (disease) now refers to H.I.V./A.I.D.S. related illnesses only and 'murwere' (patient) refers to the infected; nothing else outside these meanings is triggered in the minds of the speakers once these words are mentioned. Thus, apart from narrowing of meaning in this case, there is also deterioration, as the two terms have acquired unfavorable meanings. Calling someone 'murwere' (patient) or telling them that they have 'chirwere'(the disease) is considered an insult, according to those asked informally to comment on this scenario as it was clear 'the patient' would have been labeled H.I.V. positive. One participant at Deseret workshop on H.I.V./A.I.D.S. awareness after being asked what he meant by 'chirwere', retorted 'What other disease is there nowadays other than

H.I.V./A.I.D.S.?’

Thus although the term usually refers to any form of disease known to the Shona and is in some instances used in social discourses where the mention of the disease by name is a taboo, it now refers almost exclusively to H.I.V./A.I.D.S.?. In some strict superstitious societies among the Shona, reference by name of diseases like leprosy and AIDS is believed to invite more evil for the nation. As such the term *chirwere* is used with reference to such dreaded diseases. However, since the frequency with which the Shona get infected with leprosy is less when compared with their extermination by the HIV/AIDS pandemic, the term *chirwere* has now been almost exclusively reserved for HIV/AIDS. The idiomatic expression ‘ane chirwere’ (he/she has the disease) therefore means a person is infected with the HIV/AIDS virus.

The Shona culturally are a people known for maintaining social control through taboos (Tatira, 2000). There are things that they say should not be referred to in public. This is a tradition they have maintained in this age of H.I.V./A.I.D.S. When talking about male and female reproductive organs and sex related matters, a lot of euphemisms have previously not been commonly used in the language have become part and parcel of Shona discourse.. For example when talking about the male organ the terms ‘mudonzvo’ (walking stick); ‘museve’ (arrow); ‘gumbo retatu’ (third leg), among others, are used. The female organ is also referred to as ‘mbiya’ (clay pot); ‘chikwama chababa’ (father’s sheath); ‘tsime’ (well) and ‘sikarudzi’ (reproductive organ) and so on.

At times, euphemisms are used in order not to offend or hurt another party. One tries to avoid use of rude and obnoxious terms because they are not socially acceptable (Rothwell, in Pearson et al, 2003; De Vito, 1986).

Similarly metaphoric expressions have emerged for when referring to people who are H.I.V. positive. These expressions have been created so that people can refer to infected individuals without openly saying they are H.I.V. positive. The following are some of the expressions:

- ‘Akarohwa nematsotsi’ (he/she was beaten by robbers)
- ‘Akarohwa nevakomana’ (he/she was beaten by the boys)
- ‘Akamwa mutsime rine chepfu’ (he/she drank from a poisoned well)
- ‘Handei tose’ (let’s go together)

There are also things that have had a negative psychological effect on the Shona people like the cyclones, floods and wars. The experiences in most cases are so frightening that their mention sends tremors down people’s spines. These have now also found their way into the Shona language in the advent of the pandemic in order to instill fear or warn people about how deadly the disease is. For example, the virus has been aptly named with reference to those events. People can be heard talking about ‘akarohwa necyclone’ (he/she was struck by a cyclone); ‘akatsika chimbambaira’ (he/she stepped on a landmine) with reference to the cyclone that struck the country in the year 2000 and the liberation wartime experiences, respectively. The devastating effects and destruction caused by these events left an indelible mark on the people of Zimbabwe and they would not want to experience them again. Therefore using such references in the context of the H.I.V./A.I.D.S. pandemic causes fear and warns those who might want to indulge carelessly of the repercussions thereafter. These expressions have thus become part of the repertoire of Shona idiomatic and metaphorical expression.

Shona society is traditionally patriarchal. Men have enjoyed a higher and more prestigious status than women .. They also have the freedom to do as they please when it comes to sex issues. Thus

those producing posters on H.I.V./A.I.D.S. have capitalized on this. Expressions used in these, maintain men's prestigious status but this time sending a more positive message than that of yesteryear. For example: 'Murume chaiye anomirira' (A real man waits. He does not rush into sexual activity). This is in stark contrast to the traditional view that men are 'bulls' as in 'Murume ibhuru. Bhuru rinorwa rinovonekwa nemavanga' (A man is a bull. The mark of a fighting bull are its scars.) All these were idioms used to justify men's promiscuity and encourage them to do it openly. Even young men derived pleasure in deflowering girls and their peers would consider them studs. However, due to H.I.V./A.I.D.S. 'the real man' this time is one who waits or abstains until marriage and sticks to the one faithful partner for life.

Some archaic words whose use among the Shona had faded have been resuscitated as a result of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Their meanings have now been shifted from the bygone times to the modern times, to the era of the pandemic through analogy. This is what Poole (1999) refers to as semantic shifting. However, this semantic shifting has the effect of narrowing the meanings of these words to the HIV/AIDS pandemic, as members of the younger generation are unable to relate them to the past. The origin of these terms in the age of modernity, the age of the HIV/AIDS pandemic, can therefore befittingly be attributed to the elderly among the Shona. Examples of such terms are:

Mukondombera (a devastating war/battle), chakapedzambudzi (an illness that kills goats in extraordinarily large numbers), shuramatongo (a bad omen that is believed by the Shona to be a harbinger of ruins to homesteads), gukurahundi (the first rains that are normally accompanied by strong winds, thunder and lightning and are destructive and come when the soil is bare and vulnerable). The term was also used to refer to a devastating war that leaves homesteads razed to the ground. All the above terms have been resuscitated in the Shona vocabulary and are now used to refer to the HIV/AIDS pandemic. These archaic words have been carefully selected because of their apt description of the devastation that the HIV/AIDS pandemic has wrought on the nation. They explicitly delineate the pandemic. Their original meanings and social context have now been forgotten. We suggest the term 'semantic resuscitation' to refer to the process whereby terms that are considered old and are no longer in much use are brought back and given new meanings that are nevertheless related to their original meanings. Such terms can be referred to as semantic resuscitants.

In Zimbabwe it has become policy that HIV/AIDS be taught and be an examinable subject in schools and tertiary institutions. HIV/AIDS programmes on radio, television and in government and private media are supplementing this. Since the pandemic is mainly spread through sexual contact there is no way in which the educators would avoid talking about sex, a topic culturally sanctioned by the Shona and only meant for those in marriage and those about to enter into it. As such euphemistic terms and circumlocutious expressions have been carefully selected by the educators from words already in the Shona language, to refer to sex and sexual organs thereby transferring or extending their semantic register. The word 'bonde' that normally refers to a sleeping mat is now used to refer to sex. The words mwena (hole), nzira (path), mwana (offspring/child), mukadzi (woman), mukana (opening), hari (pot), mbudu (pocket) and sikarudzi (womb) are all used to refer to the vagina in the whole education process. The penis is referred to as tsvimbo (knobkerrie), murume (husband/man), baba (father), chombo (weapon/instrument) and bhanana (banana). Sperms are referred to euphemistically as urume ('manness'). All these euphemistic terms have been chosen for use in HIV/AIDS education programmes because of cultural prohibitions. The use of the

actual Shona terms is strictly sanctioned by society that whoever is found using them in public is deemed to be mad and listeners are likely to scurry for cover. It has therefore been found imperative to avoid using them at all costs so as to facilitate the whole educational process. The semantic extension of the Shona register due to the HIV/AIDS pandemic has therefore widened the vocabulary of the Shona.

The sociolinguistic factors that have facilitated change in the Shona language

The Shona language has changed due to a number of sociolinguistic factors, some of which are need and function, superstratum influence, the level of education of the speakers, the 'principle of ease' or minimization of effort, the age of the speakers, cultural prohibitions, schools and linguistic and social reform movements in the country.

Sociolinguistics is an academic discipline that deals with the interrelationships between language and society (Yule, 1996:222). Language and society are therefore irrevocably intertwined, as the former is the mode of communication of the latter. As a result major changes in society have ripple effects on the form of its language. The advent of the HIV/AIDS pandemic has therefore ushered in a host of new terms into the Shona language as noted above. However, this change has been facilitated by some sociolinguistic factors inherent in the Shona society.

