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A Comparative study of the Morphosyntax and Phonetics of Town Bemba and Standard Bemba of the Copperbelt, Zambia

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Degree of

Master of Arts in Linguistics.

DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

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ABSTRACT

For many years now, the status of Town Bemba (TB) has been fuzzy in its descriptions, as no specific framework has been used in characterising the language variety. TB has been regarded as an urban variety spoken in the townships of the Copperbelt province, Zambia. It had also been perceived as a ‘secret language’ or ‘mixed jargon’ used by male migrant workers on the mine, but today, it is used by males and females across the board, and also tends to be used as first language (L1) for offspring raised there. This research attempts to investigate the status of TB. It will also make observations of any significant differences between TB and Standard Bemba (SB) through linguistic markers and style of speech by the informants. The comparative analysis will help in assessing the extent to which TB has deviated from SB.

The data for morphosyntax, socio-phonetic and lexical analyses was collected through one-on-one interviews and two TB music lyrics. Twenty speakers of TB and SB were interviewed in this research. For data analysis three theoretical frameworks were used namely; Myers-Scotton’s Matrix Language Frame Model (MLF) for the morphosyntax data; socio-phonetics using Praat and Normalisation of vowels for phonetic data; and a linguistic characterisation of language varieties were used to characterise TB and establish its status.

The results show that TB is quite similar to the base language SB and exemplifies general characteristics that are more similar to *Tsotsitaal*. The difference is that the former (TB) uses one base language (SB) with heavy borrowing and assimilations from English mainly and a bit from local languages like Nyanja, and Afrikaans; the variety is used by people of different ethnic backgrounds, its commonly used in everyday life among educated and non-educated male and female speakers. TB also has been able to preserve many forms associated with more traditional Bemba and at the same time shows changes in some of its lexical and grammatical forms, mainly simplification. *Tsotsitaal* in comparison is associated with many base languages but behaves similarly to TB in other ways. In this regard, I suggest that TB be referred to as another type of an urban variety that is moving towards being a new language because it is more than a ‘stylect’ (Hurst 2008) like *Tsotsitaal*.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AUX	Auxiliary verb
CB	Central Bemba
CDC	Curriculum Development Centre
CP	Complementizer Projection
Dim	Diminutive
FUT	Future Simple tense
Inf	Infinitive
L1	First Language
MOE	Ministry of Education
NEG	Negative
O	Object
OM	Object marker
Pl.	Plural
PREP	Preposition
PRES	Present Simple tense
PRES Prog	Present Progressive
PST	Past Simple tense
PST Prog	Past Progressive
SB	Standard Bemba
Sg	Singular
SM	Subject marker
TB	Town Bemba
TNS	Tense marker
UNZA	University of Zambia
V	Verb
Ø	Zero Prefix

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the study - Zambia

1.1.1 Geographical location

Zambia is one of the 53 countries of Africa. Its official name is the Republic of Zambia. The country is situated in the Southern region of Africa¹. It lies between 15°S and 30° E; and covers an area of 752 614 sq km.²

Zambia is a landlocked country. The eight neighbouring countries surrounding it are: Malawi to the east side; Mozambique to the south-east; Zimbabwe to the south; Botswana and Namibia to the south-west; Angola to the west; and to the north the Democratic Republic of Congo, which covers much of northern and north-west border sides of Zambia, and Tanzania to the north-east of Zambia. See Map 1 for the exact position of Zambia on the map of Africa.

Zambia has nine administrative provinces. Two of these are predominantly urban, namely the Copperbelt and Lusaka. The other seven provinces namely the Northern, North-western, Eastern, and Luapula, Central, Southern and Western provinces are rural. The Capital city of Zambia is Lusaka, which is also the administrative centre of the Lusaka province.

Map 1 shows the geographical location of Zambia in the centre of south central Africa. The inscribed rectangle shows the landlocked nature of the country, with no direct access to either the Atlantic or the Indian oceans.

¹ <http://www.africamaps.com> Africa Interactive Maps. 19/06/09 1.07pm

² See <http://africanhistory.about.com/od/africanhistoryresources/ig/Where-In-Africa--Maps/Where-in-Africa-is-Zambia--.htm> 12.45pm 17/06/2009 and www.Ethnologue.com.

Map 1: Geographical Map of Africa



Source: Map No. 4045 Rev. 4 UNITED NATIONS - Department of Peacekeeping Operations Cartographic Section January 2004.

Map 2 below shows in detail the nine provinces of Zambia and the eight neighbouring countries, which surround Zambia.

1.1.2 Languages in Zambia

Zambia is a multilingual nation. There are seventy-three ethnic (73) groups (Spitulnik 1998: 35; Kashoki 1978a, 1990) and about twenty-one languages are spoken (see Table 1 below). The Zambian Census Report of 2000 estimated the total population as 11,261,795, with a growth rate of 2.12 percent per year.

Table 1: Predominant Languages of Communication by Urban vs. Rural Zambia – 2000

Predominant Languages of communication	Total in Zambia	Rural	Urban
Bemba	30.1	19.7	48.5
Nyanja	10.7	4.4	21.8
Tonga	10.6	14.1	4.3
Lozi	5.7	6.8	3.9
Chewa	4.9	6.7	1.8
Nsenga	3.4	4.4	1.7
Tumbuka	2.5	3.4	0.9
Lunda (N/West)	2.2	2.9	0.9
Lala	2.0	2.8	0.5
Kaonde	2.0	2.5	1.2
Lamba	1.9	2.6	0.5
Luvale	1.7	2.2	0.8
English	1.7	0.3	4.2
Lenje	1.4	2.0	0.3
Namwanga	1.3	1.6	0.7
Mambwe	1.2	1.6	0.7
Ngoni	1.2	1.3	1.0
Bisa	1.0	1.5	0.2
Ila	0.8	1.1	0.2
Senge	0.6	0.9	0.2
Lungu	0.6	0.8	0.2
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Population	8,702,932	5,551,338	3,151,594

Source: 2000 Census Reported of Population and Housing.)

Some languages are mutually intelligible; others are not (Kashoki 1990:9-15). Generally, these communities and their languages are restricted to specific geographical areas. Contact between rural communities is restricted by distance, location and a lack of roads and other infrastructure. However, in urban areas where people of different socio-cultural backgrounds are exposed to each other on a daily basis, linguistic interactions and influence are very likely to occur.

In the Western Province, the major languages are Lozi, Mbunda, Subiya, Kwangwa, Totela, Nyengo and Nkoya; in North-western Province there is Chokwe, Luvale, Kaonde and Lunda; and in Southern Province we have the famous ‘bantu-botatwe’³ language group which includes the Tonga, Ila and Lenje (who are also found in most parts of Central Province). The Central Province is also the home of Soli and Swaka speakers. Soli speakers are also found in the Lusaka Province. Originally the Copperbelt Province was the land of the Lamba speakers, but now it is dominated by speakers of the modified Bemba language that emerged in the 1920s (now known as *Town Bemba*). To the Eastern part of Zambia we find people speaking Chewa, Senga, and Tumbuka. Up North we have the Northern and Luapula Provinces, where we find the cluster of Bemba dialects which include the Twa of Bangweulu, Unga, Lembwe, Kabende, Lomotua, Chishinga, Mukulu, Ng’umbo, Ngoma, Nwesi, Luunda⁴.

Prior to Zambia’s independence, English, the language of the European colonialists played an important role in bringing together the leaders of the independence movements who came from different socio-cultural or linguistic backgrounds. Kashoki (1990) asserts that ‘when these Zambian leaders took office, it was natural for them to regard this language as a unifying factor and indispensable. It was now used as a medium of communication in national and international fora, political meetings, media and education’. Mwanakatwe (1968:213) one of Zambia’s more prominent educationists and writers, noted before that ‘... nationalists of our time have accepted the inevitable fact that English-ironically a foreign language and also the language of our former colonial masters- has definitely a unifying role in Zambia’(cited by Kashoki 1990).

The Zambian government language policy has made English the official language of communication and the medium of instruction in schools and universities (Kashoki 1990: 81). Seven other widely spoken local languages have also been used in education and commerce and these are: Bemba, Nyanja, Tonga, Lozi, Kaonde, Luvale, and Lunda.

Today, English, Bemba and Nyanja continue to be the lingua franca of Zambia because of their wide usage and this has contributed to the socio-cultural integration of the

³‘Bantu-botatwe’ are famous for being the longest settling groups of settlers in Zambia who speak a similar dialect. These groups include the Tonga, Ila and Lenge speakers of Southern and Central provinces of Zambia.

⁴ [http:// www.ethnologue.com](http://www.ethnologue.com).

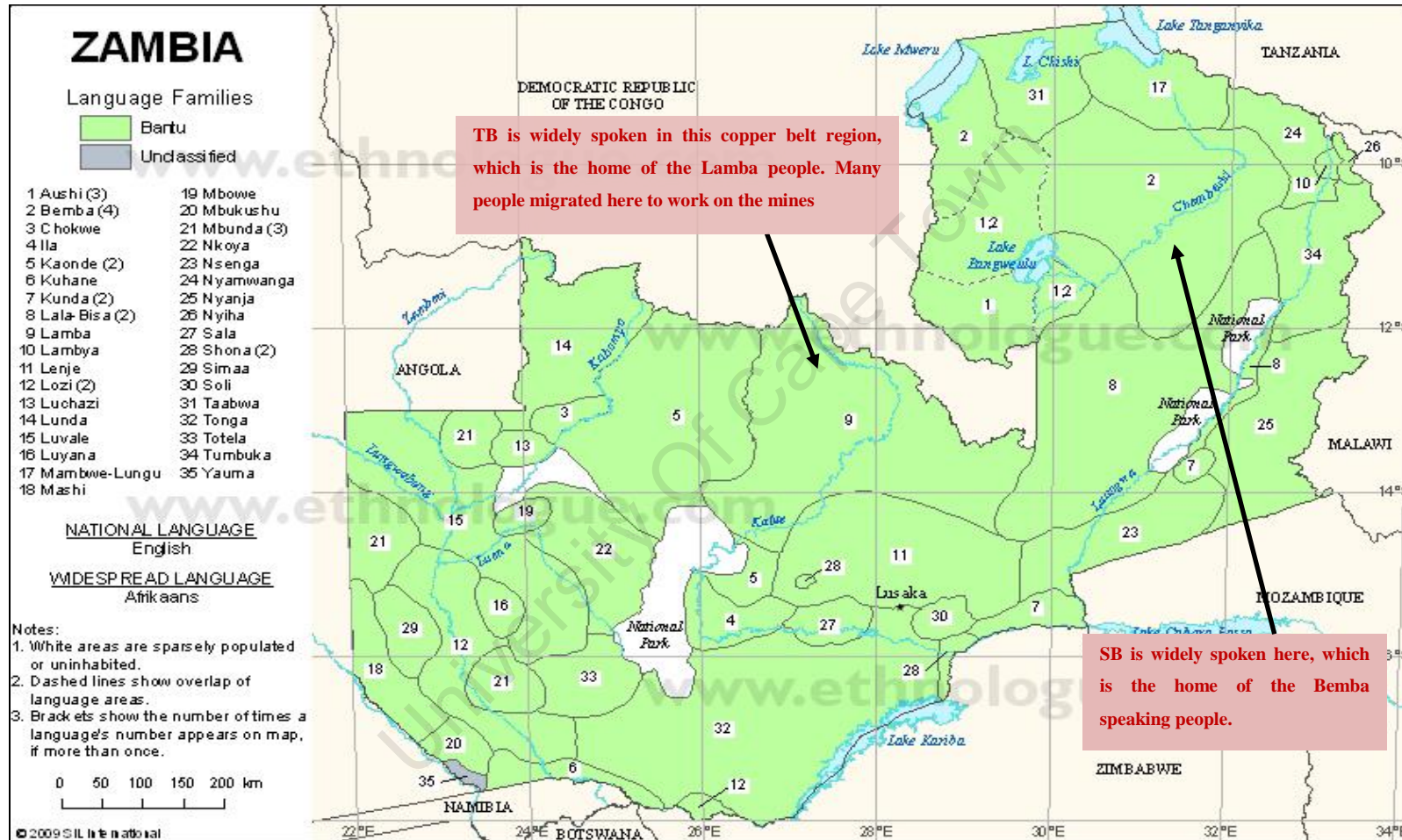
people and the different communities. Integration has been promoted by inter-marriages and education in schools and there are neighbourhoods and work place bringing diverse people together and there is also peer groups.

Today in Zambia, many people are dying from HIV/AIDS. The languages themselves are affected by the loss of speakers which in turn results in the loss of these languages.

Below is map 3 of Zambia that shows the distribution of the various languages. The most current language population statistics, for the year 2000 are noted below. They show how much most of the major languages have grown between 1980 and 2000.

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Map 3: Language Map of Zambia showing the location of Town and Standard Bemba.



Source: www.Ethnologue.com: Lewis, M. Paul (ed.), 2009. Ethnologue: Languages of the World, Sixteenth edition. Dallas, Tex.: SIL International: 7/10/09: 2.37pm

1.1.3 Language Population and Statistics

Table 1 represents a ranking of the Zambian languages in terms of the percentage of the population that speaks each language. The results are further broken down using the 'urban' and 'rural' variables based on census data for the year of 2000. Children below two years of age and people with speech impairment were excluded in the survey as they did not report any language communication.

Table 1 also shows that, Bemba is the most widely spoken language in Zambia (with 30.1%). That is, almost one-third of the population uses the language for communication. There are more Bemba speakers, in both the rural and urban areas, than speakers of other languages. Most importantly, the proportion of Bemba speakers is higher in the urban areas than in the rural areas. For most of the other languages, the converse is true - see Table 1. Because most Bemba speakers are only temporary migrant workers, and due to the interaction between these Bemba speakers and speakers of other languages, this situation has led to the evolution of Town Bemba (hereafter TB), which has significant differences from Standard Bemba (hereafter SB). This study will examine these differences.

The next most widely spoken language is Nyanja, a lingua franca of the Lusaka and Eastern Provinces (10.7%) of the Zambian population. It is also widely spoken in the area around Livingstone in the Southern Province. Like Bemba, it has more speakers in the urban areas. The third most widely spoken language is Tonga with (10.6%) of the population. The difference in the number of Nyanja and Tonga speakers is negligible (0.1%). The rest of the languages follow in descending order, from the highest to lowest percentage. Despite having a very small number of speakers, English remains a language of official communication in Zambia.

Table 2 below provides a distribution of the main languages spoken in the nine provinces of Zambia. The results from the census data of the year 2000 are further broken down using the geographical variable 'province'. In Table 2, it shows that, at least two or more languages are spoken in each province. Thus, Central Province has: Bemba, Lala, Tonga and Lenje in descending order; the Copperbelt Province has Bemba, Lamba and English; the Eastern Province with Chewa, Nsenga, Nyanja and Ngoni; the Luapula Province has Bemba as the only major local language; Lusaka Province with Nyanja, Bemba, English

and Tonga; Northern Province has: Bemba with the majority, followed by Namwanga and Mambwe; North-Western Province has Lunda, followed by Kaonde and Luvale; the Southern Province with Tonga as the highest , and a small group of Ila speaking; and finally Western Province with Lozi as the major language with a small group of the Luvale speakers.

According to Table 2 below, it is evident that Bemba is spoken in every province of Zambia. In most provinces, it has the highest number of speakers. The Census Report 2000 results in table 2 indicate that the Copperbelt (1,439,298) had the highest number of people followed by Lusaka (1,259,258). The rest follow in descending order: Eastern (1,134,948); Northern (1,088,565); Southern (1,051,663); Central (890,370); Luapula (674,049); Western (663,842); and North-western (500,939).

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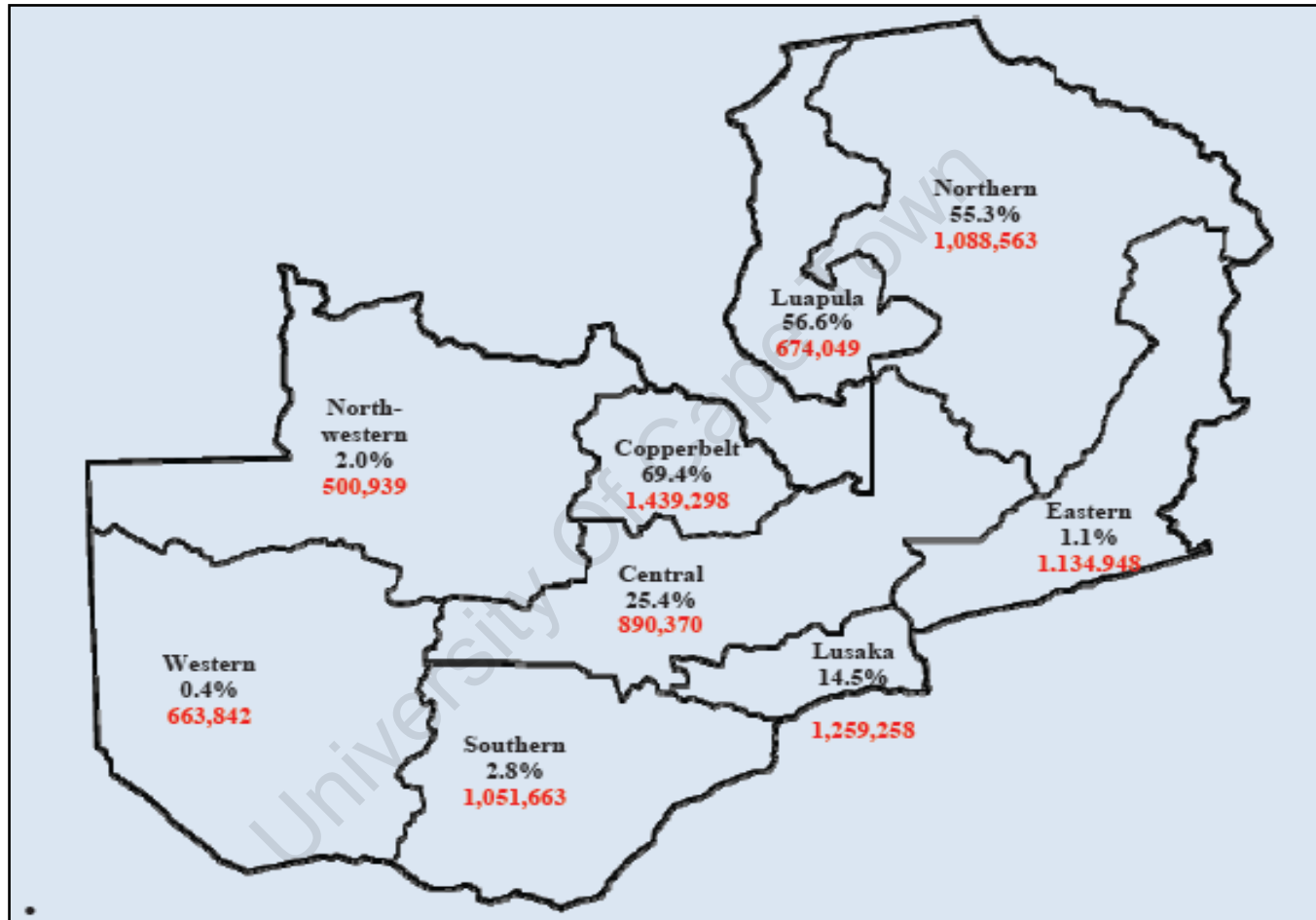
Table 2: Predominant Language of Communication by Province, Zambia, 2000 (in percentages).

