Dialect variation in a cross-border language: A Sociolinguistic study of Silozi in Zambia and Namibia.

Gustav Mbeha [MBHGUS001]

Supervisors

Emeritus Professor Rajend Mesthrie (University of Cape Town)

Professor Lutz Marten (University of London – SOAS)

This thesis is presented for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in Linguistics

School of African & Gender Studies, Anthropology & Linguistics

Faculty of Humanities

University of Cape Town

March 2023

Declaration

1. I know that plagiarism is wrong. Plagiarism is to use another's work and pretend that it is one's own.

2. I have used the Harvard convention for citation and referencing. Each contribution to, and quotation in, this THESIS from the work(s) of other people has been attributed and has been cited and referenced.

3. This THESIS is my own work.

4. I have not allowed and will not allow anyone to copy my work with the intention of passing it off as his or her own work.

Signature: Signed by candidate

Date: 20/06/2022

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I would like to thank my Lord and saviour, Jesus Christ for the continued courage and strength throughout this journey. It has been a hard one but the people whom I was led to all played important roles and I am grateful for everyone.

To my supervisors Emeritus Professor Rajend Mesthrie and Professor Lutz Marten. Thank you for taking me on as a student and helping me fine tune my initial idea into this thesis. Over the past years you have you encouraged me, challenged my ideas and provided invaluable insights. You were both very encouraging mentors who always knew what to say and which reading to point me to when I was stuck with writers block. Working with you grew me not only as an academic, but as a person too. Writing a PhD thesis during a pandemic was not easy, but you were always an email or a Zoom call away. Not to forget the soccer puns, those just made my day.

Special thanks to Emeritus Professor Rajend Mesthrie who, via the National Research Foundation's South African Research Chairs Initiative (grant no. 64805), generously funded both my Masters and PhD over the past 7 years. I am extremely grateful and without him, my postgraduate journey would not have been possible.

To my dear friends and colleagues in the Linguistics departments and the UCT Writing Centre. Thanks for the brain storming sessions, reading my endless drafts, giving me feedback over the years and for the research writing group. I have learnt a lot through sharing my work and just talking through it. In addition, I have gained new insights and developed new ideas. Getting critiqued on writing is never easy, but your constructive criticism helped me improve my research continuously. Thanks to Prof. Ana Deumert, Prof. Arlene Archer, Prof. Deryck Sheriffs for the encouraging conversations in the corridors of UCT.

To my academic sisters, Beauty Umana and Imrah Adams, who is about to start the PhD journey. Thanks for keeping me on my toes from day one of Masters. Working alongside you has been so fun and you have pushed me to be and do better.

This thesis would not have been possible without the help from the amazing staff and students at the Lyambai College of Education, Unam Katima Mulilo campus and Barotseland University. I would like to thank each of my participants who were all so eager to share their stories and time with me. I am grateful to all of them for letting me interview them at such a

busy time in their academic calendars. Thanks to Mr. Kela, Mr. Mukela and Mr. Mutemwa who, through their contacts, connected me with participants for the study.

On a personal note:

To my family the Mbehas, the Wakuñumas and the Mukelas. I have been absent for so many things over the years because of my studies. Thanks for always remembering me and supporting me. I love you all very much and you are special to me. A special thanks to Maureen, my mom, my siblings Vanilly, Vanessa, and Marrie. Thanks for celebrating every small and big milestone throughout my life, here's to one more.

To my friends the Henderson's, the Bundus, the Osanos, the Roes, the Masokas, Fritz, UCT YMCA, and the Numa Life family. Thank you all for just being there and loving me through it all. Thanks for letting this PhD student use your computers, laze on your couches, eat your food, vent about life and never letting me feel like a burden. You are all too precious to me.

To my best friend and partner René, we did it. Thanks for being there during the tough days and being strong when I had no more in my tank. I appreciate you reminding me to rest and encouraging me to watch more sports. I can not wait to spend the rest of my life with your learn more about selfcare outlook, eating good food, and just have a blast with you. The Chikwiras, the Mahachis and Chesworths, thanks for this amazing person.

To the best flatmate ever, Malamulo, that for pulling late nights in solidarity and coffee. Our impromptu worship sessions during work left me energized. Your consistency and dedication to your work was a constant source of motivation. Thanks for praying with me and just letting me unburden. And to *amajita,* Caleb, Mufudzi, Victor, Kirscher, Vincent, Cole, Sakhile, Kamo, Lethabo, Mcebo, and Tumelo, gents, *ngyaboga*. Thanks for the braais, laughs and spaces to vulnerable. Special shout out to Vincia, Memory and Chen Ying.

To Gabi, my thesis writing coach and good friend. I am thankful for your motivation when I was down and felt bad about my writing. Your overall resourcefulness and stories about how others had done it were a source of continued motivation. Plus, you always knew which app to use to achieve what I needed to and thanks for the Grammarly hook up.

I am not going to lie, writing this thesis was hard and I cried so many times, but the support from the community around me made it bearable. To mention them all by name and how much they mean to me would take a lifetime of writing. Thank you all so much.

Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to my father John Lopa Mbeha and my brother Vanilly Simataa Mbeha, who both left us too soon. Till we meet again gents…

Abstract

Title - Dialect variation in a cross-border language: A sociolinguistic study of Silozi in Zambia and Namibia.

Gustav Mbeha | March 2023.

Silozi came into existence in the early 1800s when Sikololo speakers (Makololo) from South Africa came in contact with the Siluyana speakers (Luyi) in Barotseland. Today the language is spoken by over 700 000 people in Zambia, Namibia, Botswana, Angola and Zimbabwe collectively. Of the wealth of scholarship on the Malozi and their language, most focused on development and structure. Silozi dialect variation is yet to be explored in depth.

This is a study of dialect variation in cross-border Silozi. The focus is on the lexicon and the morphosyntactic structures of the Silozi varieties spoken in the towns of Katima Mulilo (Namibia) and Mongu (Zambia). As an example of mixed-methods research, the data collection was conducted using the language documentation and description approach (see Lüpke, 2010; Himmelman, 1998). The data comprised of lexicon and sample sentences elicited via structured interviews from 70 participants. In addition, metalinguistic questions were used to collect information on essential language use patterns during data analysis.

The findings confirmed that Silozi is the official language in Katima Mulilo, but Chisubiya and Chifwe are the dominant *lingua francas.* Contrastingly, in Mongu, Silozi is the main Bantu language, with others spoken minimally. A consequence of this is that the Katima Mulilo variety contained more lexical borrowings from other Bantu languages compared to Mongu. However, both varieties borrowed more lexicon from English than from the Bantu languages. Morphosyntactically, the Katima Mulilo variety contains grammatical features from Chisubiya that are not present in the Mongu variety. Chisubiya plays a central role in the differences that emerge between the two varieties. Overall, the Mongu variety appeared to be more stable and less susceptible to change.

This thesis thus illustrates that there is nuanced variation in cross-border Silozi. Language contact and migration are shown to have been significant factors in ongoing language change in cross-border dialects.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Abbreviations

1, 2, 3 - Class membership

Ø - Zero marker

AUG - Augmentative

AUX - Auxiliary

CAUS - Causative

COP - Copula

DEM - Demonstrative

DIM - Diminutive

FUT - Future Tense

FV - Final Vowel

GEN - Genitive Marker

IPFV - Imperfective

LOC - Locative

OM - Object Marker

POSS - Possessive

PREP - Preposition

PRS - Present

REFL - Reflexive

REL - Relative marker

SM - Subject Marker

Chapter 1: Introduction

Language variation remains one of the central branches of Sociolinguistics. Much of the work in this area has been conducted on Western languages such as English. This thesis aims to contribute to the scholarship of variation in African languages. Therefore, it aims to uncover variation in Silozi, a Bantu language predominantly spoken in parts of Zambia and Namibia. The thesis draws on theoretical concepts from variation, dialectology and African linguistics to answer the central question. Therefore, this chapter serves as the introduction to this research, and its purpose is to provide the context and is divided into six sections.

Firstly, section 1.1 briefly explores the classification and naming of Bantu languages. It presents ideas that are foundational for the rest of the thesis. Secondly, section 1.2 provides an overview of the thesis and consequently situates the study in Sociolinguistics while section 1.3 covers the rationale and purpose of this study. Thirdly, in section 1.4, I outline the research questions that form the foundation for the discussion. Thereafter, section 1.5 provides a brief account of Barotseland and the Malozi history concerning the language in question, Silozi. The main objective of this section is to trace how non-linguistic occurrences, such as migrations and conflict amongst various Bantu-speaking groups, culminated in the formation of Silozi. After that, section 1.6 looks at Silozi's role in the modern-day states of Zambia and Namibia. This section will focus especially on the research sites of Mongu and Katima Mulilo. Finally, in section 1.7, I outline the structure of the thesis and how each of the chapters contributes to the entirety of the research paper. Ultimately, this chapter and the literature review chapter will provide a basis for discussing linguistic variation in the thesis.

1.1 Bantu language classification and naming

Before getting into the discussion, it is important to note that in this thesis, I use the Bantu classification system according to Maho (2003). It is an update on Guthrie's (1948) originally proposed classification list. This system classifies the Bantu languages into 16 geographical zones, and each zone is assigned an alphabetic letter between A to S (excluding I, O, and Q). Figure 1.1 shows the spread of the zones in Southern Africa.

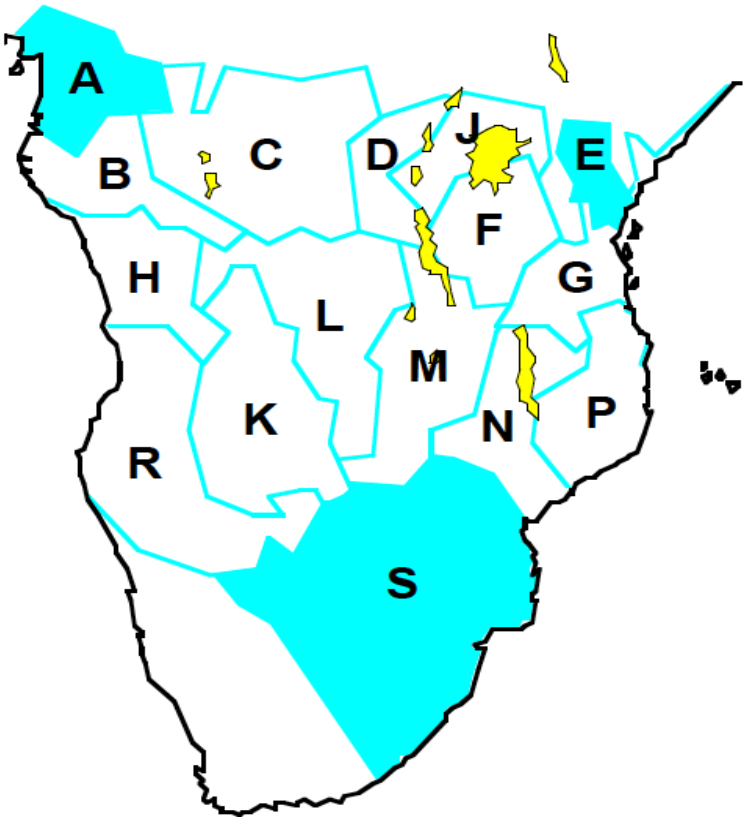
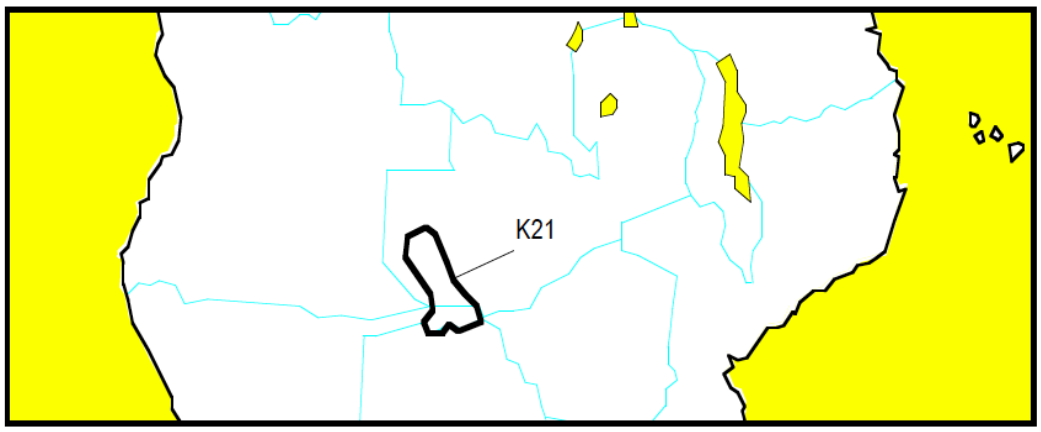


Figure 1.1: Bantu classification zones (Maho, 2003)

Each specific language per zone is also assigned a unique number because there are many other languages in each language zone (Guthrie, 1948). Guthrie (1948) classifies the Bantu languages based on where the languages are spoken. The unique numbers make it possible to distinguish between languages in a given area. For example, Silozi is classified as K21 in Guthrie (1948) and Maho's (2003) classification because it is spoken in zone K.

K20 : Lozi (Group)



K21 ..... Lozi [loz], "Kololololo"

Figure 1.2: Silozi's classification zone (Maho, 2003)

In contrast, other scholars have classified Silozi in a different zone altogether. Notably, Bastin, Coupez, and Mann (1999) and the Summer Institute of Linguistics (2005) have Silozi classified in zone S as S34 and as S30, respectively. Their classifications are on the basis that Silozi is akin to other Sesotho languages, such as Sepedi and Setswana, which appear in zone S (Bastin, et al., 1999; Summer Institue of Linguistics , 2005). However, for this thesis, Silozi will be classified as K21 because my study looks at the physical location of the language today (i.e. in Mongu and Katima Mulilo). Within Barotseland, Silozi continues to take on linguistic features from neighbouring languages (Mbeha, 2017). Thus, even though Silozi resembles zone S languages now, it continues to become more distinct from them.

1.1.1 Bantu language names

The names of most Bantu languages contain prefixes. Consider this example: the language spoken by the Zulu people of South Africa is widely known as *isi*Zulu. The prefix *isi-* is added to the word Zulu, thus denoting the name of the language. While the prefix *isi-* is primarily used for referencing within Bantu languages, scholars have contemplated whether these prefixes should also be employed when using a language where such prefixes are not applicable. For example, the question arises whether one should say Zulu or *isi*Zulu when referring to the language in English. With questions such as the latter, the Inter-University Committee for African Studies agreed in 1937 that the names of African languages were to be written in English without the respective prefixes (Lestrade, 1937). The omission of the prefixes was adopted for the sake of consistency. Furthermore, it was claimed that scholars would avoid using the wrong prefixes in cases where more than one prefix could exist. For example, in the literature, the Tonga M64 from Zambia appears to have different prefixes as *Si*tonga, *Ci*tonga and *Chi*tonga, thus subject to confusion.

Despite the earlier decision to omit the prefixes by the Inter-University Committee for African Studies, the prefixes have since been re-introduced by contemporary scholars. Today, many Southern African countries use the prefix in more formal spaces. It also flags a departure from the colonialist practice where Anglo norms dictated usage. Therefore, I will use prefixes in this study when referring to the Bantu languages. This decision is motivated by the fact that many Bantu languages have come to be known with their prefixes, even in academic and professional spheres. For example, Lozi is written and is primarily known as Silozi in documents such as school syllabus and government gazettes. In cases where multiple prefixes

may exist, such as the Citonga example above, I will employ the most widely used prefix in the literature consulted for the current thesis.

1.2 Thesis overview

This thesis is a variation study of Silozi, a cross-border Bantu language spoken in Southern Africa. Silozi serves as the first language of the Malozi people (sg. Mulozi) in Barotseland and as an additional language for many non-Malozi speakers. Silozi did not 'exist' until about 200 years ago when Southern Sotho-speaking (hereafter Sesotho) Makololo encountered Siluyana-speaking Luyi in the Barotse Flood Plain (Jalla, 1936). The language contact situation between the Luyi and Makololo resulted in a mixed language that came to be known as *Silozi* in the late 1800s. Figure 1.3 is an approximate depiction of where Silozi is predominantly spoken. Though Silozi is spoken in 5 countries, there remains a limited number of studies that attempt to analyse variation of the language. I expand on this in the literature review chapter.

Figure 1.3 A map of Barotseland encircled, showing its cross-border range (http://unpo.org/downloads/1582.png)

As the parent languages, Siluyana and Sesotho are not the only languages that contributed to the formation of Silozi. Influences from other languages, such as Setswana and Citonga, are also present in Silozi. Despite the other languages in Barotseland, Silozi remains a dominant language in the area.

The Luyi established the Malozi Kingdom in the 1500s, and the Makololo overthrew them in the 1830s. In the process, Silozi came into existence at this stage, replacing Siluyana as the lingua franca of Barotseland. While in exile, the Luyi regrouped and took back control of Barotseland from the Makololo nearly 30 years later. The Luyi adopted Silozi as their language and did not focus on re-establishing Siluyana as the primary language of Barotseland. Shortly before the Luyi revolt, European missionaries had begun arriving in Barotseland, and they played a significant role in the calcification of Silozi in the area. The French missionaries,

with the help of Sesotho-speakers, went on to produce the first Silozi texts, which they used in the mission schools to teach the Bible as well as literacy (reading and writing). One of the main reasons was that Silozi and Sesotho were similar, which made the development of the writing system easier. Thus, the language was standardised, and its place in Barotseland was cemented.

Depending on the context and the location, Silozi is also known by other names. For example, the earliest name for the language was *Sikololo.* This name can be found in older literature authored by missionaries such as Livingstone (1850) and Colyer (1914). On the other hand, more modern names, which seem to be a variation of the word '*Lozi'*, include *Rotse* (hence Barotseland), *Rutse, Rozi* (in Botswana), *Rozvi*, and *Tozvi* (in Zimbabwe) (Library of Congress, 2007). Nevertheless, 'Silozi' is the most frequently used name for the language in the region.

Silozi is spoken in Zambia, Namibia, Botswana, Angola, and Zimbabwe as a cross border language. The focus of this study is limited to the first two countries. Today, there are over a million speakers of Silozi in the former Barotseland region. Of that number, nearly 902,974 reside in Zambia's Western Province, and this figure represents a numerical majority of Silozi speakers compared to any other country (Central Statistical Office, 2012). The second-largest Silozi-speaking group is in Namibia's Zambezi Region, with approximately 98,000 speakers (Namibia Statistics Agency, 2017). Lastly, the remaining Silozi speakers are spread out in pockets within the modern-day countries of Zimbabwe, Angola, and Botswana.