Language always changes as the needs of its users change. Words come into a language or drop out depending on the needs of its speakers. The advent of the HIV/AIDS pandemic has created a gap within the vocabulary of the Shona in terms of words, idiomatic and metaphorical expressions to describe the virus, its nature and what it does to its victims. It is this need that has precipitated the coinage of new lexical items from those within the Shona language to meet this demand.

The Shona language has been influenced to a large extent by the linguistic habits of English, the superstrate. This is what Anderson (1973) calls superstratum influence as English is the language of the colonizer and enjoys more prestige among the people. The Shona language has therefore borrowed linguistic items from English out of the need to designate the pandemic. Words like *edzi*(AIDS), *H.I.V*, *maandi/andibhayotiki*(antibiotic(s)), *hepsi*(herpes), *vhairasi* (virus) and a few others have therefore been adopted and adapted by the Shona. These have been phonologized to fit in the structure of the Shona language.

The position of the speaker in society and his level of education have a lot of influence in the way he speaks (Labov, 1972). Speakers whose education is very low are normally at the bottom of the social ladder and are not very particular with the use of language in the very same way that those who go to college or university and whose spoken language is greatly influenced by the written one are. Borrowing of lexical items from English has been necessitated by the illiterate or semi-literate members of the Shona society who cannot pronounce accurately the English words discussed above. As a result they have phonologized them to fit into their language. The educated members of the Shona society on the other hand would not find it insurmountable to pronounce the English words as expected by the English-speaking world. This is in consistence with what one would find

in the English-speaking world where as Labov(1972) has established, the higher the economic social status of the speaker the more [r] sounds in his spoken language and the lower his socio-economic status, the fewer [r] sounds. Trudgill (1974) echoes the same sentiments when he says that the upper-middle class speakers tend to pronounce [r] sounds than lower or working class speakers, as in:

Lower-class speakers	upper/middle-class speakers
Lowah	lower
Hiyah	higher
Mahvellous	marvelous
Dahling	darling

The situation in which the illiterate or semi-literate among the Shona find themselves in when pronouncing the English words that designate the HIV/AIDS pandemic and its victims is therefore not peculiar. However this inaccurate pronunciation and the phonologization of the English words to fit into the vocabulary of the Shona has changed the complexion of the language as new words come into it.

In any community the mind and memory of the illiterate or semi-literate is more advanced than that of the literate whose point of reference is the written word (Hampate in KI-Zerbo (ed.),1981). The coinage of new lexical items from those already in the Shona language could rightly be said to be the work of the illiterate or semi-literate among the people whose understanding of the pandemic could only be through drawing analogies with what they know and have experienced in life. They are therefore more innovative than their literate counterparts when coining new lexical items. The use of the coined words by the Shona has become regular and society seems to have embraced them and made them an additional part of its vocabulary.

The ‘principle of ease’ or minimization of effort discussed earlier in this article is also a factor in word building among the Shona. That we are naturally lazy is a fact and in speech we also tend to take shortcuts, omitting sounds that do not change meanings of words when left out as in: ndinoda(I like) > ndoda(I like) igo (wasp) > go (wasp)The sounds [no] and [i] have been dropped but the meanings of the words are still retained. In the same manner, some borrowed words from English have lost some sounds that do not change their meanings as in: AIDS > edzi, gumboots > gamubhutsu (condom). The sounds [i] and [oo] have been left out in the phonologization process. They appear cumbersome to pronounce for the Shona yet do not change the meanings of the words when left out. In the word AIDS the sounds [ai] have changed to [e] through assimilation while [oo] in gumboots has changed to [u]. Assimilation reduces effort in pronunciation in Shona. This is also because Shona has no diphthongs and glides.

At times new sounds are added to existing ones as a way of removing strenuous ones in the Shona language as in: protector > p/u/rotek/i/ta, cotra(cotramoxazole) >kot/i/ra, AIDS > edz/i/ and condom > kondom/u/. This is so because Shona does not have the following sound combinations: [pr][ct] [or] as in protector, [co][tr] as in cotra, [ai][ds] as in AIDS and [co][om] as in condom]. Though the sounds in Shona may appear to be more than those in English, they are necessary as they make

pronunciation easier.

There are what Hertzler (1965) calls the ‘fads and fashions’ of language in any society. These are normally associated with the youths who are most vulnerable in this era of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. Members of this age group tend to seek identification with their counterparts through language as they grow up. They speak like members of their age group. In Shona language words and idiomatic expressions whose genesis is the youths (slang) have erupted. Some of these are:

Mkondazi/mukondazi(AIDS), words coined from the archaic word mukondombera which means HIV/AIDS; kukondomaiza(putting on a condom); wakwira ZUPCO (that one has boarded the cheapest yet fastest bus in the country)-used with reference to a person who will have contracted the HIV virus; warohwa nematsotsi, warohwa necyclone(has been beaten by thieves/by a cyclone), implying that one has contracted the deadly virus; ari parwendo (that one is on a journey (when he/she contracts the virus) and the ultimate destination is death). This can be viewed as the testing ground of language-some slang words ‘graduate’ to be part of the formal Shona repertoire from this nursery. The writers have such words as ‘amakorokoza’ (a Ndebele slang expression which means illegal gold punner which has ‘borne’ ‘kukorokoza’ (verb) (scrounge) which means to eke out a living, and ‘korokoza’ (noun) which means the person who ekes out a living. These have been accepted into the Shona language.

At first this form of language was associated with the youths and like slang was meant to foster group loyalty and to keep members outside the group from knowing the secrets of the age group. With time, however, this language became part of the whole Shona vocabulary and is now in everyday usage.

The HIV/AIDS pandemic has also enlivened linguistic and social reform movements that were once dormant in the country. The African Languages Research Institute (ALRI) at the University of Zimbabwe embarked on a strenuous exercise of writing dictionaries to standardize the written Shona language. Out of this exercise came a Shona dictionary, *Duramazwi Rourapi neutano* (2004), in which linguistic terms that emerged with the advent of the HIV/AIDS pandemic are explained. Social reform movements like AIDS Education groups sponsored by various organizations are in every part of the country conscientizing people about the danger of contracting the HIV virus using the target groups’ mother tongues-including the language under study, Shona (spoken by 75% of the population, Chimhundu, 1997). As already noted earlier in this article, cultural prohibitions or taboos have led these groups to find alternative expressions to terms that may appear offensive when used in public. It is these synonyms that have widened the semantic range of the words already in existence in the Shona language thereby widening its vocabulary.

Conclusion

The research has established that the Shona language has changed tremendously due to the advent of the HIV/AIDS pandemic. The focus of the first part of this article was on how the language has changed and it has noted that new words, idiomatic and metaphorical expressions have arisen in the language through a variety of morphological processes to come up with new lexical items using internal resources already in existence in the language as well as those sourced from without. This

word-building exercise has been occasioned by the need to fill in a linguistic gap created by the advent of HIV/AIDS.

The second part of the article dwelt primarily on the sociolinguistic factors that enhanced this word-building process. It has thus established that need and function, superstratum influence, the level of education of the speakers, the 'principle of ease' or minimization of effort, the age of the speakers, cultural prohibitions, linguistic and social reform movements have been forces to reckon with in this change. They have contributed to a large extent to the widening of the Shona vocabulary through the need to define the HIV/AIDS pandemic and what it does to the infected.

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Language Choice: Views of Teachers and Ethnic Minority Parents in Botswana

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and

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Abstract

The objective of this study was to investigate perceptions of parents from ethnic minority communities and teachers in their schools about the introduction of mother tongue instruction in Botswana schools. Although research indicates that there are advantages in using mother tongue at the initial stages of education, parents may view this from a different perspective given the current role played by English and Setswana in the country. Data sources included a survey questionnaire

and interview transcripts. A survey questionnaire was administered to parents and teachers in four villages in the Southern part of the country. The analysis of data was mainly qualitative though some descriptive statistics was also used. The overall findings of the study revealed that language choice by parents and teachers is influenced by the larger societal factors. Unless the role of local languages is clearly articulated and their academic and economic benefits communicated to parents, it will take long to convince them that mother tongue instruction is ideal in education. Given appropriate training and the necessary teaching materials, the misgivings held by some teachers could also be addressed.