Predominant Language of Communication	Total	Central	Copperbelt	Eastern	Luapula	Lusaka	Northern	North-Western	Southern	Western
Bemba	30.1	25.4	69.4	1.1	56.6	14.5	55.3	2.0	2.8	0.4
Lala	2.0	17.1	0.8	0.0	0.1	0.2	0.4	0.0	0.0	0.0
Bisa B Bisa	1.0	0.2	0.2	0.9	0.1	0.1	6.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
Lamba	1.9	2.5	8.9	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	2.0	0.0	0.0
Tonga	10.6	12.0	1.1	0.1	0.0	4.6	0.1	0.3	69.8	0.3
Lenje	1.4	11.7	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.8	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0
Ila	0.8	2.9	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	3.8	0.0
Luvale	1.7	0.2	0.7	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	19.3	0.6	4.4
Lunda (N/Western)	2.2	0.1	0.9	0.0	0.0	0.2	0.0	33.9	0.1	0.4
Kaonde	2.0	1.0	1.3	0.0	0.0	0.4	0.0	27.1	0.1	0.4
Lozi	5.7	1.0	0.7	0.1	0.0	1.8	0.1	0.7	5.0	60.0
Chewa	4.9	0.6	0.4	33.8	0.0	2.4	0.0	0.1	0.4	0.1
Nsenga	3.4	0.9	0.6	20.6	0.0	3.1	0.0	0.1	0.4	0.0
Ngoni	1.2	0.5	0.3	6.6	0.0	1.0	0.0	0.0	0.5	0.0
Nyanja	10.7	8.6	1.1	9.6	0.1	52.8	0.2	0.3	5.5	0.4
Lungu	0.6	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	4.6	0.0	0.0	0.0
Mambwe	1.2	0.3	0.3	0.0	0.0	0.6	8.5	0.0	0.1	0.0
Namwanga	1.3	0.4	0.5	0.1	0.0	0.4	8.8	0.0	0.1	0.0
Tumbuka	2.5	0.3	0.7	14.8	0.0	0.9	2.4	0.0	0.2	0.0
Senga	0.6	0.1	0.1	4.6	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
English	1.7	0.9	2.5	0.2	0.1	6.6	0.2	0.3	0.8	0.2
Others	12.6	13.4	9.4	7.2	42.7	8.8	12.7	13.9	9.5	33.4
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Population	8,702,932	890,370	1,439,298	1,134,948	674,049	1,259,258	1,088,565	500,939	1,051,663	663,842

Source: 2000 Census Population and Housing.

Map 4 shows the percentage of Bemba speakers in relation to the total population in each province of Zambia. The information on the map 4 is based on Table 2 of the 2000 Census report.

Map 4: Map of Zambia indicating the % of Bemba speakers as well as Provincial Populations.



Source: Information extracted from Zambia's Census report 2000.

Table 3 shows the proportions of the prominent language groups in relation to the whole population over a period of two decades. The survey covers the period 1980 to 2000.

Table 3: Predominant Language Group by Census Year, Zambia in % (1980 - 2000).

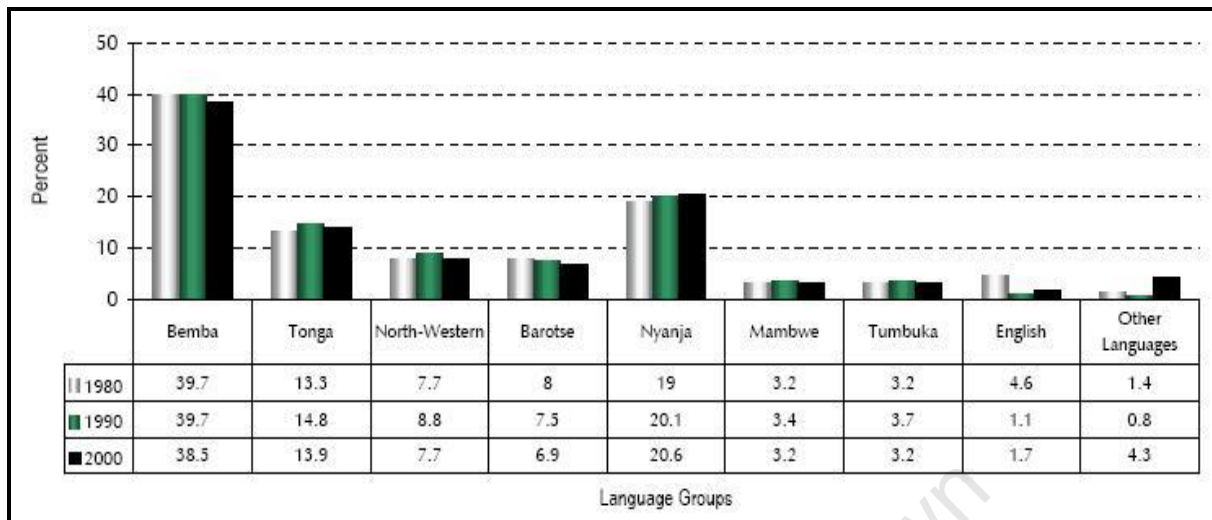
Language group	Percentage of Total Population		
	1980	1990	2000
Bemba	39.7	39.7	38.5
Tonga	13.3	14.8	13.9
North-Western	7.7	8.8	7.7
Barotse	8.0	7.5	6.9
Nyanja	19.0	20.1	20.6
Mambwe	3.2	3.4	3.2
Tumbuka	3.2	3.7	3.2
English	4.6	1.1	1.7
Other	1.4	0.8	4.3
Total Percent	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total Population	5,226,895	7,001,936	8,702,932

Source: CSO, 1980, 1990 and 2000 Censuses of Population and Housing.

Of all the languages shown in Table 3, English had dropped between 1980 and 1990 and later had recorded the highest percentage increase (0.6%, thus from 1.1% in 1990 to 1.7% in 2000) in the number of speakers. This may be attributed to the fact that English is the official language, and as such many people had some years of schooling and speak it (Census report 2000). English is then followed by Nyanja (0.5%). Nyanja is the only language, which has shown a steady increase in percentage of speakers over the past two decades. The rest of the languages show a drop in the percentage of speakers. This includes Bemba even though it still has the highest number of speakers in the total population of Zambia.

Below is a graphical representation of information for table 3 above:

Graph 1: Predominant Language Group by Census Year, Zambia in % (1980 - 2000)



Source: CSO, 1980, 1990 and 2000 Censuses of Population and Housing

The above graph gives a clearer picture of the percentage disparities between the major language groups. Bemba and Nyanja, the local *linguae francae* have the highest percentage in terms of number of speakers ranging from 20% to 40% as can be seen in the graph. Thus, Bemba recorded 38.5% (in the year 2000) while Nyanja recorded 20.6%. The rest of the languages are below 10% except for Tonga, which was slightly above 10

The tables, graph and historical background demonstrate that Bemba has been the most dominant language in Zambia over the last two decades. Nyanja is second to Bemba. It would then be reasonable to assume that in the next years, Bemba is most likely to increase to over 50% (from just over one third shown in the 2000 reports) of the total population of Zambia. An increase in the number of speakers of Bemba is likely to take place in every province. Bemba, or rather TB is often seen as prestigious and modern, and local people usually want to be associated with a ‘modern stylistic language’ (Hurst 2008) and TB is the only language so far that has such features.

1.1.4 The Copperbelt Province

Copperbelt is the most populous Province in Zambia today with almost 1.5 million people (see Table 2 - 2000 Census Report above). It is a cosmopolitan and fast developing

area because of its mining industries. Its mining towns are: Ndola, Kitwe, Mufulira, Luanshya, Chingola, and Chililabombwe (see map 5 below).

The Copperbelt is situated to the north of the Central Province of Zambia, with North-Western Province to the west. It shares borders with Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) which lies to the north. Much of the land is a level plateau, and is about four thousand feet above sea level and approximately thirteen degrees south of the Equator (Powdermaker 1997: 3). This is bush country, with stunted-looking trees and anthills. The Copperbelt Province was named after the 'belt of copper deposits' in this region.

The Copperbelt is one of the richest and most well known provinces of Zambia because it is home to large scale industry. The industry is built mainly on the mining of copper ore and some other minerals like cobalt, manganese and iron, on which Zambia's GDP largely rests (Kashoki 1990:113). This region is also home to one of the largest open pit mines in the world. Most of the people on the Copperbelt depend on the mines and related businesses such as Mopani Copper Mines, Nkana mine, and Chambeshi for their livelihoods. The mining industry not only contributes significantly to the economy of the Copperbelt but also to the country (Zambia) as a whole.

The Copper mines in this province were opened in the 1920s and this led to the huge influx of migrants (Kashoki 2006:32), for example, about 40 to 60 percent of adult Bemba men in the Northern and Luapula Provinces left their homesteads in search of employment opportunities on the mines of the Copperbelt (Ferguson, 2001:63). Powdermaker (1997) asserts that in 1960, approximately thirty-six thousand (36,000) Africans and seven thousand (7,000) Europeans were employed on the mines. The mining industry drew workers from neighbouring countries as well. Ohadike (1969:2-5) cited in Kashoki (2006), affirms that between 1940 and 1960 Malawian labour migrants topped the list of migrant workers, followed by Tanzanians, Angolans and Zaireans (present-day citizens of the DRC). The other group people constituted a very small percentage of the local labourers on Copperbelt mines.

TB has maintained its dominant position on the Copperbelt, in terms of numbers of speakers. The languages of the Copperbelt ethnic groups and of the other various migrant communities are rarely used in the public domain. These languages include Lamba, Soli, Swaka, Lozi, Luvale, Lunda, Kaonde, Lenje, Tonga, and a few others.

Below is a map of the Copperbelt Province showing its main towns, and Kitwe which was the centre of this research project.

Map 5: Towns on the Copperbelt Province



Source: Source:[http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/metadata.nsf/VLocationCC/zmb/\\$FILE/zmb.jpg](http://www.reliefweb.int/rw/metadata.nsf/VLocationCC/zmb/$FILE/zmb.jpg) (UN).

1.2 Overview on Bemba

1.2.1 A Review of Literature on Standard Bemba

Language

SB is commonly known as Chibemba (Kashoki 1968:1, Spitulnik and Kashoki 1996, 1998) or Ibibemba. The noun class prefix *Chi* indicates the language (SB) as referent and the prefix *ba* indicates the people (Babemba). SB is a Bantu language (Richardson 1961: 25, Webb & Kembo-Sure 2000: 33). Bantu languages are classified as part of the larger Niger-

Congo language family (WWW)⁵. The Niger-Congo family with more than a thousand languages and 260 million speakers is the largest family in Africa. Speakers of this language family are found in the western, eastern, central and southern parts of Africa, i.e. throughout Africa except for the north.

SB has the largest number of speakers in Zambia today. It is spoken on the Copperbelt, Northern, Luapula, North-western, and Central Provinces of Zambia, as well as in some parts of the DRC and Tanzania. Recent statistics have estimated the total number of speakers at between 5.6 - 6 million. Of this number, approximately 3.6 million speakers live in Zambia (WWW).

History

The Babemba people trace their origins to the Luba-Lunda Empire of Kola region, now the South-eastern part of present-day DRC. The Babemba people refer to their original homeland by a number of names: Lubemba or Luba or Buluba and occasionally as Lunde (Roberts 1973:50). They migrated to the Northern-eastern part of Zambia, which includes the Northern and Luapula provinces which contain the towns currently known as Kasama, Mporokoso, Mpika, Chinsali, Luwingu, and Mansa. Legend tells that the migration of the Babemba from Kola was the result of a succession dispute between the Babemba Chief called Mukulumpe and his sons Katongo, Chiti and Nkole whose mother Mumbi Makasa was believed to be of divine origin. The three sons rebelled against their father and ran away taking their only sister, Chilufya Mulenga, who later bore a son. This son later became the first chief to bear the title *Chitimukulu* named after the original leader Chiti (Roberts 1973:43). *Chitmukulu* is the name given to all chiefs that reign in the Bemba chiefdom, and it means 'Chiti the great' according to the Babemba. This group settled in the Northern province. The Babemba are a matrilineal people, i.e. lineage is determined by the mother with a centralised system of government.

The population of the Bemba chiefdom soon grew as a result of raiding and the conquest of neighbouring tribes, some of which had settled the area before them and others which had migrated at about the same time as Babemba to Northern and Luapula Provinces. Among the subjugated tribes were the Iwa, Senga, and Fipa (Roberts 1973:40-50). Besides

⁵ http://www.ethnologue.com/show_language.asp?code=bem

Bemba speakers, there were other tribes who settled in the same area that shared the same culture, traditions and linguistic background as the Bemba. Their origins are also in ‘Luba’ area. These included the Bisa, Aushi, Lala and Lamba. SB is composed of a number of dialects which include Lamba, Lala, Chishinga, Tabwa, Luunda, Aushi, Bisa, and Kuunda (Spitulnik 1998, & www.Ethnologue.com).

The copper mines of the Copperbelt province were opened in the 1920s. This led to a huge influx of migrants into the Copperbelt area. About 40 to 60 percent of adult Bemba men from the Northern and Luapula provinces opted to leave their homesteads in order to seek employment on the mines (Ferguson 2001: 63, Heine 1970: 57). These migrants spoke SB. The Lambas were already settled on the Copperbelt and the arrival of SB speakers led to language contact between the two varieties. More migrants arrived from other parts of Southern Africa leading to further contact of these languages. With the passage of time a new language variety of Bemba (SB) evolved and this is what is known as ‘TB’ today.

Standardization

For many years Central Bemba has been used as a reference point for the standardised form of Bemba (Spitulnik 1998: 38). Central Bemba is the language that is used in the Bemba royal household and court in the Northern and Luapula provinces. As early as the 1900s, it was used in government documents, educational textbooks, novels, and the Bemba version of the Bible and later it was used on the radio and television programs. The first Bemba Grammar book was published in 1907 and the first Bemba translation of the New Testament Bible produced by the Missionary Fathers (Spitulnik 1998) appeared in 1923. During this period in time, there had been no attempt to develop a standardised form of Bemba.

In Zambia, the governing body in charge of the standardisation and preservation of the local languages is the Department of Language at the Curriculum Development Centre (CDC)⁶. The CDC mother body falls under the Ministry of Education (hereafter MOE), and its main role is to issue guidelines for the standardised orthography of the seven official local languages taught in Zambian schools. These official local languages are Bemba, Kaonde,

⁶ CDC is in-charge of making decisions on the curriculum or syllabi to be developed and used in schools. It issues the required guidelines for language used, and methods of teaching and the textbooks to be used.

Lozi, Lunda, Luvale, Nyanja, and Tonga [Kashoki 1990:67 & Ministry of Education (MOE) 2005].

During the late 1970s, language committees for the seven official local languages (Kashoki 1990:66) held meetings at the MOE headquarters in Lusaka, as well as in all the regions (of Zambia). Care was taken in formulating orthographies of these seven official languages. The then Inspector of Schools, Mr Simasiku S. Chimuka, and Professor Mubanga E. Kashoki, from the Institute for African Studies, University of Zambia (UNZA) edited and compiled the final provincial manuals of the agreed grammars and spellings. Mr. F.M. Mulikita, who was the Minister of Education at that time, authorised the publication of a book entitled *Zambian Languages: Orthography approved by the Ministry of Education* for official use (MOE 2005: V-vii)⁷. This book contains the approved orthographies for the seven official languages of Zambia, and is promulgated as the standard in all written and spoken forms of the languages in the schools, media and broadcasting to which all must conform.

1.2.2 A Review of Literature on Town Bemba

General background

What is 'TB'? Is it even a language? How did it originate? Where is it spoken? Who speaks it? These are some of the questions that are likely to be asked by anyone. The aim of this thesis is to describe the status of TB through various socio-linguistic analyses of the data collected on the Copperbelt. I abbreviate Town Bemba (as TB) in the same way as Richardson (1961).

Currently, there is academic and scientific debate about the status of TB. A number of scholars, Deborah Spitulnik (1998:34) for example have disputed the claim that TB is a pidgin and have described TB as a variety of SB. Secondary writers like Hancock (1971) and Crystal (cited in Spitulnik 1998), classify TB as a pidgin. Spitulnik also suggested that Hancock (1971 & 1981) was mistaken in characterising TB as a reduced or simplified African language used in Southern Africa, when, in fact it exhibits very complex linguistic characteristics, despite a reduction in the morphological sense. Spitulnik (1998) has suggested

⁷ V-vii. - The information is to be found in the 'Foreward' and 'Editor's notes' of *Zambian Languages orthography approved by Ministry of Education*. More information is further discussed in 'The Factor of Language' in *Zambia* by Mubanga E. Kashoki

that ‘TB should be understood as a cover term for a set of Bemba-based multilingual practices that exemplifies urbanity but need not be tied to urban locale’. It is the view of the researcher that TB shares more features of a “Stylect” (Hurst 2008) like *Tsotsitaal* (in South Africa) because of its language mixing, language switch and term-coining rather than pidgins, creoles, or koines. It is hoped that by the end of the study, the linguistic characteristics found for TB will assist in ascertaining its real status.

Irvine Richardson, an expert on this language (Heine 1970:56), was the first to use the term TB. It is believed that TB originated around 1910, and that it was first documented between 1950 and 1960 (Spitulnik 1998:33, Heine 1970). Richardson (1961:25) has noted that the local users of the language called it *Cikopabeeluti* meaning the ‘language of the Copperbelt’ (Epstein uses the spelling *Cicopperbeliti* ‘TB’; 1959:250). This appellation has been sometimes been applied to other languages spoken on the Copperbelt. TB is derived from Chibemba (SB) and Richardson (1981) believes that the two must be treated as different languages. It has native and non-native speakers. TB is used in everyday life, at the workplace, social meetings, and political discussions (Kashoki, 1972: 65).

TB acts as the lingua franca of the Copperbelt (Richardson 1961, Kashoki 1972, Schuring 1992, Spitulnik 1998 et al.) and was probably first developed by male migrant workers. TB is now spoken by both males and females. Between 1910 and the early 1920s, it existed alongside Fanagalo, a mining language that is presumed to have originated in what was then known as Natal in South Africa, in the mid 19th Century and spread to the gold and diamond mining areas⁸.

Fanagalo was first used on the Copperbelt much earlier than TB. In post-independent Zambia, Fanagalo was seen as a foreign language because of its South African origin its use as a ‘command language’ and as it was seen as deepening the social gap between the whites and black people (Epstein 1959: 237, Richardson 1961: 29). Fanagalo has also been referred to as *Cikabanga*, *Kitchen Kaffir*, *Cilapalapa*, *Cololo* and *Isikula* by the locals in Zambia.

⁸ The gold and diamond mines being referred to are found in South Africa and the language which the miners used in their workplace (mines) was Fanagalo. When the copper mines in Zambia were opened in the early 1900s some of these miners who spoke Fanagalo were taken from South Africa to go and work on the new mines in Zambia, and they continued to use Fanagalo.

Epstein (1959) has highlighted the fact that Fanagalo is a hybrid language, which came into contact with SB on the Copperbelt. However, he does not explain where it originated and what it was made up of and who spoke it. Cole (1953) on the other hand, regards Fanagalo as a multifaceted language and indicates that it is difficult to define TB. He favours a hypothesis that Fanagalo originated in the 1860s from the interaction between indentured and trader Indians and users of Zulu and English (cited in Mesthrie 1995). He is of the opinion that it is a pidgin language common among mine workers. Richardson (1961) on the other hand has described Fanagalo as a language of the workplace, without emphasising its origins. Mesthrie (1989) has made strong contributions on the debate on origins of Fanagalo by using empirical data which he collected to refute Cole's (1953) hypothesis. He concluded that 'Fanagalo in a jargon state was used as a language of trade between some English settlers in Natal and Afrikaners from the Transvaal and Orange Free State; and was also used in exchanges between the English colonists and their Zulu servants' (Mesthrie 1995:184-5). He also suggests that it differs from 'the classical pattern' of pidginisation where the target is a European language, but in this scenario the Europeans learnt broken Zulu, while the Zulu used simpler 'foreign talk' language to communicate (Mesthrie 1995).

In the late 1930s or so, Fanagalo became unpopular among the local people on the Copperbelt. Its use declined when the Africans began to resist white rule (Heine 1970: 58). Fanagalo was looked on as a white man's language because it was used by whites to communicate with and command Africans during the period of colonial rule. The decline of Fanagalo gave TB an opportunity to develop. It was in use among a sizeable group of Bemba migrant men who had come all the way from Northern Province to work on the mines in the Copperbelt Province (Richardson 1961: 28, Kashoki 1990:133). The number of Bemba labourers on the Copperbelt grew steadily and the social importance of the Bemba-speaking population rose. Soon TB spread widely through in the country and came to be used at home (Heine 1970:58), by workers, teachers, trade union leaders and politicians. Kashoki (2006) has asserted that the speakers of TB were either born in areas where the variety is spoken, or have migrated there. Those born on the Copperbelt tend to use TB as their mother tongue or first language.