There are numerous Bantu languages spoken in both data elicitation sites including Silozi. This rich language diversity is evident from the research participants who were all multilingual. For example, in Mongu, the other languages mentioned include Nyanja and Bemba. In Katima Mulilo, Silozi is spoken by a minority as a first language, with Chisubiya (Chikuhane) and Chifwe being the more popular first languages. This multilingual diversity is significant and is discussed at length later on in the paper, particularly in chapter 3. Since the initial reign of the Makololo in Barotseland, Silozi has been a dominant language alongside English in Zambia's Western Province and Namibia's Zambezi Region (Kashoki, et al., 1998). Silozi is a dominant language used everywhere, including media, administration and spoken as a lingua franca. In addition, it is taught in schools in both countries, this will be discussed in the thesis (Bruchmann, 2000).

Outside the official structures, Silozi is the local lingua franca in Katima Mulilo and Mongu (Heine, 1970; Bruchmann, 2000; Marten & Kula, 2008; Sitwala, 2010). However, Sitwala (2010) notes that the dominance of Silozi has been met with some resistance in Katima Mulilo over the years. Some concerns were centred on how Silozi's official hegemony does not reflect the 'true' language situation of the people in Katima Mulilo and comes at the expense of their languages. Moreover, many have stated that they are Chisubiya and Chifwe speakers, thus proposing that these languages be adopted officially in the region. Sitwala (2010) notes that since the early '90s, some residents have taken to newspapers and radio talk shows to express their concerns. More recently, social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter have also been used for this purpose.

The research sites for this study were Mongu in Zambia and Katima Mulilo in Namibia; both towns are considered the 'capital' of Silozi in each country. In total, 70 willing participants ranging between the ages of 18 to 35 were recruited to be interviewed for the study. All the participants had been living in their respective towns for more than three years up to the time of the interviews. Further, they were all multilingual, speaking various Bantu languages along with English and in some cases Afrikaans too. Although most participants (54) had acquired Silozi at home, some (16) had learnt it in schools for the first time. Nonetheless, they all had been taught the language in school and used it daily in varying contexts.

The data required were elicited through interview sessions using a questionnaire that contained a wordlist, a morphosyntactic section, and a metadata section. The interviews were recorded to be transcribed and analysed later at the University of Cape Town. As noted before, Silozi has gone by different names within different contexts and is also spoken in different countries. However, there is a lack of sociolinguistic variation studies that aim to identify possible dialects among the differently named varieties. Thus, during the analysis, the data were examined for salient variation patterns via the comparison of the Silozi varieties spoken in the towns of Mongu in Zambia and Katima Mulilo in Namibia.

1.3 The rationale of the study

Silozi is widely spoken in Zambia's Western Province and Namibia's Zambezi Region. In addition, the language holds official status in both countries in the regions mentioned above. Historically, studies such as Colyer (1914), Bennett (1970), Gowlett (1989), Elderkin (1998),

and Fortune (2001) analyse Silozi extensively. However, they focus primarily on aspects such as the history or development of the language. The Namibian Department of Education (1985) and Elderkin (1998) claim that Silozi differs in Namibia and Zambia. However, they do not provide any empirical data or analysis to illustrate any such variation.

To my knowledge, none of the currently available studies on Silozi adopts a sociolinguistic variation approach. Thus, this study aims to present a discussion that examines Silozi variation based on empirical data collected from speakers in both countries. The role of geography (distance) in language change is a fixed variable in the discussion. In addition, other factors considered here include other languages spoken and linguistic identity. The research project was motivated by my interest in documenting the language as a native speaker.

It is worth noting that language is closely related to identity and politics. Several scholars, such as Flint (2003) and Marten and Kula (2008), demonstrate this interconnectedness of language, identity, and politics in Silozi-speaking communities. This study had two main implications: firstly, to create further understanding of the language and contribute to sociolinguistics as a discipline. Secondly, to generate results that would set up a discussion on sociolinguistic variation in Silozi that can be carried out in future research.

1.4 Research questions

While Mongu and Katima Mulilo are multilingual communities, Silozi is the only mutual Bantu language between the two. Thus, the other Bantu languages in contact with Silozi in each town influence the language and possibly create two Silozi dialects. As a sociolinguistic study, the main research question for this thesis centres on the variation of Silozi as spoken in Mongu in Zambia and Katima Mulilo in Namibia. To facilitate the investigation, I came up with these questions to examine the possible variation in the Silozi varieties in the two towns.

i. What role does Silozi play in the two communities?
ii. What variation exists in the lexicon of the varieties?
iii. How is variation reflected in the morphosyntactic structures of the varieties including noun class membership?

1.5 Background on Silozi and its speakers

Barotseland) is located on the Barotse Flood Plain of the Zambezi River in the Western Province of Zambia (Mainga, 1973). The name *Barotse*/*Bulozi* is derived from the Malozi who established the Bulozi Kingdom (Caplan, 1970). Today, the term Barotseland is commonly used to refer to the Silozi-speaking area of Western Zambia (Fagan, 1966; Mainga, 1973; Roberts, 1976). However, before establishing the current national borders, Barotseland referred to the Bulozi Kingdom. Barotseland initially spanned the area from Zambia to Angola, Zimbabwe, Botswana, and Namibia (see Figure 1.3).

1.5.1 The arrival of the Luyi and Makololo

Since the 12th century, many Bantu-speaking groups migrated to and settled in Barotseland (Fagan, 1966). Flint (2003) estimates between 25 and 35 different groups. Many archaeologists, linguists, and historians produced largely similar lists of these Bantu-speaking groups. While the most notable lists are presented by Fagan (1966), Mainga (1973), and Lisimba (1982), they do not include all the groups. For example, Maho's (2003) classification list contains other language groups categorised as part of the Luyana [K30] group. These include Mulonga [K351], Rumanyo [K334], Gciriku [332], Mbudza [K33B], and Mbume [K321].

The first of the Bantu-speaking groups to settle in Barotseland (circa the early 12th century) are argued to have been the Tonga [M64] speakers (Fagan, 1966; Mainga, 1973). Between the 12th and 15th centuries, other groups followed, namely the Fwe [K402], Ila [M63], Imilangu [K354], Kwandi [K371], Kwangwa [K37], Leya [M64], Luchazi [K13], Luiwa [K322], Lukulwe [L601], Luvale [K14], Makoma [K353], Mashi [K34], Mbowe [K32], Mbukushu [K333], Mbunda [K15], Muyeni [K352], Ndundulu [?[1]], Nkoya cluster [L60], Shanjo [K36], Simaa [K35], Subia [K42], Toka [C313], and Totela [K41 and K411] (Mainga, 1973; Roberts, 1976). Scholars also note that these early settlers mainly migrated from around the Congo Basin area; in time, these groups would be amalgamated into the Luyana Kingdom.

[1] No classification available in Guthrie's codes of 1948, updated by Maho (2003).

The Luyana/Luyi, who were speakers of Siluyana [K31], originated from the Congo Basin in the Katanga area (Mainga, 1973; Roberts, 1976). These scholars note that the Luyi were a faction detached from the Lunda [L52] speakers and migrated southwards in the 16th century (see Figure 1.4). The Luyi established a new political structure, and Siluyana [K31] became the lingua franca of Barotseland. White (1962) and Mainga (1965) also state that many smaller Bantu-speaking groups fell under the Luyi rule and adopted the Siluyana language. However, some larger groups remained autonomous, for example, the Tonga (Mainga, 1973).

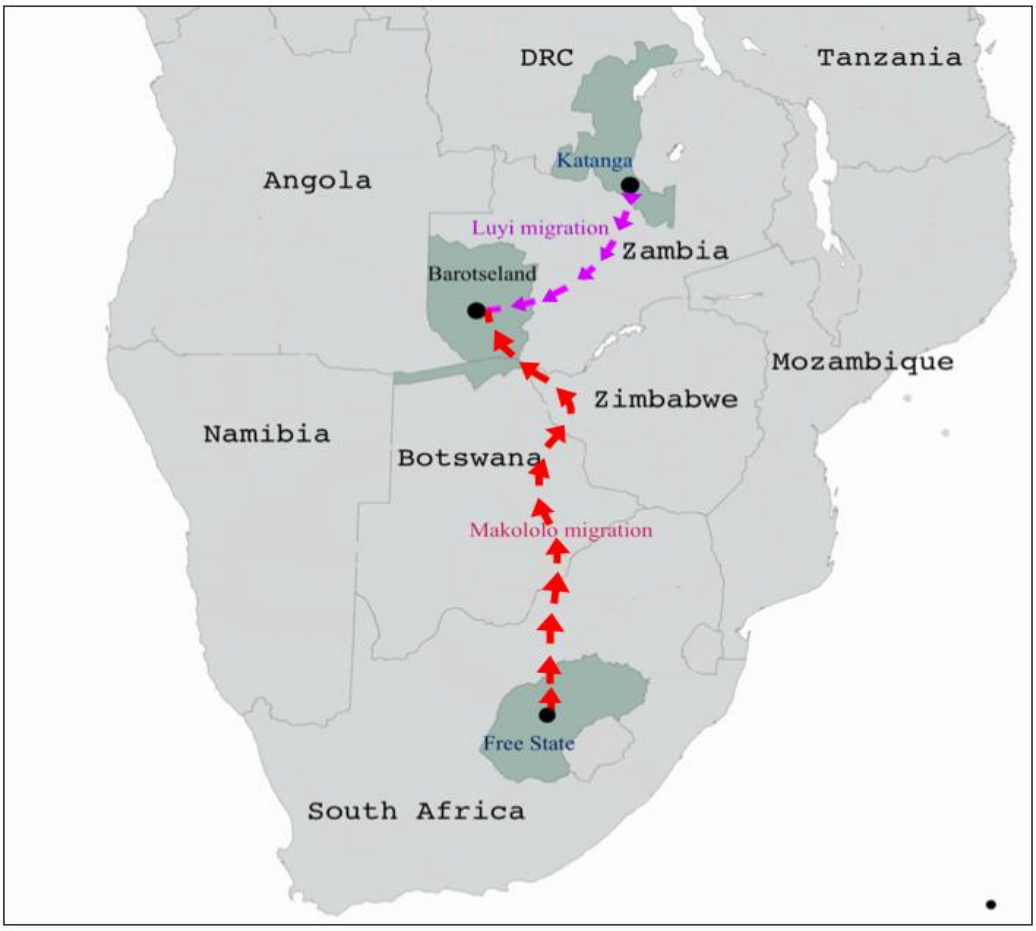


Figure 1.4: The Luyi and Makololo migration (Giannekas, 2014)

The Luyi were overthrown by a Sesotho-speaking cohort known as the *Makololo* (Jalla, 1936). The Makololo originated from the Free State Province near the Vaal River in the modern-day Republic of South Africa. Migrating northwards, the Makololo spoke a variety of Sesotho [S33] (Jalla, 1936). They took on the name Makololo from the verb *kuikolola*, which loosely translates to 'for one to shave their own head' (O'Sullivan, 1993). This name was fitting because the men shaved their heads bald (Roberts, 1976). They also renamed their language

variety to *Sikololo*. Heine (1970) posits that the Makololo group was mostly composed of about 30,000 ex-soldiers led by Sebituane (1790-1851).

Along the way, the Makololo encountered other Bantu-speaking groups (Ambrose, 2007). These included the *Batswana* in Bechuanaland (Botswana), who spoke Setswana [S31], and the *Ndebele* in Ndebeleland (Zimbabwe), who spoke isiNdebele [S44]. In Bechuanaland, some Sesotho-speaking men intermarried and took their Setswana-speaking wives with them when they moved on (Jalla, 1937). Evidence of this language contact situation is still reflected in contemporary Silozi. For example, based on Silozi's noun class system analysis, the classes 16, 17, and 18 forms used in Silozi are shown to be Setswana derivatives (Mbeha, 2017). This composition is discussed at length in the literature review chapter.

By 1830, the Makololo crossed the Zambezi River at Kazungula into Barotseland, took control of the area and established their kingdom by overthrowing the Luyi (Mainga, 1973). In the process, some Luyi speakers, including the royal family and their allies, fled into exile (Roberts, 1976). The Luyi were separated into three factions, of which two fled northwards to Lukwakwa and north-west to Nyengo while the third remained in Barotseland (Mainga, 1973; Van Horn, 1977).

During their rule, the Makololo changed the linguistic make-up of Barotseland. They undermined Siluyana by imposing their language as the new language of Barotseland (Jalla, 1936). In addition, Sebituane also attempted to amalgamate the other remaining Luyi speakers into his Makololo group. For example, Jalla (1936) notes that many Luyi women were spared in the takeover and married off to Makololo men. These marriages became the first stable point of contact between the Sikololo and Siluyana languages. As the Luyana learnt Sikololo, they also transferred features of Siluyana into the new language, and this mixed language came to be known as Silozi.

1.5.2 The Makololo Fall

After nearly 30 years in power, Sebituane died, leaving the Makololo unstable. They were conquered by the Luyi, who had regrouped in exile. According to Givón (1970), after regaining control, the Luyi did not re-impose Siluyana as the lingua franca of Barotseland. Instead, the Siluyana-speaking cohort, who returned from exile, adopted Silozi. For example, Ellenberger and Macgregor (1992, p. 328) note the following "…the women of the Makololo were collected

with care and distributed by [Chief] Sepopa amongst his counsellors". This suggests that there remained a stronghold of Silozi in Barotseland. On the other hand, Siluyana was kept as the language of the Malozi Royal House (Givón, 1970; Mukena, 2015).

Keeping Siluyana as the language of the Malozi Royal House was meant to retain the language's purity and raise its status as the language of royalty (Lisimba, 1985). However, Givón (1970) argues that this is not the case and notes that today's Siluyana variety is very different from the Siluyana variety used before the Makololo conquest of Barotseland. One reason he gives is that speakers of Siluyana (i.e., praise singers and royal subjects) are not mother-tongue speakers but learn it as an additional language later in life (Givón, 1970). This means that these Siluyana speakers use their mother tongue outside the Malozi Royal House, which exposes their Siluyana lexicon to other languages and results in a possible 'mixed' variety (Givón, 1970).

Today, within the public sphere, Siluyana is heard at special occasions, such as the *Kuomboka* ceremony, an annual event where the Malozi *litunga* 'paramount chief' makes a public appearance (Caplan, 1970; Mainga, 1973; Mukena, 2015). For entertainment, royal praise singers perform self-composed songs and poetry in Siluyana, mainly about the *litunga* (Mukena, 2015).

1.5.3 Missionaries in Barotseland

Before the Luyi (Lozi) retaliation of 1864, Sebituane opened Barotseland up to the missionaries in 1851. The primary objective of the missionaries was to spread the Christian gospel in the African communities, although modern historians are more critical of their actual role and see them as assistants to colonialists. Their activities also extended to studying local languages, setting up schools, and in some cases, also engaging in local politics and trade (Jalla, 1937).

By 1884, French missionaries of the Paris Missionary Society had settled in Barotseland (Livingstone & Wallis, 1956). Along with the French missionaries were Basotho men and women who served as servants or fellow missionaries (Mainga, 1973). This missionary group gained access to Barotseland through David Livingstone (Turner, 1952). These missionaries had done work in Basutoland (modern-day Lesotho) and studied Sesotho. As such, they wrote and translated various materials from French into Sesotho, including the Holy Bible, compiled dictionaries and grammars of Sesotho. The missionaries also taught the local Basotho people how to read and write in mission schools.

With this experience, the French missionaries initiated the orthography and standardisation of Silozi by 1912 (Jalla, 1937; Heine, 1970). This new standardised variety of Silozi was adopted in books (i.e., the Holy Bible, Silozi grammars, storybooks) and teachings. Jalla (1936, 1937) states that Silozi had to be adopted by the missionaries for the gospel to be spread effectively. This was a significant step towards making Silozi the language of Barotseland.

The Makololo's case is interesting because scholars like Kerswill (1994) show that when a group that is a minority moves into a geographic area, they usually attempt to assimilate linguistically to fit in with their new hosts. However, the widespread impact of the initial 30,000 Makololo, who marched into Barotseland, is evidenced by the large linguistic footprint left behind in the form of the Silozi language, which is spoken by over a million people today.

1.6 Silozi, a cross-border language

As a continent, Africa is home to many ethnic groups who speak various languages. Before colonisation, many of the indigenous Africans were relatively free to move around, as national borders did not exist. However, the Berlin Conference of 1884/5 ushered in the dawn of colonisation and the continent of Africa was divided into nation-states that exist to date. This division process broke up groups of people from the same clans into different countries and thus gave rise to cross-border languages in Africa (Heine, 1970; Elderkin, 1998; Ndlovu, 2013). According to the African Academy of Languages, cross-border languages are "languages that are common to two or more states and domains straddling various usages" (ACALAN, 2009, p. 4). Cross-border languages has been widely studied in contemporary African linguistics.

Many cross-border languages in Africa today are spoken by both minority and majority population groups (ACALAN, 2009). For example, Kiswahili has millions of speakers in Central and East African states, while Arabic is predominantly spoken in Northern African states like Algeria, Egypt, and Libya. Similarly, minority cross-border languages also exist, such as Kalanga spoken by a few thousand people in Zimbabwe and Botswana (Barro, 2010; Ndlovu, 2013). In Barotseland, the Malozi were separated into Botswana, Zimbabwe, Zambia, and Namibia, thus rendering Silozi cross-border language status (Kashoki, et al., 1998). This thesis will only focus on Silozi in Zambia and Namibia.

1.6.1 Silozi today

When different language groups come to live in the same area, they tend to adopt or develop a language to bridge the communication gap between people who do not speak the same first language; such a language is known as a *lingua franca* (Heine, 1970). In some cases, pidgins and creoles are formed in language contact situations (Sebba, 1997). Despite bridging the communication barrier, a lingua franca can also become hegemonic: a situation that can threaten some indigenous languages, especially those spoken by minority groups (Wright, 2007).

Today, Namibia and Zambia are the only countries with officially standardised varieties of Silozi. Usually, standard varieties are accorded a higher status in a country or region (Ricento, 2006). Thus, official languages are prescribed for use in official domains, such as state or regional administration, official and unofficial print media and publications, advertising, formal education, and so on (Trudgill, 1994; Hornberger, 2006). There is limited evidence showing that Silozi is as significant in Botswana, Angola, and Zimbabwe as it is in Zambia and Namibia.