Introduction

The view that the use of mother tongue at early stages of education is ideal for learning and children's cognitive development is becoming attractive to Botswana. The government has pronounced that by the year 2016, "Botswana's wealth of different languages and cultural traditions will be recognised, supported and strengthened within the education system. No Motswana will be disadvantaged as a result of a mother tongue that differs from the country's two official languages" (Republic of Botswana, 1997:5). The recognition of other local languages could be the result of pressure from both international (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation [UNESCO]) and local organizations (e.g. Kamanakao and Society for the Promotion of Ikalanga Language [SPIL]) that are advocating for the promotion and use of mother tongue in the education system. Ethnic minorities in Botswana have for a long time been regarded as inferior and this surfaces more in school settings. Given this backdrop, this study investigated the perceptions of teachers and parents from marginalized communities about the proposal to introduce their languages in the education system.

Background to language in education Policy

Botswana is a multilingual state with an estimated number of at least 25 languages. Setswana is demographically the most dominant language in the country. It is spoken by at least 80% of a population of 1,680, 863 either as a mother tongue or as a second language according to the Botswana Statistics Office updates from the last Census that was conducted in 2001. The estimate of the population has been further considered and rectified by the World Bank to be standing at 1,904,991 (World Bank, World Development Indicators, 2008). Other languages spoken in the country but not recognized officially are Ikalanga (11%), Otjiherero (2.2%), Shiyeyi (1.4%), Thimbukushu (0.6%), Sesubiya (0.5%), Shekgalagari (1.1%), different varieties of Khoesan languages making 2.8% and Afrikaans spoken by 0.2% of the population (Batibo, Mathangwane & Mosaka, 1998). These languages are spread out in the North, Northeast, Northwest, West and South of the country respectively.

Botswana shares the experience of foreign rule with the many countries in the African continent. At independence in 1966, Setswana was accepted as the medium of instruction for the first 2 to 3 years at primary school level. The transition to the medium of English varied according to the language competence of the teacher, and it was not uncommon to find some instruction through Setswana even in Standard 7 (Republic of Botswana, 1977). From Standard 4 onwards; however, English was the official medium of instruction while Setswana was offered only as a subject. Actual classroom practices indicated that teachers actually code-switched between Setswana and English throughout the primary school (Republic of Botswana, 1977). Anecdotal data also indicates that in various parts

of the country, code-switching occurred not only into Setswana but also into other native languages of the students whenever the teacher happened to be a member of the community in which he or she was teaching. Some commonly cited examples of teachers who code-switched between Setswana and the children's home languages were the Ikalanga speaking teachers in the North East district and the Afrikaans speaking teachers in Southern Kgalagadi district.

Currently, Setswana is the medium of instruction during the first two years at primary school and is offered as a compulsory school subject at both primary and secondary school levels. English is the medium of instruction for all subjects at primary and secondary school levels except for Setswana. Other local languages and their cultures are promoted only by some registered Non-governmental Organisations (NGO's). These are the *Kamanakao Association* for the promotion of Shiyeyi, *Society for the Promotion of Ikalanga Language (SPIL)* and *Herero/Mbanderu Association* for the promotion of Otjiherero and Mbanderu languages and cultures. These NGO's, particularly *Kamanakao* and SPIL are working on the orthography of their languages and have published some songs, poetry and stories in these languages. The *Herero/Mbanderu Association* is mostly working on the revival of their culture since literature is already available in their language as it is a recognized language in Namibia where it is offered from primary school up to university level.

The existing language in education policy favours English to the detriment of Setswana and the extinction of other local languages. The reality that the country needs English for international relations was wrongly translated into giving it absolute priority over the national language. The distinction between studying English as a subject and studying through its medium was never made. It was assumed that by learning through the medium of English, Batswana children would acquire the language better. The policy instituted subtractive bilingualism instead of additive bilingualism. In additive bilingualism, a second language and culture do not displace the first language, and this has been associated with educational advantages and enhanced metalinguistic development (Cummings, 1981; 1994, 2000, Genesee, Paradis and Crago, 2004). Contrary to this, subtractive bilingualism occurs when the acquisition of a second language and culture take place at the expense of the first language. This has been associated with disabling educational settings for language minority speakers (Cummings, 1981; 1994; 2000).

It is a widely accepted notion that learning through mother tongue is essential for communication purposes, transmission of culture, cultural heritage, and above all, for the enhancement of children's personal and conceptual foundation in learning. Advocacy for mother tongue education dates as far back as 1951 when the UNESCO meeting of Experts recommended that:

... the use of the mother tongue be extended to as late a stage in education as possible. In particular, pupils should begin their schooling through the medium of the mother, because they understand it best and because to begin their school in the mother tongue will make the break between home and the school as small as possible (UNESCO Report, 1953).

To promote the recognition and practice of the world's mother tongues, particularly marginalised ones, February 21st of each year has been declared mother tongue day for all UNESCO member states. Research by the International Institute for Educational Planning of UNESCO (2003) indicates that when language understood by learners is used as a medium of instruction, it not only builds trust, initiative, and participation in the learning process but also promotes participatory teaching methods. The decision concerning the language of instruction and the level at which the

changeover from Setswana to English should take place is critical especially for ethnic marginalised children who have to battle between their home languages and Setswana, and then between Setswana and English. Based on the correlation between language and culture, Luke (1994) asserts that literacy and education are means for access to cultural knowledge and social power. Botswana's education system is not inclusive of the cultural and ethnic minority groups, particularly those who reside in the remote areas of the country. The problem mainly stems from the way teachers are prepared as well as the inadequate resources (e.g. textbooks) that exclude these groups. Many teachers from the mainstream Setswana speaking groups do not want to serve in remote area schools because of language and cultural barriers. The cultural and linguistic diversity of the students is mentioned in the curriculum but teacher preparation does not seem to address issues of multiculturalism. Teachers are prepared as if the nation is monocultural. Even though "The Long Term Vision" for the country states that by the year 2016 "no Motswana will be disadvantaged in the education system as a result of a mother tongue that differs from the country's two official languages" (Republic of Botswana, 1997:5), an examination of the current state of affairs indicates that these ideals of the vision will not be achieved by the year 2016. Practically, no provision has been made to introduce other local languages in schools in terms of resources or teacher training.

Based on interview studies conducted among ethnic marginalised groups of the Basarwa, Hays (2002) and Polelo (2003) revealed that many ethnic minority students in primary schools in remote areas dropped out of school in Botswana because of the insensitivity of the school culture and curriculum to their (the marginalised) culture and learning styles. Hays contended that children performed badly in examinations and dropped out of school because they were:

Taught foreign systems of knowledge in a language or language variety other than their own, by teachers from cultures that are different from, and dominant to their own, and who use instruction and disciplinary styles that do not match that of the students' home life (Hays, 2002: 1).

Both Hays and Polelo cited language difficulties, ethnic intolerance, negative relations between students and their teachers, and between students and their peers as causes of school drop out for remote area children. It has also been found that traditional Basarwa educational practices differ greatly from those provided in the formal education system. Consequently, parents are unable to participate in the education of their children as they do not understand the system or condone it.

A study tour in some schools in the Chobe district in 2000 by the Setswana Panel for Colleges of Education observed that most teachers in that area had Setswana as their second language. This means that the learners did not acquire the appropriate form of the language as they were taught by second language speakers. Parents could also not assist their children to learn Setswana since they themselves were struggling with the language. Another problem identified in the district was that schools lacked language teaching materials which the teachers, being non-Setswana speakers needed badly. Many learners were reported as not abiding by the school regulation not to communicate in their first languages around the school premises but to speak only Setswana and English. The learners also displayed having problems in orthography when assigned writing tasks. Furthermore, it was realized that the lexical influence from their first languages influenced the way they pronounced words and this hampered their understanding of content learnt. This resulted in

teachers having to code-switch between Setswana and children's local languages during the lessons.

The foregoing literature indicates that the playing field is not level for some children in Botswana schools. Whereas some children battle only between Setswana and English, others battle between their home languages and Setswana, and thereafter between Setswana and English. Given this scenario, the idea of introducing all local languages in schools is ideal but needs to be tackled with caution. There is need to engage all stakeholders in the conversation.