TB, as its name suggests, is spoken mainly in urban areas. SB, on the other hand, is a rural language found mainly in the Northern parts of Zambia. SB speakers are thinly spread

across Zambia. Richardson (1961: 25) mentions that some Europeans described TB as “Slang”, “broken Bemba”, “English with Bemba grammar”; “mixed jargon” or “mixed gibberish” (cited in Heine 1970: 59). Spitulnik (1998: 32) has suggested that TB has several registers, which include ‘a Street TB’, ‘an Elite TB’ (referred to as ‘Anglicised Bemba’), and ‘a Common or Everyday TB’. Richardson (1961: 25) had suggested that TB was a kind of a ‘secret language’ or ‘jive talk’ used by people of certain age groups for reasons of prestige. TB can be likened to *Tsotsitaal* because they share some characteristics. Male speakers of TB and *Tsotsitaal* speak and dress in a ‘stylish’ way.

Hurst (2009) has proposed that *Tsotsitaal* is a ‘Stylect’. This is because it is style-related and is linked to extra-linguistic markers such as clothing, body language and other cultural vices that are in style. It is a South African urban or township language variety, which is similar to Sheng and TB. Sheng is an East African language based on Swahili, English and other local African languages. The word Sheng is derived from two words (S)wahili and (Eng)lish. It originated in the early 1970s in the Eastland area of Nairobi in Kenya and it is normally described as a ‘ghetto’ or ‘slang’ language that has been spoken for over 20 years now by the urban youth (Kembo-Sure 1992, Myers-Scotton 1993, Mazrui 1995, Mous and Kiessling 2001, Ogechi 2005.). TB is mostly derived from SB but it uses lexis from English and local languages like Nyanja, and a bit of Fanagalo and Afrikaans. This will further be illustrated in chapter four on lexical data analysis collected from the field by the researcher. This is an attribute that is similar in the case of the other two language varieties mentioned above (*Tsotsitaal* and Sheng).

Definitions and descriptions

Below are some of the notable definitions of TB by various scholars:

Schuring (1992: 67) defines TB as a “Koine language”. Koines are considered to be genetically related to the language varieties from which they have evolved. They remain dialects of the primary languages to which they are related grammatically and lexically. Since no genetically unrelated languages were involved in the contacts that produced them, the structures of koines are not drastically divergent from those of their ancestors (WWW).⁹ This definition of a koine may not really apply to TB, because TB is a product of contact between

⁹ <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/321152/koine>

two or more unrelated languages and hence, Schuring's definition of TB as a koine may not suffice.

Spitulnik (1998:33) notes that 'TB should be understood as a cover term for a set of Bemba-based multilingual practices that exemplify urbanity but need not be tied to urban local'. Epstein (1959), in Spitulnik (1998: 40) suggests that TB emerged as a local language of resistance to colonialism. It was developed in direct opposition to the prevalent colonial Pidgin language, Fanagalo, which was used primarily in the mining workplace. Richardson (1961: 25) describes TB as 'the language of the Copperbelt which is regarded as the young man's language'. She (Richardson 1964:190) adds elsewhere that TB was a political symbol, a conscious reaction against the old way of life, in which native people were bound by irksome rules created by those in authority. In the mining towns 'this authority was symbolically defied by abandoning traditional modes of speech and adopting a new intertribal language, which united town Africans against the colonial masters'.

Given the varied definitions of TB, it is evident that no scholar has sufficiently defined its status and classified it, except for Schuring (1992) who asserts that it is a Koine, based on some of the Koine features, which it exhibits. The question of whether TB is a Koine or not?, remains to be answered. Schuring has not provided sufficient evidence to justify its classification as a Koine. Many scholars have only barely described its characteristics, and different scholars have arrived at sharp contradictory opinions.

1.3 Problem Definition

TB evolved from SB over a long period of time. Given the fact that languages are dynamic and therefore change takes place with the passage of time; this study aims at assessing whether TB and SB have diverged. The comparative study will help determine how far different the two varieties have become and also classify TB into one of the languages categories of sociolinguistics.

1.4 Main objective

To investigate the status of TB and its characteristics in relation to other linguistic categories.

1.5 Limitations

The challenge was on the time constraints on the part of the informants. A good number of those interviewed at their work place seemed to have very limited time to be interviewed as they had to get back to work.

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CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews in detail the sociolinguistic theories of contact languages as TB is a result of contact between two or more languages. The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section will discuss the theoretical aspects of contact languages and the second section will look at the studies done on TB in the past years.

2.2 Contact languages

Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000: 88-105) have suggested that when two or more languages come into contact as is the case in many multilingual communities in Africa and other places in the world, they tend to interact with each other. Haugen (1972) shares a similar view and attributes this to language contact phenomena like borrowing, code-switching, code mixing, language change, pidginization, creolization and diglossia (cited by Webb and Kembo-Sure 2000: 89).

In sociolinguistics, the best-known contact languages are in three categories, namely pidgins, creoles and bilingual mixed languages (Thomason 1996). All these types of language contact emerged from social conditions that were unusual. The pidgins and creoles according to Thomason (1996: 1-7) arose (among local people of countries colonized by Europeans) because of contact with the European traders, colonizers or resident slave-masters. This is reflected in their vocabularies that draw primarily from the European languages, for instance the various varieties of Pidgin English from West African countries like Nigeria and Cameroon (though this is mainly in Central Africa), Portuguese-based pidgin in South Asia, etc. However, more studies on non-European languages have also been done. In spite of the growing bodies of data on the origin and nature of pidgins and creoles, the controversies are still an issue and this will be discussed shortly.

According to Thomason (1996) cited in Mesthrie (2001), a typical pidgin is created in a new contact situation, which involves two or more languages when a medium of communication is needed for use in limited social context, for instance trade. At this point, the group will retain their respective native language, and do not learn the other groups' languages. After a period of time (not specific as no observations were made before) the emerging contact language crystallises into a pidgin language (Thomason 1996, Swann et al. 2004: 238/9). At this stage, the pidgin has its own lexicon and grammar that must be learned by new speaker. The lexicon primarily is from one of the contact languages which is the *lexifier language* and there is a controversy on the sources of grammar because it does not come from any language, not even the lexifier.

Creoles are similar to pidgins in that they develop in contact situations, where two or more languages are spoken but the speakers do not learn each others' language. Creoles are a mixed language in the sense that their lexicon and syntactic structures do not come from the same language source (Thomason 2001). Thomason proposes that creoles seem to have arisen in three ways. The first is that they developed from a pidgin (Swann et al. 2004: 60/1) through functional and structural and eventually *nativization* (so that they are learned as L1 by the community's children), for instance Tok Pisin in New Guinea which expanded from a trade pidgin into a wide increasing variety with social functions. The second way is that they emerged abruptly, without having to go through a stable pidgin level. This happens in a contact situation when for instance the speakers of a particular community no longer use or speak their native language. The adults in this community initiate a mode of communication perhaps which begins as a pre-pidgin but does not crystallize as a pidgin because this language would be required in all social interactions for instance Hawaiian Creole English (Bickerton 1999: 51ff cited in Thomason 1996). The third route of creole is shift-induced interference, which emerges from a gradual process of repeated instances of group second-language acquisition with shift-induced interference at each stage accumulating until the result is a creole language for example French-lexifier creole of Reunion and possibly a few Caribbean creoles (Thomason 1996 cited in Mesthrie 2001). The debate on pidgins and creoles goes on and the important question that most of these scholars need to address is where to draw a line between a pidgin and a creole? According to Thomason (1996: 463), the traditional view has been that pidgins are languages without native speakers, while the creoles have a population of native speakers. Some scholars have a view that there is no clear, simple, generally accepted way of distinguishing pidgins from creoles.

The situation is different with bilingual mixed languages. According to Thomason (1996), few of them have sufficiently, been well documented and this makes it difficult to generally make comments about them. The bilingual mixed languages are also contact languages but differ from pidgins and creoles socially and in linguistic terms. The only aspect they have in common is the fact that their origins are similar in the sense that they all emerged from languages that came into contact. Pidgins and creoles always develop in the absence of full multilingual situations. The bilingual mixed languages develop among bilinguals, who share not just one language but two. They are not created necessarily for interethnic communication but as in-group languages. They can arise in two ways namely, abruptly (e.g. Michif, a mixed blood of French and Cree in South-central Canada) as a symbol of new ethnic identity, while others arise gradually as symbols of identity among persistent ethnic groups that had their own language originally. Each group was viewed differently by its member and by larger communities as a separate group with different economic, social, and sometimes even legal status. An example of a well-documented mixed language is Ma'a, a language of Tanzanian Cushitic speech community that integrated with two Bantu-speaking communities. In this case, the structures of the two groups differ significantly (the assertion was made for a small number of examples – Thomason, 2001). It must be noted however, that there are some controversies over claims that Ma'a is gradually developed mixed language. It has been argued by Bakker (1997), and Bakker and Muysen (1995) cited in Mesthrie (2001:467) that bilingual mixed languages consist of the lexicon of one language and a grammar of another language. This theory fits some of the mixed languages and does not the others. The controversies continue to arise as as more bilingual mixed languages continue to emerge.

Koine is believed to be the chief ancestor of Modern Greek. It developed between 450-200 BC in Piraeus, the seaport of Athens where people from all parts of the Greek speaking Mediterranean mingled (Swann et al. 2004: 160). It was a Greek dialect that was employed in the army during the Roman Empire in Post Classical period of Greek dates (300BC – 300AD). Koine Greek evolved during the Hellenistic period, the era of the Roman Empire. The term Koine referred to several forms of what was known as 'Common Greek', or Demotic Greek. It was less complex and more comprehensible than classical Ancient Greek (Katharevusa); and it later became the lingua franca of Eastern Mediterranean area

(WWW)¹⁰. Koine exemplifies simplification of certain stylistic characteristics, which are sometimes common in different geographical regions. The grammar show use of diminutives; piling up of prepositions into compound forms to increase efficiency of words; and elimination of dual numbers and use of singular and plural numbers only. koines also have verb reduction or elimination of inflections (WWW).

There is another language contact variety in South Africa known as a ‘stylect’ and it has similar traits as TB. The term ‘stylect’ is new in the field of socio-linguistics. Ellen Hurst (2008) proposed its use in her recent study of *Tsotsitaal*. She suggested that the term ‘Stylect’ ‘describes the nature of a particular group of urban varieties that can broadly be classified as *tsotsitaals*’ (Hurst 2009)¹¹. *Tsotsitaal* means ‘*tsotsi*-language’. The term *Tsotsitaal* was coined sometime between between the late 1930s and early 1940s in the mine townships of Sophiatown and Alexandra near Johannesburg (Mesthrie 2008). Originally, *tsotsi* referred to a style of narrow bottomed trousers. The term may have originated from corrupt American slang expression *zoot suit*, which was a style worn in the 1930s and 1940s by some sub-cultures (Nixon 1994: 33 cited in Hurst 2009). Later it came to mean ‘a young, city-bred, African “confidence man”, able to speak English and Afrikaans to manipulate the system’ (Coplan 2007: 201 cited in Hurst 2009) and thereafter it came to mean ‘members of the youth gang’. The first *tsotsi* gangs appeared somewhere between 1940s and 1950s. They spoke an Afrikaans based *Tsotsitaal* and from the 1970s, Zulu based *Tsotsitaal* was also used.

Tsotsitaal is not a language but style-related (Hurst 2009). In short *Tsotsitaal* has many facets. Not only does it involve linguistic symbols, but also calls on various symbolic performances of identity, such as body language, clothing, and stylistic patterns. It is spoken by ‘most urban workers’ and has become the language of African working culture’. Many scholars have described *Tsotsitaal* as ‘slang’ (Slabbert 1994, Mfusi 1992, Schuring1983), ‘new languages’ (Ntshangase 2002, Makhudu 2002), ‘anti-languages’ (Stone 2002, Makhudu 2002), ‘manifestations of code-switching which have been fossilised’ (Slabbert and Myers-Scotton 1997: 325), cited in Mesthrie (2008). Mesthrie (2009) argues that as much as code-switching maybe evident in *Tsotsitaal* and *Isicamtho*; there are some other language varieties

¹⁰ <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/321152/koine>

¹¹ <http://www.informaworld.com/smpp/title-content=t791476125>

that do not have switching and mixing at all. It is also a secretive language used by criminals in prisons though this is not the case in all domains. It is a slang lexis which speaks through other languages. It has an expressive but limited vocabulary, which it uses in combination with another language. Borrowing is evident in Tsotsitaal. It is usually gender centred as the young males use it often. Today, it is used by their female counter-parts. TB is a possible analogue of *Tsotsitaal* (*T*) and *Sheng* as it shares some characteristics with these language varieties.

2.3 Related Literature

Scholars, on Bemba of Zambia, have done a number of studies. These scholars include Stephen A. Mpashi (1956); A. Epstein (1959); James Ferguson (1959); P.M.B. Mushindo (1960); Irvine Richardson, (1961, 1963); Mubanga E. Kashoki (1972, 1998); Andrew Roberts (1973, 1976); Deborah Spitulnik (1998/9) and Michael Mann (1999). These scholars have documented SB and TB in the form of books, articles and research papers. The written documents include information on the origin and history of Bemba, people, life style, migrations, their socio-political background and culture. The studies done on TB will be discussed as follows.

In Kashoki's study (1972: 69), he noted some significant points at which TB seemed to have departed from SB: Firstly, he established that TB contained foreign sounds (i.e. foreign to SB or Rural Bemba). To this end, he compiled an inventory of consonants and vowels and suggested that there were no differences between the vowels of TB and of SB, because the two share the same five cardinal vowels which are / a, e, i, o, u /. He also suggests (P.77) that tone and vowel lengthening are very important in Rural Bemba (SB) as this affects the meaning of words. With regard to TB, he stated that, there was lack of sufficient evidence in this area. This therefore, indicates a gap in the area of phonetics and phonology, namely the area of vowel pronunciation and possibly consonants found in TB. Thus, in this study the researcher has included a section on socio-phonetics in order to investigate any similarities or differences in the pronunciation of the five cardinal vowels (a, e, i, o, u) by speakers of the two varieties of Bemba. This will be the first time that a socio-phonetic study on the pronunciation of vowels by speakers of TB and SB has been done.

Kashoki (1972: 73-77) has given some examples of how far TB speakers tend to show a significant departure from the base variety SB (Rural Bemba), by assimilating consonants not found in SB. For instance in SB, /d/ like /j/ and /g/ occurs only by combination with a nasal (for example) /n/. If it is not used with /n/, it constitutes a significant departure from the base variety. In SB [d] has been assimilated into the language as /t/ or /nd/ as in *ndokotaala* ‘doctor’, *maatika* ‘mudgard’. ‘Small Fords’ (Ford cars) has been accepted into Bemba as *tufooti* or *tufondi*. The form *tufooti* could be seen as the borrowing into SB, whereas, *tufondi* is classified as TB or ‘Bemba of the educated’ by speakers of Rural Bemba. Another example is the use of /c/ and /k/ in borrowed words. For Rural Bemba (which refers to SB), it is seen in *iceeketi* ‘a jacket’ and *ikaalashi* ‘a glass’. The use of /j/ and /g/ without a preceding nasal in TB words would be pronounced as *ijaaketi* ‘a jacket’ and *igalaasi*. ‘a glass’ See more examples below:

Table 4: Town Bemba (TB) words and their meanings

Term in ‘TB’	Meaning	Origin
<i>ijaaketi</i>	a jacket	jacket (English)
<i>igalaasi</i>	a glass	glass (English)
<i>kiicini</i>	kitchen	kitchen (English)
<i>kagelo</i>	a small girl	girl (English)
<i>umugaiz</i>	a guy	guy (English)
<i>nabanyamata</i>	young men	anyamata (Nyanja)
<i>fuuzeeke</i>	get away	fuzek (Fanagalo) / voetsek (Afrikaans)
<i>akareeza</i>	razor-blade	razor (English)
<i>iloofa</i>	loafer	loafer (English)
<i>seeveni</i>	seven	seven (English)

Source: Kashoki (1972:68-74)

Table 4 is based on Kashoki's work (1972). He shows some examples of how TB lexical items (i) have been derived from English and some other local languages, such as Fanagalo, Afrikaans and Nyanja (P.68-74) for example *kagelo* 'a small girl', *kiicini* 'kitchen', *nabanyamata* 'young men', *fuzeeke* 'get away'; (ii) and how TB speakers assimilated the borrowed items from English and some local languages for example by adding SB suffixes to the words borrowed from English and other languages. TB speakers would say for instance, **umu-gaiz** 'a guy', **i-jacket-i** 'a jacket', **ka-gel-o** 'a small girl', **i-loof-a** 'loafer', **se-e-ven-i** 'seven' (in bold are the suffixes from SB and the italicised forms are the borrowed stems from other languages).

Kashoki (1972) has gone on to suggest that among urban speakers the preference of [d] over [p] or [nd] is occasionally a deliberate choice, for it is regarded as a sign of sophistication and advancement. Most of the other local languages also manifest a similar phenomenon. It is evident that the younger generation of today prefer to use more English words mixed with their mother tongue than was ever the case previously. This can be attributed to influences such as: television and radio, the internet, music, poor language transfer from parent to child due to such social factors like inter-marriages, western education, both parents working and peer groups. Globalization, which advocates education for all and has brought with it improved literacy programmes has influenced local languages to a greater extent than was the case in the past.

Secondly, it has been (Kashoki 1972) suggested that, TB is characterised by prefixes and prescriptive agreement of class markers in sentences. Kashoki investigated how TB differed from SB as regards the noun class system, personal pronouns, the conjunction *na* and the Bemba verbal system. For instance, Kashoki (P. 79) has stated that the class pair 1/2 (also known as agreement-class) which indicated singular and plural forms for Bemba has a subsidiary category 1a/2a: i.e. 1/2 *umuntu/abantu* 'person/people' and 1a/2a *kolwe/baakolwe* 'monkey/monkeys' where *kolwe* has no prefix. In most cases the words that are borrowed from English into SB usually go in the sub-class 1a/2a and for TB into class 9/6. The following examples are given by Kashoki (1972: 79).

Table 5: Example of class 1a/2a in SB and class 9/6 in TB borrowed words

SB - Class 1a	SB - Class 2a	TB - Class 9	TB - Class 6	Origin - English
<i>supuuni</i>	<i>baa-supuuni</i>	<i>supuuni</i>	<i>ama-supuuni</i>	spoon
<i>kaapu</i>	<i>baa-kaapu</i>	<i>kaapu</i>	<i>ama-kaapu</i>	cup
<i>beeti</i>	<i>baa-beeti</i>	<i>beedi</i>	<i>ama-beedi</i>	bed
<i>mootoka</i>	<i>baa-mootoka</i>	<i>mootoka</i>	<i>ama-motooka</i>	motor car

Source: Kashoki (1972: 79)

Table 5 above, shows some examples of the plural form of some words in SB and TB and how they their plural prefixes differ. SB uses the plural form *baa*, whereas TB uses *ama*. There are however, some other TB speakers who wish to speak more stylishly and so use *imi* instead of *ama* or *baa* for the plural prefixes of borrowed words, e.g. *imibeeti* ‘beds’ instead of *ama-beedi* or *baa-beeti* and *imyootoka* ‘motor cars’ as opposed to *ama-mootoka* or *baa-motooka*.

In TB the preferred word class for borrowed words is 9/6 and not 1a/2a as for SB. All the singular nouns are in class 9, and their plural forms in class 6. It should also be noted that most of the singular TB words that do not have prefixes, are usually found in the class 9/6. This is because of the prestige of the urban speech. The frequent use of class 9/6 in TB has affected the agreement patterns in speech than the written form. The following examples of phrases /or sentences are given by Kashoki (1972: 81).

Class 6 (TB - Singular):

1. a) Written - \emptyset -*supuuni i-andi i-li kwii?*
- ‘Where is my spoon?’

Class 9 (TB - Plural):

2. a) Written - *ama-supuuni ya-esu ya-li kwii?*
- ‘Where are our spoons?’

The researcher will attempt to analyse TB at a grammatical level of word order and tenses. Spitulnik (1998) in her study looked at TB sentences and suggested that there was

heavy use of borrowed words and code switching from English and from Nyanja. Code switching will also be considered in this study, as it is the major area in which TB deviates, by borrowing from other languages. The researcher will comment on the changes there have been in this area.