In Katima Mulilo, Silozi is the language of wider communication in mass media and politics. It is used as the medium of instruction from pre-primary school to the 4th grade in education. According to the Ministry of Basic Education, Sport and Culture (2003), it is offered as a subject from the 5th grade up to the highest level of tertiary education. Though other languages are spoken in Katima Mulilo, only Silozi and English are available in public schools, and learners in these schools are restricted to the two languages. The dominant role that Silozi plays in education in the Zambezi Region is similar to the Western Province in Zambia. Despite the extensive reliance on Silozi in both countries, the language's influence remains limited to the geographic areas where it is a dominant language (i.e., Western Province in Zambia and Zambezi Region in Namibia) (Kashoki, et al., 1998; Elderkin, 1998).

According to the 2010 Zambian Census (2012), 69.6 % of 902,974 inhabitants of the Western Province were recorded to be Malozi. In contrast, in Namibia's Zambezi Region, the Namibia Statistics Agency (2017) report does not indicate the exact number of speakers per language in the Zambezi Region. However, out of the regional population of about 98,000 inhabitants, a significantly low number of people would self-identify as Malozi in the Zambezi Region, according to a study by Sitwala (2010). Similarly, a Master's thesis by Mbeha (2017)

showed that most people in the Zambezi Region identified as *Masubia* or *Mafwe* even though they also claimed to use Silozi frequently. This means that his research participants clearly stated that the languages they grew up speaking were mainly Chisubiya (Chikuhane) [K42] or Chifwe [K402] (Mbeha, 2017).

The Malozi are a minority group in the Zambezi Region and people thus also use other languages frequently in their day-to-day interactions (Mbeha, 2017). Despite being the language of a minority group, Silozi still serves as the lingua franca for the inhabitants of the Zambezi Region, with about 98,000 speakers in both the urban and rural Katima Mulilo area. In Mongu, most speakers acquire Silozi as a first language at home, while in Katima Mulilo, many more speakers learn it as an additional language either in their communities or for the first time in schools (Heine, 1970; Elderkin, 1998; Kashoki, et al., 1998).

Until 1985, both countries used the same Silozi orthography (Pretorius, 1975). The South West African Department of Education adopted an independent orthography and standard for the Zambezi Region in 1985. The separate orthography for the Zambezi Region was motivated by the argument that Silozi in Namibia differed from Silozi in Zambia (Department of National Education, 1985). However, the South West African Department of Education did not provide any data to support the claim. Moreover, there have been no formal studies that attempt to discuss a difference in Silozi between the two countries.

The fact that Silozi holds official status means that it also receives priority over other languages in the Western Province and Zambezi Region. The inhabitants of the Zambezi Region have objected strongly to this dominance. These objections are expressed on social media platforms, newspapers, and radio shows. For example, in an article published in *The Namibian* newspaper on 3 July 2009, the writer, who goes by the name Chisao, argues that Silozi is a minority language that is not native to the Zambezi Region but to Zambia. Chisao also argues that Silozi's dominance in the Zambezi Region is harmful because it comes at the expense of what the author calls native languages, such as Chisubia and Chifwe.

In addition, Chisao argues that learners in state primary schools are supposed to be taught in their mother tongue according to the educational policy, which in most cases would be either Chifwe or Chiyeyi. However, they are taught in Silozi, which presents an academic challenge since Silozi may not be spoken in their homes. Chisao also claims that people who use Silozi in the Zambezi Region use 'pseudo-Lozi', a Silozi variety mixed with English, which

causes further confusion because it is not the same as the written variety taught in school. Finally, Chisao concludes that the use of Silozi in print media, education, and radio leaves the people with no choice but to either learn the language or be excluded from these domains.

In independent Namibia, Silozi has been kept as the main language of the Zambezi Region to maintain peace and unite the people (Fisch, 1999; Flint, 2003). Fisch (1999) argues that there were ethnic tensions between the two largest groups of the Zambezi Region, the Mafwe and Masubiya. The scholar states that each group wanted to dominate the other, and these tensions sometimes resulted in violent protests. In some cases, when teachers from the other ethnic group had been appointed – for example, a Musubiya teacher appointed in Mafwe territory or vice versa, tensions became so extreme that schools were shut down. Scholars, such as (Maritz, 1994) and Kamungu (2011), note that these tensions were due to land disputes and date back as far as the 1930s. With this background, Silozi was chosen because pre-independence as it was considered a neutral language according to the government (Fisch, 1999; Flint, 2003).

Consider Figure 1.5 below. This poster was translated into Silozi to spread the message against the spread of the COVID-19 pandemic.

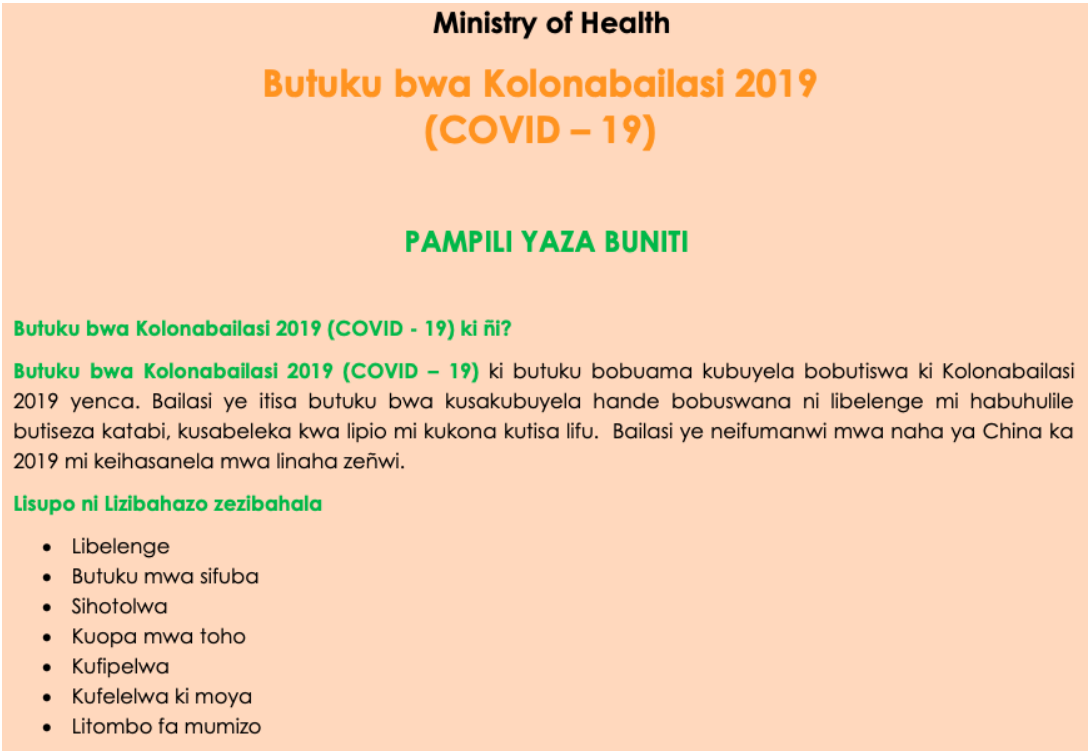


Figure 1.5: Covid-19 information poster in Silozi (http://znphi.co.zm/news/new-coronavirus-covid-19-travelers-guide-and-fact-sheet/)

This poster exemplifies how the two governments disseminate information into the Silozi-speaking communities. Other languages are not as frequently used in information dissemination. Therefore, language activists call for an equal representation of languages in communicating vital information. See Appendix for the English-translated version.

1.7 Silozi language and identity

Posner (2005) argues that though the tribal names used by and for the ethnic groups in Barotseland are widely accepted today, this was not always the case, as they were not identity markers for the Bantu-speaking groups. However, European imperialists needed to distinguish between the different Bantu-speaking people in regions. Thus, the missionaries and imperialist government through the British South Africa Company (BSACo) formally imposed the use of most of these ethnic names in Barotseland. After seizing control of Barotseland, the BSACo centralised power around tribal chiefs and headmen to keep track of as many African individuals as possible (Posner, 2005). They could implement a more efficient taxation method on Africans and source labour for their mines and building projects through this process.

The ramification of this process was that groups, such as the Tonga speakers who did not have a defined tribal name or a chief, had a chief and a tribal name imposed on them. As for other groups that already had chiefs and were politically organised, such as the Malozi, the chiefs also had to report directly to the BSACo or be replaced with one who was willing to co-operate with the colonialists. Overall, the BSACo took over the territory and ruled the area indirectly via the chiefs (Posner, 2005).

Over time, the names imposed on the ethnic groups have become calcified within the social fabric, becoming identity markers, including the Malozi. Among many Bantu languages today, the glossonym (name of language), ethnonym (name of ethnic group), and toponym (name of geographic location) are important in the identity that people take on (Lusakalalu, 2003). For instance, in the case of the current study, *Silozi* as the glossonym is linked to the ethnonym *Mulozi* and the toponym *Bulozi* (Barotseland). Mbeha (2017) notes that most Silozi speakers from the Zambezi Region identify as *Masubia* or *Mafwe*, while in Western Province, the majority identify as Malozi per their languages.

During the pilot study, many Silozi speakers in Western Province claimed that they were the *Malozi luli* ‘real Malozi’ and thus speakers of the *Silozi twa* ‘pure Silozi’ variety. However, Caplan (1970) and Flint (2003) strongly contest the ideology of a ‘pure’ Silozi variety, believing it to be unrealistic. They both argue that the Malozi are an amalgamation of multiple smaller ethnic groups. The merger is also reflected in the genetic make-up of Silozi, which has a Sesotho base with influence from languages such as Siluyana, Setswana, and Simbunda. Mukuni (1991) notes that Silozi has borrowed words from other languages to fill lexical gaps in both countries. Flint (2003) states that most Silozi speakers know that they are linked to the Makololo people, and some Silozi people are aware of the role played by Sebituane. This thesis is not aimed to show one variety of Silozi as more acceptable or superior to another. Still, it is aimed to show variation in Silozi varieties that came about based on geography.

1.8 Thesis outline

The remainder of the thesis contains five more chapters. The contents and importance of each chapter are summarised hereunder:

Chapter 2 reviews the literature that is relevant to the study. The discussion centres on language variation studies and the development of Silozi. Moreover, it illustrates how the current thesis builds on theoretical frameworks and concepts used by other scholars. Finally, this chapter outlines the gap that this thesis aims to contribute to.

Chapter 3 outlines this study's data collection plans, methods, and tools. The chapter also gives a profile of the participants and the data collection sites. In addition, the ethical considerations of the study as they relate to all the parties involved are outlined. Ultimately, this chapter contains a detailed discussion of how the data was collected, handled and analysed.

Chapter 4 is the first data analysis chapter, and it mainly presents the metadata and the lexical data collected using the wordlist. It outlines language change processes such as borrowing and semantic expansion. Thereafter, the chapter shows how the different neighbouring languages have influenced the lexicon of the Silozi varieties in the two towns.

Chapter 5 is also a data analysis chapter that expands on the previous chapter's lexical discussion. It shows how morphological variations have implications on syntactic structures.

For instance, I show how certain morphemes are used differently in the two towns, resulting in varying sentence structures.

Finally, chapter 6 discusses the variation from the data findings in chapters 4 and 5. This chapter starts the discussion by responding to the research questions stated in chapter 1. For example, the variation was found in the lexicon and what caused it. In closing, this chapter outlines a possible direction for future research on the topic at hand or similar topics.

1.9 Chapter summary

This chapter serves as an introduction and outlines the discussion to follow in the thesis. It also provides some historical contextualisation of Silozi and its speakers. As a mixed language, Silozi resulted from a contact language situation between the Siluyana-speaking Luyi, and the Sesotho-speaking Makololo, in Barotseland from 1830 to 1864. After that, Silozi continued to grow in use and popularity throughout Barotseland. French missionaries eventually standardised the language, who worked with Basotho men and women in the late 1800s. Today, Silozi is an official language in Zambia's Western Phighlight the direction that this thesis is taking.rovince and Namibia's Zambezi Region.

The primary objective of this thesis is to discuss variation in the Silozi varieties spoken in the towns of Katima Mulilo in Namibia and Mongu in Zambia. Thereore, this chapter contains an outline of the rationale, aims and hypotheses that underpin this study. Finally, it gives a snapshot of the structure of the thesis. The two subsequent chapters take a closer look at the literature, theory, and methods central to this thesis, some of which are briefly mentioned in this chapter.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

This chapter discusses key literature relevant to the current study and aims to show the contribution of this thesis to the fields of language contact and linguistic variation. Moreover, this chapter shows how this study draws from and builds on earlier research. The chapter has seven sections (excluding this introduction and the conclusion). Section 2.2 focuses on reviews of the scholarly works on microvariation in Bantu. After that, section 2.3 looks at the role of migration in language contact and is followed by section 2.4, which discusses the composition of Silozi as a mixed language. Section 2.5 outlines the orthography and sound system of Silozi, while section 2.6 discusses the orthography and morphology of the language. After that, section 2.7 considers the development of Silozi as a written language. Finally, the chapter looks at scholarly attempts to locate Silozi amongst other Bantu languages of Southern Africa and outlines how Silozi has undergone contact-induced change over the decades (section 2.8). This chapter provides a foundation for discussing the results (see chapters 4, 5 and 6).

2.1 Variation

This study adopts the broad definition that language variation refers to the different speaking of what is arguably the same language (Hudson, 1996). Although variation exists between individual speakers (inter-speaker variation) or even within the individual (intra-speaker variation), this study focuses on language variation across speech communities instead of individual speakers. It is worth noting that the definition of what constitutes a speech community has been somewhat contested in sociolinguistics (Patrick, 2001). In this study, the term 'speech community' will refer to a community defined by geography as used by Labov (1986). By this definition, Mongu, Zambia, and Katima Mulilo in Namibia (see chapter 3) constitute speech communities. This thesis inverstigates variation in Silozi dialects spoken in Namibia and Zambia. Within any given speech community, unique linguistic features can be found, and such features set one variety apart from another (Wardhaugh, 2006). In variation studies, the aim is to identify the differences within a speech community's language, and account for the variation (Tagliamonte, 2006).

The study of language variation was made popular by Fischer (1958) and Labov's (1972) studies of variation in monolingual communities. Since then, other scholars have

continued to develop this area of linguistic inqury and varieties in different locations. These later studies looked at variation in multilingual communities. In recent work as yet unpublished, Mesthrie (Forthcoming) tries to integrate variationist approaches with the multilingual repertoires of speakers outside the Anglo-American sphere. He argues that the entire multilingual repertoire becomes a site of variation, and that different sources of variation and change operate in the codes or varieties within the repertoire (Mesthrie, Forthcoming). Sepcifically, he labels the codes as S (for solidarity or community-oriented codes) and P (for prestige codes of public, educational and formal spheres). He suggests that changes from above occur in the S codes by way of influences from English (often lexical but less commonly in structural elements), and that changes from below occur in the P code via substrate influences. The model includes differential influences by social class and education, and gender.

In Mesthrie's (Forthcoming) terms, this thesis falls into the study of variation in the P code. Hence, he does not expect much more than lexical influence 'from above'. Since this thesis does not cover the area of phonetics, it will accordingly not draw on variationism. However, the influences of Bantu languages over each other as a kind of 'adstrate' influence rather than substrate influence of S and superstrate influence of P would be relevant to fleshing out such an account of multilingual variationism (Bloom-Ström & Petzell, In press).

2.1.1 Theories of language change

Over time, language changes as social groups or sub-groups adopt new variants and/or cease to use some linguistic features; this process results in language variation. Language change is a continuous process that is observable in 'real time' or 'apparent time' (Cukor-Avila & Bailey, 2013). It can be observed with the same speakers over an extended period. Here the aim would be to observe language through a diachronic lens as it changes across the lifespan. A challenge in real-time study is it takes a long time and requires financial resources to keep such a longitudinal study going (Mesthrie, et al., 2009). As a result, it is a less common method of studying language variation and change than apparent time studies.

In apparent time studies, on the other hand, language change is assumed to have happened at some point in time (Cukor-Avila & Bailey, 2013). For example, the change from Victorian English to modern English was not traced in real-time as it happened. Still, the change is noticeable via comparing the two varieties (i.e., Modern English and Old English). What is clear is that variation leads to linguistic change at some point in time. Recent scholars

have used this model by analysing language change synchronically by investigating the speech of younger and older speakers (Mesthrie, et al., 2009). A common finding is that the older and younger speakers exhibit different speech patterns. This thesis adopts an apparent time model to study variation (see methodology chapter, where the age groups are explained).

Language change in language contact contexts happens through processes like borrowing, code-mixing, and switching, foreigner talk, grammaticalisation, and so on. These processes can be influenced by many non-linguistic factors, such as social norms, politics, and socio-economic factors (Mesthrie, et al., 2009). Consider the example of Fanakalo/Fanagalo, a contact language that has been used in South African mines since the late 1800s (Mesthrie & Surek-Clark, 2013). As a pidgin, Fanakalo came about because speakers of different Nguni languages, such as isiZulu and isiXhosa, needed to communicate with their employers, who were mainly speakers of European languages such as English and Afrikaans (Hurst, 2018).

2.1.2 Regional dialects

In this thesis, I will be using synchronic data to analyse variations that might have happened diachronically. This means that as Silozi developed over the years in the two towns in question, new variants arose through language change processes related to language contact, like borrowing. A common example of regional dialects is the English language, which has many varieties worldwide (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008). On the one hand, some varieties, such as Canadian English and American English, show minor differences. In a comparative study of the two varieties, Woods (1993) posits that Canadian English is derived from American English but with influence from Scottish and Irish dialects of English. An example of a salient feature that distinguishes the two varieties is the pronunciation of the diphthong ‘ou’ as in ‘house’: Americans pronounce it as [au] while Canadians use [ʌu], referred to as Canadian raising (Woods, 1993). However, the two varieties are in relatively close geographic proximity since they share a common border, and some argue that they are becoming more similar (Woods, 1993; Dollinger & Clarke, 2012). Such English varieties have nuanced differences that make them almost indistinguishable, especially to an outsider (Chambers & Trudgill, 2004; Mesthrie, et al., 2009).

On the other hand, differences in geographically and historically further apart varieties – like Nigerian English and American English – are more obvious. Some terms in Nigerian English have been semantically expanded, and as such, there are semantic differences

compared to British or American varieties of English (Kperogi, 2015). For example, regardless of the relation to self, an older man is referred to as ‘uncle’ in Nigerian English to show respect. In contrast, this term refers to the male sibling of one's parents in American English. Moreover, there are noticeable differences in accents between Nigerian and American English. Therefore, such language varieties may also vary in mutual intelligibility (Chambers & Trudgill, 2004).