Purpose

The purpose of this study was to investigate the perceptions of parents from ethnic marginalised communities about the proposal to introduce their languages in the education system. Although research indicates that there are advantages in using mother tongue at the initial stages of education, parents may view this from a different perspective given the current role played by English and Setswana in society.

The study was guided by the following two main research questions:

8. What are parents' views about having their children learn through their first languages at the initial stages of the education system?
9. What are teachers' perceptions about the introduction of ethnic minority languages in the education system?

Methodology

Site and participants

This study was conducted in four selected villages in Southern Kgalagadi district of Botswana. These villages were selected because of the linguistic and cultural diversity of the ethnic groups residing there. Languages spoken in these villages are Shekgalagari, Sesarwa, Seherero, Sekgothu, Afrikaans and Setswana. Considering the linguistic diversity in the area, it was believed that the sample would be a good representation of the residents of the district. Moreover, one of the researchers came from the area and either spoke or comprehended some of the languages spoken there and this, it was felt, would ease communication problems with the participants. The population for the study included parents and teachers. In all, a total of 112 adults participated in the study. There were 96 parents (aged between 18 and 78). Among these were 55 males and 46 females while 5 participants did not state their gender. Sixteen (16) primary school teachers: 6 males and 10 females (aged between 29 and 54) also participated in the study.

The educational qualifications of the parents who participated in the study were as follows: 18% had attained Botswana General Certificate of Secondary Education (equivalent to 12th grade in other countries), 40% Junior Certificate (equivalent to Middle School), 25% Primary School Leaving Certificate (equivalent to the last grade in Elementary School) while 15% had never attended school. Based on this data, it could be concluded that many parents had adequate literacy skills. Out of the sixteen teachers who participated, two had a Bachelors degree in Education, nine (56%), a Diploma in Primary Education and five (31%) had a Primary Teachers' Certificate.

Data Collection Procedures

The study mainly followed a qualitative approach, using ethnographic techniques to gather and

analyse data (Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 1995; Bogdan & Biklen, 2003). Some quantitative data were also gathered through the questionnaires. Data sources included a survey questionnaire and interview transcripts. An open-ended survey questionnaire was administered to parents and teachers in four villages in Southern Kgalagadi district. By using the questionnaire, as much data as possible were gathered on parents' views about the use of mother tongue in their children's education. While the numerical data gave guidance on the population, qualitative data gave the voices of the participants on language choice in the education of their children.

The study was conducted between July 2007 and December 2008. One research assistant was employed to administer the questionnaires to all parents and teachers in three villages, while the two researchers administered the questionnaire in the fourth village and also conducted follow-up interviews. The questionnaires were administered through the national language, Setswana. Based on the feedback given in the questionnaires, some parents were also interviewed individually in December 2008 to get insights of specific concerns that they had raised in the questionnaires. The interviews were conducted in the following languages Setswana, Nama, Afrikaanse, and Shekgalagari which one of the researchers also spoke. (Either and or can only be used where there are two subjects that are being discussed).

Data Analysis Procedures

Interview transcripts were transcribed in the evening each time an interview was conducted while the conversations were still fresh in the researchers' minds. First, general open-coding of the field notes was done, identifying recurrent themes in the data (Dyson & Genishi, 2005). The transcripts were read and re-read to identify key issues that emerged from participants' statements and other data sources in relation to the research questions. After open-coding, the transcripts and interview notes were reviewed to identify major themes that related to the research questions. Data that related to the same theme were linked, followed by focused-coding, reading and coding transcripts line by line as grouped by themes (Emerson et al, 1995). In the analysis of quantitative data, descriptive statistics that focused specifically on frequencies and percentages was used.

Discussion of Findings

The overall findings of the study revealed that unless the role of local languages is clearly articulated, and their academic benefits communicated to parents, it will take long to convince parents that mother tongue instruction is the ideal choice in Botswana schools. The communities interviewed in this study preferred English and Setswana over their languages because there are no tangible benefits attached to their languages. The main issues that came up in the study were: the fear that the introduction of local languages that are currently not recognized in school will bring about national disunity among the different ethnic groups, lack of economic prospects for ethnic minority languages, lack of expertise by teachers to teach ethnic minority languages and lack of resources for those languages. The section that follows elaborates each of these issues.

Maintenance of National Unity

The main research question "What is your view regarding the introduction of mother tongue instruction at lower grades of the education system by the year 2016?" yielded mixed responses

from the participants, both parents and teachers. More than half the parents surveyed (52%) expressed the concern that the introduction of languages that are currently not taught in school could bring about national disunity and encourage tribalism in the country. Some of the extracts from the questionnaires read:

This thing will disunite us and we could end up fighting, bringing chaos to this peaceful and free country (*Golo mo go ka re kgaoganyana ka semorafe ra felela re lwa, lefatshe le la kagiso le kgololesego le bo le tlhakatlhakana*).

This will bring about disunity in our country that is peaceful (*Ke tiro e e ka isang popaganyana lefatshe la rona le le nang lekagiso kwa tlase*).

Let this not be done. It could lead us to conflict like other countries we hear about on radio (*A se se se ka sa dirwa, re ka tloga ra simolola go lwa jaaka mahatshe a re a utlwalelang mo seromamoeng*)

Overall, many parents strongly advocated for continuity of the prevailing status quo whereby Setswana is the only local language taught at school alongside English. These parents expressed the wish that people should take pride in the national language for the sake of national unity. A proportional number of parents (48%) however favoured the use of mother tongue at initial stages of education. They expressed that this was long overdue. One of them said:

It is a good job and should be implemented immediately. This could have long started so that we could also learn our languages. (*Ke tiro e ntle thata e simololwe ka bonako* “*Tiro e e ka bo e simolotse bogologolo le rona ra ithuta teme tsa rona*).

Another one said:

It is a good idea that should be encouraged. South African children are learning in their languages and there is no harm. Why can't we do it? (*Ke tiro e ntle thata e batla go rotloediwa. Bana ba Aforika Borwa ba ithuta ka dipuo tsa bone mme ga go na mathata ape. Rona ke eng re sa dire?*)

With the same understanding as that of the parents, almost all teachers (14 out of 16 = 87.5%) who participated in the study were against the introduction of marginalized languages in the education system. These teachers gave political and social justifications for the introduction of mother tongue in schools. They argued that the policy would mean that teachers should be posted to their places of origin where they could comprehend the languages spoken by the communities they serve. This was not seen to be a wise move as there would be no inter-cultural exchange among teachers from various ethnic groups, something that is ideal as it promotes an understanding and appreciation of the diverse languages and cultures of the nation. Most teachers shunned the idea saying it was not ideal for any country especially Botswana which has always been peaceful. Only two teachers out of 16 (12.5%) thought it was a good idea to introduce marginalized languages in the education system. One of them said:

This is a good idea as we find that in many instances children are addressed or taught in a language they hear for the first time at school. In our district, some children do not understand English and Setswana as many of them have not been through pre-school before starting Standard 1. Many learn Setswana here for the first time, not to mention English. Learning first through their home languages would be beneficial to them although I do not know how that is possible.

The other one's response was:

This idea is very good because there is what is called LEA- Language Experience Approach, the child can then learn best in his/her mother tongue.

The latter pointed out issues such as the tendency by children to write in their mother tongue when it comes to composition writing. This teacher argued that mother tongue influence is rampant in many children such that they do not follow standardized orthography but write the way they speak; e.g. *boshula* instead of *boula* for the Setlharo dialect speakers. It was also reported that many children were struggling to differentiate between sounds such as: *tl/tlh*, *th/t*, *f/h*, *le/lo*, */sh*.