The use of words borrowed from other languages in place of obvious native ones (possibly to lend colour and status to one's speech) has been observed by most of the scholars (Richardson 1961, Epstein 1959, Kashoki 1972 et al.). The borrowed words in TB have been appropriated by means of the processes of derivation, inflection of morphemes, suffixation and coining. In the analysis of lexical data, the researcher will draw up a table showing the frequency of some of those lexical items in TB, which have been categorised as, borrowed terms from other languages. Such a table will also reveal the rate at which TB is evolving.

The special stylistic devices (Richardson 1961, Kashoki 1972 and Spitulnik 1998/9) which are employed in order to enhance one's social prestige are noted as a distinctive characteristic of TB which are not found in SB. Scholars have attributed the development of this characteristic to British rule and mining industries. The disappearance of Fanagalo gave TB space for its growth.

In the 1960s, Irvine Richardson (1961: 26) tried to establish what TB was, who spoke it and where it was spoken by interviewing the *Babemba* 'Bemba people', who had worked on the Copperbelt. She stated that TB was found on the Copperbelt and was spoken in the townships. Ex-miners and migrants used it. She also suggested in the same article that male African migrant workers developed TB, though in the 1960s both men and women spoke it. She argued that women were responsible for rapid changes in TB, as they tended to invent exaggerated expressions to impress the men with their familiarity with urban life. It is a debatable interpretation, as today young men, criminals or prisoners, and *bakaponya* 'male street vendors' coin most of the new TB vocabulary. In my opinion, women do contribute to language change, but to a lesser extent than men do. This has been my experience, as I am a TB speaker, and I was born and raised on the Copperbelt province. According to my observations, older women usually use the more formal language than the younger women do. The young women tend to use more of the informal language like their young male counterparts.

Richardson (1961) has also made an observation that background and culture has implications for language use. She stated that, “an educated *Mubemba* ‘Bemba person’ will normally use TB to communicate with his tribesmen lower than his status, but when he speaks to the tribesmen of his status he tends to use rural Bemba”. Social class sometimes comes into play. Richardson (1961) also tried to establish the various types of TB groups. She talked about TB which was used by ‘school-children’ as their mother tongue as being closer to *Chibemba* because it did not diverge from rural Bemba as much as the TB spoken by ‘labourers’. Another category of TB is that spoken by the ‘educated group’ and it is perceived to be the most highly developed (fast changing compared to the other groups TB). Spitulnik (1998) confirmed Richardson’s observation.

For people who come into the towns or urban areas (Copperbelt) from the countryside, it is difficult for them to speak Chibemba freely because it is a different variety of Chibemba. When they first arrive, it is difficult to determine how long it would take for these people to learn and understand TB. If they are exposed to TB very often, then they would come to understand it quickly, and learn to speak it too. A rural Bemba speaker might find it difficult to interact with the urban TB speakers because of differences in one of the two language varieties, and so they would rather shy away and not speak because they feel inferior at not being urbanised. The urban TB speakers tend to label them as *bakamunshi*¹², which means a ‘villager’ or ‘village pumpkin’ (Kashoki 1972:80, Ferguson 1959 et al.), or ‘laidback villager’. While the urban dwellers look down on rural Bemba speakers, the latter in turn look down upon TB speakers because their language is not so traditional. The SB speakers refer to it as ‘bad Bemba’ or ‘a disrespectful language’ (Ferguson 1959: 116) because it has assimilated non-standard linguistic features which they see as wrong in terms of the Bemba language grammar.

Richardson (1961: 31-33) briefly mentions certain lexical features she considered as being the result of the extensive borrowings of words from English, and some other the local languages. Here are a few examples she gives:- *amasitandingi*, to mean ‘standing’ in English, *baacentelemanibaaciyeefi* which means ‘gentlemen of substance’ in English, and *ukumanga* which means ‘to lock up’ from *manga* ‘to lock/ to tie’ in Nyanja; *uku* is a Bemba prefix ‘to’ normally used with verbs in the infinite form.

¹² James Ferguson. 1959. *Great Expectations of Modernity*.

A comparative study of Chibemba (as earlier mentioned represents the standard form or SB) and Lamba was undertaken as explained by Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000: 61-64) to establish the extent of the variation between the two varieties. The areas studied included lexicons, phonology and syntax. The data on the lexicons of the two varieties indicated that the two share a common vocabulary (see table 6), though there were minor differences in the morphological structures, for example the English word ‘man’; in Chibemba *umwa-ume*, and in Lamba *-lalu-ume* (see examples in table 6 below). Despite the differences in the two words, they both have the same stem *-ume*.

Table 6: Lexical data

<i>Table A - Same vocabulary</i>		
<i>English</i>	<i>Chibemba</i>	<i>Lamba</i>
Man	<i>umwaume</i>	<i>-lalume</i>
World	<i>icalo</i>	<i>icalo</i>
House	<i>inganda</i>	<i>inganda</i>
Love	<i>icupo</i>	<i>icupo</i>
<i>Table B - Differences</i>		
<i>English</i>	<i>Chibemba</i>	<i>Lamba</i>
Sky	<i>umuulu</i>	<i>umuulu</i>
Woman	<i>-kashi</i>	<i>-kaz</i>
Name	<i>-shina</i>	<i>-zina</i>
Rain	<i>-fula</i>	<i>-vula</i>

Source: Webb and Kembo-Sure (2000: 62-3)

Table 6 shows minimal difference in vocabulary though there are some phonological differences between Chibemba and Lamba. Chibemba tends to use the voiceless fricatives [s, f, sh] whereas Lamba tends to use their voiced counterparts [z, v, dz]. In Chibemba there are some words which are similar to those in Lamba, though there are differences in the vowel ending; where Chibemba has a mid vowel at the end, Lamba tends to use high vowel (e.g. Chibemba/Lamba - *wiishe/wiisi* ‘his father’; *onse/onsi* ‘all’; *koko/kuku* ‘chicken’). Similarities

in the syntax for the tense markers, negation and question formation where also noted. It was concluded that these were not two separate languages, and notwithstanding the distinction between a language and a dialect, Lamba is a dialect of Chibemba.

Spitulnik (1998: 32) in her article on TB suggested that about 60 to 90 percent of the forms of TB vocabulary are also SB forms. The only difference was that TB exhibited the following features: a large number of English loan words, a smaller set of words derived from Nyanja, and the mining pidgin Fanagalo, a high degree of Bemba-based linguistic coinage and extensive Bemba-English codeswitching and mixing. She also suggested in contrast to a more 'pure' rural Bemba, TB often carried the contradictory social value of being both a prestigious, cosmopolitan code and a corrupted and devious code.

Richardson's (1961) quote below succinctly describes the situation, which has lasted for more than 50 years. It is true that TB was born from SB, and the two differ in the sense that TB is an urban variety, whereas SB is a rural based variety. Since its inception in the 1910s, it has been observed that TB relies on heavy borrowing of words from English mainly, Nyanja, Afrikaans, and possibly a few other local languages, whereas SB borrows at a minimal level from the same languages.

It is often hard to say where SB ends and TB begins when the former is spoken by technical workers who are obliged to introduce many English loan-words... [Richardson 1961: 27]

Having examined the literature it is necessary that more studies are done on TB variety in various areas that have indicated some gaps. Some of these areas are for instance, socio-phonetics and phonology, perhaps much more detailed structural analyses of the morphology and syntax data; as well as coined or borrowed lexical items. This is to keep record of the changes that could have occurred over time. Some of the previous researchers have shown that TB has deviated from Bemba over the years and I do agree with them, because language does change over time. However from the literature review, I have realised that none of these scholars have really clarified what TB is, apart from describing its characteristics. In this study, I hope to identify the status of TB by using three methods of analysis which will involve: analysis of borrowed lexical items and group them under verbs, nouns and adjectives; secondly, I hope to do a detailed structure analysis of the morphology

and syntax data. For the syntax data, I will use Myer-Scotton's Matrix Language Framework Model to analyse the codeswitching (CS) occurrences in the TB phrases or sentences. Finally, but not least, I will also do a socio-phonetics data analysis and compare TB and SB speakers' vowel pronunciations by using two computer programs *Praat* and *vowel normalization*. These analyses are aimed at providing evidence of what TB variety really is.

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CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

This section describes the methods of data collection and the analysis used in this study. Studies on sociolinguistic of social change require a suitable number of speakers from a given specific criteria for the purpose of data collection and analysis. Therefore, this section will look at three categories in detail and these include the following: - sampling; data collection, and methods of analyses.

The data that was collected was mainly from a primary source, i.e. recording of one-on-one conversational interviews with participants from various walks of life. This method of data collection was selected as it is regarded as a classic method of data collection in sociolinguistics research (Labov 1972a et al.). It involves one-on-one voice recording and this has the advantage of permanency, so that it is easier for one to use the same data repeatedly for further clarification. Secondly, the recordings gives the researcher the chance to fulfil their *Principle of Accountability* when it comes to providing information as regards the variables being investigated (Labov 1972c:72) like age, sex, area, and social class.

3.2 Sampling

A non-probability judgemental sampling (Milroy & Gordon 2003, Mouton 2004) method was used in this research. The principle underlying this approach is that the researcher identifies in advance the type of speakers to be studied and seeks out the required subjects to fit his categories. Macaulay (1977) used this approach to study the Glasgow speech and 54 speakers were used in a city-wide survey (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 30). Despite that this approach is criticized in its own light as judgement sample, it is successful in revealing important patterns of variation.

The criteria used in selecting informants were language groups and age range. Thus, the language groups included two language varieties namely TB and SB. Each group was comprised of ten speakers of which five were women and the other five were men bringing the total to 20. This was done to strike a gender balance among the speakers in each language group. Finding the ten speakers of SB on the Copperbelt was a challenge in the sense that, these are mainly found in the Northern and Luapula provinces of Zambia, and travelling there meant extra costs. Therefore, I decided to select the SB informants from two nearby radio stations on the Copperbelt namely Radio Icengelo and Zambia National Broadcasting Corporation (ZNBC) because they present some programs in Bemba on both radio and television nationwide. ZNBC is a national radio and television station in Zambia run by the government. Apart from the English language based programs, it also presents programs in the seven official local languages which include Bemba, an important language for this research on both radio and television. Radio Icengelo is a Bemba language station run by the Catholic Church in Zambia. All the SB informants were interviewed at their places of work on the Copperbelt apart from one who was interviewed here in Cape Town.

The informants of TB were either native or non-native speakers of Bemba. The non-native speakers of Bemba were people whose mother tongue was not Bemba and these included speakers of, for instance; Lamba, Lala, Kaonde, Luvale, Lunda, Tonga, Lozi, Nyanja and many others. I interviewed some of these informants at my home and visited the others at their home or place of work. The TB informants included some members who lived at a nearby community to my home called Mindolo in Kitwe. I also sought permission from the Dean of Student Affairs from the Copperbelt University in Kitwe to interview a few of their students. In addition to collection of lexical data, I bought two musical CD with songs in TB by two local Zambian music artists popularly known as *Danny* (Danny Silapwa) and *JK* (Jordan Katembula).

The informants were 21 years and above. With SB speakers, the minimum age was 29 years and the maximum age was 56 years. TB age ranged between 21 and 40 years. My motivation for choosing speakers over 21 years was that most of the younger generation do not use and also do not really understand SB, as most of them are more familiar with TB instead. Below is a table showing the distribution of informants in this research.

Table 7: Informant Profile

Informants	Age	Gender (M/F)	Mother tongue	Occupation
S1	48	F	SB	Radio announcer
S2	53	F	SB	Librarian
S3	29	M	SB	Radio DJ
S4	34	M	SB	Radio Presenter
S5	33	F	SB	Radio Presenter
S6	40	M	SB	Journalist
S7	45	M	SB	PhD Student
S8	32	F	SB	Student
S9	56	M	SB	Insurer
S10	41	F	SB	TV Presenter
S11	26	M	Lozi/TB	Mine worker
S12	40	F	Namwanga/TB	Teacher
S13	25	F	Chewa/TB	Nurse
S14	31	F	Tonga/TB	Student
S15	21	M	Chewa/TB	Student
S16	21	M	SB/TB	Mine worker
S17	27	F	Kaonde/TB	Student
S18	28	M	SB/TB	Priest
S19	38	M	SB/TB	Lab Technician
S20	31	F	Lozi /TB	Student

Key: 'S' refers to Speakers and number; M - male and F - female.

As earlier mentioned, Copperbelt was the area of research and Kitwe is the town where the interviews were conducted in June and July 2008. Historically, Copperbelt is the original homeland of TB speakers.

Ethical Considerations

Before conducting each interview, I introduced myself to the informants (interviewee) as a researcher in linguistics. I told them where I was coming from and the reason for conducting the interviews, which was to investigate how TB had deviated from SB. This was important because it helped build a good rapport and enhanced confidence between the researcher and the informants. I told the informants that the information to be collected mainly concerned matters relating to their everyday life experiences. I also assured them that all information collected was going to be treated with confidentiality. Thereafter, I had to also seek the permission of the informants to record the interviews for purpose of validity and

referencing. When the informants had consented, the interviews were commenced and recorded.

3.3 Data Collection

The research used both primary and secondary data. The primary data involved one-on-one interviews with the informants and researcher. All the interviews were recorded as voice using a digital Dictaphone (recorder). These interviews were conducted in quiet places so as to allow good quality data. Each interview lasted between 45 and 60 minutes. Secondary data involved the use of popular local music lyrics which were purchased and listened to by the researcher. The recorded interviews and two TB music lyrics were transcribed using a computer program called *Express Scribe*. It is from these transcriptions that relevant the data was extracted for the lexical and morphosyntactic analyses. Data for the socio-phonetics analyses was also derived from the recorded interviews. Some books written in Chibemba on stories and teachings, in relation to some of those currently written in TB were also considered for data contribution.

In this research 20 informants were interviewed. All of these informants were interviewed using a one-on-one conversational interview. I used a “Labovian” model technique of sociolinguistics which uses open-ended type of interviewing, so as to allow the conversations to flow. In Labov’s (1972) interviews, he asked questions that encouraged a natural form of vernacular in the interviewee so as to collect data that was natural. On starting the interviews, I first asked the informants for their names, birth dates/or age, their marital status, their level of education, and their current occupations. This was done to get the informants’ profile as well as to make them feel comfortable. No questionnaires were administered to the informants. I only used a few guideline questions based on their day to day life experiences. As the interviews progressed, the informants were asked questions that would promote free, unlimited speech on issues affecting them. Such questions included for instance, “What do you think of the conditions of health facilities in Zambia?” or “What do you do during your leisure time?” or “What are some of the challenging situations that you face when you visit the hospital when you are unwell or any member of your family is unwell?” or “What has been your worst life experience where you thought that, ‘this is it?’”(Labov 1972: 209) Such types of questions encourage ordinary language usage such as

what they would use with their colleagues and other people. This reduces the distance between the interviewer and the informants making the interaction more natural (Briggs 1986, Hazen 2000a), and allows the data collected not to be biased.

3.4 Methods of Data Analysis

In this research, three categories were considered for analysis of the data and these included:- a study on, (i) lexical differences, (ii) the grammatical or structural differences between the spoken TB and SB as used by both men and women on the Copperbelt today, and (iii) a comparative analysis of the vowel quality between speakers of TB and SB. Acoustic analysis of relevant words from each interview was undertaken in *Praat* (this program is explained under socio-phonetics data analysis in chapter four).

All the recorded data was transferred from the Dictaphone onto the computer and it was later analysed using various computer programs which facilitated the process of data analysis. Firstly, the interviews were transcribed using a computer program called *Express Scribe*, which enables one to type transcripts while listening to the interview. It also gives the time of utterances making it easier for referencing. The transcriptions were then used to extract the relevant data for analysis in the following areas of analyses:

Lexical analysis

The listing of words was done to determine whether these words were coined, borrowed or derived from other languages other than SB. For those words which were borrowed or with derivational morphemes, it was imperative therefore to find out their ultimate origins.

Since language changes over time, the lexical analysis would also be of great importance in the sense that it would indicate some of the words that have been used over a long period of time (since TB came into existence - 1910s) with reference to previous researches on TB variety. The new words that were coined along the way up to the current millennium also need to be identified.

The research findings on the TB lexicons will be discussed in chapter four of this thesis. Below are some examples of lexical data from previous research work and this is how it had been presented for TB with words that have been derived from English and Nyanja: *ijaaketi*

‘a jacket’ borrowed from English; *kiciini* ‘kitchen’ borrowed from English ; *abanyamata* ‘aba’ is a plural prefix derived from Bemba and *Nyamata* ‘boys’ from Njanja (Kashoki 1972).

Morphosyntax analysis

In order to focus on the grammatical elements, I used phrases and sentences to compare the differences and similarities in the grammar of the speakers of TB and SB. In this research, data on the TB verb phrases and sentences were collected for the analysis. One SB speaker by the name of Dr. Kapambwe Lumbwe a native speaker of Bemba was consulted to produce equivalent translations of these TB verb phrases and sentences. Dr. Lumbwe was based here at University of Cape Town at the time when I was analysing my data and he assisted me in a number of translations on my data from TB to SB as well as from TB and SB to English. This was done to maintain uniformity.

The paired data was used for comparative analyses. This was helpful in identifying the points at which the morphosyntax of TB differs or departs from SB. Some of the elements that were looked at were; word forms for morphology, and syntax was covered by examining verbs, plural forms and tense markers. With this data, it is hoped that it would be helpful in classifying TB and establishing its current status. The phrases below illustrate how the data was broken down in the morphosyntax analyses to observe some of the linguistics phenomenon like borrowing and codeswitching in TB language variety. SB has one present tense, three basic past tenses (past today, past recent and past remote), three future tenses (inceptive, today future and later future), two progressive aspect markers, one habitual aspect marker, and five other mood marker for imperatives, hypothetical(s) and conditionals. These terms mentioned above, for instance past recent, past today, etc. were taken from Mann (1999).

Socio-Phonetics analysis

In this analysis, I compared the way five cardinal vowels as pronounced by the speakers of SB and of TB. This phonetic analysis would enable the researcher observe whether there were any significant differences or variations in the way the speakers pronounce the (five cardinal) vowels with respect to the International Phonetic Alphabet - IPA (thus to determine their vowel pronunciations and positioning according to the standard vowel chart).

The five cardinal vowels are [a], [e], [i:], [o] and [u]. The vowel [a] is a centralised, low, open rounded vowel; [e] is mid-front half open vowel; [i] is a high front half open vowel, [o] is a back, low, rounded, closed vowel and [u] is a high back, rounded closed vowel (according to IPA vowel chart).

In this research and data analysis, the pronunciations of these vowels were determined by using a list of words selected from the recorded interviews (see appendix 1 for the list of words). Ten of the twenty participants were selected for this analysis, 5 speakers of SB and 5 speakers of TB.

Bartek Plichta (www.bartus.org) developed the Akustyk plug-in for *Praat*, which logs data, normalises it, and creates formant plots. Thus, *Praat* program uses recording of a spoken word to determine its frequency, how a vowel (or consonant) in a word is pronounced and its position in the standardized Articulatory system (in this case, the vowel chart). This is done by giving the formants' frequency values (that is F1-F2) which are then used to locate (or plot) the vowels (a, e, i, o, u) position on the vowel chart (see vowel chart below). The data was later converted to a simpler method which works with a *Praat script* written by Philip Harrison of JP French Associates and the University of York (originally for forensic research). This data converted into *Praat script* is the one used for normalisation of data using the Norm's new version (2009) on the internet by Watt and Fabricius.

Vowel normalisation technique has been developed because different speakers have different mouth sizes and therefore this causes their formant resonances to differ (WWW)¹³. This technique is important as it helps to compare different speakers in meaningful linguistic and sociolinguistic ways. For instance regarding individual and gender differences; some studies indicate that the male formants values are much lower and more compact than the female formants even when they come from nearby towns or speak similar dialects. This can be proven by comparing data of different individuals with different techniques like normalisation of vowels and consonants, etc.

¹³ www.vowelnormalisation

Below is a simplified representation of the IPA vowel chart that will be used to compare the vowel positions of the SB and TB speakers' socio-phonetic analysis.