When vernaculars develop differently due to limited contact between the two speech communities, they adopt new linguistic features from other languages into their vernacular if speakers live in multilingual contexts (Tagliamonte, 2006). Such is the case with modern-day Silozi and Sesotho, or isiZulu and Ndebele. In both cases, the two speech communities were separated, and the languages developed differently, with Ndebele and Silozi adopting linguistic features from neighbouring languages. While there is intelligibility between isiZulu and Ndebele, the languages exhibit many differences (Msindo, 2005).

2.2 Migration and language contact

The following sub-section closely observes the role of migrations of the indigenous African communities and European missionaries in the development of Silozi. These migrations resulted in multiple language contact situations within Barotseland that culminated in the formation and standardisation of Silozi.

With somewhere between 2,000 to 2,500 languages spoken in Africa, the continent presents a complex language ecology (Batibo, 2005). For centuries before the arrival of the first European missionaries or colonialists, distinct African groups migrated to dofferent parts of the continent in search of better natural resources (Batibo, 2005; de Luna, 2017). For example, overpopulation in Central West Africa and drought resulted in the depletion of natural resources in approximatley 2000 BC. As a result, large factions of the Bantu-speaking communities living in Central West Africa broke off and migrated southwards to better living conditions. This mass migration has become known as the Bantu Expansion in contemporary literature (Oliver, 1996; Grollemund, et al., 2015). The Bantu migration was not a once-off occurrence but spanned many years, from as early as 3,000 B.C. to 600 A.D. (Van Bakkel, 1981). The Bantu speakers would settle in one place and move on based on their agricultural needs; they would often meet other Bantu speaking groups, which led to language contact situations (Grollemund, et al., 2015).

Similarly, in Europe, the mid-eighteenth-century industrial revolution resulted in extreme unemployment and poverty in an overpopulated Europe (Deane & Deane, 1979). New places like the African continent represented new socio-economic benefits and a means to start over for many Europeans. Consequently, many European imperialists, missionaries, and traders arrived in Africa (Werner & Dilthey, 1905; Schreuder, 1980). The migrations by the Bantu speaking groups and the European groups have influenced the language ecology of the continent significantly. Although there is extensive evidence on migration within the African continent, this literature review focuses primarily on those that played a role in the formation of Silozi in Barotseland.

Historians, linguists, and geneticists have traced the origins of many inhabitants of Southern Africa today to Central West Africa (Herbert, 1990; de Luna, 2017; Bostoen, 2018). As Bantu speaking groups migrated southward, they found Southern Africa inhabited by non-Bantu speaking groups known as the Khoisan, primarily hunter-gatherers. The Bantu speaking groups who had migrated from Central West Africa later came to be labelled Bantu speakers by Bleek (1862). During the Bantu Expansion, the languages of the Bantu speaking groups underwent substantial changes as they encountered other language groups such as the Khoisan (Bleek, 1862; Oliver, 1996). The changes over time were so significant that a simple comparison of Bantu languages from Southern Africa and Central West Africa today reveals minimal similarities. Consider this example: the morphology of isiXhosa is immensely different from Yoruba, a language found in the same geographic area of Central West Africa from where Bantu speakers initially migrated. Such changes developed over time (centuries) and distance (thousands of kilometers).

When two or more groups of people who speak different languages start inhabiting the same same region (i.e., they both move there or one group migrates and find another there), a language contact situation is likely to occur (Sankoff, 2001). In language contact situations, linguistic changes are primarily influenced by social factors. The outcome is new communicative practices such as foreigner talk, second-language acquisition, and/or borrowing, facilitating effective communication (Sankoff, 2001). Apart from the mixing of languages noted above, language contact situations can also result in linguistic assimilation or language loss as one group slowly gives up their language for another language (Sankoff, 2001).

One such example of language loss is the Damara Nama people in Namibia. The Damara arguably adopted the language of the Khoisan speakers long before the arrival of the first European missionaries. The language loss was so complete that to date, scholars have been unable to trace how or when the Damara lost their language, as well as what their previous language might have been (Haacke, 2008). The strongest link that relates the Damara to other Bantu-speaking groups is from genetic studies of the Bantu Expansion (Barbieri, et al., 2014). The genetic studies compare the gene structure of the Damara to genetic samples collected from Khoisan people and Herero and Himba people (Barbieri, et al., 2014). The scholars find that genetically, the Damara are akin to the Herero and Himba. Both are Bantu-speaking groups who have migrated from Central West Africa. Similarly, many speakers of minority languages shifted to Silozi during the rule of the Kololo of Barotseland (Jalla, 1936) (see chapter 1).

On the other hand, new communicative practices can result in a mixed language (Matras & Bakker, 2003). For example, Afrikaans was derived from early Dutch settlers in the Cape Colony, modern-day South Africa (Markey, 1982; Roberge, 2004). Roberge (2004) points out that the language variety spoken by the Dutch settlers was influenced by the Khoekhoe and Asian communities that they had enslaved. In contemporary South Africa, studies such as Branford and Claughton (2002) have shown that many words are borrowed reciprocally from languages of European origin into those of African origin or vice versa. Silozi was also formed in a language contact situation where more than two groups that spoke different languages settled in the same area. This is reflected in the mixed status of the language, as discussed in the following section.

2.2.1 Micro-variation in Bantu

In African languages, the more common studies have been comparative studies that analyse contact-induced variation and code-switching. The classical scholars, such as Bleek (1862), Meinhof, et al., (1932), and Doke (1943), focused most of their studies on descriptive differences of the Bantu languages. Most of their work categorised some of the differences found in the structures of the languages, such as the noun classes or grammatical structures. While these earlier scholars at times show some presumptions and ideological shortcomings of their times. Nonetheless, they pioneered the academic format of Bantu languages that contemporary scholars have built upon.

In a classic study exploring borrowing within an African language, Myers-Scotton and Okeju (1973) note that speakers borrow based on lexical need and prestige. Also, they noted that some words, such as nouns, were borrowed more often (Myers-Scotton & Okeju, 1973). Their findings are important for this thesis because part of my analysis will look at lexicon borrowed into Silozi. Myers-Scotton and Okeju (1973) linked the borrowings used to the speaker's social backgrounds.

In the more recent studies of Bantu languages, there is a strong focus on the more formal aspects of variation. These studies examine microvariation and analyse fine-grained differences in languages' syntactic or morphological structures. One such study is by Marten, et al. (2007) who developed and propose 19 parameters through which microvariations can be studied in Bantu languages. Their parameters test for morphosyntactic variation in languages but on a micro-level. This test is applied to 10 Southern and Eastern Bantu languages. The results show that the languages could behave as either symmetrical or asymmetrical, depending on the parameters used for testing. Some of the other languages included in the study are Chichewa, Otjiherero, and importantly for this study, Silozi (Marten & Kula, 2007). For this, they use word order, passive or object marking as the parameters in the test (Marten & Kula, 2007). They conclude that Otjiherero is an asymmetrical language in the word order test. The word order structure does not allow the theme subject to come before the benefactor. However, the same language behaves symmetrically when the passivisation and object marking tests are applied (Marten & Kula, 2007).

While important for this study, these papers have looked at morphosyntactic variation in different languages. I draw from these analyses because they focus on the word order structure with an analysis method that discusses fine-grained variation. The parameters proposed by Marten and Kula's (2007) have been replicated by other scholars. For example, Zeller and Ngoboka (2015) and Mtenje-Mkochi (2018), who looked at an array of mostly Southern African languages to show that Bantu languages share many similarities in grammatical makeup. However, Marten, et al. (2007) show some fine-grained differences across these Bantu languages that can be explored by taking a closer look.

Although the scholars above have focused on cross-linguistic variation, others have examined variation within one language. Bloom-Ström (2018), Magagula (2009), and Sekere (2004) all study variation within a Bantu language. For example, Bloom-Ström (2018) discusses micro-variation in isiXhosa dialects. The scholar argues that although micro-

variation can be found within isiXhosa dialects, the variation appears on the decline (Bloom-Ström, 2018). This decline has been attributed to two main factors. Firstly, many isiXhosa speakers show high levels of mobility. For example, speakers from rural areas move to urban areas, and vice versa. Their mobility means frequent diffusion in the rural and urban isiXhosa dialects. Secondly, there is only one standardised variety of the language (Bloom-Ström, 2018). This variety is taught formally in schools according to a syllabus, and the direct result of this is that the students in school are taught the same variety.

In another variation study, Sekere (2004) looks at the difference between the written and spoken Sesotho in Qwaqwa. Sekere (2004) concludes that the variations in the Sesotho-speaking children are noticeable only in the spoken form, while the written form broadly maintains a more uniform structure. Most students come from diverse backgrounds, and each of them bring different linguistic features in their Sesotho varieties. When it comes to the taught standard, the students must comply with the 'prescribed' standard, hence the uniformity in the written form (Sekere, 2004). Similar to Bloom-Ström's (2018) argument, it is evident that the teaching of these Bantu languages forces students to take on more uniform standard varieties for educational and formal purposes. However, they still use the urban form outside the formal domains.

In Magagula's (2009) dissertation, the difference between 'deep' isiZulu and the 'lighter' variety of the language is analysed as used by children from urban and rural schools. The study shows that both groups of learners prefer using the 'lighter' (urban) version of isiZulu, which also contains more lexical borrowings. Magagula (2009) concludes that the children are aware of the different variations of the language. This thesis aims to document the variation in Silozi as spoken in Mongu and Katima Mulilo. From the studies mentioned earlier, it is clear that there is a strong correlation between the socio-cultural context and language use.

Bloom-Ström and Petzell (In press) shows that when analysing micro-variation in Bantu, it is important to consider the sociolingustic contexts wherin the language exists. These considerations should be used when designing data collection tools and analysis methods to be employed for such studies. As an area that is developing, the study of micro-variation particularly in Bantu languages will continue to benefit from new insight. For example, Marten, et al., (2007) introduce parameters through which language micro variation can be studied Bantu. Such parameters are adapted and used by others such Mtejne-Mkochi (2018).

Overall, this thesis draws from most of the theoretical frameworks by the scholars discussed above. Numerous scholars such as Stirke and Thomas (1915; 1916), Jalla (1936), Gowlett (1989), and Kashoki (1999) show that Silozi is a mixed language (see section 2.3 below). As such, this paper looks at synchronic data that reflect variation occurring in apparent time. The main variable considered is geographic location, with Katima Mulilo and Mongu as the towns of interest.

2.3 Silozi, a mixed language

Since early studies, scholars have argued that Silozi is a mixed language that came about when a Sesotho-speaking[2] group, the Makololo encountered the Luyi, who spoke Siluyana in Barotseland in 1820 (Heine, 1970; Dasgupta, 1986; Gowlett, 1989). While the morphology, grammar, semantics, and phonetics of Silozi are mainly from Sesotho, there is significant influence from Siluyana and other languages. When the Makololo travelled through Bechuanaland, their Sikololo variety absorbed Setswana linguistic features in the noun classes (Jalla, 1937; Heine, 1970; Gowlett, 1989). The Makololo would later transfer the noun classes from Setswana into Silozi. Therefore, Setswana is not seen as a language that directly influenced Silozi. Other languages that played a minor role in the genesis of Silozi include Simbunda and Chitonga, both of which contributed lexically (Colyer, 1914; Kashoki, 1999).

An analysis Silozi's noun class system and kinship terms illustrates the mixed character of Silozi on a lexical, morphological, and semantic level (Mbeha, 2017). In agreement with Gowlett (1989), Mbeha (2017) concludes that the noun class system of Silozi has a Sesotho base but has also taken on additional classes from Setswana and Siluyana. As a result of the additional classes, Silozi has 18 noun classes while its parent languages, Sesotho and Siluyana, each have about 12 and 15 active noun classes, respectively (Gowlett, 1989; Demuth, 2000). Furthermore, Silozi's classes 2 and 2a, which contain the prefixes *ba-* and *bo-* respectively, exhibit a trace of the mixed nature in the form of semantic expansion. Although both classes are present in Sesotho, the two prefixes only mark plurality (Demuth, 2000). In contrast, Silozi

[2] They later renamed their language Sesotho to 'Sikololo', see chapter 1.

classes 2 and 2a have the added semantic function of being respect markers, a semantic feature adopted from Siluyana (Mbeha, 2017).

Compared to its parent language Sesotho, Silozi marks the diminutive and locatives differently. In studies of Sesotho, Gowlett (1989), and Demuth (2000) illustrate that Sesotho lost nominal class prefix markers for diminutive classes 12/13, and locative classes 16 to 18. These classes had been lost long before the Sesotho speakers migrated northwards in the 1820s (Gowlett, 1989; Demuth, 2000). Whereas Sesotho still marks both the diminutive and locative, this is realised via genitive phrases (Demuth, 2000). Thus, for the singular and plural of the diminutives, *ntlo e nyane* 'small house' and *mantlo a manyane* 'small houses' are consistent with Sesotho. As for the locative classes, they take on a suffix *-eng*, thus *nok-eng* 'at the river' and *se-fat-eng* 'by the tree' are possible in Sesotho (Demuth, 2000).

On the other hand, in Silozi, these classes are present and highly productive. Gowlett (1989) concludes that the diminutive classes 12/13 and their respective markers *ka-* and *tu-* were adopted from Siluyana. Moreover, they are similar to Siluyana and its closely related languages – such as Kwangwa and Nkoya – as presented in Lisimba (1982). The locative classes 16 to 18 were adopted into the Sesotho variety of the Makololo from Setswana when they travelled through Bechuanaland. These were then transferred into Silozi at a later stage. For example, the locatives classes 16 and 17 have the prefix markers *fa-* and *kwa-* respectively, thus *fa-kota* 'by the tree' and *kwa-nuka* 'at the river' are possible. Interestingly, in addition to the prefix class marker, Setswana uses the *-eng* suffix also found in Sesotho. However, these locative suffixes are not at all present in Silozi.

In agreement with Mwikisa's (1994) position that Silozi is mainly comprised of Sesotho, Mbeha (2017) illustrates that most of Silozi's kinship terms are indeed of Sesotho origin. In addition, Mbeha (2017) also notes that these terms seem to have adopted some Siluyana phonetic features. For example, the term for an opposite-sex[3] sibling, *khaitselie* [khai͡tsedi] in Sesotho has become *kaizeli* [kaizeli] in Silozi (Mbeha, 2017). In this example, the voiceless alveolar affricate /t͡ʃ/ from Sesotho is replaced with the voiced alveolar fricative

[3] "'Sex' refers to the biological aspects of being male and female."

/z/ in Silozi. There is also a de-aspiration of the intervocalic /k^h/ from Sesotho, which becomes /k/ in Silozi.

The lexicon also exhibits the mixed character of the language because some Sesotho terms were not transferred into Silozi. In a list comparing Silozi's (Sikololo) lexicon to Siluyana, Stirke and Thomas (1916) show that Silozi owes much of its non-Sesotho vocabulary to Siluyana. Only a handful of the terms come from Simbunda. This shows that some of the Sesotho terms that were not transferred into Silozi were replaced with words from languages in Barotseland. For example, the term *sukulu* 'grandfather' is borrowed from Simbunda (Mbeha, 2017). In other instances, some Sesotho terms have been given semantic expansions. For example, in Silozi, the expression *bo-ndate* 'father' can also refer to uncle, while the Sesotho term *rangoane* 'patrilineal uncle' is not present in Silozi. This mixed status of Silozi is not limited to the noun class system and the kinship terms; however, these reflect the language's mixed nature. One of the hypotheses is that the Silozi varieties in Mongu and Katima Mulilo have both continued to borrow from the lexicon of neighbouring languages, as is the case with the Simbunda example above.

2.4 The orthography and sound system of Silozi

After Livingstone (1850), the French missionaries were the first to pioneer an orthography for Silozi in the early 1900s (Jalla, 1936). Pretorius (1975) states that from the arrival of the missionaries, Silozi was taught in churches. While this orthography was initially based on Sesotho's, it was later adapted to represent differences between Silozi's and Sesotho's sound systems (Jalla, 1937). For example, Stirke and Thomas (1916) note that while both the [r] and [l] are present in Silozi and Sesotho, the former makes more use of the [r]. Thus, the word for 'chief' in Sesotho is *morena* while it is *mulena* in Silozi; the missionaries made these types of accommodations in their new Silozi orthography.

After standardisation, Silozi was later extended to formal teaching in Zambian schools and tertiary institutions. At the same time, the Zambian Silozi syllabus was also adopted into Namibian schools (Pretorius, 1975). Although the Namibian school system adopted its syllabus in 1985, it was still based on the Zambian Silozi syllabus. One of the reasons the ministry of education opted for a new Silozi orthography for Namibia was to have a 'more simplified'

writing system (Department of National Education, 1985). According to Sitwala (2010), Silozi continues to be taught in both countries with a similar syllabus and orthography.

As an agglutinating language, Silozi can sometimes present the challenge of having a 'complicated' – and at times inconsistent – writing system that can be hard to teach (Wakumelo-Nkolola, et al., 2008). This meant that the convention around how sentences ended and started was not uniform. Consider the two examples of the sentence *[kambututu] kikakande* '[the small baby] is beautiful. In (2), *kikakande* is written disjunctively, i.e., the subject and object markers are written separately.

(1) *Kambututu kikakande*

(2) *Kambututu ki ka kande*

Scholars propose a disjunctive writing system for Namibian Silozi, as seen in (2). This means that Silozi would move away from a writing system with 'long words' to 'simpler' ones. They argue that this simplified system would unify the language with other Bantu languages in Namibia and much of Southern Africa (Wakumelo-Nkolola, et al., 2008). In addition, it would make the learning of Silozi and other Bantu languages easier. It is worth noting that the choice between a disjunctive and conjunctive writing systems is language dependant. For example, isiZulu makes use of the conjunctive system because of "phonological processes such as vowel elision, vowel coalescence and consonantalization" (Wikles 1985:149). Thus, "*Wayesezofika ekhaya* "He would have arrived at home" as *W a ye s' e zo fika ekhaya* is almost impossible to read and / or to pronounce" (Taljard & Bosch, 2006:433). In contrast, Sesotho makes use of the disjunctive because the above-mentioned phonological processes are not as present. As such, while both come with pros and cons, that discussion is slighty beyon the scope of this study. Nonetheless, due Silozi's similarity to Sesotho, I will be using the disjunctive version of written Silozi in my discussions.

Silozi writing uses the Roman alphabet to represent 5 vowels (see Table 2.1) and 21 consonants (see Table 2.2; see discussion below). This writing format is used widley and is taught in schools. As previously mentioned, Silozi has 5 vowels that can occur either as short vowels such as the *i* in *mp**i**zi* 'zebra' or as longer vowel sounds such as the ***aa*** in *m**aa**ta* 'strength'. In the writing system, the shorter vowels are represented by a single letter while the longer vowels make use of two letters (see Table 2.1).