Table 1: Parents' views about introduction of Mother Tongue Education

	In favour of mother tongue education	Against mother tongue education
Village 1	10 (13.89%)	9 (12.86%)
Village 2	19 (26.39%)	23 (32.86%)
Village 3	25 (34.72%)	16 (22.85%)
Village 4	16 (22.22%)	8 (11.43%)
Teachers	2 (2.78%)	14 (20%)

The above table indicates that the number of participants who were in favour of mother tongue instruction was almost equal to those who are against it. More participants of Village 4 (34.72%) however indicated that they were in agreement with the introduction of mother tongue education as compared to other groups. This could probably be due to the reason that these are Herero people who are currently engaged in the revival of their language and culture which have been found to be getting extinct (Molosiwa, 2000). This group also has close ties with their Herero counterparts in neighbouring Namibia where the language and culture are held in high esteem and taught up to university level. This being the case, the Herero are aware that some value is being attached to their language elsewhere.

Vehicle for Transmission of Culture

Although mother tongue instruction was not associated with economic benefits, for some parents it was necessary as this would be a means of transmitting culture to the young generation. Many

parents agreed that it was vital that children be taught about their cultural heritage for them to take pride in their own languages. One said; “speaking more than two languages is cultural wealth”. Other parents believed that mother tongue instruction would enable children to attain basic literacy with ease, something that could benefit them in their day to day lives:

It is important that all languages be taught to children at an earlier age so that they can avoid accidents such as entering a place they are not supposed to enter because they couldn't read the language used (*Teme tsotlhe di botlhokwa gore di rutwe bana ba santse ba le babotlana ka gore, le lone letshwao la tsela ka fa go sa tsenweng teng ba ka tsena mo diphatseng mme ba felele ka go gobala ka ntata ya go tlhoka go itse puo e e kwadilweng go tlhagisa kotsi*).

Lack of Economic Prospects for Ethnic Minority Languages

In order to sensitise parents that language is meant to serve other communicative purposes beyond the home, they were asked to indicate which languages they wanted their children taught at school. Their preferences are indicated in the following table:

Table 2: Parental Preferences of Medium of Instruction for their Children

Languages preferred as medium of instruction	No. of respondents
English	9 (7.14%)
English and Setswana	62 (49.2%)
Mother tongue and English	22 (17.46%)
Mother tongue, English and Setswana	16 (12.69%)
Mother tongue only	17 (13.49%)

As shown above, most parents' (49.2%) choice was English and Setswana as is the case currently. The next preferred choice was mother tongue and English (17.46%), followed by few (13.49%) who said they wanted mother tongue only. It is apparent that the choice of language was somehow influenced by the careers that parents wished their children could pursue. The commonly cited careers were teachers, medical doctors, nurses, police officers, lawyers, land board officer and veterinary officers. Parents attached the importance of being literate in mother tongue with these careers advancing reasons such as that if their children were to become nurses, doctors or lawyers, they would be able to provide proper care to their patients and also ease communication at the courts of law since they would be fully conversant in their local languages. These careers were associated with the importance of knowing the mother tongue since they all have to do with serving the community directly. One could also speculate that parents' choice could have been influenced by the fact that most of these professionals were found in most villages. Almost every village in Botswana has a nurse, a police officer and an Agricultural officer. Other careers like train driver, pilot, translator, soldier, builder, and electrician were also mentioned and

interestingly, being a politician was also regarded as a career.

The participants who were against the introduction of mother tongue education pointed out that they did not see any economic benefits for ethnic minority languages even if they were to be introduced in schools. They felt that if this were to be implemented, it would be a waste of government resources. Furthermore, they believed their children would be disadvantaged, as they would not fit in the world of work if educated in their home languages since there are no jobs that require knowledge of these languages. They said that their children should continue to be taught in English and Setswana as these were the only languages given recognition by the government and the job market. In fact, many parents strongly believed that their children needed to be taught English more than other languages, as it was a global language.

Lack of Expertise by Teachers and lack of Resources for Marginalised Languages

All the teachers who participated in the survey were against the implementation of mother tongue education in schools mainly because they were not trained in these languages. The teachers raised the concern that the government was not doing anything to train them in different languages even though Vision 2016 states that all languages will be taught in schools by the year 2016. They also decried lack of resources to teach these languages. For these reasons, teachers felt that the two languages that are already in use; Setswana and English should be maintained. They also believed that children's communication in their home languages amongst themselves whether in or outside the classroom, delayed their learning of English and Setswana. The teachers also concurred with parents that the introduction of mother tongue education would disunite the nation and bring about tribalism in the country. Their main worry was that the introduction of these languages would mean having each and every teacher posted to his or her home area where he or she would be comfortable in the language spoken by the community. This was viewed as defeating the goal of having people understand and appreciate the different cultures and languages spoken in the country. The teachers pointed out that they were not prepared to teach marginalised languages because nothing has been done so far in terms of teacher preparation and resources to teach those languages.

From an academic point of view, some teachers raised the concern that children's home languages impacted negatively on their reading and writing, especially in Setswana and contributed to the poor examination results in their district. They contended that many children from minority speaking groups start to learn English and Setswana only at school. Such children come to school with none or very poor foundation in these languages which impacts negatively in their learning. While children from mainstream speaking groups battle between Setswana and English, the minority language speakers first have to struggle between their home languages and Setswana, and then between Setswana and English. On these grounds, some teachers found the recommendation to introduce other local languages in the education system by the 2016 to be worthwhile. They believed that mother tongue instruction would enable learners to understand concepts easily.

Parental Support in the Education of their Children

When parents were asked to describe the role they play in their children's education, many of them said they did assist their children with their school work although there were some who

disclosed that they did nothing about their children's work because they were not literate enough in English and Setswana which are the school languages. Under such circumstances, the best they could do was to encourage their children to work hard at school and also allowed them time to do their homework. Only a handful of parents assisted their children with schoolwork. There were a number of Afrikaans speaking parents who complained that Setswana was too difficult and contributed to the poor results of their children. These parents reported that their children performed better in English than Setswana because their language was related to English.

Teachers felt that they did not get much help from parents in terms of assisting children with school work since they [parents] did not understand the languages used as media of instruction. They pointed out that their school results were usually poor because children lacked the basic communication skills of speaking, reading and writing in the school languages. They also lacked appropriate vocabulary to use in compositions and letter writing. This meant that they also did not understand clearly instructions given in English and Setswana. Only teachers in the Afrikaans speaking village said some children performed well in English because English was somehow related to Afrikaans. It also came out during the interviews that some Afrikaans speaking parents communicated with their children in English. In the same vein, some Shekgalagari speaking parents believed that their children performed well in Setswana because Setswana and Shekgalagari were closely related languages. In addition, Setswana was a widely spoken language. These parents also reported that they encouraged their children to speak Setswana as it was the national language and medium of instruction at lower grades of primary school.

Table 3: Parental Support given to Children

Kind of support given	Number of respondents
Encourage them to read	47 (37.3%)
Help them read and write	36 (28.57%)
Check their books	8 (6.3%)
Buy school uniform or pay school fees	8 (6.3%)
Attend school meetings	9 (7.14%)
Nothing as I neither read nor write	18 (14.28%)

Conclusions and Recommendations

The overall findings of this study have revealed that language choice by parents is largely influenced by the larger societal factors. Unless the role of marginalised languages is clearly articulated and parents educated about their status, it will take long to convince ethnic minority communities that there is need to introduce these languages in school. Many parents in this study had adequate literacy skills and were aware that their children could perform better in school if instructed in their home languages but felt their children would be disadvantaged academically and economically if instructed in these languages. Furthermore, they understood that instruction in these languages would be the means of transmitting culture to the young generation but again did not see any value in these languages as they were not required in the world of work and not recognized globally. Parents were adamant that so long as the current situation prevails, whereby English and Setswana are the only languages given recognition by the government, mother tongue instruction would be a waste of resources and time. For these reasons, many of them felt that the

current status quo of instruction in English and Setswana should be maintained. It would be meaningful if speakers of these languages see their languages in written form, hear them on radio, television and in advertising to convince them that they are valuable like any other language.

Teachers being more enlightened were concerned about broader social issues such as the importance of intercultural exchange and felt that mother tongue instruction could work against achieving this goal. On the other hand, they were not opposed to mother tongue instruction given that learning in second (Setswana) and foreign language (English) posed many challenges to the children they taught. Few teachers felt that with the availability of resources and training in the languages concerned, mother tongue instruction would be the best for learners.