Figure 1: Standard Vowel chart - IPA (for Bemba, English and other African languages)

	(Front vowels)	(Back vowels)
High	i	u
	e	o
Mid	ɛ	ɔ
Low	ɐ	ɑ

Source: Watt and Fabricius 2003

CHAPTER FOUR

LEXICAL, MORPHOSYNTACTIC & PHONETICS DATA ANALYSES

4.1 Introduction

There are three sections of analyses and a description of TB in this chapter: (i) lexical analysis (ii) morphosyntax analysis, (iii) socio-phonetics analysis, and (iv) is the characterisation of TB based on (i), (ii) and (iii) research findings. Lexical data looked at the lexical borrowing, origin of the borrowed terms, how they combine with other morphemes to come up with new terms, and the ultimate meanings for TB and SB. Under morphosyntax, the data analysis was done on morphology (which looked at word-form, assimilation of borrowed words in new language and meaning) and syntax (which compared the TB and SB phrases or sentences for their similarities and differences in grammar structures, meanings, and also code-switching). The phonetics data compared the vowel pronunciations of TB and SB speakers in relation to language variety, same gender/and different genders. The fourth section characterises TB and its possible status.

4.2 Lexical Analysis

This section of the chapter constitutes the final findings and analysis of the TB lexical data with regard to the current situation on the Copperbelt Province. A detailed discussion is given to interpret the results and also to show their linguistic implications. Much of the analysis covers lexical borrowing and a frequency table of occurrence of words in TB.

4.2.1 Lexical borrowing in TB

Almost all languages in this world include lexical elements that come from another language. Gumperz (1982:66) cited in Kembo-Sure (2000) defines borrowing as the introduction of single words or short, frozen, idiomatic phrases from one language into another. Some investigators however have agreed that when a linguistic item is borrowed, it is integrated into the grammatical system of the host or borrowing language (Weinreich 1964; Poplack et al 1989, cited in Kembo-Sure, 2000). That is to say, sometimes the integrated

word or phrase adapted to the host language may have to conform to the morphological, phonological or syntactic patterns of the host language, especially when the cultural contact with the donor is long and intense (Thomason & Kaufman 1988, cited in Myers-Scotton 2002). Such situations are motivated by the following factors: when persons who are well connected in the society adopt the new words; when a large number of persons in the same society have some measure of bilingualism because if speakers care about being understood by the other members of society, they must at least also be bilingual so that they will be able to understand the imported words as they are used first time in their society. A society with socio-economic prestige is often the source of borrowing in today's society, however, a society with undefinable aspects of 'culture' or 'style' may also be a source of borrowing (Myers-Scotton 2002: 238-9).

According to Myers-Scotton (2002), lexical borrowing can be in two ways and these include (i) Cultural borrowed forms (CBF1) and (ii) Core borrowed forms (CBF2). The CBF1 are words for objects new to the culture, for instance *CD* or *compact disk*, *espresso*, and also new concepts like *overtime*. The CBF2 are words that are more or less duplicate already existing in the First Language (L1), for instance words for 'brother' or 'home' or words for time references such as *le weekend* in French. The CBF1 are usually used abruptly in a language especially when influential individuals or groups begin to use them in monolingual speech of bilinguals or monolinguals and codeswitching of bilinguals. Such a situation motivates the speakers to make these words part of their repertoire. CBF2 usually begin their life in a speech of monolinguals in a recipient community. In bilingual situation, they are used in code-switching forms.

Most of the studies on borrowing done in previous years indicated that nouns are borrowed more than any other category. Myers-Scotton cites the following examples: Haugen (1950a: 224) recorded 75.5% of the nouns in his American Norwegian corpus. The most recent studies also indicate similar trends, for instance Treffers-Daller (1999: 9) in two of her studies found more than half of the borrowed words were nouns and these were the results 58.4% (nouns) and 65.9% (nouns). Two other studies done on English-French in eastern Canada also reported more nouns were borrowed (Poplack, Sankoff, and Miller 1988, and Mougéon & Beniak 1991). These trends will also be considered for TB.

Below is a list of some of the borrowed words into the TB language variety:

Table 8: Lexical finding and analysis in ‘Town Bemba’ in relation to ‘Standard Bemba’.

Town Bemba Term.	Meaning	Ultimate Origin	Standard Bemba Equivalent.	Meaning of Standard Bemba terms.
Verbs:				
- <i>setting</i> 'i	to set up/provoke	<i>setting</i> (English)	- <i>tendeka</i>	to provoke
- <i>yaka</i>	be drunk	<i>yaka</i> ‘burn’ (Bemba)	- <i>kolwa</i>	drunk
- <i>boositele</i>	to cheer	<i>boost</i> (English)	- <i>samsamusho</i>	cheer
- <i>dabwa</i>	to be crazy	<i>dabwa</i> ‘surprise’ (Nyanja)	- <i>papusho</i>	surprise
- <i>tirasita</i>	to trust	<i>trust</i> (English)	- <i>cetekela</i>	to trust
- <i>twaala</i>	to enjoy	<i>twaala</i> ‘to take’ (Bemba)	- <i>sansamusho</i>	cheer
- <i>liilila</i>	to have fun	<i>lila</i> ‘to cry’ (Bemba)	- <i>sansamusho</i>	cheer
- <i>teliza</i>	to tell	<i>to tell</i> (English)	- <i>eeba</i>	to tell
- <i>ibize</i>	to tell	<i>Mwebe + uze</i> ‘to tell’ (Bem+Nyanja)	- <i>eeba*</i>	to tell
- <i>beula</i>	to be rich	<i>kubeuka</i> ‘overturn’(Nyanja)	- <i>nonka*</i>	wealthy/rich
- <i>iize</i>	be patient	<i>be at ease</i> (English)	- <i>tekanya</i>	to be calm
- <i>Provida</i>	to provide	<i>provide</i> (English)	- <i>fwaila</i>	provide
- <i>luka</i>	to disembark	<i>ukuluuka</i> ‘vomit’ (Bemba)	- <i>ikila</i>	to disembark
- <i>ziimye</i>	to shut-up	<i>ziimya</i> ‘turn off’ (Nyanja)	- <i>shimia</i>	to switch off
- <i>diling</i> 'a	work with	<i>deal</i> (English)	- <i>bomba</i>	to work
- <i>feluka</i>	failed	<i>fail</i> (English)	- <i>poona</i>	to fail/fall
- <i>buzaza</i>	make mistakes	<i>pusanganya</i> ‘mess up’ (Bemba)	- <i>pusanganya</i>	to make mistake
- <i>pasa</i>	to workout	<i>pass</i> (English)	- <i>pwishisha</i>	succeed
- <i>fauka</i>	to not workout	<i>foul up</i> (English)	- <i>kanapwishisha</i>	unsuccessful
- <i>shopping</i> 'a	to buy/go shop	<i>shopping</i> (English)	- <i>shita</i>	to buy

Town Bemba Term.	Meaning	Ultimate Origin	Standard Bemba Equivalent.	Meaning of Standard Bemba terms.
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Nouns:

<i>basi</i>	bus	<i>bus</i> (English)	<i>bazi</i>	bus
<i>bondix</i>	bus seat	<i>bonnet</i> (English)	<i>pacipuna</i>	seat
<i>boyi</i>	friend	<i>boy</i> (English)	<i>umunandi</i>	friend
<i>pabondi</i>	home/house	<i>house bond</i> (English)	<i>ing'anda</i>	home
<i>gelo</i>	girl	<i>girl</i> (English)	<i>umukashana</i>	girl
<i>inkeche</i>	beautiful girl	<i>key-lock</i> sound	<i>umukashana uwayemba</i>	beautiful girl
<i>italanta</i>	talent	<i>talent</i> (English)	<i>ukupelwa</i>	gifted
<i>gayi</i>	a guy	<i>guy</i> (English)	<i>umulumendo</i>	boy
<i>lavu</i>	love	<i>love</i> (English)	<i>icitemwiiko</i>	love
<i>umufella</i>	fella/guy	<i>fella</i> (Amer. English)	<i>umulumendo</i>	young man
<i>maketi</i>	market	<i>market</i> (English)	<i>maliketi</i>	market
<i>amarabishi</i>	nonsense/rubbish	<i>rubbish</i> (English)	<i>amalabishi</i>	rubbish/litter
<i>shetani</i>	Satan	<i>Satan</i> (English)	<i>satana</i>	satana
<i>zee-big/bige</i>	big man	<i>the big</i> (English)	<i>bakalamba</i>	older person
<i>buzi</i>	booze/beer	<i>booze</i> (English)	<i>ubwalwa</i>	beer/alcohol
<i>biiya</i>	beer	<i>beer</i> (English)	<i>ubwalwa</i>	beer/alcohol
<i>kaponya</i>	street/core-boy	<i>ponya</i> 'to drop' (Bemba)	<i>kaponya</i>	street/core-boy
<i>amasikiliti</i>	panty	<i>secret</i> (English)	<i>kaputula</i>	panty
<i>pulobulemu</i>	problem	<i>problem</i> (English)	<i>ubwafya</i>	problem
<i>plani/pulani</i>	a plan	<i>plan</i> (English)	<i>ubutontokanya</i>	thoughts/plan
<i>kajobu</i>	a job	<i>job</i> (English)	<i>ncito/chuty</i>	job/duty
<i>kaweki</i>	work	<i>work</i> (English)	<i>ncito</i>	work
<i>manzi</i>	water	<i>manzi</i> (Nyanja)	<i>menshi</i>	water
<i>chidadi</i>	dad	<i>dad</i> (English)	<i>tata</i>	father
<i>mane</i>	money	<i>money</i> (English)	<i>indalama</i>	money

Town Bemba Term.	Meaning	Ultimate Origin	Standard Bemba Equivalent.	Meaning of Standard Bemba terms.
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Adjectives:

<i>ambo</i>	humble	<i>humble</i> (English)	<i>ukufuuka</i>	humble
<i>jelasi/wakalijo</i>	jealous	<i>jealousy</i> (English)	<i>umufulo</i>	jealous
<i>lavu/lavingi</i>	love	<i>love</i> (English)	<i>icitemwiiko</i>	love
<i>laka</i>	good/nice	<i>lekker</i> (Afrikaans)	<i>bwino/ubusuma</i>	good/nice
<i>nimbama</i>	nice/beautiful	<i>imbama</i> 'slaps' (Bemba)	<i>cisuma</i>	nice/beautiful
<i>nizii</i>	good/no comment	<i>nizii</i> (Nyanja sound for silence)	<i>icongo</i>	silence
<i>pulopa</i>	proper/genuine	<i>proper</i> (English)	<i>ifyacine</i>	genuine/real
<i>solini</i>	sorry	<i>sorry</i> (English)	<i>njeleleni</i>	forgive/ sorry
<i>ubufolo/fontini</i>	dull/backwardness	<i>Bloemfontein</i> (Afrikaans)	<i>ubufontini</i>	dull/unintelligent
<i>zoon</i>	true	<i>zoon</i> 'true' (Nyanja)	<i>icinecine</i>	genuine/true

Note: With reference to the tables above, it should be noted that words were categorised under 3 group titles and these include verbs, nouns and adjective. The lists of words were derived from the transcription data of the informants on the Copperbelt, as well as from the researcher (who is also used as a source in this research). In these lists, the nouns are more frequent than any other category. Therefore, it would right to conclude that nouns are easier to assimilate than the other categories of word form.

In this section we will take a look at some of the words that can be classified as ‘borrowed words’ or ‘loanwords’. All the words above are examples of borrowed words because most of them are derived from foreign words or other languages like English, French, and Afrikaans and sometimes combine with other African languages like, SB, Zulu, Fanagalo, Nyanja, and Lamba. Below is a table showing how some of the borrowed words have been used or assimilated with the base language, to form a new word:-

Table 9: Shows the word formation of some borrowed words in TB.

Term in Town Bemba		Word Break-down	Origin of base	Meaning
1. Kajobu	=	<i>ka</i> + job + <i>u</i>	Job - English	job
2. Kaweki	=	<i>ka</i> + wek + <i>i</i>	work - English	work
3. Gelo	=	gel + <i>o</i>	girl - English	girl
4. Gayi	=	gay + <i>i</i>	guy - English	young man
5. Laka	=	lak + <i>a</i>	lekker - Afrikaans	good/nice
6. Fontini	=	fontin + <i>i</i>	Bloemfontein- Afrikaans	dull
7. Chaliilila	=	<i>chalii</i> + lila	Ukulila/amalile (to eat/to have a feast/fun)- Bemba	fun
8. Zoon	=	zoon	zoon (true)- Nyanja	truly
9. Pulani	=	pulan + <i>i</i>	Plan - English	plan

Source: Data from research.

Table 9 shows a list of TB words. It is easy to note from the base (in bold) where a word in TB was derived from, because it only adds one or two affixes as can be noted with the *italicised* morphemes. The pronunciation (accent) is more of SB as these words are spoken, despite the base or ‘root’ being derived from the English or Afrikaans or Nyanja language. It can be noted that TB lexicons rely heavily on borrowing from other languages. The borrowing and coinage of some of these words can be attributed to the colonial influence of the Europeans in Zambia before its independence in 1964.

In the first column, the TB terms have been further broken down into prefixes, bases (roots) and suffixes. The bases are in bold whereas the affixes have been italicized. In 1,2,3,4 and 9, the words are derived from English. For example in (1) *Ka-* is a (prefix) diminutive marker and the opposite is *chi-*. Thus *kajobu* means ‘small’ or insignificant errand. It could also be a ‘marked’ choice to mean ‘nice’, ‘desirable’ etc. depending on the context. In (2) the use and context is similar to that of (1), *Ka* and *i* as usual are Bemba suffixes and the base *wek* is derived from the word ‘work’ (English). The spelling differs in Bemba so as to suit the

Bemba pronunciation. Then in (5) and (6) the words have been borrowed from Afrikaans; thus in (5), the word has been altered to *laka* ‘good’ and has been assimilated in TB and it is from *lekker* ‘nice’ or ‘good’ in Afrikaans and it means the same in TB. For (6) *Fontini* implies ‘to be dull’ in TB and it was derived from the word ‘Bloemfontein’ a place where most of the mining labourers came from in South Africa. Then in (7) the base is from Bemba and it is used as a slang word to express real fun usually at a function. The base is *lila* whose meaning in Bemba is ‘to eat’ or ‘to have a feast/fun’; *chalii* is the prefix which means ‘it was’ (*lila* also means ‘to cry’, in this case it is used to imply ‘to have a feast/fun’). So *chaliilila* would be directly translated as ‘it was crying’ but the meaning in TB would be ‘it was enjoyable/fun’. Sometime the borrowed words may not necessarily mean the same as the original meaning from the base word; hence the meaning may differ or remain the same. Example 1,2,3,4 and 9 are example of same meaning as base and (7) is an example of different meaning of base. In (8) *zoona* is borrowed into TB from *zoona* meaning ‘true’ in Nyanja, a local language and lingua franca of Lusaka Province in Zambia. It should also be noted that most of these borrowed words follow a phonological pattern of CVCV syllabic structure, making it easy for insertion of borrowed items.

Below is table 10. It should also be noted that SB does not have the following consonants in the alphabet *r, v, x, z* and *d, j, g* consonants are only used before an *n*. But TB deviates from the norm and uses most of these consonants and this is noticeable in the spoken speech. as shown in the examples of below which use the non-standard consonant variants in SB:

Table 10: List of TB borrowed words using non-standard consonants (in SB).

A: List of words with r, v, x, z - (in bold)	B: Words that do not use 'n' before d, j, g (in bold)
<i>bondix</i> - ‘bus seat’	<i>jelasi</i> - ‘jealousy’
<i>manzi</i> - ‘water’	<i>kalijo</i> - ‘jealousy’
<i>zee-bige</i> - ‘big man’	<i>gayi</i> - ‘guy’
<i>zoona</i> - ‘true’	<i>gelo</i> - ‘girl’
<i>teliza</i> - ‘to tell’	<i>chidadi</i> - ‘dad’ (demunitive)
<i>mwibize</i> - ‘to tell’	
<i>amarabishi</i> - ‘rubbish’	
<i>lavu</i> - ‘love’	
<i>buuzi</i> - ‘beer’	
<i>nizii</i> - ‘it’s good’	

There are a few words in TB which are derived from certain sounds and they mean something in TB. For example, the words *inkece* ‘beautiful girl’ and *nizii* ‘wow, no comment’ or ‘it is really good’. *Inkece* is derived from the sound of a key locking [nkeche]. The word *nizii* comes from the word *zii* ‘be silent’ sound in Nyanja. In TB when used, it is usually used to infer something that is extremely good, well done, excellent, or incomparable.

Table 11 : TB words and their frequency as used by TB Speakers.

TB Term	Meaning	Origin	Frequency
<i>Amaseting'i</i>	to set up/provoke	English	43
<i>dabwa</i>	to be crazy	Nyanja	32
<i>tirasita</i>	to trust	Bemba	31
<i>chilatwaala</i>	to enjoy	Bemba	30
<i>chaliilila/ukuchilisha</i>	to have fun	Bemba	24
<i>muvi</i>	a movie	English/ entertainment	22
<i>kuteliza</i>	to tell	English & Nyanja	18
<i>ukubeula</i>	to be rich	Bemba	17
<i>Provida</i>	to provide	English	16
<i>Diling'a</i>	to deal with	English	13
<i>yapasa</i>	to work	English	11
<i>Shopping'a</i>	to shop	English	10
<i>kagelo</i>	girl	English	9
<i>inkeche</i>	beautiful girl	Onomatopoeia word Keylock sound [nkeche]	8
<i>kasotwe</i>	girl		7
<i>gelo</i>	girl	English	7
<i>moma</i>	university girl	Academic	4
<i>gayi</i>	guy	English	7
<i>umufella</i>	fellow/guy	English	6
<i>monko</i>	university male student with no girlfriend	English - religious	4
<i>mojo</i>	university male with girlfriend	Academic	4
<i>fresha</i>	'freshman' university	English /academic	4
<i>zee-bigi/bige</i>	big man	English	3
<i>pulobulemu</i>	problem	English	3
<i>pulani</i>	plan	English	3
<i>kajobu</i>	job/small errand	English	3
<i>kaweki</i>	work/small errand	English	3
<i>manzi</i>	water	Nyanja	3
<i>mane</i>	money	English	3
<i>jelasi/wakalijo</i>	jealousy	English	3
<i>lavu/lavingi</i>	love	English	2

TB Term	Meaning	Origin	Frequency
<i>nizii</i>	good/ no comment	Nyanja	2
<i>zoona</i>	true	Nyanja	2
<i>motoka</i>	motor car	English	2
<i>componi</i>	compound	English	2
<i>secondali</i>	secondary	English	2
<i>oke</i>	ok	English	2
<i>lumu</i>	room	English	2
<i>nabiliva</i>	to believe in	English	2
<i>isikulu</i>	school	English	2
<i>bolla</i>	ball	English	2
<i>tauni</i>	town	English	2
<i>mumaini</i>	mine	English	2
<i>indipendenti</i>	independent	English	2
<i>ubufolo</i>	dull/ backwardness	Afrikaans	2
<i>pulopa</i>	good/ excellent	English	2
<i>ukutaipa</i>	to type	English	1
<i>sanasana</i>	a lot	Bemba	1
<i>shopu</i>	shop	English	1
<i>mutambotambo</i>	indirect	Bemba	1

Given the frequency in table 11 above, it is necessary to analyse how often some of these borrowed words are frequently used in the day to day speech of the participants as they represent the society or community at large. In the table above, for each word the number of times it has been articulated by the speaker has been recorded under the frequency column. The numbers range from 1 to indefinite, depending on the length of a recorded interview for assessment. For example given that word xxxxx has 5 under frequency column, shows how often this word has been used by the speakers. This helps us analyse which words are used more often than the others. With time this kind of assessment will help future researchers to keep track of which words are new, phasing out, often used and which ones are not often used.

In the table above 10 speakers of TB were assessed. The term *amasettingi* ‘provoke/set up’ had the highest frequency followed by *dabwa* ‘crazy’. The rest follow in descending order up to the word with the lowest frequency in the table and that is *sanasana*.

4.3 Morphosyntactic Data Findings and Analysis

This section discusses some of the morphological and syntactic processes that currently occur in TB and SB. The morphological analyses show the structural break-down of verb phrases in TB and SB, and also show how borrowed morphemes have been assimilated in TB. The syntactic data analyses the word order, tenses and codeswitching (CS). In analysing the CS data, I will use Myers-Scotton's (1993, 2002: 53-54,) Matrix Language Frame Model (MLF) which encompasses the projection of Complementizer (CP) as the unit of analysis.

Below are the abbreviations that have been used in the data analyses of the morphology and syntactic data.