Vowel	Short	Long
[i] Front high	*mp**i**zi* ‘zebra’	*l**ii**no* ‘tooth’
[e] Front mid	*m**e**zi* ‘water’	*m**ee**to* ‘eyes’
[a] Low	*p**a**ta* ‘hide’	*m**aa**ta* ‘strength’
[o] Back mid	*nj**o**ko* ‘monkey’	*b**oo**ko* ‘brain’
[u] Back high	*m**u**tu* ‘person’	*m**uu**na* ‘man’

Table 2.1: Silozi vowels (Gowlett, 1967)

The 21 consonants listed in Table 2.2 are an exhaustive list drawn from Gowlett (1967) and Chanda (2007). While Silozi has high and low tone, the orthographies do not employ tonal marking (Gowlett, 1967).

	Bilabial	Labio-dental	Dental	Alveolar	Post alveolar (pre-palatal)	Palatal	Velar	Glottal
Plosive	p β (<b>)			t d			k g	
Nasal	m			n		ɲ	ŋ	
Fricative		f v		s z	ʃ			h
Affricates				tʃ dz				
Lateral				l				
Glide	w					y		

Table 2.2: Silozi consonants based on Chanda (2007) and Mwendende (2010)

In Silozi, the letter <b> is not pronounced as a voiced bilabial plosive /b/; <b> is pronounced as the fricative [v] or [β], depending on the source. For example, on the one hand, Chanda (2007) and Mwendende (2010) state that <b> is a labiodental fricative [v]. Therefore, *batu* is pronounced as [vatu]. On the other hand, in an orthography for Namibia based on the Zambian one, the Department of National Education (1985) notes that the sound is a bilabial fricative [β]. Thus, *batu* is pronounced [βatu]. There are exceptions to this rule, and in some words, the consonant can be pronounced as [b]. For example, in borrowed words such as ***b**olopeni* ‘ball pen’; these words are usually borrowed from other languages such as English or Afrikaans. Furthermore, for Silozi words, [b] is only pronounced in the consonant cluster [mb] in words such as *si**mb**otwe* ‘frog’.

Silozi went through several processes of phonemic merging. Thus, many consonant clusters in modern Sesotho are not found in Silozi; they appear to have been replaced with simplified spellings (Gowlett, 1989). For example, while Sesotho has the following [t], [th], [tl], [tlh], and [hl], these have been merged into [t] in Silozi. Thus, *ho**tl**aba* 'it will be' in Sesotho became *ku**t**aba* in Silozi. Similarly, the vowels in Silozi have been reduced to five vowels, while Sesotho has nine (Gowlett, 1989).

2.5 The noun class system

Before discussing the noun class system of Silozi, I first provide a brief explanation of this phenomenon in Bantu languages. In the initial studies of Bantu morphology, Werner (1919) reports that an Italian missionary, Giacinto Brusciotto (1601-1659), was one of the first scholars to notice and make an adequate attempt at discussing the phenomena of the noun class system in a Bantu language. Brusciotto's work was conducted during the 17th century on Kongo H16, a Bantu language in the Democratic Republic of Congo. In his writings, Brusciotto concludes that nouns in Bantu are assigned to classes marked by prefixes with the corresponding agreement. Some of these class memberships are paired as singular and plural. For example, singular nouns referring to humans are part of class 1 and take on the prefix, i.e., **mu-*[4]. In the plural, the same noun is placed in another class and the plural prefix, i.e., **ba-*. Some of the classes, such as 15, do not have plural pairings. Brusciotto had initially called these class memberships 'principiations'. Brusciotto had eight initial principiations, some singular and plural, thus comprising 16 classes (Werner, 1919).

When nouns in English are modified for quality such as size, the modification is realised via using a separate lexeme (i.e., an adjective) before the modified lexeme (i.e., a noun). For example, the adjective 'big' is added before the noun 'apple', thus making the expression 'big apple' possible in English (Schneider, 2012). More so, when modifying a singular noun to the plural form, the English language can employ one of several modifications to the said noun. Firstly, the morpheme {-s} is suffixed to nouns to form regular plurals. For example, 'apple' + {-s} gives us the plural form 'apples'. Secondly, the noun can be altered for a plurality (i.e., irregular plurals). For example, the singular from 'man' becomes 'men' in the plural form when

[4] The asterix indicates proto-forms see table 2.3.

the vowel is changed. This system of affixation and modification is consistent with many languages of European origin. However, nouns are placed into class categories marked with morphemic prefixes in most Bantu languages, also known as nominal class markers. These are affixed to nouns to add the grammatical and semantic values of size, quantity, diminutive, and augmentative. The morphemic prefixes used in Bantu languages make up the noun class system (see Table 2.3 below) within Bantu morphology (Marten, 2020).

Post Brusciotto, scholars ranging from Bleek (1862) to Welmers (1973) proposed expanded noun class systems that saw the classes increase from 16 to 24 categories. Firstly, Bleek (1862) worked mainly on Southern African Bantu languages in the Cape Colony and focused extensively on the noun classes. Based on Brusciotto's 16 principiations, Bleek (1862) proposed the first Bantu noun class system. Bleek's (1862) initial noun class system was also comprised of 16 classes and thus was similar to that of Brusciotto. Bleek (1862) is also known for having coined the term *Bantu*, a combination of the class 2 plural prefix marker *ba-* and the root word *-ntu* that means 'people' in most Bantu languages.[5] Meinhof, Van Warmelo, and Werner (1932) followed up on Bleek's (1862) Bantu noun class system and proposed the Ur-Bantu noun class system. The Ur-Bantu noun class system contained an expanded noun class system with 21 noun class categories.

Furthermore, various other scholars reconstructed the Bantu noun class system. A notable scholar is Meeussen (1967), who works on Proto Bantu (PB), the same as Ur-Bantu, the hypothetical reconstructed original Bantu language from which all Bantu languages are derived. Meeussen (1967) brings forth the PB noun class system, which he argues contained a 24th class. However, Meeussen's (1967) PB noun class system does not contain classes 20 to 23, thus only containing 21 noun class categories. Guthrie's (1971) version of the PB noun class system is similar to Meeussen's (1967). A major difference is that Guthrie's (1971) PB noun class system contains 20 categories because he omits class 24. The largest PB noun class system reconstruction is proposed by Welmers (1973). In addition, Welmers's (1973) PB noun class system contains 24 classes in total. He adds class categories 1a/2a and 8x to classes 1/2 and 8, respectively. The three added class categories are also present in Silozi's noun class

[5] Bleek (1862) used an exorbitant amount of prejudicial, sexist, and racist language. The position of his scholarship is not in line with conversations around a decolonised scholarship, particularly within Southern Africa (see Bank, 1999; 2000).

system. See Table 2.3 for the various reconstructions of the noun classes of PB.

	Ancient Bantu by Bleek (1869:282)	Ur-Bantu by Meinhof and Van Warmelo (1932:39)	PB by Meeussen (1967:97)	PB by Guthrie (1971:9)	PB by Welmers (1973)
1	**mŭ-*	**mu-*	**mu-*	**mọ-*	**mo-; 1a ∅*
2	**ba-*	**βa-*	**ba-*	**ba-*	**va-;* 2a **βa-*
3	**mŭ-*	**mu-*	**mu-*	**mọ-*	**mo-*
4	**mi-*	**mi-*	**mi-*	**mẹ-*	**me-*
5	**di-; *li-*	**li-*	**ị-*	**yi-*	**le-*
6	**ma-*	**ma-*	**ma-*	**ma-*	**ma-; *ma-*
7	**ki-*	**ki-*	**ki-*	**kẹ-*	**ke-*
8	**pi-*	**βî-*	**bị-*	**bi-*	**βi-;* 8x **li-*
9	**n*	**ni-*	**n-*	**ny-*	**ne-*
10	**thin-*	**lî-; ni-*	**n-*	**ny-*	**li-ne*
11	**lu-*	**lu-*	**du-*	**dọ-*	**lo-*
12	**ka- (13)*	**ka- (13)*	**ka-*	**ka-*	**ka-*
13	**tu- (12)*	**tu- (12)*	**tu*	**tọ-*	**to*
14	**bu-*	**βu-*	**bu-*	**bọ-*	**βo-*
15	**ku-*	**ku-*	**ku-*	**kọ-*	**ko-*
16	**pa-*	**pa-*	**pa-*	**pa-*	**pa-*
17	–	**ku-*	**ku-*	**kọ-*	**ko*
18	–	**mu-*	**mu-*	**mọ-*	**mo-*
19	–	**pî-*	**pị-*	**pi-*	**pi-*
20	–	**ɣu*	–	–	**ɣo-*
21	–	**ɣî-*	–	–	**ɣi-*
(22)	–	–	–	–	**ɣa-*
23	–	–	*i-* (24)	–	**ɣe-*

Table 2.3 The Proto Bantu reconstructions (Maho, 1999:247 in Katamba, 2006).

Despite the ongoing attempts to reconstruct the Proto Bantu noun class system, none of the Bantu languages spoken today has been found to contain more than 24 noun classes (Katamba, 2006). A language that seems to have retained the most classes out of a possible 24 is Ganda from Uganda. The language has 20 classes that remain highly productive. In contrast, some languages have had low noun class retention. For example, Kak C93 contains only three classes, while Komo D23 is left with none (Katamba, 2006). Recent studies of Bantu

morphology, Katamba (2006) discusses the Proto Bantu noun class system based on work carried out by Maho (1999). Katamba (2006, p. 108) states that there are a possible 23 noun classes in Proto Bantu.

The noun class system is a salient feature of Bantu languages and an essential part of this thesis. In most Bantu languages, the nouns contain prefix markers that indicate their class membership. This means that when forming the plural form of a noun, a plural prefix often replaces the singular prefix. This is also reflected in the agreement. Consider this example: in isiZulu, the noun stem *fana* 'boy' is used by itself without the prefix and thus takes on the prefix *u-m-* to indicate the singular form, *u-m-fana.* In contrast, to form the plural, the prefix marker *a-ba-* replaces *u-m-* to indicate plural form, *a-ba-fana* 'boys'.

Moreover, some Bantu languages use augments, which are realised as pre-prefixes in some Bantu languages like isiZulu (Gibson, et al., 2017). In the example above, the vowel *a-* in *a-ba-fana* is an augment. Note that the singular form *u-m-fana* has a different vowel (*-u*) for the augment, but it still serves the same function. While the literature suggests that Silozi nouns do not contain the augment, neighbouring languages, such as Chisubiya and Chifwe, contain augments (Blois, 1970). The data elicited for this paper will also be examined for the use of augments in the Silozi varieties.

Furthermore, using suffixes and relative phrases is also possible in some Bantu languages, especially those that may have lost some prefix markers. As noted before, the suffix *-eng* in Sesotho marks location. Demuth (2000) argues that Sesotho lost the locative classes 16, 17, and 18; thus, location marking is realised via a suffix. Demuth (2000) provides the following example, *nok-eng* 'at the river' and *sedib-eng* 'in the well'. The same suffix *-eng* is used to indicate 'at' and 'in'; the differentiation is made by the noun to which the suffix is affixed. Though Sesotho was essential in the formation of Silozi, the use of the *-eng* suffix is not present in Silozi; instead, Silozi contains the locative classes 16, 17, and 18 that seem to have been borrowed from Setswana (Gowlett, 1989; Mbeha, 2017). Moreover, the class 16, 17, and 18 nominal markers function similarly to those in Siluyana, as shown by Givón (1970). Thus, the presence of the nominal markers in both Setswana and Siluyana might have calcified the nominal markers further into Silozi.

In secondary prefixing, nouns can be assigned to other classes to the augmentative (largeness) and diminutive (smallness) forms. For example, to create the augmentative form,

the noun moves to class 7, thus taking on the nominal marker *si-* which is to *kota* 'tree' to form *sikota* 'large tree'. Similarly, in class 12, the nominal marker *ka-* to *kota* 'tree' results in *kakota* 'small tree' to show the diminutive. The examples above indicate the nominal markers used in the augmentative and diminutive forms result from a change in class memberships through a process known as secondary classification (Marten, 2020). The noun shifts from the original class category into the new respective diminutive or augmentative category in this process. The augmentative and diminutive can also be formed using a genitive phrase. For example, *kota ye tuna* 'big tree' and *kota ye inyani* 'small tree' are also possible forms for creating the augmentative and diminutive. In the latter case, the nominal marker does not replace the original one, and the noun retains its original noun class category.

Although Silozi is a Bantu language with a highly productive noun class system, scholars have opposing views on the exact number of noun class categories in the language. On the one hand, Gowlett (1989) and Chanda (2007) state that Silozi contains noun class categories 1 through to 18, each with a corresponding concordance system. On the other hand, Mwendende (2010) goes a step further than Gowlett (1989) and Chanda (2007) by arguing that there are 20 noun class categories in Silozi. Mwendende (2010) proposes that classes 19/20 with the prefixes *bi-* and *si-* respectively are present in Silozi.

However, in a master's thesis, Mbeha (2017) analyses Silozi's noun class system and compares it to the noun class systems of Sesotho, Siluyana, and Setswana. Based on an analysis of the classes and their agreement, Mbeha (2017) concludes that the proposed classes 19/20 by Mwendede (2010) appear to be repetitions of classes 7/8, as recorded by Gowlett (1989) and Chanda (2007). Furthermore, neither the languages that influenced Silozi nor those currently in contact with Silozi exhibit noun class categories that behave as class 19 and 20 (Mbeha, 2017). There is insufficient evidence supporting the existence and possible origin of classes 19/20. Thus, this thesis considers only 18 noun class categories of Silozi.

The following discussion focuses solely on the noun class system and the formatives (shown in Table 2.4) of Silozi. It is adapted from Mbeha (2017) which is based on Gowlett (1989), Chanda (2007), and Mwendende (2010). Table 2.4 is followed by a brief discussion of the categories used in Silozi. In the hypothesis, the Silozi varieties spoken in Mongu and Katima Mulilo are expected to deviate more in the use of noun class prefixes presented here-under.

	Class Prefix	Subj Mar	Obj Mar	Gen Mar	Abs Pro	Gen Pro	Rel	Demonstratives			
								1 deg	2 deg	3 deg	4 deg
1 SG	-	*ni*	*ku*	-	*nna*	*ka*	-	*ye*	-	-	-
1 PL	-	*lu*	-	-	*luna*	*luna*	-	-	-	-	-
2 SG	-	*mu*	-	-	*wena*	*hao*	-	*yo*	-	-	-
2 PL	-	-	*mi*	-	*mina*	*mina*	-	-	-	-	-
CL. 1	*mu- (mu-una)* ‘man’	*u*	*mu*	*wa*	*yena*	*hae*	*ya*	*yo*	*yoo*	*yani*	*yale*
CL. 1a	*Ø- (malume)* ‘uncle’	*u*	*mu*	*wa*	*yena*	*hae*	*ya*	*yo*	*yoo*	*yani*	*yale*
CL. 2	*ba- (ba-ana)* ‘men’	*ba*	*ba*	*ba*	*bona*	*bona*	*ba*	*ba*	*bao*	*bani*	*bale*
CL. 2a	*bo- (bo-malume)* ‘uncles’	*ba*	*ba*	*ba*	*bona*	*bona*	*ba*	*ba*	*bao*	*bani*	*bale*
CL. 3	*mu- (mu-shitu)* ‘bush’	*u*	*u*	*wa*	*wona*	*wona*	*wo*	*wo*	*woo*	*wani*	*wale*
CL. 4	*mi- (mi-shitu)* ‘bushes’	*i*	*i*	*ya*	*yona*	*yona*	*ye*	*ye*	*yeo*	*yani*	*yale*
CL. 5	*li- (li-zazi)* ‘day’	*li*	*li*	*la*	*lona*	*lona*	*le*	*le*	*leo*	*lani*	*lale*
CL. 6	*ma- (ma-zazi)* ‘days’	*a*	*a*	*a*	*ona*	*ona*	*a*	*a*	*ao*	*ani*	*ale*
CL. 7	*si- (si-mbotwe)* ‘frog’	*si*	*si*	*sa*	*sona*	*sona*	*se*	*se*	*seo*	*sani*	*sale*
CL. 8	*bi- (bi-shimani)* ‘boys’	*bi*	*bi*	*bya*	*byona*	*byona*	*bye*	*bye*	*byeo*	*byani*	*byale*
CL. 8x	*li- (li-mbotwe) ~zi* ‘frogs’	*zi*	*zi*	*za*	*zona*	*zona*	*ze*	*ze*	*zeo*	*zani*	*zale*
CL. 9	*Ø- (nyazi)* ‘lover’	*i*	*i*	*ya*	*yona*	*yona*	*ye*	*ye*	*yeo*	*yani*	*yale*
CL. 10	*li- (li-nyazi)* ‘lovers’	*zi*	*zi*	*za*	*zona*	*zona*	*ze*	*ze*	*zeo*	*zani*	*zale*
CL. 11	*lu- (lu-chwani)* ‘grass’	*lu*	*lu*	*lwa*	*lona*	*lona*	*lo*	*lo*	*loo*	*lwani*	*lwale*
CL. 12	*ka- (ka-chwani)* ‘small grass (sg)’	*ka*	*ka*	*ka*	*kona*	*kona*	*ka*	*ka*	*kao*	*kani*	*kale*
CL. 13	*tu- (tu-chwani)* ‘small grass (pl)’	*tu*	*tu*	*twa*	*tona*	*tona*	*to*	*to*	*too*	*twani*	*twale*
CL. 14	*bu- (bu-twa)* ‘termites’	*bu*	*bu*	*bwa*	*bona*	*bona*	*bo*	*bo*	*boo*	*bwani*	*bwale*
CL. 15	*ku- (ku-nata)* ‘to hit’	*ku*	*ku*	*kwa*	*kona*	*kona*	*kwa*	*kwa*	*koo*	*kwani*	*kwale*
CL. 16	*fa- (fa-teni)* ‘over there’	*fa*	*fa*	*fa*	*fona*	*fona*	*fa*	*fa*	*foo*	*fani*	*fale*
CL. 17	*ku- (kwa-nu)* ‘over here’	*ku*	*kwa*	*kwa*	*kona*	*kona*	*kwa*	*kwa*	*koo*	*kwani*	*kwale*
CL. 18	*mu- (mwa-le)* ‘in there’	*mu*	*mwa*	*mwa*	*mona*	*mona*	*mwa*	*mo*	*moo*	*mwani*	*mwale*

Table 2.4: Silozi nominal class formatives (Mbeha, 2017)

Classes 1/1a and 2/2a are nouns related to humans, such as occupations, titles, or kinship terms. These nouns take on the prefixes *mu-* in class and the zero-marker prefix *Ø-* class 1a for singular form. In the plural, *ba-* is applied for 2, while *bo-* is for class 2a. For example, *mu-tu* 'person' and *Ø-malume* 'uncle' in singular become *ba-tu* 'people' and *bo-malume* 'uncles' for the plural form. Classes 2/2a can also be used as respect markers. Thus, *bo-malume* can be used when one speaks to an older uncle to show respect or to multiple individual uncles. In storytelling, common nouns – such as the names of animals – can take on class 1a/2a prefixes when they are used as proper nouns. This means that the concord applied to those nouns also comes from classes 1a/2a. Interestingly, borrowed nouns relating to humans seem to take on the class 1 marker *mu-*. However, in the plural, the pairing prefix appears to be class 6 markers *ma-* but with the concord of class 2. As a result, *mu-kuwa* 'white person' and *ma-kuwa* 'white people' or *mu-Chaina* 'Chinse person' and *ma-Chaina* 'Chinese people' are possible as a pairing.