In view of the recommendation that by the year 2016 all local languages will be taught in school, the University of Botswana should introduce language courses for the local languages that are not currently taught in schools. On the realization that the university teaches Setswana courses through the medium of English, the Revised National Policy (1994) recommended that it should teach Setswana through its medium. It is high time that this recommendation should be implemented. Some of the local languages not recognized in Botswana are already taught in neighbouring countries such as Namibia and South Africa at university level and arrangements could be made to send interested students to study there. Another possibility is to find ways of getting teaching and learning materials as well as lecturers on exchange programmes to come and teach in Botswana institutions. UNESCO recommends that; "All educational planning should include at each stage early provision for the training, and further training, of sufficient numbers of fully competent and qualified teachers of the country concerned who are familiar with the life of their people and able to teach in the mother tongue" (UNESCO, 2003: 28). In light of this, the government should support and work hand in hand with NGO's like Kamanakao and SPIL that have already produced literature in some local languages.

The teacher education faculty should embark on research with teachers serving in remote area schools to document the cultural life styles of the communities as well as learning and teaching difficulties encountered in those areas. Such research could be compiled into booklets and published to be used as resource materials in the courses taught.

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Reviewed by
William Zivenge and Jesta Masuku

This reference material is a vital contribution in the field of lexicography especially in this age of multi-literacy pedagogy where classroom practitioners and students alike thrive to accommodate cultural diversities and linguistic pluralism. This new Zulu- English bilingual dictionary is targeted at school pupils in the Republic of South Africa. These are presumably Zulu First Language and English second language speakers (Zulu-English) or English first language and Zulu second language speakers (English-Zulu). The dictionary was compiled by an expert in the field of lexicography, Sibiya Nomsa, who was supported by Dlamini Sibusiso, Cebekhulu Thandeka, Ndlovu Mduduzi, Biyela Moses and Sitole Kholiswa. Wilkes Arnett, a linguist, was also consulted, making the compiling team a hybrid of professional lexicographers and linguists.

Purpose and target of the dictionary

The main purpose of the dictionary is to help both the first language and second language speakers of Zulu and English to read and write greater ease. In order for this to happen, this means that serious considerations were made during the process of designing the dictionary, adapting the whole product to suit school going competences. Since the dictionary is aimed at improving the reading and writing skills of the Zulu-English and English-Zulu speakers, its mainspring is to serve as a learner's guide for pupils acquiring English or Zulu as a second language. Since its function is to assist the users in deciphering meaning, the dictionary is therefore expected to have user-friendly features that should enable the learner to gain an in-depth systematic understanding of the contents of the dictionary. The basic aim of any lexicographer is to guide the user in respect of the properties/features/characteristics/use and meaning of lemma. (Prinsloo and de Schryver in Mdee and Mwanosoko 2001, p. 188). To attempt a comprehensive review of the dictionary, the reviewers have used a structural approach where the major features of the dictionary are used for analysis of its effectiveness as well as its user-friendliness to its targeted users, whose voices are used in this review exercise.

The Front Matter

The dictionary front matter has incorporated a section for the grammatical description of the Zulu language and this is followed by the traditional A-Z lemma section. The dictionary is to be used by school children who are not yet experts in conceptualising and accommodating lexicographic detail. The compilers of the Zulu-English dictionary have successfully provided an easy to follow front matter material which is a clear description of how the dictionary works. The importance of the front matter in any dictionary as a guiding tool for its usage, can never be over emphasized, no matter how big or small a dictionary may be. True to lexicographic requirements, the compilers of the dictionary have provided a brief but informative preliminary front matter to precede the A-Z section of the publication. There is a lot of merit in this apt use of precision as readers are likely to be attracted to this hardly ever read section of a dictionary. This instruction guide benefits even mature dictionary users since lexicographic skills are technical and can best be understood by a lexicographer him/herself.

The A-Z of the dictionary

Any critic when looking at this section of the dictionary, would like to assess headword selection criteria, the structuring of the headwords/entries and the user-friendliness of macro and micro structure of the entries. Since headword selection is normally guided by usefulness and usefulness is determined by the terms to be looked for, which are included (Gove, 1961, p. 4), The question that arises is: Have the compilers satisfied their clientele in this respect? As a reference material intended for scholars and even those adults who may want to learn Zulu or English as L₂, the entries of the dictionary have a very relevant thematic content. Furthermore, presenting entries in two language media has made it a bilingual dictionary. As a bilingual dictionary, the compilers have presented both the Zulu-English section of the dictionary as well as its English-Zulu reverse index. One can even see the elements of an encyclopaedia when its information packed definitions are closely analyzed.

Word Guides

The first feature observed is the marking of each page by a headword which appears at the top of the page in context, at the top-left corner. Sometimes it is found at the top-right corner. Page marking is a lexicographic skill that expects guiding words to be put at the top of a page to let users know what the first and last words are on the page in context. The front matter of the dictionary indicates that users should refer to the word guides to find entries quickly. Not only is this feature striking to the user's eye, it also allows dictionary entries to be easily accessible. A very user-friendly feature of the dictionary as shown below:

wethu-wonke, top-left (p254)

woshi-xoshwa, top-right (p255)

The following examples are drawn from the English section:

herself-him, top-left pp378

himself-hoe, top-right pp379

This exemplification is representative of the whole A-Z section in this Zulu and English Dictionary. However, the font size for the word guides or page markers is rather too small for the lower level pupils but may be appropriate for upper school.

Homogeneous family headword entries

The other striking feature in the dictionary is its selection and classification of headwords according to their homogeneity. The headwords with the same word base but different meanings appear as separate entries. These entries are then arranged in alphabetical order to show the structural relationships. The following words exemplify this feature:

Zulu-English Version

wodwa quantitative pronoun cl.3 pp254

owodwa only pp254

wonke inclusive quantitative pronoun cl. 3 pp254

wonke uwonke everyone, everybody pp254

esewonke all together cl. 6

wu1 interjection pp255

wu2 ideophone pp255

xumane verb + reciprocal pp255

xumanisa verb + reciprocal + causative pp255

xola verb pp255

xolela verb + applicative pp255

xolisa verb + causative pp255

xosha noun pp255

xoshwa verb + passive pp255

English-Zulu Version

hid verb past tense hide pp378

hidden verb, adjective pp378

hide verb pp378

high adjective pp378

highlight verb, noun pp378

highly adverb pp378

highway noun pp378

him pronoun pp378

himself pp378

historical adjective

history noun

This is a very useful feature that can help school pupils to trace back the lemma to its base word. From the given examples, it can safely be deduced that pupils may find it easy and logical to trace back the words like **hidden** (verb/adjective) to the root word **hide** (verb) or the lemma **highway** (noun) or **highlight** (verb) to the base word **high** (adjective). This is representative of all the derivatives found in this dictionary. Similarly **esewonke** can easily be traced back to the root word **wonke**. The word **Owodwa** can also be traced back to **wodwa**. Such dictionary presentation (lexical relations or word family) skill helps learners of the languages in context to broaden their vocabulary and writing skills using root words to derive new words. Such word families create a pattern of lexical relations that enable easy conceptualization of vocabulary. Language learning is therefore made easier and fast. The feature does not only help us determine the quality of the dictionary but it also eases the process of word and sense search by young children. Haas (1962) postulates that a good dictionary is that which enhances success for users when consulting and retrieving information. Thus accessibility which leads to an unambiguous retrieval of information is

presented on both macro and micro structural levels. The word family creates similar structural distinctive forms for the rest of the entries in the dictionary, making skimming of words easy and fast.