Abbreviations and Symbols representation:

AUX	Auxiliary verb
Cj	Conjunction
CP	Projection of Complementizer
Dim	Diminutive
(f)	Feminine (female)
FUT	Future Simple tense
FV	Final Vowel
Inf	Infinitive
NEG	Negative
O	Object
OM	Object marker
Pl	Plural
PREP	Preposition
PRES	Present Simple tense
PRES Prog	Present Progressive
PST	Past Simple tense
PST Prog	Past Progressive
SB	Standard Bemba
Sg	Singular
SM	Subject marker
TNS	Tense marker
V	Verb
Ø	Zero Prefix

Part A: Morphology

a) Standard Bemba verb phrases:-

Below are examples of verb phrases representing the verb structures in SB. The SB forms are italicised and the English meaning is in inverted commas. Word order, plural forms and tenses will be analysed for this part.

- (1) *Naliupilwe*
Na-li-up-il-w-e
1Sg-AUX- marry-PST-SM (f)-FV
'I was married.'
- (2) *Ndimukafwilwa*
Nd-i-muka-fwi-lw-a
1Sg-to be-PRES-OM- die PRES-SM-FV
'I am a widow.'
- (3) *Ndimushimbe*
Nd-i-mu-shimb-e
1Sg to be-PRES-OM-single-FV
'I am single.'

In these phrases, we can observe that the SB language variety follows a Subject, Verb and Object/Complement (SVO/C) word order. For example in (1) *Naliupilwe* - *Na* 'I' is the subject, *-li* 'was' acts as the auxiliary verb in this case (usually it represents the past TNS), whereas *-up* 'to marry' is the main verb in the past tense, whereas *w* represents the female gender in this case and *e* is the final vowel (can also be a TNS in other situations). *Naliupilwe* is similar to English language where a woman says 'I will be married' and a man says 'I will marry'; for SB is represented for females is *w*, and for men the *w* is dropped. Phrase (2) and (3) follow the same word order as (1) which is SVO/C, and there is no borrowing of any foreign words or morphemes.

- (4) *Naliupwa*
Na-li-up-w-a
 1Sg- TNS-marry-PST-(f) SM - FV
 'I got married.' (for women)
- (5) *Naupwa*
Na-up- w-a
 1Sg-marry-PRES-(f) SM-FV
 'I am married.' (for women)
- (6) *Naliupa*
Na-li-up-a
 1Sg-TNS-marry-PST-FV
 'I am married.' (for men)

The verb phrases above are also in Standard Bemba; the first verb phrase indicates the simple past tense of the verb *upa* 'to marry'. In Bemba what usually determines the past tense in the verb phrase is the use of *-li-* 'tense marker' after a subject marker as can be seen in examples (4) and (6) above. The verb phrase in example (4) *Naliupwa* implies 'I got married'; and it can only be used by the women (as it is gender based). In example (5) *Naupwa* is in the present simple tense and also applies to women only. What distinguishes these two verb phrases used by women is the use of the consonant 'w' after the root and before the final vowel 'a' (*-up + w + a = upwa*). Men use the verb phrase in example (6) *Naliupa* to mean 'I (got) married'. Notice that in this phrase the consonant *w-* [(f) SM in this case] is not present and the final vowel *a* comes soon after the root *-up-* (*-up + a = upa*).

b) Town Bemba verb phrases:

Below are some verb phrases in TB. The vocabulary items have been derived from the English language and the suffixes are mainly from the SB and a number from other local languages like Nyanja. All italicised forms represent borrowed TB words, followed by the verb structure, and the meaning is in English and inverted commas (Word formation, assimilation and meaning):

- (7) *Tudilinga* (SB - *ukubomba* 'to deal')
 Tu-diling-a
 1 Pl diling-PRES-TM/FV
 'We deal with'.

(8) *Natowinga* (SB - *ukushindika* 'to escort')
Na-towing- a
3Sg-towing-PRES-TM/FV
'He escorts (his girlfriend).'

(9) *Walashopinga* (SB - *Ukushita* 'to buy')
Wa-la-shopping-a
2sg-AUX- Fut-shopping-PRES.Prog-TM/FV
'You'll shop'.

The verb phrases above (7), (8) and (9) are in TB; these are *tudilinga*, *Natowinga* and *Walashopinga*. The term *dilinga* is derived from the verb 'to deal' from English and implies 'we deal with'. It has changed from its original form and been assimilated into TB. *Towinga* is from the verb 'to tow' in English but means 'he escorts' ('a girl') in TB, and it is mainly used by the male youths with their peers. The term, *shopinga* is derived from the English verb 'to shop' and it means 'you'll shop'. In all the three verb phrases above, the verbs are not borrowed as infinitives from English, but borrowed in their progressive form which uses *-ing* and adds the *a* as the final vowel, as is the case with the endings of most SB verbs. In these verb phrases, it can be observed that the prefixes and suffixes used are from SB. The verb phrases above show that TB borrows from the English language as it maintains or assimilates the English form. What is also interesting in (7), (8) and (9) is that the English words are borrowed in their progressive form and sometimes their ultimate meaning is given in their simple present or simple past or simple future tenses.

More Examples:

(10) *Twayashopingi*. (SB - *Ukushita* 'to buy')
Twa-ya-shopping-i
1Pl-AUX-go PRES. Prog-shop-FV
'We are going to shop.'

(11) *Ndeyajobingi*. (SB - *ukubelenga* 'to study')
Nd - e - ya - jobing -i.
1Sg-AUX-go-PRES.Prog-jobing - FV
'I am going to study.'

(12) *Naumonadressingi?* (SB - *imifwalile* 'the dressing')
Na-u-mona-dressing-i?
2Sg.-AUX-see-PST-dressing-FV
'Have you seen the dressing?'

Sometimes the meanings of borrowed words are maintained and in other cases they are totally different and may imply something else. For example in (10) the meaning in of shopping is the same in SB and English, but in (11) the case is different, *Ndeyajobingi* means ‘I am going to study’. In the language of original, English in this case, the word *jobingi* comes from the word ‘job’ and refers to working. Perhaps some words are borrowed because they have some similar or close association to what the speaker of the borrowing language intends to say. The verb phrases above (10), (11) and (12) are similar to those in (7), (8) and (9), except that they have not been used as main verbs but as nominal complements or objects. What can be noticed is that, if the borrowed element is in the present tense or used as an auxiliary verb in the future the ending of the borrowed *-ing* form take *a* as the FV, whereas if the auxiliary is in the PRES.prog, then the borrowed *-ing* form takes *i* as the FV.

Examples:

- (13) *Nkakuteli*za (SB - *ukweeba* ‘to tell’)
N-ka-ku-teli-z-a
 1Sg-OM-TNS-tell-FUT-za-Inf/FV (za from Nyanja *uza* ‘to tell’)
 ‘I will tell you’.
- (14) *Mwibize* (SB - *ukweeba* ‘to tell’)
Mw-ibi-z-e
 3Sg-tell-PRES-z-TNS-PRES/FV (ze from Nyanja *uza* ‘to tell’)
 ‘Tell him’.

The phrases in (13) and (14) are very similar in the sense that they use two verbs from two or more language varieties namely SB, English and Nyanja to come up with a meaningful verb phrase in TB. In (13), two verbs have been used to coin a new word *teliza*. The *teli* is from the verb ‘to tell’ from English and the verb *-za* ‘to tell’ from Nyanja. The same situation occurs in (14), two verbs combine and these are *eeba* ‘to tell’ from SB and *uza* ‘to tell’ from Nyanja. The *eeba* ‘to tell’ has been modified phonologically and syntactically to suit a particular code of speech by mainly the young male speakers. The two situations show that TB has taken new forms (coinage) which are different from SB. The two verb phrases above are examples of borrowing and assimilation in TB.

- (15) *Yalipasa* (SB - *ukupwishisha* ‘to be successful’)
Ya-li-pas-a
 3Sg-TNS-pass-PST-FV (Pas from English ‘to pass’)
 ‘It was successful’.

- (16) *Yalifauka* (SB - *ukukanapwishisha/cakana* ‘to be unsuccessful’)
Ya-li-fau-k-a
 3Sg-TNS-fau-PST-FV (Fau from English ‘Foul play’)
 ‘It was unsuccessful’.
- (17) *Yabalansa* (SB – *cabomba/ukubomba* ‘to work out’)
Ya-balan-s-a
 3Sg-balan-s-PRES-TNS/FV (*balansa* from English ‘to balance’)
 ‘It’s worked out’.

These three verb phrases in TB above, show examples of verbs derived from the English words and these have also been assimilated into TB, and these words are used normally in every day situation. What is clear in all these TB verb phrases in (15), (16) and (17) is that the suffixes are mainly from SB (base language) and the verbs of the borrowed words are from English. There is a clear indication that most of the borrowed words in TB so far are from English. It should be noted that in TB sometimes the borrowed words in the verb phrases are not always verbs but nouns or adjectives. For example in (16) *fau* from ‘foul play’ is a noun and it has been used as a verb in the verb phrase *yalifauka* ‘It was unsuccessful’. From number (7) to (15) except for (16), it can be observed that most of the verb phrases have borrowed verbs from either English or Nyanja to come up with the TB verb phrases. For instance; *Yalipasa* from ‘to pass’, *tudilinga* ‘to deal’, *nkakuteliza* ‘to tell’/-*uza* ‘to tell’ in Nyanja.

Part B: Syntactic analysis

This section analyses instances of borrowing and codeswitching mainly in TB sentences. However, a few other structural forms like the word order and perhaps some tenses will also be discussed. For each TB sentence given, an equivalent of the TB (i) is given in SB as sentence (ii). Sentences in (ii) will also show how TB deviates from SB.

- (1) i. *Naishile unowine umwaka* (SVO)
Na-ish-il-e unowine u-mwaka
 1Sg-come-PST-FV this cl.2-OM-year
 ‘I came this year’

- ii. *Niunowine umwaka naishile* (OSV)
Ni- unowine u -mwaka na-ish-il-e
 3Sg-this cl.2-OM-year 1Sg-come-PST-FV
 ‘I came this year’

The sentences in (1) - i and ii, shows that TB and SB follow the same word order in most cases, thus they use SVO, OSV or SVO/C, where S is the subject, V is the verb, O is the object and C is the compliment. These patterns will continue to be observed in the other following examples.

Codeswitching (CS)

In some communities CS does not generally occur whereas in other communities it is a natural phenomenon especially among bilingual or multilingual speakers or groups. Usually the bilingual speakers are fluent in both languages that they speak such that codeswitching occurs naturally. Myer-Scotton (1993) defines CS as the ‘selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of forms from an embedded language (EL) or languages in utterances of a matrix language (ML) during the same conversation’. The ML is the main language in CS utterances in a number of ways whereas, the EL has a lesser role (Myer-Scotton 1993). The stretches of CS materials may be *inter-sentential* and *intra-sentential*. Inter-sentential involves switches from one language to the other between sentences. Intra-sentential occurs within the same sentence, from single morpheme to clause level (Myer-Scotton 2002). We will look at some examples of inter-sentential and intra-sentential codeswitching in the following examples of TB. I will use CP (Complementizer Projection) instead of ‘sentence’ for my data analysis. A CP is a syntactic structure expressing the predicate-argument structure of a clause, plus any additional structures needed to encode discourse-relevant structure and the logical form of that clause (Myer-Scotton 2002). The following examples show borrowing and codeswitching. The most common form of codeswitching in TB according to the data is the intra-sentential codeswitching:

- (2) i. *Kuno ku CBU, nalishilepo elo naishile senda acceptance letter yandi.*
Kuno ku CBU, na-li-shile-po elo na-ish-il-e
 Here at CBU, 1Sg-come-PST-AUX when 1Sg-come-PST-FV

senda acceptance letter yandi
 to take-Inf acceptance letter mine.
 ‘I last came here at CBU when I came to get my acceptance letter’

- ii. *naishilepo kuno CBU, ilyo naishile senda kalata bansalilepo*
na-ish-ile-po kuno CBU, ilyo na-ish-ile senda
 1Sg- come-PST(perfect) here CBU, when 1Sg-come-PST to take-Inf

kalata ba-n-sal-ile-po
 letter cl.2-OM-1Sg-come-PST(perfect)
 ‘I had come to CBU, when I came to collect my acceptance letter.’

Example 2 contains two CPs; in the first CP the speaker borrows the acronym CBU (Copperbelt University) which is well known in the community. The second CP is bilingual too and it contains a mixed constituent *acceptance letter* as the preferred choice by the speaker. Sentence (ii) has the SB equivalent which is *kalata bansalilepo* ‘acceptance letter’. The other example sentences that show a similar situation are (3), (4), (5), (6), and (7). Sometime the SB speakers also borrow from the English language especially if there is no alternative word in the SB language, for example, *community announcer, electrician, Grade 12*, etc.

- (3) i. *Ndi nabaana eighti, abakashana two, Abalumendo five, twabika nowafumapo.*
Nd-i-naba-ana eighti, aba-kashana two,
 1Sg-have-PRES-cl.2-OM-children eight, cl.2-OM-girls two,

Aba-lumendo five, twa-bika no-wa -fumapo
 cl.2-OM-boys five, 1Pl-add-PRES who -die-PST.
 ‘I have eight children, two girls, five boys and one died’

- ii. *Ndi nabana cine konse konse, pali aba babili bakashana, abalumendo ukubikapo no watushile ni mutanda.*

Nd-i-nabana cine konse konse, pali aba-babili
 1Sg-have-PRES-OM-children nine, amongst these two

aba-kashan, aba-lumendo ukubikapo no wa-tushile ni mutanda.

cl.2-OM girls, cl.2-OM-boys together with OM-die-PST it’s nine

‘I have eight children, out of these two are girls while six are boys including the one who passed away’

- (4) i. *Kabili umo alebomba ku Mopani, elo umo elo apwishishe isikuulu ya fya electrician.*
Kabili umo a-le-bomba ku Mopani, elo umo elo
 Because one OM-AUX-work-PRES.Prog at Mopani, then one then

a-pwishi-she isikuulu yafya electrician.

OM-complete-PST studies for electrician.

‘One is working at Mopani while the other has completed studies as an electrician’

- ii. *kabili umo abomba ku Mopani, elyo umo nao elyo apwishishe amasambililo yafya malaiti.*

kabili umo a-bomba ku Mopani, elyo umo nao elyo

Cj because one OM-work-PRES at Mopani, then one also then

a-pwishi-she ama-sambililo yafya malaiti.

OM-finish-PST cl.7-OM-studies in electricity

‘One is of them works for Mopani, while the other one completed his studies in Electrical engineering’.

A note in sentence 4 (i) and (ii) of the conjunction *elo* and *elyo* in both cases meaning ‘when’. In 4 (ii) the term shows the original form of the conjunction *elyo*, which later in (i) has reduced or been simplified to *elo* after dropping the letter *y* in the original form. In example 4 (i), the conjunction *elo* ‘when’ in TB has been grammatically reduced from its original form *elyo* ‘when’. The word *elo* in TB means the same thing as *elyo* in SB except that its form has been reduced by dropping the *y* in TB and hence simplified. Some other examples that have been shortened to simplify grammar in every day TB are: *atishani* ‘what’ has been shortened to *ati*, *kwisa* ‘where’ to *kwi* (applies to nouns for people and places), and *pesa* ‘where’ to *pe* (applies to nouns for objects). Speakers of SB do not approve the shortening or use of reduced form of words in TB or SB as it changes original form of SB. They want to preserve the original SB as it is a part of their culture and heritage.

- (5) i. *Pano momba imilimo nga community announcer mucibemba na mucingeleshi,*
Pano m-bomb-a imilimo nga community announcer
 Here SM-work-PRES job as community announcer

Mu-chibemba na mu-cingeleshi,

In-chibemba and in-English

‘Here I work as community announcer in Bemba and English’.

- ii. *Pano momba imilimo yabu community announcer muchibemba na mucingeleshi.*
Pano m-omb-a imilimo yabu community announcer
 Here SM-work-PRES job as community announcer

mu-chibemba na mu-cingeleshi
 in-chibemba and in-English.

‘I work here as a Community announcer in Bemba and English program’.

- (6) i. *kwena ama-sambililo yena na-pelele mu Grade 12*
kwena ama-sambililo yena na-pelele mu Grade 12
 Cj cl.8-OM-studies themselves 1Sg-end-PST Prep Grade 12
 ‘Moreover, I ended my studies in Grade 12’

- ii. *kwena amasambililo yena na-pelele mu Grade 12*
kwena ama-sambililo yena na-pelele mu Grade 12
 Cj cl.8-OM-studies themselves 1Sg-end-PST Prep Grade 12
 ‘I went as far as Grade 12’.

- (7) i. *Kudepartment uko mbombela nabakoneka*
ku-department uko m-bombela na-bako-neka
 Prep-department where SM-work-PRES 1Sg-to be-PRES alone
 ‘At the department I where work I am alone’

- ii. *Nabako neka kucipani momba.*
Na-bako n-eka ku-cipani m-omba.
 1Sg to be-PRES SM-alone Prep-department SM-work
 ‘I am the only one in the department I work.’

In (8) and (9) the CPs show examples of borrowed word from English and these are been embedded in the TB by assimilating the SB plural prefixes like *ama-* times ‘at/many times’, *ama-*personalities ‘personalities’, *ama-*lighti ‘lights’, etc.

- (8) i. *Kulaba amatimes limbi tabalipo*
Ku-laba ama-times limbi ta-ba-li-po
 Cj to be-PRES cl.8-OM-times Cj Neg-cl.2-OM-to be-PRES there
 ‘There are times when they are not there’

- ii. *Kulaba inshita limo ilyo tababapo.*
Ku-laba inshita limo ilyo ta-ba-bapo
 Cj to be-PRES times Cj Neg-cl.2-OM to be PRES there
 ‘There are times when he/she is not there’.

- (9) i. Kayili **you know**, twalipusana *amapersonalities*
kayili you know, twa-li-pusana ama-personalities
 Cj you know, 1Pl-to be different PST cl.6-OM personalities.
 ‘Moreover you know, we are different in personalities’
- ii. Kabili mwalishiba ukuti twalipusana imibele.
Kabili mwa-lishib-a ukuti
 Cj because OM-know-PRES that
- twa-li-pusana imibele.*
 1Pl to be PRES-different personalities.
 ‘You know that we have different personalities’.

Example (10) to (14) shows CPs with borrowed word which have been assimilated in TB. These are: *layifi* ‘life’ in (10), *maini* ‘mine’ in (11), *dilinga* ‘dealing’ in (12), *budgeti* ‘budget’ in (14). Some of the nouns like *maini* ‘mine’ do not have a zero prefix (Ø) in their singular form and their plural form has a prefix which is *amamaini* ‘mines’. Such nouns fall under a noun class of 9/6.

- (10) i. Awe, **layifi** yaku Kitwe yaba iyashupa
Awe, layifi yaku kitwe yaba iyashupa
 No, life in Kitwe to be-PST difficult
 ‘No life in Kitwe is difficult’
- ii. *Ubwikalo bwaku Kitwe bwaliba ubwayafya*
Ubwikalo bwaku Kitwe bwa-liba ubwayafya
 Life in Kitwe SM is-PST difficult
 ‘Life in Kitwe is very difficult’.
- (11) i. *Icinto mu maini yalifula,*
Jobs mu maini yali-fula,
 4.cl Jobs Prep Ø-mine to be-PRES-a lot.
 ‘There are a lot of jobs in the mines’
- ii. *Imilimo mu mikoti yalifula.*
Imilimo mu Ø-mikoti yali-fula.
 ‘Jobs in mines to be-PRES-a lot’.
 ‘There are a lot of jobs in the mines.’

(12) i. **Tudilinga** fye nefya **maore**.

Tu-dilinga fye nefya Ø-ma-ore.

1Pl-dealing PRES Prep Ø-OM-ore

‘We deal in ores.’

ii. *tubomba mufya makwebo ya mukuba.*

Tu-bomb-a mufya makwebo ya mukuba.

1Pl-work- PRES in businesses of ore

‘We deal in ore businesses.’

(13) i. *Tu bombela fye ichochine, **atleast** wasangamo akanono.*

Tu-bomb-ela fye ichochine,

1Pl-work-PRES Prep the sake,

atleast wasangamo akanono

atleast wa-sangamo aka-nono.

atleast 2Sg-find-PRES Dim-OM-small

‘We work for the sake of earning a little’

ii. *tubomba ififine kulila wasangamo aka-nono.*

Tu-bomba ififine kulila wa-sangamo aka-nono

1Pl-work like this survival 2Sg-find PRES Dim-OM small

‘We work for the sake of earning a bit’.