Classes 3/4 take on the prefixes *mu-*, *mi-*. These classes include nouns, such as plant names, abstract nouns, some inanimate, animate objects, and some body parts. For example, *mu-buyu* 'baobab tree' in singular and *mi-buyu* for plural or *mu-nwana* 'finger' and *mi-nwana* 'fingers'. Classes 5/6 are for liquid nouns, paired body parts, inanimate objects that take on the prefixes *li-* for singular and *ma-* for plural. Examples include singular *li-hutu* 'leg' and plural *ma-hutu*, or class 6 *me-zi* 'water'.

Classes 7/8 and 8x take on *si-*, *zi-*, and *li-*, respectively. While 8x *zi-* seems similar to class 10, it is set apart because based on concord, it behaves as one of the plural pairings for class 7 *si-* for singular nouns. For example, depending on the context, class 7 *si-mbotwe* 'frog' can take on either class 8 *bi-*, class 8x *zi-*, or class 10 *li-* prefix to mark plural. Another example is *si-kokwani* 'insect' for, and *zi-kokwani* for plural, which would be used to refer to insects like bugs. Furthermore, these classes also include many nouns borrowed from other languages such as English. *Si-patela* 'a hospital' and *li-patela* 'hospitals' is such an example. These two classes show augmentative or qualities of nouns via the secondary marking. For example, these prefixes are used with human nouns to add the quality of largeness, such as in *si-shimani* 'big-boy' and *zi-shimani* 'big-boys'.

Nouns in classes 9/10 take on the zero-marker prefix *Ø-* and *li-* respectively. For example, the singular *Ø-ngo* 'nose' becomes *li-ngo* in the plural form. While human nouns are minimal here, they do occur. An example is singular *Ø-nyazi* 'lover' and plural *li-nyazi.* While

class 9/10 are a pairing, some nouns in class 9 have class 6 as a pairing instead of class 10. For example, *Ø-zebe* 'ear' occurs in class 9, but the plural takes on *ma-*, which is class 6, thus forming *ma-zebe* 'ears'. The nouns in these classes include plants names, singular body parts, and uncountable nouns. Some words borrowed from Afrikaans seem to take on this noun class prefix, such as *Ø-benkele* and *li-benkele* from *winkel* 'shop', as well as *Ø-keleke* and *li-keleke* from *kerk* 'church'

Class 11 nouns take on the prefix *lu-*, including inanimates and animates. This class is usually for thin or long things in physical appearance. For example, *lu-taka* 'a reed' and *lu-wawa* 'a jackal' are in this class. This class pairs with class 6 and thus take on the marker *ma-* based on the concord. As such, *lu-wawa* becomes *ma-wawa* in the plural. Furthermore, nouns that do not naturally take on this class prefix through secondary pairing can take it on when a speaker wishes to ridicule. For example, the human noun *-mutu* can be used here to form *lu-mutu*. This gives the person undesirable qualities, such as long, thin, or ugly.

The class 12/13 nominal prefixes *ka-* and *tu-* are affixed for diminutive forms to show that nouns are small. These two nominal pairings are similar to the reconstructed PB classes 12 and 13 markers **ka-* and **tu-* (See Table 2.3 for PB reconstructions). The class 12 and 13 nominal markers used in Silozi are derived from Siluyana (Mbeha, 2017). These classes are, in many cases, seen as the opposites of the augmentative classes. The original nouns in these classes are small and include both the animates and inanimates. For example, singular *ka-kokwani* 'small insect' and plural *tu-kokwani.* In most Silozi words, the class 12 and 13 nominal class markers substitute the original nominal class marker of the noun. For example, class 3 nominal marker *mu-* in *mu-shitu* 'bush' is replaced with the class 12 nominal marker *ka-* in the diminutive form *ka-shitu* 'small bush'. These classes are often the direct opposite of classes 7 and 8.

However, when added to nouns from class 1/2 and 1a/2a, the 12 and 13 nominal class markers seem to be applied as additive prefixes. Consider this example: when *mu-lena* 'chief' is made small, the noun takes on the diminutive marker *ka-* thus becoming *ka-mu-lena* 'small king'. Furthermore, a further addition can be made to the prefix depending on the semantic context. The infix *-nga-* can be added between *ka-* and *mulena*, thus *ka-nga-mu-lena* is formed. The infix *-nga-* is used mainly about small nouns (usually jocular) that take on the human quality. For example, a carving or a toy made in the image of a king would be correctly referred to as *ka-nga-mu-lena.* In Silozi, the diminutive form can also be created using a diminutive

suffix and a genitive phrase. For example, the suffix *-nana* is added to *nja* ‘dog’ to form *njanana* ‘small dog’. Genitive phrases are used more frequently than the suffixes. Consider this example: the diminutive form *nja ye inyani* translates to ‘dog which is small’ in English.

Abstract nouns, colours, and certain human qualities take on the class marker 14 *bu-*. For example, the colour *bu-nsu* ‘black’ and the quality *bu-mayi*, which loosely translates to ‘bad luck’. Moreover, numerous animate and inanimate objects that are normally physically small and found in large quantities but not usually counted separately are also part of class 14. Some examples of nouns that naturally occur in this class category include *bu-beke* ‘grain’, *bu-twa* ‘termites’, and *bu-pi* ‘maize meal’. In theory, some of these nouns that appear in class 14 can be counted individually. For this, they would take on the diminutive class 12 prefix marker *ka-* due to their size. For example, the singular form of *bu-twa* ‘termite’ is *ka-twa* ‘termite’. However, this is not a conventional way of speaking, as the class 14 nouns are always referred to in their clusters. The class 15 marker *ku-* is used to mark infinitive verbs such as *ku-zamaya* ‘to walk’. As a result, no lexical noun stems are found in this class category. However, the class is rich in verbal stems such as *ku-seha* ‘to laugh’, which includes the verb *seha* ‘laugh’.

The last three classes in Silozi are 16, 17, and 18, which take on the prefixes *fa-*, *kwa-*, and *mwa-*. These non-paired classes are used by speakers when a reference is made to a physical or non-physical location. Class 16 *fa-* can be used to refer to an object that is physically located on top of something, for example, *fa-ndu* ‘on the house’. In addition, class 16 can be used for when one is referring to the outside. For example, in *ni yemi fa-nde,* ‘I am standing outside’. The class 16 marker can also refer to the non-physical space. For example, the expression *fa-pilu* ‘on the heart’ is also possible as a metaphor to inquire about someone’s thoughts. Secondly, class 17 *kwa-* refers to a relatively distant location. For example, in the sentence *Nyambe u kwa-ndu* ‘Nyambe is at home’. This noun class can also show distancing from non-physical attributes like behaviours in an extended function. Although *kwa-* is not used as the primary nominal marker, as a secondary marker in (3), its use is triggered by the verb *zwa* to show distancing.

(3) *Zw-a* *kwa* *ma-hanyi*
leave-FV GM9 6-stubbornness
‘Stop being stubborn.’

Lastly, class 18 *mwa-* refers to things inside somewhere or something. In (4), *muna u mwa-ndu* 'the man is in the house'. Note that the locative as a primary prefix indicates the man's relationship with the house.

(4) *mu-na u mwa-ndu*
1-man SM1 18-house
'The chairs are inside.'

The class 18 marker can also refer to intangible things like thoughts as a secondary marker. For example, *mwa-mihupulo* 'in the thoughts' is a possible sentence found in Silozi.

Although Silozi contains 18 noun class categories, the language does not mark binary gender via the noun classes (Jalla, 1937). Some proper nouns mark gender, but these gender markings are not consistent throughout Silozi. For example, *ma-* or *ndate-* can be added to a proper noun as prefixes to form *maNyambe* 'mother of Nyambe' and *NdateNyambe* 'father of Nyambe'. However, the former are titles that an individual would receive when they have a child and are more of a social marker that indicates parenthood. Another example of gendering in Silozi is the occurrence of *na-* or *si-* in some names. Consider *Namasiku* 'mother of night' and *Simasiku* 'father of night'. Here the prefixes *na-* or *si-* mean 'mother of' and 'father of' respectively and are added to the root noun *masiku* 'night'. However, these are simply names given to some and do not apply to all. Thus, unless one has names or titles that begin with the prefixes mentioned earlier, gender is not otherwise marked grammatically.

2.6 Silozi in the written sphere

When it comes to discussions of Silozi in the written sphere, the diversity of literature is limited. Generally, most of the literature falls into two broad categories: either descriptive or prescriptive. Scholars such as Flint (2003) and Mukena (2015) note that no documented evidence suggests a writing convention amongst the Bantu-speaking groups that initially settled in Barotseland. Thus, missionaries (as mentioned above) initially introduced the current writing system. In the case of Silozi, the French missionaries introduced the first writing system for Silozi in the early 1900s, which was based on Sesotho (see Section 2.5). While they initially

adopted a prescriptivist approach to make Silozi more akin to Sesotho, they quickly abandoned this and adopted a descriptivist approach (Jalla, 1936).

Although the Malozi did not have a writing system for the language, the scholarship of customs and cultures still existed in the oral form (Flint, 2003; Mukena, 2015). According to Mukena (2015), this knowledge transfer method was done informally through folklore, poetry, and music and formally through teaching farming practices and the use of traditional medicines. Furthermore, Flint (2003) notes that multiple oral statements collected from various sources in different locations within Barotseland were largely similar and contained only minor differences. This means that the oral form of scholarship was accurate and continues to be observed today, and it is the primary method of language transmission (Mukena, 2015).

The earliest known studies of the Silozi language, then known as Sikololo, were conducted by missionary David Livingstone in the mid to late 1850s. He wrote three known works on Silozi published as part of the Grey collection for the South African Public Library. As noted before, he had a good command of Setswana and thus authored a wordlist entitled *An Alphabetical Vocabulary of the Various Tsuana Dialects* (1850). Livingstone also included a multilingual comparison of the Barotse and other languages, such as Setswana. Secondly, the first known Silozi dictionary was also produced by Livingstone, entitled *Dictionary of the Barotse, Tete, etc., languages* (Livingstone, 1852). The third of Livingstone's works involving Silozi was also a wordlist, a *Comparative Vocabulary of Eight Bantu Languages: Bakhoba (Bayeyi), Bashubea, Balojazi, Ba(ma)ponda, Barotse, Batoka, Banyenko, Betshwana* (1851). In these works, Livingstone pioneered the study of Silozi from a descriptive perspective. Livingstone (1851) compared Silozi and Setswana noting their close similaries in lexcon and strucuter. Thus, the papers by Livingstone were important because they recognised Silozi as an independent language system.

In the late 1800s, Sesotho-speaking French missionaries arrived in Barotseland. In their initial studies of Silozi, they had adopted a prescriptive approach (Jalla, 1936; Ambrose, 2007). According to Jalla (1936), the missionaries' knowledge of Sesotho was an advantage, as it enabled them to understand the Silozi speakers without the need for a translator. However, the missionaries initially thought of Silozi as a corrupted variety of Sesotho. As a result, they hoped that through teaching Sesotho to Silozi speakers, they could rid Silozi of its 'errors', thus making it more like Sesotho. Despite their efforts, the missionaries had to abandon this idea by 1912-13 due to practical reasons and a lack of progress in their missionary work (Jalla, 1936).

Thus, they followed in the footsteps of Livingstone and began to study Silozi as a language of its own. This gave rise to many more descriptive publications that focused on various elements, from dictionaries to studies on tone, such as Colyer (1914).

Scholars attempted to document Silozi using the descriptive approach. This resulted in many works that became foundational in the further studies of Silozi. For example, recent dictionary publications, such as *A Silozi to English Dictionary* (O'Sullivan, 1993) and *A Silozi to Silozi Dictionary* (Mwendende, 2010), both adopt the same outlook as *An English-Lozi Vocabulary* (Burger, 1960) and *Silozi Dictionary* (Jalla, 1936). These books aim to gather, update, and present the Silozi lexicon and definitions for academic and non-academic purposes. Other examples include Gowlett's (1964; 1967) studies on Silozi's morphology and Mukuni's (1991), building on the Silozi vocabulary list. The newer dictionaries contain a larger and more updated word bank of Silozi. Each of the dictionaries have English or Silozi explanations and verbatim translations into English. In addition, some scholars also briefly outline the noun class systems, vowel, and consonant systems of Silozi in the opening pages of the dictionaries.

Moreover, the descriptive studies formed the foundation of syllabuses and standards of Silozi used officially today for educational and official purposes (Pretorius, 1975). For example, materials such as Jalla (1937) and Gorman (1950) were developed as teaching aids for non-speakers of Silozi to study the language. Both these works focus on aspects such as the grammar, nouns, and semantics of Silozi. Though they can be considered prescriptivist, they are based on a descriptive approach to Silozi. Later studies on the same area include *Lilimi la Silozi: Litopa ze Pahami* 'Silozi language: Higher grades' (Buiswalelo, 1984) textbooks.

Unfortunately, no comprehensive comparative studies attempt to compare Silozi varieties. Those that exist mainly compare Silozi to languages like Sesotho and Simbunda. For example, Livingstone (1851), later followed by Stirke and Thomas (1916), compiled the earliest known comparative studies on Silozi. They compare Sikololo (Lozi) lexicon to Siluyana and Simbunda. A more recent paper by Kashoki (1999) takes the same approach but uses Cinyanja and Citonga to describe features of Silozi. In a study that discusses Silozi more comprehensively, Bennett (1970) contrasts tone in Silozi and Sesotho. The scholar concludes that though many words in Silozi are from Sesotho, they have been heavily influenced by Siluyana (Bennett, 1970). Gowlett (1989) supports this position by analysing the noun class system of Silozi concerning Sesotho, Siluyana, and Setswana (see Section 2.6).

A prevailing claim amongst these studies is that Silozi is a mixed language that owes some of its lexicon to neighbouring languages. While some of these studies contrast Silozi with other languages, they do not discuss linguistic variation within Silozi. Thus, this thesis will contribute to this gap by analysing Silozi variation in two locations while taking account of the influences from neighbouring languages.

2.7 Silozi today and the neighbouring languages

In the Silozi speaking areas of Namibia and Zambia, other Bantu languages are also present. This discussion is important because these languages contribute to variation in Silozi which will be presented in the analysis chapters. Figures 2.1 and 2.2 show the distribution of the Bantu languages present in the two countries. This means that most of the inhabitants of Katima Mulilo and Mongu speak more than one language. Therefore, contact-induced change from the other languages they speak can be expected. This discussion focuses on the languages that occur with Silozi in the Zambezi region (Namibia) and the Western province (Zambia). Based on Figures 2.5 and 2.6, the languages in contact with Silozi in Mongu and Katima Mulilo do not overlap. For example, while Chisubiya speakers are found in Katima Mulilo, they are not Mongu. The linguistic elements borrowed into Silozi may differ in each town and thus point to different feature pools (Mufwene, 2002).

As mentioned before, Silozi is mainly spoken in the north-eastern part of Namibia, known as the Zambezi Region. However, Figure 2.5 does not mention Silozi as part of Namibia (Eberhard, et al., 2019). Moreover, this map does not present a complete list of Bantu languages spoken in Namibia's Zambezi region. For example, Totela K411 is also omitted, but both languages are present in other texts, such as Maho (2005) and Kamungu (2011). The reason for the omission of these two languages is unclear because they are both widely used in the region. Nevertheless, the other Bantu languages that neighbour Silozi in Katima Mulilo include (9) Ikuhane 'Cisubiya' K42, (3) Fwe K402, (20) Yeyi R42, (14) Mbukushu K333, and (2) Gciriku K332; these are included in Figure 2.5's map.