Translation Equivalents

The third striking feature is that the compilers of the Zulu-English dictionary tries to furnish a translation equivalent for each of the entry and sense in the English and Zulu language. According to Lefevere (1992) translation refers to a process of rewriting an original text in another language, carrying the same meaning. Where necessary, several translations are given in the Zulu-English dictionary, separated by semi-colons and these translations are always synonymous. In this respect, pupils looking for information in the dictionary are assisted by the translation equivalents to arrive at a wide range of senses. The users' mastery of sense and sense relations may also be enhanced. The following dictionary entries illustrate this claim:

English-Zulu Version

more or less cishe, I have more or less finished the project; I just need to check a few things. Cishe ngiwuqedile umsebenzi, ngidinga nje ukuthi ngibheke izinto ezibalwa pp167

mortgage noun (pl. Mortgages) imalimboleko yendlu. When they couldn't make ends meet, they have to take out a second mortgage on their house. Ngesikhathi bengasakwazi ukwenza izinto ngenxwa yokuswela imali, kwadingeka ukuthi bathathe imalimboleko yendlu yesibili endlini yabo. pp167

Zulu-English

ona verb 1 sin, do wrong. Ngixolele uma ngonile, Nkosazana Moya. Forgive me if I have done wrong. Miss Moya. 2 spoil. Angifuni ukona into enhle kanje ngamagama ami. I don't want to spoil in this way, a nice thing with my words. Pp195

onakala verb + neuter- ona 1 go wrong. Wahle wazibonela ukuthi konakele. He simply saw herself that things are wrong 2. become spoiled; go bad. Emafrijini konakala ukudla obekuthengiwe. The food that was bought went bad in the fridge. Pp 195

The examples given above illustrate provisions of accurate and appropriate translations for each of the entry. Translations are given for the lemma and sense. Drawing an example from the English-Zulu version, one can attest that the entry **more or less** is translated as **Cishe** in Zulu. Sense example *I. says, 'have more or less finished the project, I just need to check a few things'* is translated as '*Cishe ngiwuqedile umsebenzi, ngidinga nje ukuthi ngibheke izinto ezibalwa*'. This translation can help the dictionary target users to disambiguate fragmented sentences, especially when the definition is figurative in an ambiguous version. This makes searching for information in the Zulu or English version more profitable. This feature is a major determinant factor for a dictionary to qualify to be bilingual. Since modern dictionaries are either corpus-based or corpus aided, the general expectation is to find the most natural version of the senses and in their natural environments. Appropriate as this may appear to be, reconstructing meaning from fragmented sentences may prove to be problematic, hence the need for an accurate translation to deal with possible ambiguities. If the users can reconstruct accurate senses from the ambiguous definitions easily then this approach may be commendable.

Sense Exemplification

Here the compilers of the dictionary uses lemmatised words in the natural contexts. Senses constructed by a lexicographer in the process of compiling a dictionary may not be necessarily the same as those obtained from the corpus. Those in the corpus are natural whilst a lexicographer may be very conscious in dealing with language and the tendency may be to employ linguistic competence to construct striking and scholarly definitions of terms. Exemplifying using naturally constructed senses in the dictionary in question is very likely to give the target user an opportunity to experience real language use in the natural contexts. The following examples illustrate this assertion:

Zulu-English

omude adjective cl. 1, cl. 3 long;
tall; high; deep. Ngiyamthanda
umfana omude. I like the tall boy,
Ngibone igundane elinomsila omude.
I saw a rat with a long tail. Pp 195

xolela verb + applicative-xola
forgive; pardon. Awu mama wami
ngiphosisile kakhulu. Oh my mother,
forgive me, I have made a big
mistake. Pp195

The entries above have been defined by furnishing both the intended sense and a pragmatic sense. The examples given for the word **xolela** '*.....oh my mother, forgive me... Awu mama wami, ngophosisile kakhulu*' serves to attest the existence of the word and sense, thereby reinforcing the

explanation of the meanings of the lemmatized word, thus contextualizing the entry and sense to bring into context its pragmatic implications rather than resorting to the intended implications. On the other hand, lexicographers sometimes construct senses which hardly exist in the corpus, in particular new word or words that have changed over the years. To run away from prescriptivism, they therefore exemplify senses using natural linguistic contexts. The whole idea is to balance between prescriptivism and descriptivism. The types of words that have been exemplified in this dictionary are those described by Xu (2008) as high frequency words. These include prepositions, pronouns, conjunctives and adjectives. These frequently used words are furnished with more examples than any other parts of speech. This is in a bid to show the pragmatic aspects.

Such a dictionary shows a move away from intuition to corpus based lexicography. This is evidence that the Zulu-English dictionary is a product of a compilation process involving collection of written and spoken material from sources earmarked for the dictionary entries and senses, hence precise and prescriptive. This dictionary is therefore an accurate capture of user experiences. Most of the questions that users frequently ask about how to use the dictionary are answered in the front matter, thus attesting to the user friendliness of the dictionary.

Grammatical information

Identifying word class and word categories is another important feature exhibited in the Zulu-English dictionary which makes it user-friendly. In each case where an entry is inserted, where possible and appropriate a part of speech or word class is furnished. Consider the examples below:

Zulu-English

womabili inclusive numerical pronoun cl. 6 both (of them). Okuhle nje ngala maqembu womabili wukuthi angenile kuma-semi final. What is nice about both these teams is that they have reached the semi-finals pp254.

Wodwa exclusive quantitative pronoun (cl. 2) alone; on its own. Phela asizange sawushiya wodwa umuzi kuleso sikhathi. Of course we never left our homestead alone at that time, only. Ingikhulumela nje umbedo wodwa le ntombi. She talks only nonsense to me, this girl. 2. (cl. 6) alone; on their/ its own. Kwenziwa yini ukuba avumele amantombazane aphume wodwa lapha ekhaya? What is it that causes him to allow the girls to go out alone here at home. Pp254

Each of the entries is given a word class. This is very important to a second language learner, since it enhances competence in grammatical structure and the rules of a language. Word classification is very important in any language performance since it determines concordial agreement in word

sequences that form sentences.

The other feature very similar to word class is *word-class tagging*. Frequently used words are accompanied by general word-categories, for purposes of easy identification and application in sentences. The following entries and word-class tags exemplify this assertion:

xaxa ideophone (of being extra, if getting more)

Abadlali beBafana bazothola imali ethe xaxa
kunemali abavame ukuyithola. The Bafana Bafana
players are going to get more money than they are
used to getting.

Xhoshwa verb (iso) lixhoshwa libhekile. It was

unavoidable, pho, singathini ngoba lixoshwa libhekile!
Well, then. What can we say, because it was unavoidable!

Wo-he interjection alas! Sadly!

(marks disappointment or longing)

wathi uJege: “wo-he! Izinsuku
azibuyiselwa emuva” Jege said: “sadly!
The days cannot be turned back”

This lexicographic skill, whereby entries are assigned word categories, tagged soon after the entry is a common feature in the dictionary. The compilers of this dictionary assigned word class descriptions to make entries more distinctive in description. This is linguistic categorization of words and their tags may assist the users to use words appropriately, inferring into their general use, according to the purpose dictated by their class category. If lemmatized words are distinguished at grammatical level then their use and conceptualization is enhanced to the language learner.

Denoting word-class is also a lexicographic skill to assert the morphologies of the word in context. The singular and plural tags are clearly identifiable in the Zulu-English dictionary. Countable entries are either in the singular or plural form. In general linguistic terms, some words spell their singular and plural exactly in the same way while others, in the same language, show different segmental and morphological patterns for a singular and plural version of the same word. Mostly countable nouns in both Zulu and English have irregular plural while uncountable nouns denotes the regular version. This is important information that may assist the users to conceptualize number. The following extracts from the dictionary exemplify the feature:

English-Zulu

history noun (pl. Histories) umlando.

According to history, these people
belonged to the Swazi nation of chief

Ngwane. Ngokomlando, labo bantu
ngabesizwe samaSwazi seNkosi
uNgwane.

Hippotamus or hippo noun (pl.hippopotamuses)

Imvubu. Apparently the hippo is one of the
Most dangerous animals in Africa. Ngokusobala
Imvubu asinye seZilwane eziyingozi kakhulu e-Afrika.

This feature approach can help the target users to link noun pairs in the dictionary. This makes the Zulu-English dictionary most appropriate for language learning at this level. However, as a way of concretizing these abstract concepts, pictorial illustrations could have helped to distinguish between singular and plural noun entities. For this particular reason, there is likelihood that the young users or non-native users may fail to quantify some of the uncountable nouns, in particular those who speak English as second language or Zulu second language speakers, in or outside the texts drawn from senses.

Naturalization of Senses

Citations and examples constructed for signifying senses of lemmatized words were drawn from natural speech. The strength of using natural examples encoded from the corpus is that they tend to capture senses from their natural contexts. This is evidence of advanced corpus use by the compilers of the dictionary. The following extracts exemplify this claim:

Wonke inclusive quantitative pronoun 1. Cl.