TB and SB uses diminutives OM like *aka* or *ka* in their sentences, for examples sentences 13 and 14 use the diminutive *aka* ‘a small’ is for things or objects like *akanono* ‘a bit’-(refers to bribe in TB), *akabuku* a ‘small book’, *akabokoshi* ‘a small box’ and *ka* is used for people like *kagelo* ‘small girl’, *akalumendo* ‘small boy’, etc are common.

(14) i. **Because** *tulefwaya indalama, **againi** balefwaya ufumye indalama pa-budgeti, so chalibako echashupa.*

Because tu-lefwaya indalama, againi bale-fwaya-u-fumye

Cj 1Pl want-PRES money, again 3Pl-want-PRES-OM-remove

indalama pa budgeti, so chalibako echashupa.

indalama-pa budgeti, so cha-liba-ko ichashupa.

Money-Cj budget, so 3Sg-to be-PRES difficult.

‘We need to earn money, and we pay to keep our jobs. This reduces our budget and it is very difficult’.

- ii. *Ico tubombela nindalama tufwaya.*
Ico tu-bomb-ela ni-ndalama tu-fwaya.
 Why 1Pl-work-PRES OM-money 1Pl-want
 ‘We work in order to earn money’
- *Lelo pali ishishine indalama tulafumyapo*
Lelo pali ishishine indalama tu-lafumya-po
 Today with this money 1Pl- remove-PRES (perfect)
 ‘Although from this money we earn we remove’
 - *isha kupela akanyampuku.*
isha ku-pela aka-nyampuku.
 Cj to give-PRES Dim-OM-bribe
 ‘A bit for a bribe’.
 - *Nga twacita ifi cilatubwessha panshi.*
Nga twa-cita ifi, cila-tu-bwesesh-a panshi.
 If 1Pl-do-PRES this, it-1Pl-bring-PRES down
 ‘If we do this it reduces our budget’
 - *Kanshi muli uyu musango caliba icayafya.*
Kanshi muli uyu musango ca-liba icayafya.
 Then in this case it-to be-PRES difficult.
 ‘Then life is difficult’.

‘We work in order to earn some money. Although from this money we earn we pay a bit to keep our jobs. When we do that, we reduce our budget and life becomes difficult’.

When comparing sentence 14 (i) TB and 14 (ii) SB, it is noticeable that the TB uses simplified sentences and SB is more expressive as can be observed in this example above. This is evident in many of the preceding sentences given in this section.

- (15) i. *Awe, teti tulande sana otherwise, tubombela fye ichocine.*
Awe, teti-tu-lande sana otherwise, tu-bomb-ela fye ichocine
 No, Neg-1Pl-say-PRES much otherwise, 1Pl work PRES Cj the sake of
 ‘No, we won’t say much, we work for the sake of earning’.

- ii. *Kwena tatwalande fingi, lelo tubombela fye icocine.*
Kwena ta-twa -lande fingi, lelo tu-bomb-ela fye icocine.
Well, Neg-1Pl-Say-PST much, but 1Pl-work-PST for sake of.
'We will not say much, but we simply work'.

The TB sentence in 15 (i) shows a negation *awe* 'no' and *teti* 'cannot' used together. In SB the form *tatwa* 'won't' is used and not *teti*.

The data above indicates that TB borrows extensively from English more than any other language. In the lexical data, there are a few examples of Nyanja, and hardly any evidence of Afrikaans and Fanagalo. This could imply that the speakers of TB no longer use some of the words initially borrowed from Afrikaans and Fanagalo used in TB in the early 1910s to 1970s.

The morphology and syntax data show that TB relies mainly on SB, the ML for its grammatical structures, and its lexical items constitute borrowed words which are from the EL. The ELs are English and Nyanja. The data shows that some adjectives or nouns in TB assimilate the plural form 's' from English together with the SB plural form for instance *amapersonalities* 'personalities', *amatimes* 'at times', *amaladies* 'ladies', *amameni* 'men'. There is a lot of intra-sentential codeswitching. Some of the nouns in TB have zero prefix in their singular form but their plural forms have the plural prefixes.

These findings show that TB uses SB as a base language and borrows and assimilates some vocabularies from other languages. It is a bit difficult to say that the two language varieties are the same. There are a lot of similarities between the two and a number of differences can also be noted. More research tests need to be carried out to confirm TB status.

4.4 Socio-phonetics

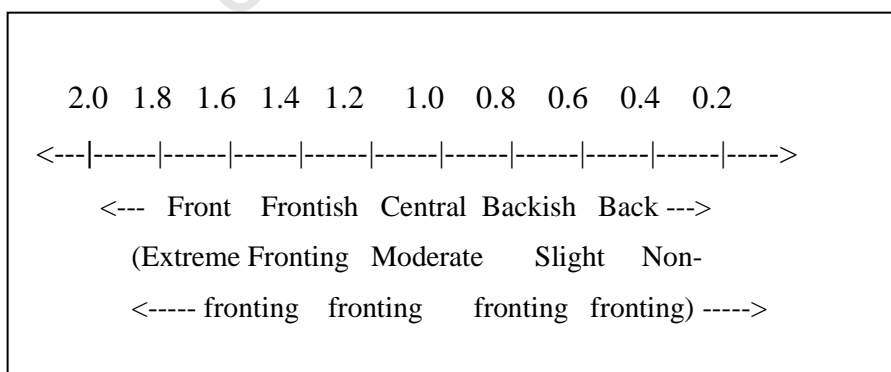
The data in this section of the chapter was analysed mainly using two computer software programs as earlier mentioned in chapter 3. This section will show how the *Praat script* data was used for normalisation of vowels program. It is hoped that the data analysis on norm will give a picture on the similarities or differences in the speakers of TB and SB. The IPA vowel chart will be used also to plot the normalised data.

4.4.1 Socio-phonetics analyses using Normalisation for vowels

In Socio-phonetic works most of the data is analysed in large samples so as to allow a broader representation and to compare different groups of speakers with each other¹⁴. There are various ways in which data can be analysed in a less rigorous and quicker manner. I analysed my vowels data using two computer procedures which can be found on the internet and these were Praat and Normalisation of vowels using a new version (2009) based on Watt & Fabricius (www.Normalisation).

In this study 300 tokens (that is 30 tokens from each speaker) were considered from 10 speakers of SB and TB who included 3 women and 2 men from each language variety, and their data was analysed acoustically. The tokens were later compared using the normalisation procedure (Watt & Fabricius 2003) and the results were given as statistical and visual graphs. These results represented a comparative analysis of the five vowels (a, e, i o, u) as spoken by the speakers (informants) of SB and TB on the Copperbelt. As such a study has not been done on Bemba, I decided to include a section on socio-phonetics in this chapter to compare the two language varieties SB and TB. The purpose of this study is to investigate whether there are any differences or variations in the way vowels [a, e, i o, u] are pronounced between the speakers of SB and TB respectively; and if they are, how significant are they. Since TB borrows heavily from English, my assumption is that English is likely to have influenced the pronunciation of vowels in the speakers of TB as compared to the speakers of SB.

Figure 2: Below is a proposed scale of fronting for high vowels by Watt-fabricious.



Source: Watt and Fabricious 2003.

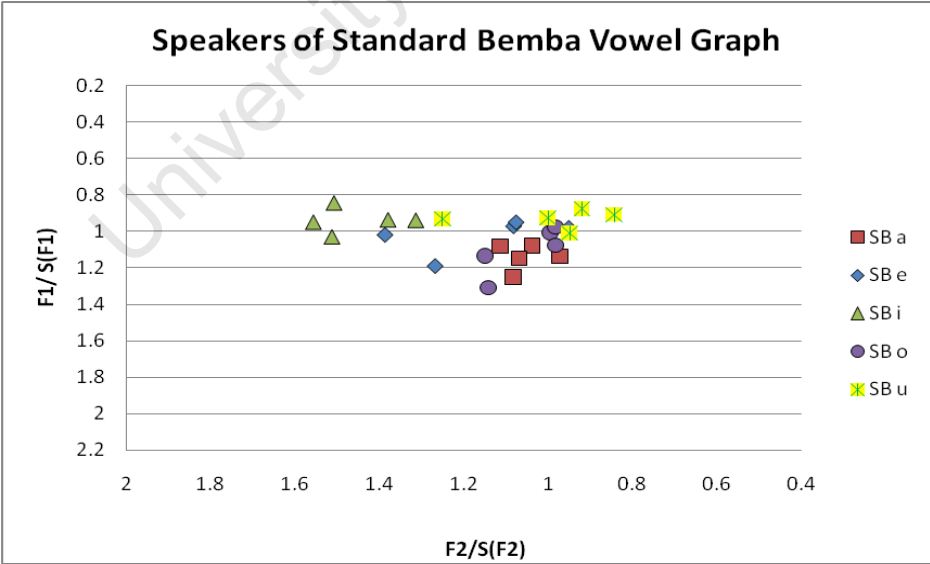
¹⁴ Watt, Dominic and Anne Fabricius 2003.

Above (Figure 2) is the X-axis of a linear graph which I will use in analysing my formants' socio-phonetics data findings (on vowels). This unit is mainly applicable to high vowels [i] and [u] because of their height. The following are the linear graphs obtained for the phonetic data analysis which was done using vowel normalisation. Six graphs were done using two variables which are; language varieties and gender. The graphs were analysed as follows:

1. Graph 2:- analysed vowels among SB speakers only, these included men and women.
2. Graph 3:- analysed vowels among TB speakers only, these included men and women.
3. Graph 4:- compared analysed data among SB speakers and TB speakers.
4. Graph 5:- compared analysed data among SB women and TB women only.
5. Graph 6:- compared analysed data among SB men and TB men only.
6. Graph 7:- compared one TB man and one TB woman using the 3 highest vowels [a,i,u].

Below are graphs with explanations on what is happening in the graphs concerning the vowels. The comparisons are mainly on SB vsTB formants.

Graph 2: Normalised ratio values of 5 Standard Bemba (SB) speakers (2 men and 3 women)



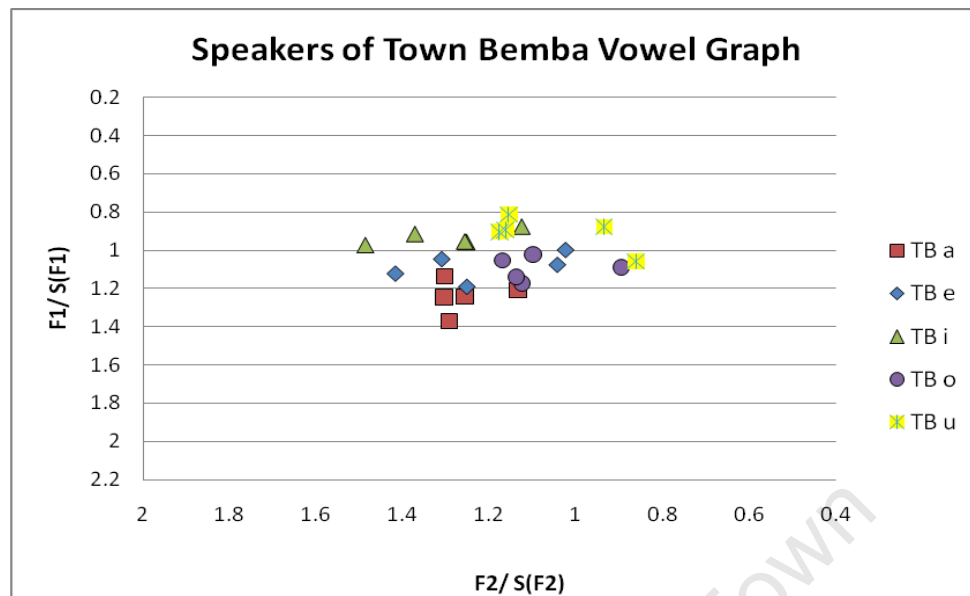
Graph 2, shows the following trends:

- a) The [a] vowel for the SB speakers shows slight differentiation which ranges between 1.2 and 0.9 (in F2), and ratio is >1 (in F1). With reference to the grid in Fig A. the

vowel [a] in SB speakers is more centralised and is close to slightly-moderately fronting.

- b) The [e] vowel in the same speakers ranges between 1.4 and 0.8 (in F2) and is scattered except for two speakers who almost share the same position. The ratio ranges from >1 to <1 (in F1). This indicates that the vowel [e] varies from central to frontish across the speakers and shows that it is a mid vowel though it varies too with speakers.
- c) The [i] vowel ranges from 1.2 to 1.6 (in F2) and the ratio of the majority speakers is <1 (in F1) except for one with ratio >1 . In this case the majority speakers' [i] varies from a frontish to a front vowel, with all being high except for one which is slightly less high.
- d) With vowel [o], the speakers show a range that is between 0.8 to 1.2 (in F2) which is indicative of a central to backish vowel with a ratio of most speakers as >1 and a few being slightly <1 . This is indicative that the vowel is closer to [u], therefore implying that it is quite high.
- e) Then [u] vowel shows that all speakers range from 0.8 to 1 (in F2) except for one who has range between 1.2 and 1.4 (in F2). This implies that most of the speakers have a more centralised to backish [u], and the one speaker shows that they have [u] vowel which is closer to central but more frontish. The ratio in all speakers is <1 indicating that the vowel is a high one.

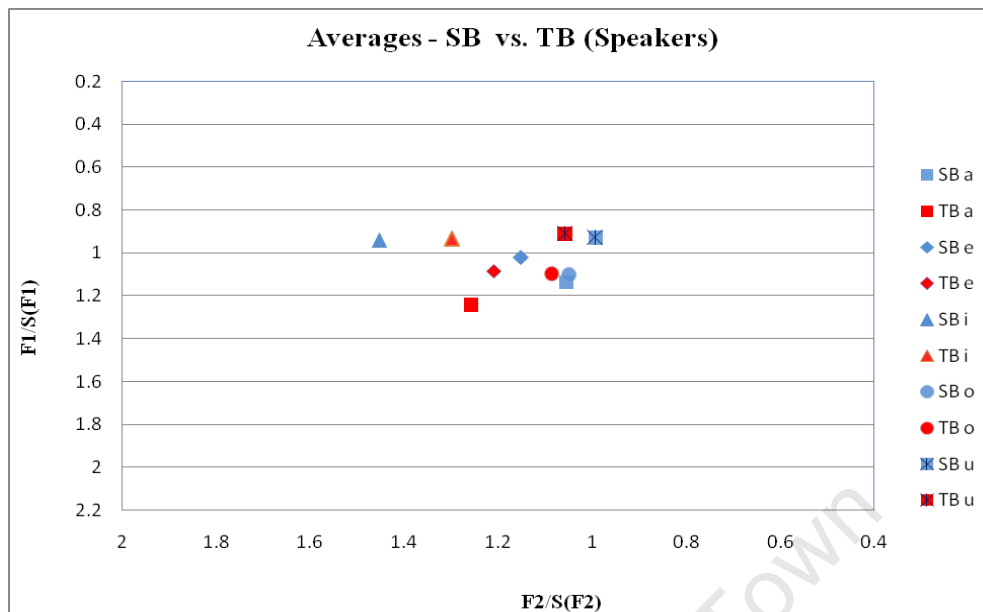
Graph 3: Normalised ratio values of 5 TB (TB) speakers (2 men and 3 women)



Graph 3 shows the following trends:

- In speakers of TB, the vowel [a] ranges between 1.1 and 1.3 (F2) with a ratio of >1 (in F1). This indicates that [a] is centralised but more frontish. The vowel is low and seems to be close to mid-low too.
- The vowel [e] in the above graph shows a range between 1.0 and 1.4 (in F2) and the ratio is >1 . The vowel indicates some variation among speakers of TB of centralised to frontish mid [e] vowel.
- The vowel [i] ranges from 1.0 to 1.6 (F2) showing that the vowel has some speakers who have centralised [i] and other with frontish to front [i]. All the speaker's ratio of [i] is <1 .
- Vowel [o] ranges between 0.8 and 1.2 (F2). Most of the speakers indicate a more centralised to almost frontish [o]. Only one out of five speakers shows that the [o] vowel is backish, which should be the case because [o] is a back rounded mid-low vowel. The ratio is >1 , implying a mid-low position.
- The vowel [u] shows a range from 0.8 to 1.2 (F2). There is some variation among the speakers in that for three of them show frontish [u] while the other two thought a bit apart show a backish [u]. The ratio is <1 for four speakers and >1 for one speaker.

Graph 4: Normalised ratio values of all averages of SB vs. TB speakers



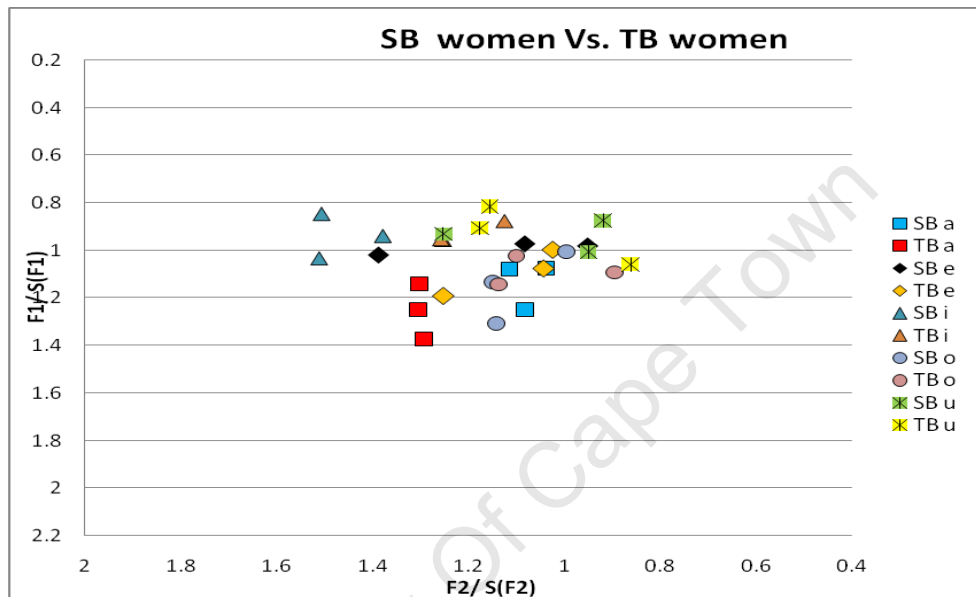
Graph 4 shows the following trends, after comparing averages of all the TB and SB speakers. Five cardinal vowels were analysed for all speakers. The blue coloured shapes represent speakers of SB while the red coloured shapes represent the speakers of TB.

- The vowel [a] for the SB speakers is centralised as it is very close to 1.0 (F2) and its ratio is >1 (F1). On the other hand for TB speakers, the vowel [a] ranges between 1.2 and 1.3 (F2) making it frontish and it is also lower in position than SB.
- Vowel [e] for SB is more centralised as it ranges between 1.0 and 1.2 with a ratio being slightly <1 . With the TB speaker on the contrary the vowel [e] is more frontish as it stands at 1.2 (on its F2) and its ratio is >1 .
- The vowel [i] for the SB speakers ranges between 1.4 and 1.6 (F2) implying that it is fronted with ratio <1 . The TB speaker's [i] vowel ranges between 1.2 and 1.4 (F2) with ratio <1 indicates a less fronted vowel as compared to the SB.
- Vowel [o] for SB is centralised and very close with vowel [a] pronunciation by the same group of speakers and ratio is >1 . For TB vowel [o] is slightly more frontish than centralised like SB [o] vowel.
- The vowel [u] for the SB is in between central and backish, but high. The TB [u] centralised and high as SB [u].

Graph 4 sums up the general findings on the way vowels are pronounced in the two language varieties. This graph shows that all the vowels for TB speakers with the exception

of vowel [i] illustrate patterns vowels that are more fronted than those of SB speakers. The [i] vowel for the SB speaker is the only vowel that shows more fronting than TB [i]. According to the data findings, generally it would be correct to propose that TB vowels are more fronted than SB vowels.