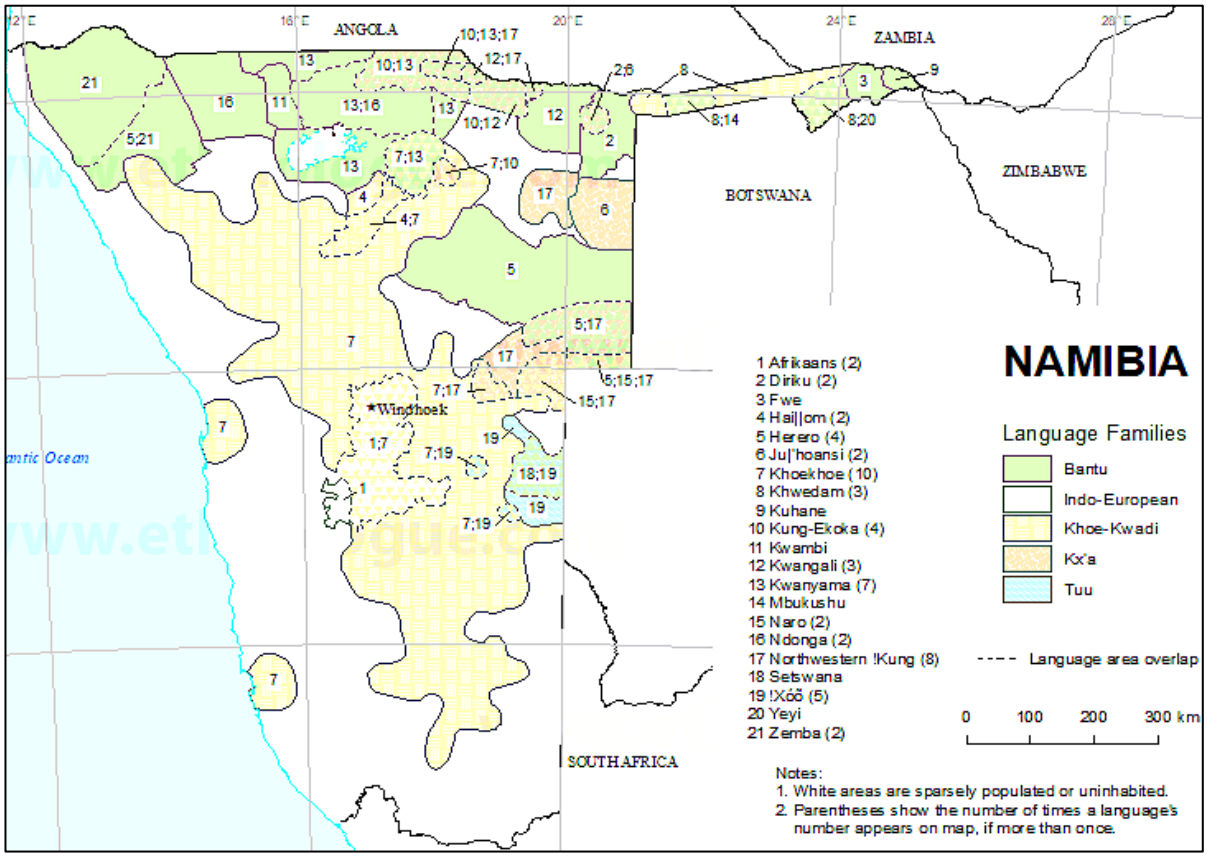


Figure 2.1: Language map of Namibia (Eberhard, et al., 2019)

In Zambia, Silozi speakers cover a wider geographic area compared to Namibia. Thus, in the Western province, Figure 2.2 shows that (32) Silozi is neighboured by (26) Mbowe K32, (27) Luvale K14, (25) Luchazi K13, (28) Mbunda K15, (29) Simaa K35, (30) Luyana K31, (23) Lamba M54, (31) Nkoya L62, (33) Mashi K34, (34) Yauma?, (35) Mbukushu K333, (36) Tonga M64, (37) Totela K41, and (38) Ikuhane K42. Of these languages, only Totela and Ikuhane overlap the two countries' borders but are limited to the Sesheke and Katima Mulilo areas. A closer look at where Mongu is in Figure 2.6 shows that only Mbunda and Luyana are recorded as spoken there alongside Silozi.

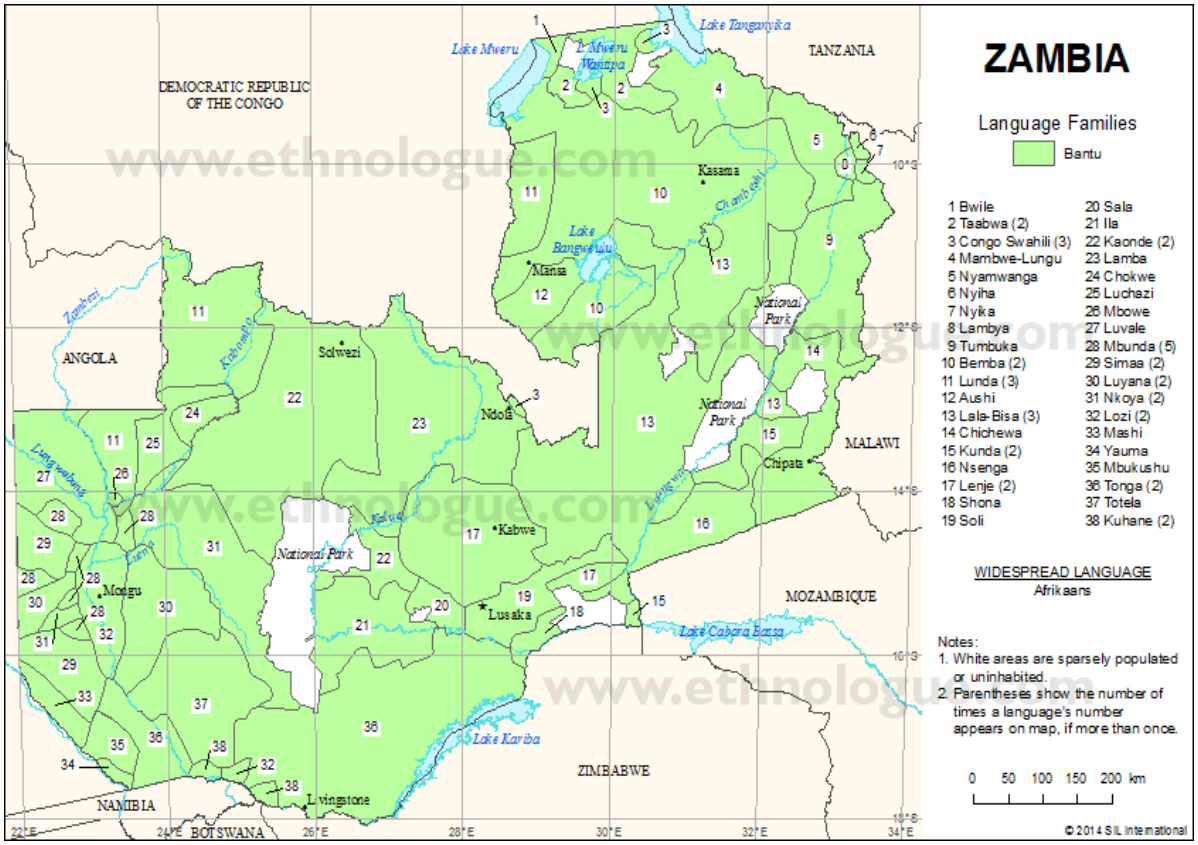


Figure 2.2: Language map of Zambia (Eberhard, et al., 2019)

The numerous studies on language and migration (see Section 2.3) have shown that when separate groups who speak different languages come to live in the same area, their languages undergo contact-induced change (Sankoff, 2001; Kerswill, 2006). For example, processes like lexical borrowing, grammatical change, and phonemic merging may occur as the languages change, resulting in language variation. Among Bantu languages, borrowing has been pointed out as one of the most common language change phenomena. Thomason and Kaufman (1988, p. 21) define borrowing as "incorporating foreign elements into the speakers' native language". For example, the Makololo who settled in Barotseland incorporated (borrowed) linguistic features from Setswana as they travelled through Bechuanaland (Gowlett, 1989). Similarly, Silozi contains numerous borrwings from English and Afrikaans as shown in chapter 4 and 5.

A study comparing lexical samples of Silozi to those of Sesotho and Setswana and some neighbouring languages like Chisubiya and Simbunda was conducted by Mwikisa (1994). It was found that Silozi's lexicon was more mutually intelligible with Sesotho and Setswana compared to its current neighbouring languages, Chisubiya and Simbunda (Mwikisa, 1994). Thus, while Silozi seems to contain many words from other languages, scholars agree that most of the lexicon is still from Sesotho, as Mwikisa (1994) pointed out. He argues that over the past

200 years, Silozi has not changed significantly from its origin as a variety of Sesotho and the neighbouring languages have had minimal influence (Mwikisa, 1994). For example, in terms of lexicon, Silozi shared lexicon with Luchazi (Kashoki, et al., 1998). All this suggests that though Silozi has been in contact with other Bantu languages, it has mostly remained stable and has not changed significantly.

Over the years, Silozi speakers have borrowed lexicon from neighbouring languages, as shown by Stirke and Thomas (1916) and more recently by Kashoki (1999). In my view, these two texts show lexical borrowing into Silozi at two critical points in language development. Firstly, Stirke and Thomas (1916) show Silozi as a newly standardised language in its earliest form. They note that when the Sesotho arrived in Barotseland, many words and expressions had to be adopted into their language. These included words that did not form part of the Makololo's livelihood before settling Barotseland, such as blacksmithing, farming, and fishing.

Some borrowed terms from Simbunda were directly borrowed, for example, *litata* for 'kaross', a type of traditional artwork common in Barotseland, and *kuta* 'the traditional court of law' that administered the law. Other borrowed terms were modified for Silozi, for example, *sibuba* from *chibuba* for rapids in a river and *lisa* from *lishali* for a lake or a large body of standing water. Furthermore, Stirke and Thomas (1916) also note that English and Afrikaans made their way into Silozi. For example, *stimela* 'a locomotive train' from the English word 'steamer'. Another example is *ku pasopa*, which was derived from *pas op*, the Afrikaans phrase for 'be aware or careful'.

The study by Kashoki (1999) comes at a time when Silozi has been standardised and has been in use as an official language for many decades. At this stage, most of the newer words borrowed into Silozi reflect the effects of globalisation, and most of these words include some of the technological advancements of the 20th century. Thus, most of the borrowings that Kashoki (1999) records have English as the donor language, while some are from Afrikaans, and a few forms, isiZulu and Swahili. For example, the words *ledio* 'radio' and *swiči* 'switch' are English. In another example, *sikelemu* is derived from the Afrikaans word *skelm*, for 'a dishonest or unscrupulous person'.

In contrast, *tekeseli* is derived from *deksel*, the Afrikaans word for the 'lid' of a container. *Mpi* is borrowed from *impi*, the isiZulu word for 'war'; this borrowing reflects the interactions that the Makololo had with the isiZulu speakers before they migrated to

Barotseland. In addition, Stirke and Thomas (1916) note that many men from Barotseland went to work in the mines of South Africa. This is reflected in the data samples collected by Kashoki (1999), who recorded traces of isiZulu within the Silozi community. Lastly, Kashoki (1999) also has a host of words from neighbouring languages such as Bemba and Nyanja.

Based on the studies of borrowing into Silozi, we can conclude that the new terms were borrowed to cover lexical gaps and prestige borrowings. More so, in an analysis of kinship terms and the nominal class markers, Mbeha (2017) confirms that the Silozi contained some lexical and semantic gaps. While these studies are important, their primary shortfall remains that they do not investigate variation borrowing practices in the Silozi varieties in Namibia and Zambia. These studies were carried out primarily in Zambia and did not consider Namibian Silozi; this is an area that this current study seeks to include in its investigation. The central research question of this thesis looks at Silozi variation in Mongu and Katima Mulilo. This question cannot be discussed without looking at the other languages that neighbour Silozi, possibly contributing to linguistic variation.

2.8 Chapter summary

This chapter discussed the literature that forms the foundation for this thesis. This study draws a substantial influence from studies of more recent scholars like Legère, Marten and Bloom-Ström whose work with Bantu languages has shown similarities and differnces across different languages or varieties within the same language, especially in contexts of language contact. Moreover, these scholars have developed micro-variation analysis methods that are useful for the analysis of Bantu languages in multilingual contexts. The methods of inquiry used in this study are discussed at length in the following chapter.

What is evident from the literature is that Silozi has been seen as a mixed language by numerous scholars. In addition, has widely been studied in comparison to other languages such as Sesotho and Siluyana – Silozi's parent languages. The language standardised in the 19th century is taught in schools and tertiary institutions. Barotseland is highly multilingual, and as such, scholars of Silozi have shown that it contains borrowings from these neighbouring languages. In the towns of interest, Silozi is the only mutual Bantu language and the other Bantu languages are unique to each town. At the same time, English as an official language is widely used in both towns. Language ecology is central to this discussion bites provides an

overview of the languages in contact with and influence it. Based on the literature, it is noteworthy that a limited number of studies have analysed Silozi from a sociolinguistics perspective to date. Though some of them analysed the influence of other languages on Silozi, none have taken on a variationist approach, and as such, this thesis aims to contribute towards filling that knowledge gap.

Chapter 3: Research Methodology

This chapter discusses the data elicitation and analysis methods used for this study. This thesis is a synchronic sociolinguistic study of cross-border language variation in Silozi as spoken in Zambia and Namibia. Excluding the introduction, this chapter is divided into six sections. Section 3.1 briefly discusses the pilot study conducted in December 2018 which provided the direction for the main study. Section 3.2 discusses the sites where the data was collected and the motivations for choosing these locations. For the data collection, a mixed methods approach was employed. This means that a large number of lexical items was collected from each location and then compared quantitatively. The finings are explained qualitatively in chapters 4, 5 and 6.

Section 3.3 focuses on the participants and defines the requirements they had to meet to be considered for the study. Based on the findings from the pilot study, the participants were limited to students at three institutions of higher learning in Mongu and Katima Mulilo combined. This chapter explains how the participants were recruited to take part in this study. Thereafter, it briefly outlines some of the demographic information of the participants including information about their daily language practices. Section 3.4 details the process through which the data was collected and handled during the fieldwork stage in Mongu. This discussion also extends to the transcription and analysis of the data during the write up phase of the study. Lastly, section 3.5 outlines the ethical considerations taken into account when designing the methods for this study and carrying out the data collection. This section also focuses on the ethics around the participants as individuals that are co-creators of the knowledge in this thesis and not simply contributors.

3.1 Pilot study

In December of 2018, I conducted a pilot study in the border towns of Sesheke (Zambia) and Katima Mulilo (Namibia). These towns are on the opposite sides on the banks of the Zambezi River and, by road, are about 15 km apart. People frequently migrate between the two towns (and countries) via the Winela border post. I had also conducted fieldwork in Sesheke and Katima Mulilo in 2016 and 2017 for my master's dissertation (Mbeha, 2017). I was familiar with the environment and knew that recording language for later analysis was possible. The

study's initial focus was on Silozi variation as a cross-border language, and thus the two were selected as research sites. In both towns, Silozi plays a crucial role and is used widely.

During the pilot study, I worked with 10 participants from Sesheke and Katima Mulilo combined, five from each town. See table 3.1. These participants were recruited through family and friends at workplaces (i.e., the markets) and within the community (i.e., neighbours). The study participants were men and women whose occupations ranged from self-employed as traders or farmers to security guards and students in both cases. Their ages also varied significantly, with the youngest participant being 18 while the oldest was in their 60s. The variation in the participants' ages and occupations was to ascertain the best participants and linguistic variants to focus on during the full-scale study. Although the all spoke Silozi fludently, some claimed that it was not their first language (L1) and as recorded in the last column of table 3.1.

Town	**Name**	**Age**	**Occupation**	**Gender**	**L1**
Sesheke	1. Inoke	18	Student	Male	Silozi
	2. Milinga	24	Herder	Male	Silozi
	3. Kozo	30	Hawker	Female	Silozi
	4. Bo Jo	51	Fisherman	Male	Bemba
	5. Bo Iñutu	45	Trader	Femlae	Totela
Katima Mulilo	1. Kahundu	22	Student	Female	Chisubiya
	2. Matengu	25	Student	Male	Silozi
	3. Milinga	42	Taxi driver	Male	Silozi
	4. Bo Pumulo	50	Trader	Female	Chisubiya
	5. Bo Simataa	61	Security Guard	Male	ChiFwe

Table 3.1: The pilot study participants (with pseudonyms)

The data collection tool used in the pilot study was a morphosyntactic questionnaire divided into two sections. The first section composed 116 sentences translated into Silozi from English by the participants. The second section had questions on participant metadata and attitude towards Silozi. On average, a participant took about 30 minutes to complete an interview. These interviews were recovered for later analysis.

The data analysis revealed that variation was present in the Silozi varieties spoken in Sesheke and Katima Mulilo. However, I encountered a significant challenge in that these

variations were minimal. Firstly, the two towns are less than 15 km apart, and they have many other Bantu languages in common such as Chifwe and Chisubiya. Thus, the linguistic features added to Silozi from these other Bantu languages were similar in the Sesheke and Katima Mulilo. Secondly, many people travel between the towns and frequently contact speakers from the other town. For example, intermarriages are common and thus, many people had family members in both towns that they would visit regularly. Many participants stated that they travelled frequently or were in regular contact with people between the towns for business or social purposes. This regular contact of speakers from both sides of the border meant that the Silozi varieties contained more similarities than differences.

A positive outcome from the pilot study was that many participants from Sesheke mentioned that Mongu was the place where 'real' Silozi variety was spoken. Some of the participants stated that Silozi in Katima Mulilo and Sesheke was a variety they referred to as *Silozi sa buSubia* 'Lozi of Subiyaland', which they believed was a low-quality variety of the language. The participants stated that *Silozi sa ngana / se si kondile* 'proper Silozi' was spoken in the towns and villages further north of Sesheke, i.e., *kwa Bulozi luli* 'real Buloziland'. Some of the towns mentioned included Sioma, Kaoma, Senanga, and Mongu. These towns and villages are located close to one another.

These circumstances prompted me to consider shifting focus from Sesheke to Mongu, further north along the Zambezi River. I travelled to Mongu and collected a limited data sample using the questionnaire. Silozi is widely spoken in Mongu and is used almost everywhere. Thus, it was easy to observe some speakers in taxis, markets, and streets while taking notes. After the pilot study in Mongu, the research question was reformulated, and methods redesigned. For example, we found that the initial questionnaire was not very effective as it had too broad and was not focused enough for the study; this was rectified.

Lastly, as a Silozi speaker, I had to think carefully about my positionality and how I inserted myself in the interview. Initially, I introduced myself as Gustav in English during the data collection for the pilot study. In response, the participants chose to speak English instead of Silozi. After reflecting on this, I would give all three of my names in the introduction. I noticed that the participants would either call me *BoMbeha* 'Mr. Mbeha' or *BoNyambe* 'Mr. Nyambe' and they chose to use more Silozi.

3.2 Research sites: Mongu and Katima Mulilo

As mentioned in the literature review, the two towns are in an area called Barotseland. Located in Namibia, Katima Mulilo is the regional capital of the Zambezi region (Zeller, 2009). The other research site was Mongu, the capital of the Western Province of Zambia. Even though these towns are approximately 320 km apart, they bear a resemblance in terms of the social makeup and economic activities; this is discussed below. Both towns are situated next to the Zambezi River (see Figure 3.1) and have surrounding villages. Socially, Silozi is very important in this area because it is used so widely.

Katima Mulilo was established and commissioned by the British colonial forces in 1935. This newly commissioned town was also named the new Zambezi regional capital, replacing Schuckmannsburg. Katima Mulilo is in the North-Western corner of Namibia and is approximately 1 200 kilometres away from Windhoek, the capital city of Namibia. The Namibian census of 2010 showed that the Zambezi region had about 98,000 inhabitants (Namibia Statistics Agency, 2017). Half of that total population were noted to be living in the rural areas just outside Katima Mulilo.

Though Katima Mulilo is home to many language groups such as the Masubia and Mafwe, the name *katima mulilo,* 'one who quenches the fire', is derived from Silozi. The name of the town itself is argued to illustrate the hegemony that Silozi has in the region (Sitwala, 2010). Moreover, within the Namibian borders, Katima Mulilo serves as the centre of Silozi even though the native speakers of the language are vastly outnumbered by other language groups (Flint, 2003; Fisch, 1999). For example, Chisubiya and Chifwe are the two most dominant languages spoken by two major ethnic groups in Katima Mulilo. However, these languages do not have an official standardization that the state recognises and are neither taught in schools nor used in official administration (Sitwala, 2010).