1, cl. 3 the whole; each; every. Lokhu

kudalela umndemi wonke inkinga. This caused

a problem for the whole family. Wonke umuntu
owayelapho wamangala kabi. Each person who
was there was very surprised. 2 (cl.6) all.

Amandla wonke asemahlombe kaMnu. Bamba
Ndwandwe. All the authority rests on the

Shoulders of Mr Bamba Ndwandwe. 3 (lp 5g)

the whole of me. Sengiyibonile mina yonke.

Now I understand it completely. 4. (2p 5g)

The whole of you (said by a cannibal).

Abakithi bangilethele wena wonke ngogqoko.

My friends bought the whole of you to me
on a meat tray.

The senses numbered (1-4), in the above example, illustrate the naturalness of senses that serve to define the entry **wonke**. The natural examples may give the user a natural model of how the language is used for both writing and speaking. Learning Zulu or English as a second language using this dictionary can therefore be made easy.

Usage and subject labelling

Another appealing feature in the Zulu-English dictionary is the use of 'usage' and 'subject labels'. Usage labels serve to direct the general use of the entry. The following example illustrates usage labelling:

Wona: absolute pronoun 1. (cl.3) it (in Particular). Kufanele umculo uzidayise

wona ngokuthumela umlayezo omuhle kubantu. The music should sell itself by sending a good message to the people.

2.(cl.6) they (in particular). Ngabuye ngayifunda le ncwadi. Iloku ikhuluma wona amazwi engiwabone kuqala. I read This letter again. It kept on repeating the same words that I saw at the beginning. Kungaba yiwo nje amaphoyisa

ahudula izinyawo. It could be that it is the police who dragged their feet.

The meaning of this pronoun (wona) is not always directly visible in an English translation. When 'wona' is preceded by formatives such as 'yi', 'si', 'na' or 'ku...syllable 'na' is usually deleted.

The last six statements in the definition of the entry **wona**, qualifying the lemma, serve no other purpose except showing its usage. The five definitions above, are what is referred to as usage label. It explains that the meaning of the pronoun is not very clear in the English Version but can work very well in Zulu, together with formatives such as 'yi', 'si'. This is directing the dictionary user, who is a language learner, to understand the constraints of using the pronoun **wona**. However, such labels can be more helpful if associated with contextual examples so that users could familiarise with the problems associated when using the pronoun. Grammatical information illustrates how **wona** works with 'si', 'na' and 'ku'.

Also striking in the Zulu-English dictionary is the use of the subject label. The example cited below illustrates subject labels:

HIV or human immunodeficiency virus
Abbreviation (life orientation)

Isandulela-ngculazi the retrovirus
The retrovirus that causes Aids
iretrovayirasi ebangela incgulazi.

Scientists have been trying to
Develop a vaccine against HIV but
None have succeeded yet. Ososayensi
Babezama ukuthukisa umgcabo wokwelapha
isandulela-ngculazi kodwa namanje

akekho owaphumelela.

The term “life orientation” in the definition of the entry HIV, bracketed in the example above, signifies the subject area to which the term HIV belongs. In other words, it tags the field or domain to which the concept HIV is technically relevant. This makes it easy for the pupils to relate the entry to the super-ordinate concept (life).

Multi-sense definitions

The other main feature in the dictionary is that where more than one sense of the entry is captured, the different senses are then numbered from the general to the specific, so that learners can have a wide variety or range of meaning. The more the pupils in South Africa are exposed to a wide variety of senses, the more they understand the lemmatised words better than in situations where there is one meaning. The following example demonstrates this idea:

woshi interjection 1 wow! (marks admiration)
woshi! Wamuhle kangaka kusa nje. Wow! Isn't she really very beautiful? 2. goodness gracious! (marks contempt) woshi! Uzothini uBaba? Musa ukuganga. Goodness gracious! What is dad going to say? Stop being naughty.

Xosha verb 1 fire; dismiss; expel
uthishanhloko akanalo ilungelo lokumisa noma ukuxosha uthisha esikoleni. The principal does not have the right to appoint or fire a teacher at school. 2. chase (away) Umelusi wazama ukuxosha impisi. The herdboyc tried to chase the hyena away.

From the two examples given above, the headword **woshi** has two different meanings and these definitions are numbered in the order of frequent use (corpus based), as shown:

1. interjection 1 wow! (marks admiration)
woshi! Wamuhle kangaka kusa nje. Wow! Isn't she really very beautiful? 2. **goodness** gracious! (marks contempt) woshi! Uzothini uBaba? Musa ukuganga. Goodness gracious! What is dad going to say? Stop being naughty.

The first definition implies that the word **woshi** refers to an act, thus interjecting someone, whilst the second one signifies goodness. The word **xosha** also has two definitions, numbered again in the order of frequency in the corpus, as shown below:

1 fire; dismiss; expel
uthishanhloko akanalo ilungelo lokumisa noma

ukuxosha uthisha esikoleni. The principal does not have the right to appoint or fire a teacher at school. **2. chase** (away) Umelusi wazama ukuxosha impisi. The herdboy tried to chase the hyena away.

The first definition implies dismissal while the second one denotes chasing away. The first category of definitions is numbered **1** and the second **2**. This presentation exposes South African Pupils to a wide range of meanings. From the examples: **woshi** and **xosha**, the first definitions are semantic whilst the second ones are pragmatic. Capturing both the semantic and pragmatic senses exposes the pupils to both the outside context meaning and the contextual meaning. This presentation of entries and senses is representative of sense presentation throughout the dictionary. Numbering of these definitions denote variations of definitions from the most commonly used to the rare one. This also gave the pupils (during the experiment) the option to look for important definitions only or to even consider those that are not widely used

The features of the dictionary that we have discussed so far make the Zulu-English dictionary well presented, since the users may find a lot of information from the dictionary. They can retrieve information quickly. The ease with which the users can identify data makes this dictionary commendable for being user-friendly. However, there are two other direct routes to a more improved dictionary version. The font size for the entries is too small for lower levels, they therefore preferably want to work with a bigger print. Since there is no age specification for the target users, this therefore makes it very difficult to harmonise font size for lower level users and the more mature users of the dictionary. With this in mind, we recommend a dictionary for the lower school and another different one for the upper school. One other thing to consider is that all the major words used for purposes of exemplifying or sense construction should be defined too.

On the other hand, school children may find it difficult to understand definitions or concepts that are abstract, thus concepts out of their experience. As such, there was need to insert pictures, drawings and art paintings so that children can use their sensory motor system to understand concepts. Children in the lower school can learn better by exercising their sensory motor system and pictographic illustrations are therefore important to enrich children's dictionaries. These could be pictures qualifying verbs or nouns. Entries like hippopotamus, highway, hide, hoe, hit and virus are better understood if accompanied by visual illustrations. Children are excited by pictures, drawings and cartoons, naturally, such that compilers of the Zulu-English dictionary could have harnessed such a natural interest in pictures to motivate them to have interest in the dictionary.

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Reviewed by

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CALL FOR PAPERS

The *Zimbabwe Journal of Language and Culture* (ZJLC) is issuing a call for papers. ZJLC is the journal of the Social Science Research Consultancy Trust (SSRCT). It is an online journal published four times a year and it seeks to promote the dissemination of ideas, points of view, teaching strategies and research on a variety of language issues in Africa and the rest of the world. The journal primarily focuses on language, culture and development in Africa and also in the global context. However, there is room for discussions on the whole spectrum of language i.e. structure, policy, education and usage.

The editors are seeking articles that critically examine issues that relate to language learning, culture, language use, language education, literature, language planning, corpus linguistics, discourse analysis, bilingualism, translation and interpretation. Authors wishing to have their articles considered for publication are instructed to send an electronic version of their submission directly to The Editor-in-Chief;

In addition to the above mentioned themes, contributors should also feel free to introduce new dimensions on discourses on any language matters of their choice. Papers can critically engage themes built around the following:

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- Language planning
- Bilingualism
- Language teaching and learning
- Corpus linguistics
- Onomastics
- Applied linguistics
- Discourse analysis
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