Graph 5: Normalised ratio values of SB vs. TB (Women)



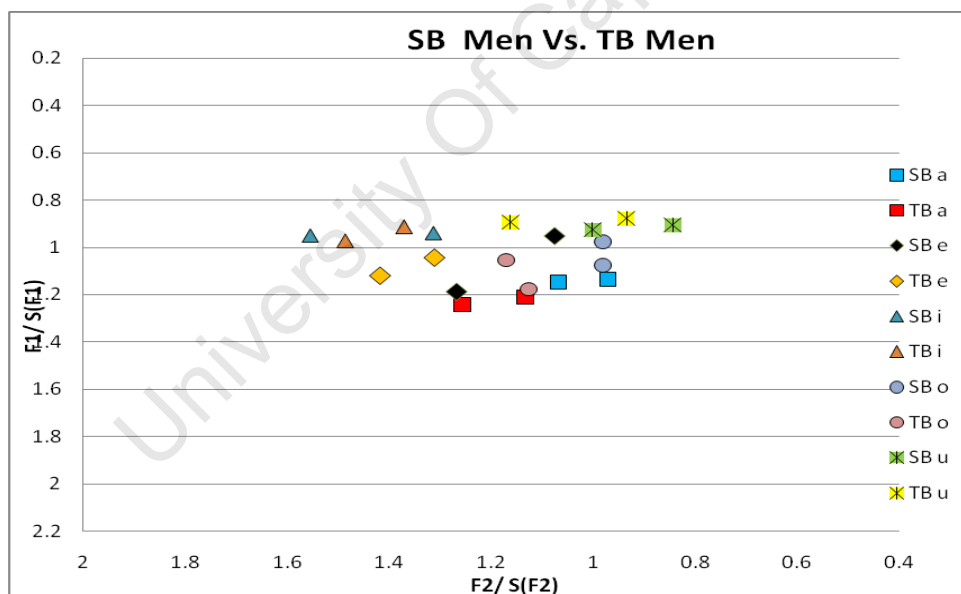
Graph 5 compares the language varieties variable of TB vs. SB for females and these are the trends:

- SB women have variation of [a] vowel which is more centralised closer to mid. The TB women exhibit a mid but frontish [a] vowel and they vary among the three speakers.
- The vowel [e] among three SB women shows slightly wider range of variation with range between 0.8 to 1.4 (F2). One of the SB has a [e] which is backish, one which is centralised and the other which is a front [e] and they all have a ratio slightly <1. TB women show two centralised [e] vowels and one front one. One of its centralised [e] indicates a ratio slightly <1 and the other two are >1. In all groups of speakers there is a variation of [e] pronunciation.
- [i] vowel among the SB women shows some variation and these range between 1.3 and 1.6 (F2) implying that they are fronted. Also the ratio of two of them is <1 except for one speaker with a ratio >1. The TB women have one [i] close to centralised while the other two are almost the same and are close to front. They all have a ratio <1.

- d) The SB women show a variation in the vowel [o] just like the TB women do. SB and TB women both exhibit more centralised [o] and one which is backish for each group of speakers. One of SB speakers of [o] is quite low while the rest with those of TB are closer to 1 but are >1 ratio.
- e) There is a variation in both speakers with the [u] vowel. SB women show two backish [u] and that is close to frontish. TB women have two centralised to frontish [u] and one which is backish but with a ratio >1 and for all SB they have a ratio <1 .

In graph 5, it is clear that the patterns of variation among women who are speakers of SB and TB are not consistent and therefore making it difficult to observe any patterns or differences. Maybe, if a bigger number (than the one used in this analysis) of women participating was to be considered in this analysis, then it would be much easier to observe some patterns.

Graph 6: Normalised ratio values of SB vs. TB (Men)



Graph 6 has the following trends:

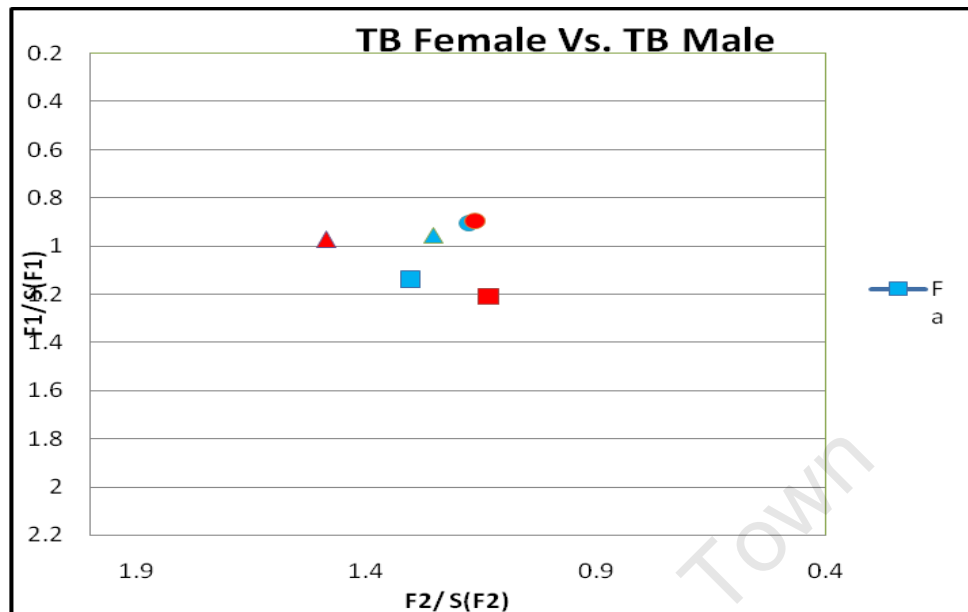
- a) SB men exhibit a variation of the [a] vowel which is more centralised with a ratio >1 . The TB men show some variation too and their [a] ranges between 1 and 1.2 implying that one [a] is closer to centralised while the other is closer to frontish with ratios >1 .
- b) One SB speaker shows one [e] vowel which is frontish with a ratio >1 and the other SB speaker has a centralised [e] which is slightly higher as the ratio is <1 . The TB also

shows a bit of variation and their range is between 1.2 and 1.4 (F2) meaning that they are all frontish closer to front with a ratio >1 .

- c) With vowel [i], both groups show some variation amongst speakers. SB speakers show a range between 1.2 and 1.6 (F2) and ratio <1 . TB speakers shows some variation range between 1.3 and 1.5 with ratio <1 . The [i] in both groups ranges from frontish to front and is high.
- d) The [o] vowel exhibits some variation among all speakers. SB has centralised to almost frontish [o] of two speakers with a ratio >1 . TB values range between 0.8 and 1.0 (F2) implying that the [o] are closer from centralised to backish with a ratio of one being >1 and the other <1 . The [o] with a ratio >1 means its slightly higher than it should be.
- e) The vowel [u] also shows a variation in both speaker of SB and TB. SB has one speaker with a backish to back [u] and the other with a centralised one with a ratio <1 . The TB men show one centralised to frontish [u] and the other which is backish and ranges between 0.9 and 1.2 (F2). The ratio is <1 .

Graph 6, generally shows that the SB and TB men exhibit some patterns of variation. It can be observed that most of the vowels by TB men are more fronted than those of SB men except for one speaker of [i] and another of [u], otherwise the rest have fronting vowels. The differences are considerably significant between the two language varieties.

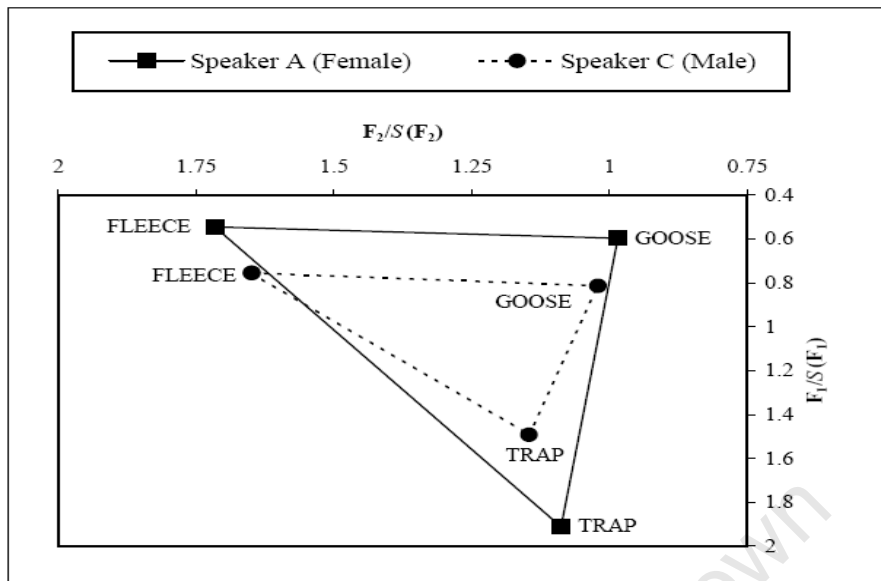
Graph 7: Normalised ratio values of TB female Vs. TB male. A comparison of the [a,i,u] vowel triangle



In graph 7, two TB individuals of different genders are being observed using the three vowels with the highest points in the Articulatory system. These vowels have been considered and used in the graph so as to verify whether there are any variations and differences between speakers of different genders in their vowel triangle.

- a) As regards the [a] vowel, there is considerable variation between the two speakers. The woman's [a] is more centralised and lower as compared to the man's [a] vowel which is frontish and closer to a mid vowel.
- b) The woman has a frontish [i] closer to central and the ratio is <1 . The man has an [i] that fronted with a ratio <1 and hence, there is a clear variation between the speakers.
- c) The [u] vowels for both speakers are very close as the two share almost the same position. The [u] in both speakers is centralised close to frontish and high as the ratio is <1 .

Graph 8: Comparison of Fleece-Trap-Goose vowel triangles for Speakers A and C: $F_n/S(F_n)$



Source: Watt-Fabricius' article on Evaluation of a technique for improved mapping.

If Graph 7 of TB (male/female speakers) above is compared with Graph 8 of the Fleece - Trap - Goose triangle (male/female speakers), there is a significant difference between the two groups of speakers and this can be observed from the two triangle mappings sizes of the two figures. The TB woman shows a smaller vowel triangle as compared to the TB man and the woman. On the contrary graph 8 shows that speaker C- male has a smaller vowel triangle as compared to the speaker A- female. The differences are significant and oppose each other.

In conclusion, it would be right to assert that there is a considerable variation of vowel pronunciation among the speakers of SB and TB. Graph 4, gives a true picture of what is happening to the vowels in SB and TB formants. It can be noted that SB formants pronounce most of their vowels closer to the IPA vowel Chart, whereas, the TB formants seem to show some considerable shift in their pronunciation of vowels with reference to the IPA vowel chart. TB speakers' vowels are more fronted than those of SB speakers. This shows that the two language varieties pronounce their vowels differently from each other, and therefore, suggesting a considerable deviation of TB from SB. Thus, the two varieties pronounce their word or vowels differently from each other. Considering the fact that, the upcoming youth in Zambia today, generally avoid speaking their mother tongue languages and prefer to use a language that has features of modernity, urbanity and style related like TB and Nyanja. It is

likely that such varieties as TB might end up being widely used and possibly assimilate more new features and hence, be completely independent of SB or use more bases like Tsotsitaal.

However, there are a few instances where one or two speakers of TB may speak closer to the SB, for instance with vowel like [i], [e], [u] and [o], this is quite minimal in the sense that one formant out of five may be found to speak in a similar way as SB formants. The most significant differences and variation among formants have been with the vowels [a], [o] and [u]. The differences can be attributed to the fact the TB speakers tend to want to speak closer to the British or American speakers. There are a lot English borrowed words in TB and more code-switching and mixing of English words with SB affixes more than any other languages. The situation of TB can be attributed to the influence on the received pronunciations of the British colonial masters on SB language.

4.5 Characterisation of TB

The TB language variety with regard to this research exemplifies the following characteristics:

TB is an urban variety that is spoken mainly in a particular region and plays a role of a lingua franca in the Copperbelt region of Zambia. It is spoken by both the young and older people. It has different registers in that there are several styles of speaking used by the different members of the community. Thus, TB is spoken by the male youths, educated people/and or working class, criminals or prisoners, and the older people of the community.

The TB variety constitutes lexical variations which are used through a base language in this case SB. It borrows heavily from mainly the English language and the other local languages, often accompanied by semantic transformations. Sometimes the borrowed words tend to have a different meaning depending on the contextual usage. SB and TB are structurally similar in that they have a five vowel system. The socio-phonetic data was done to show what could be the possible similarity or differences in the vowel pronunciations between the two varieties. So far the small sample size indicated some slight differences and this suggests that more research is necessary in this area to clarify the situation.

CONCLUSION

TB is a variety that has been slowly evolving from SB for more than 50 years now. It is likely that in the next few years it will probably have more new features.

From the data in this research, it can be observed that the socio-phonetic analyses show some slight differences between the two languages varieties. The vowels in TB show slightly more fronting as compared to SB. This can perhaps be linked to the influences of the western education and people wanting to speak more closely to the British or American English speakers. The coinage of words and use of assimilated foreign sounds, words and expressions have increased as compared to the passed number of decades. There has been more use and assimilations of English words and expression mixed with Bemba than any other local languages. Words from Afrikaans and Fanagalo were not as evident as shown in previous researches. This may suggest that Afrikaans and Fanagalo linguistic elements or vocabularies are slowly fading away in TB. One or two words from the lexical data were observed for Afrikaans and Fanagalo. The lexical and morphosyntactic data exemplifies more borrowing and switching of foreign words from English mainly and a bit of Nyanja. Some of the borrowed terms in TB have been assimilated at a morphological, syntactic, or phonologically level. The word order in grammar structures of TB is the same as that of SB. The tenses and structures of TB are very similar to SB, maybe because SB is the base language of TB. The youth speak more stylistically as compared to the older folks. In TB, foreign words continue to be borrowed and assimilated to suit the needs of the users on their daily conversations. TB has different registers, which are dependant on the different social groups an individual may belong too. For example, 'TB spoken by educated people', usually uses a lot of codeswitching between Bemba and English because of educational influences. There is 'street TB' usually spoken by the bus-conductors and *call-boys* popularly known as *kaponyas* or *ngwangwazi* (*call-boys* refers to the street boys who sell merchandise on the streets). There is also 'TB spoken by the male youth' and this one uses a particular code that is continuously using new terms only understood by the male youth so that no one can understand what they are communicating to each other.

With regards to the research findings, TB is not a pidgin or creole or a koine. It is not a pidgin because it is not limited to social context only (for instance trade), but is used in

every day situation, political rallies, in work places and homes. It cannot be a creole either because it is not a new language or developed from a pidgin. TB cannot be a Koine because it is a product of two or more unrelated languages whereas a koine evolves from genetically related language varieties.

In my opinion, TB is best considered an informal urban variety, as it is a result of urbanisation and modernity. It has some linguistic features which show sophistication and a western style of speaking so that the speakers appear to be modernised. TB seems to overlap in some features with *Tsotsitaal* but the two are not the same. TB unlike *Tsotsitaal* uses one base language whereas the latter uses many base languages depending on who speaks it and where. TB is used on an everyday basis by men, women and children under different domains, but *Tsotsitaal* is only used by a specific group of male youths and a small group of females in the townships of South Africa. *Tsotsitaal* has some background of criminal or gangster association whereas TB does not, as it merely rose out of contacts between mining workers. The two varieties share the following features: they are both urban varieties; today, both male and female speakers speak the varieties though this is less true of *Tsotsitaal*; both borrow and assimilate foreign lexical items; coinage of new lexical forms and codeswitching is considerable just like in many urban languages.

Therefore, I would suggest that TB is a form of an urban variety which is closer to being a new language and it is more than a *stylect* (unlike *Tsotsitaal*) and has generally, been accepted as the lingua franca of the Copperbelt. It is used by both adults and children (as their L1). A mutual intelligibility test will need to be taken over a period of time to verify whether TB and SB are mutually intelligible or not. This would require observing how long the speaker of TB would take to learn and understand SB in an environment of SB speakers and vice versa TB in the case of observing SB speakers. This test should help to show whether TB is a new language or not. Currently, TB is spreading and widely being used in other parts of Zambia, hence it is likely that in the next few years other forms of TB will emerge.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX 1

RESEARCHER'S GUIDED QUESTIONNAIRE.

My name is Moonde Kabinga; I am a student at University of Cape Town studying Linguistics. I am doing a research on two Bemba language varieties. Before starting my interview, I would like to seek your permission to record this interview for my data referencing.

Questions: Part 1.

1. What are your names?
2. How old are you?
3. Where were you born?
4. What is your mother tongue language?
5. What languages do you speak?
6. Do you live with your parents?
7. Where do your parents come from?
8. Have you ever visited the villages where your parents come from? If not, why?
9. How many siblings do you have?
10. Are you married?
11. Do you have any children?
12. Can you give me a general background about yourself and your education.

Part 2: Lead questions:

13. How do you spend your leisure time?
14. What are some of the community activities found in your communities and which one are you involved in, and what exactly do you do?
15. What are some of the challenging situations that you face when you visit the hospital when you are unwell or any member of your family is unwell?
16. How do the nurses and doctors treat you when you go the hospital?
17. What are some of the serious problems your community is facing, and you would like the government to take care of immediately?
18. What do you know about the crisis in Zimbabwe, our neighbouring country?
19. What is your favourite traditional dish? And how do you prepare it?
20. What are some of the challenges youths are facing nowadays?
21. How is the general behaviour of the students here at CBU?
22. Are there any social amenities for students at CBU?
23. How is the student's meal allowance sufficient for their monthly use? And how do the students spend it?
24. How is the HIV/AIDS situation in Zambia and what is being done to reduce it?
25. What is your profession? What does it involve?

APPENDIX 2

A LIST OF WORDS EXTRACTED FROM DATA FOR VOWEL ANALYSIS.

a		e		i		o		u	
a	nafikile	e	emukwayi	i:	icicine	o	mbombela	u:	kulaba
a	nalikwata	e	ubuteko	i:	cibemba	o	nomutundu	u:	mumunshi
a	palya	e	ukulemoneka	i:	tufwile	o	akokene	u:	umukashana
a	palya	e	ukulemoneka	i:	ninocine	o	mayo	u:	umukashana
a	nabombako	e	nayeba	i:	bafwile	o	poka	u:	tulafunda
a	kusalapuka	e	baleta	i:	nikwata	o	nifyofine	u:	kubwinga
a	nayisaupwa	e	banjelele	i:	naupilwe	o	konse	u	lubali
a	nayisaupwa	e	banjelele	i:	nalishile	o	elyo	u	mulozi
a	nayisaupwa	e	banjelele	i:	sambilila	o	kufyo	u	uwayitemwa
a	natampile	e	ndemona	i:	mwandini	o	bonse	u	pantu
a	natampile	e	mucibemba	i:	mwandini	o	bapongoshi	u	muka
a	banjelele	e	nafyalilwe	i:	ninshi	o	efyo	u	kubili
a	nafyalilwe	e	abaume	i:	ninshi	o	inyimbo	u	lundamo
a	nafyalilwe	e	bekabeka	i:	milimo	o	abangoni	u	pantu
a	fyatuntuka	e	nalikwete	i:	milimo	o	abatonga	u	mucalo
a	kasama	e	ninemukalumba	i:	alina	o	calo	u	ubumi
a	kasama	e	emukwayi	i:	inyimbo	o	nafimbipo	u	kunuma
a	twaba	e	mucingeleshi	i:	kalindula	o	lundamo	u	uku
a	abafyashi	e	munomwine	i:	ishingi	o	nomuntu	u	ubomba
a	abafyashi	e	kitwe	i:	mukitwe	o	shayapo	u	mufulile
a	abaume	e	ababemba	i:	shafikako	o	mukumo	u	ifintu
a	abaume	e	abaume	i:	bwinobwino	o	ifyabipapo	u	umuntu
a	ababemba	e	munomwine	i:	kwaliba	o	mwamona	u	umuntu
a	abanakashi	e	fyonse	i:	balisasuka	o	ubomba	u	umuntu
a	ukwangala	e	tefyo	i:	filya	o	yabo	u	ifyakucita
a	ukwangala	e	abalumendo	i:	kalipusana	o	abanono	u	pantu
a	ukuwangala	e	ekwangala	i:	bayisa	o	banono	u	ukupona
a	kwalipusana	e	kwena	i:	filiya	o	wamona	u	ukupona
a	pusana	e	abengi	i:	ifikulwa	o	banamayo	u	yalifula