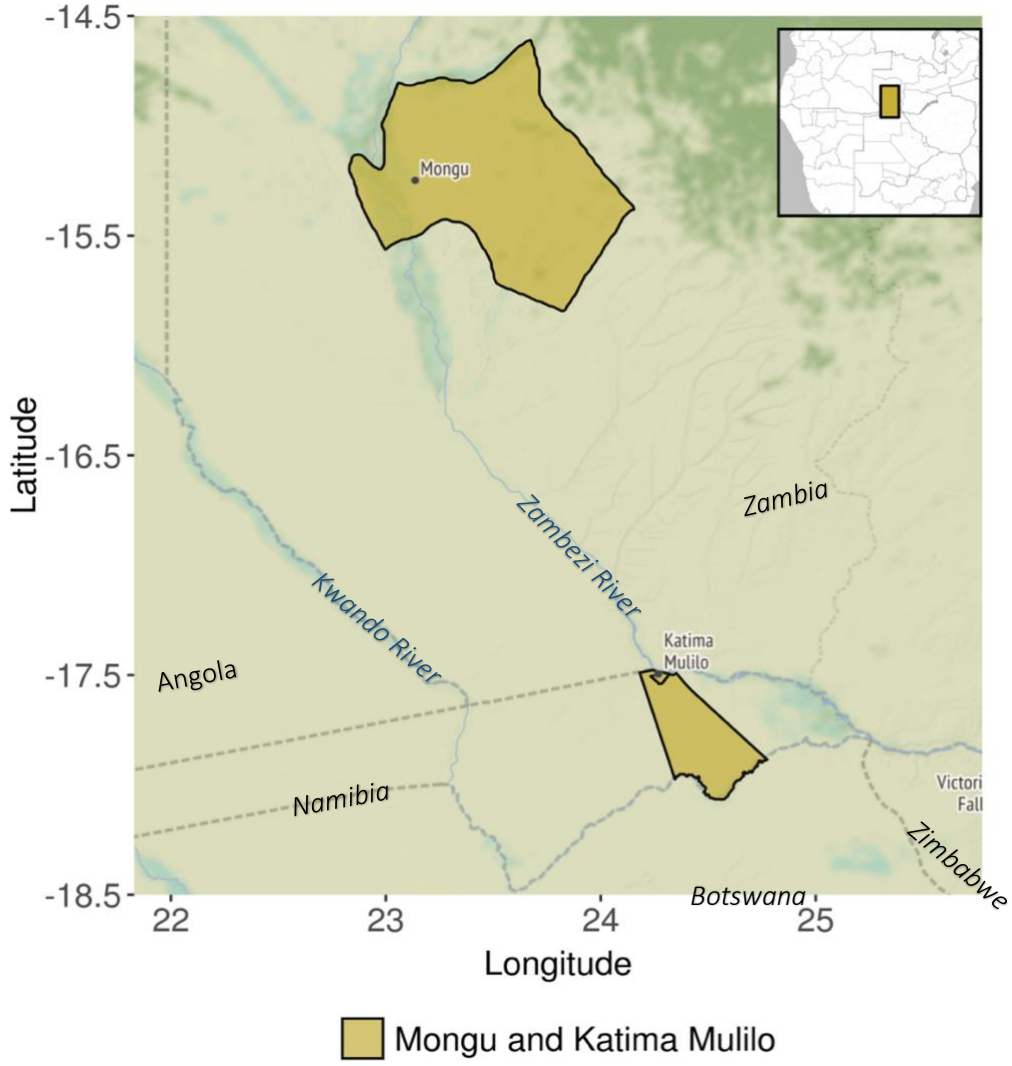


Figure 3.1: The distance between the research towns (Villegas & Lee, 2019)

On the other hand, the Luyi people established Mongu as their capital when they initially arrived in the Barotse Flood Plain, according to Mainga (1966). He argues that this was around the 1500s, which was long before the arrival of the European missionaries and colonizers (Mainga, 1966). *Mongu* is the Silozi word (derived from Siluyana) for 'promontory', a fitting name because the town Mongu is on the elevated ground edge of the Barotse flood plain. This was done to avoid the annual flood in the rainy season when the Zambezi river overflows its banks. Mongu is located in the Western Province of Zambia and is about 600 kilometres west of the national capital, Lusaka. In terms of population, Mongu and the wider Mongu District boast over 180,000 inhabitants, of which the more significant majority identify as Malozi (Central Statistical Office, 2012).

The two Malozi Royal villages, *Lealui* and *Limulunga* are close to Mongu, the *Bulozi* capital. These two villages host the residences that serve as the official dwellings of the *litunga,*

'the Malozi paramount chief'. Furthermore, the annual *Kuomboka* 'coming out of the water' ceremony occurs in the floodplains near Mongu. *Kuomboka* is an annual celebration ceremony where the *litunga* moves residences from *Lealui* to *Limulunga.* He also makes an official public appearance (Mukena, 2015). This ceremony usually occurs at the start of the rainy season. The *litunga* travels by river on the royal barge known as *Nalikwanda,* and he is accompanied by his subjects and disembarks on the banks, hence the ceremony's name, *kuomboka*.

Thousands of Malozi attend this event from Zambia and Namibia. Tourists from various other places are also regular attendants of the ceremony. At this event, spectators witness multiple expressions of Bulozi culture such as music, food, clothing, art and praise poetry. Though other language groups are present in the Mongu area, the region's traditional, linguistic, and cultural dynamics are strongly influenced by the Malozi (Mukena, 2015).

3.2.1 Economic makeup

Despite the differences discussed above, the two towns share several similar aspects. Firstly, many of the local inhabitants of both Mongu and Katima Mulilo are small business owners or are employed in various sectors, namely the skilled sector (i.e., as teachers, nurses), semi-skilled sector (i.e., as sowing industry, machine operators) and unskilled sector (i.e., as cleaners and security guards) (Namibia Statistics Agency, 2017; Central Statistical Office, 2012). Secondly, tertiary institutions in both towns host numerous full-time, part-time, and distance students. Namely, the University of Barotseland (UBL) and Lyambai College of Education (LCE) in Mongu, and the University of Namibia's Katima Mulilo campus (UNAM). These tertiary institutions train students in humanities, health sciences, environmental sciences and commerce faculties. Most of the students who attend these institutions are matriculants from secondary schools within the region or province. While Silozi is not used as the medium of instruction at these institutions, it is very widely spoken and taught as a subject to some students. Each of the participants who took part in this study was undergraduate students at one of these three institutions across various faculties.

The movement patterns in the towns are by and large similar (Nickanor, et al., 2007; Zeller, 2009). The high levels of activity in Mongu and Katima Mulilo are partially attributed to the large volumes of people who visit and travel through the region (Zeller, 2009). The region is popular due to its warm climate and a wide variety of flora and fauna. Thus, thousands of tourists or travellers are in transit annually between Angola, Namibia, Zambia, Zimbabwe,

and Botswana. Additionally, this influx of people also supports business activities that range from guesthouses, major supermarkets to small shops and street vendors (Nickanor, et al., 2007).

People who live in the surrounding villages travel into the major towns like Mongu of Katima Mulilo frequently for shopping or to a neighbouring village for a short visit. Due to the large distance, these trips are usually day trips where they do not cross the border into another country, between Mongu and Katima Mulilo. While, in some cases, people cross the border into the other country, usually for business-related reasons or extended visits, this was not the case with my participants, who predominantly stayed in their respective towns.

The political border between Zambia and Namibia is marked along the Zambezi river. The Winela Border Post serves as the point of access between the two countries (i.e., between Sesheke and Katima Mulilo), as depicted in Figure 3.2. Zeller (2009) notes that Katima Mulilo is built along the Trans Caprivi Corridor (TCC). This highway is a vital route that connects landlocked countries such as Zambia, Zimbabwe and the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) to the port of Walvis Bay for sea trade. Mongu is also situated on one of the popular routes to Lusaka and the DRC used by motorists. This means that the route is busy, resulting in congestion throughout the year at the Winela Border post as trucks await inspections and permits to cross the border (Zeller, 2009).

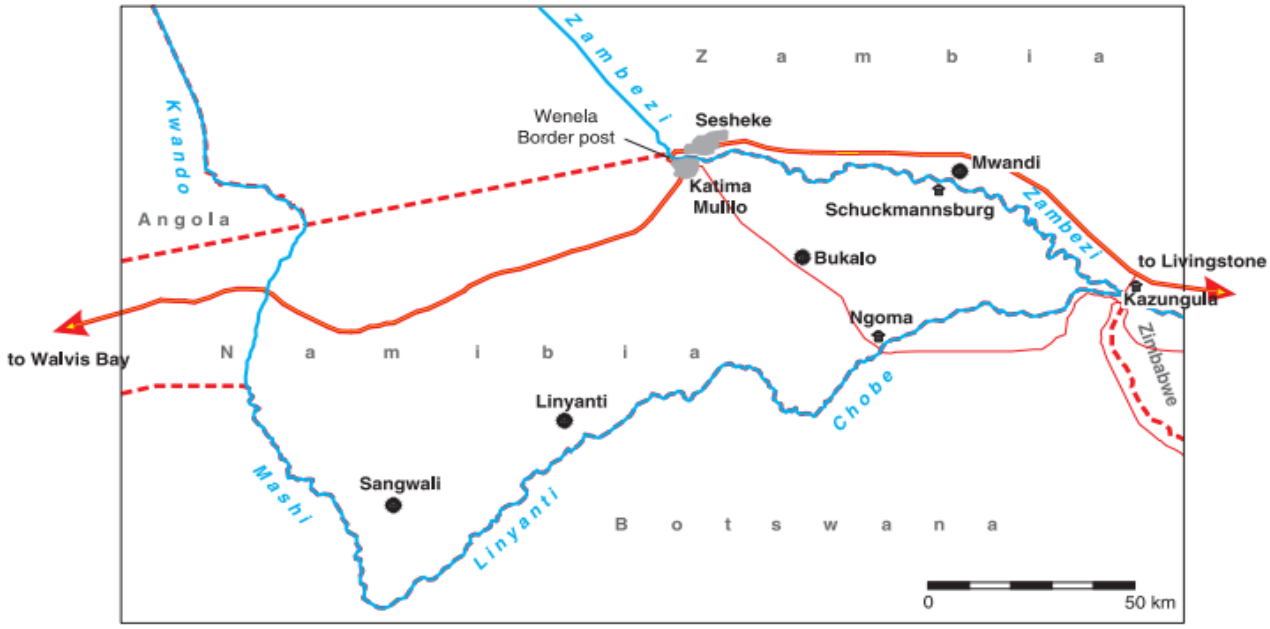


Figure 3.2: Zambia and Namibia border (Zeller, 2009).

The Zambezi Bridge was completed in 2004 to facilitate more efficient movement between the two countries, thus reducing congestion at the Winela Border post (Nickanor, et al., 2007). Before the erection of the Zambezi Bridge, a pontoon was used for transporting people, vehicles, and cargo across the river. However, the process was cumbersome due to the set curfews on when to use the pontoon, frequent breakdowns and river tides, rendering the pontoon inaccessible for long periods. In addition to this, the pontoon could not accommodate the ever-increasingly large number of people and goods that had to cross the Zambezi River at a given time. Thus, the Zambezi bridge alleviated the movement problem, so driving or walking between Zambia and Namibia became possible (Nickanor, et al., 2007; Zeller, 2009).

3.3 Motivation of choice of research areas

The selection of Mongu and Katima Mulilo was motivated by the following primary reasons. Firstly, many Silozi speakers reside in the towns and the surrounding villages (Central Statistics Office, 2011; Flint, 2003). Secondly, as the capital of the Malozi in each country, there is a rich history that includes the origins and settlements of the Makololo and Luyi in the area. This is discussed in broad detail in the literature review. Thirdly, Silozi is predominantly spoken as a first language by most people in Mongu, which serves as the capital of the Malozi in Zambia (Caplan, 1970, Mainga, 1966). As for Katima Mulilo, on the other hand, it is where the majority of Silozi speakers are found in Namibia, which also represents the largest overall community of Silozi speakers outside Zambia. Silozi is spoken as an additional language by the majority in Katima Mulilo, who mostly identify as Chisubiya and Chifwe first language speakers.

Fourthly, regardless of its status as a spoken language in either country, Silozi is the official language alongside English in Mongu and Katima Mulilo today. Of the two languages, English serves as the language of communication, especially with outsiders such as tourists. Silozi, on the other hand, is spoken as the lingua franca amongst the locals who are Malozi or those that do not share a mutual language. Furthermore, both English and Silozi play essential roles in various domains such as state education, regional administration, radio, print media, official state and private communication.

Finally, with the considerable distance between Katima Mulilo and Mongu, the languages that are in contact with Silozi are different in both towns. For example, in Mongu, other languages include Mbunda and Toka. In Katima Mulilo, the languages include Chisubiya

and Chifwe. As the only Bantu language shared between the two sites, Silozi offers the potential for analysing existing variation. Thus, the two locations were ideal because rich linguistic data was available. More so, the language varieties spoken in the two communities are stable, and thus, it would be possible to find linguistic patterns.

3.4 The sample population

This study looked at spoken Silozi in Zambia and Namibia, thus the representatives for this study were individuals from the Silozi speaking community of Mongu and Katima Mulilo. In total, I was able to recruit 70 Silozi speakers as willing participants to be representatives of the two locations where I collected the data. Forty were from Katima Mulilo, while the remaining 30 were from Mongu. I recruited an equal number of men and women to participate in the study.

The targeted participants were between the ages of 18 and 35. It is worth noting that I chose to use these age ranges instead of specific ages on the questionnaire. This was motived by the fact that asking for people's exact age was considered rude amongst some speakers in the community per my findings during the pilot study. Thus, I used age ranges that were acceptable and gave me a general view of how old the participants were. These age groups were chosen because they constituted most students and were settled within the towns of interest. Findings from the pilot study revealed that these age groups were also the most available for data collection. An added advantage to this was that as undergraduate students, they were easily accessible on the campuses, thus ensuring more efficiency around the logistics of data collection and consent. The participants also shared English as a linguistic repertoire, which was vital for this study.

Before collecting any data, I obtained permission from the deans of research at the University of Barotseland (UBL), Lyambai College of Education (LCE) and the University of Namibia: Katima Mulilo Campus (UNAM) to recruit students. In each case, I had to present the details of the project to ensure that my research was compliant with their ethical standards. I mainly did the recruitment with the aid of a lecturer assigned by the host institutions. To start, we approached numerous students and told them about the research, after which they would then choose to either take part or not. Many stated that their Silozi was not 'perfect' during recruitment. I explained the study to them and showed them a questionnaire sample while

assuring them that the research aim was not to find perfect speakers but simply those who knew and spoke the language regularly.

I recruited fewer representatives in Mongu because UBL and LCE were starting their new academic terms. As a result, most of the students at the two institutions primarily came to their respective campuses for registration. I had to recruit them as they arrived on the campus. Staff members from the administration office would alert the students of the ongoing research. Lastly, most of the students solicited their friends and fellow students on the campus, most of whom also agreed to participate in the study. In both towns, an equal number of men and women were recruited.

Although recruiting participants under 18 might have been possible logistically, for example, at a secondary school, I would need to be granted permission by parents, the school and potentially the regional or national education board. Considering the time constraint on this study, such a process would pose a significant challenge because this process would need to be done in both countries. Similarly, recruiting participants aged 36 and above offered a challenge as well. For instance, many people would become unavailable during the pilot study and cancel or wish to postpone meetings frequently despite initially agreeing. Most stated that unforeseen circumstances or family commitments that had come up made it difficult to meet for the set appointments. Such a scenario would have created a practical challenge during collection and an inconsistent and unreliable data sample.

At the time of the data collection, the participants had been residents of the respective town and had lived there for most of their lives. Although some participants mentioned that they were born in different villages or towns, these settlements were less than 100 kilometres from Mongu or Katima Mulilo. They had moved to Mongu or Katima Mulilo as children and completed their schooling there. Participants who grew up in other towns were disqualified, making the data samples difficult to compare. Although the participants had studied Silozi as a subject in school, they were not required to partake in the study. They were required to have learnt Silozi at home and speak it regularly. This was determined by the metadata questionnaire they filled out before each interview. Participants who did not meet these requirements did not proceed with the interview.

3.4.1 The interviewees

In total, 70 participants were interviewed and the full list is available in Appendix C. All the participants were frequent users of Silozi. In Mongu, 27 out of 30 stated Silozi as their first language, while in Katima Mulilo, only 17 out of the 40 were Silozi first language speakers. As noted in earlier sections of this paper, both towns are multilingual. This aspect is reflected in the participants' variety of other Bantu languages as additional languages. Apart from English, the only non-Bantu language spoken by the participants was Afrikaans which 3 participants from Katima Mulilo mentioned. A more detailed discussion of the metadata starts Chapter 4 as part of the analysis.

3.5 Research design and Elicitation tools

This thesis applied a mixed-methods approach that combines quantitative and qualitative methods (Creswell, 2014). Firstly, quantitative data were collected using a word list comprised of 170 words from 70 participants. This data collection method is effective for collecting and comparing large data sets. The next few sub-sections discuss how data was collected and analysed quantitatively for patterns that show linguistic variation in the Silozi varieties of Mongu and Katima Mulilo. Secondly, a metadata questionnaire was distributed to the participants. This means that the qualitative data is used during the analysis to explain the variation observed in the quantitative data sets.

As noted before, the data was collected through interviews using a questionnaire as the primary data elicitation tool. The questionnaire was designed to collect lexicon, morphosyntax, and metadata. The following section outlines the tools used and explains why these were chosen for the study.

3.5.1 The wordlist

The first data collection tool was a wordlist. Word banks such as the World Loanword Database (WOLD) (https://wold.clld.org/) contain lengthy and extensive word lists in various categories (e.g. 906 nouns). However, I put together a wordlist for this study containing only nouns from each of the respective noun classes present in Silozi (see Appendix B). The words included in the wordlist were selected in consultation with Silozi dictionaries by Jalla (1937) and

Mwendende (2010). The words in the wordlist were from classes 1-11, 14 and 15. For these classes, the speakers were asked to state the singular form followed by the plural form. In some cases, the participants would also use other alternative Silozi synonyms they knew.

Furthermore, the participants also had to provide secondary classifications for some of the words. This was done to elicit class 12/13 data and data that would reveal the use of prefixes in secondary classification. By extension, speakers would also use classes 7/8 and 11 for pejorative. Overall, the wordlist aimed to elicit data that would reveal lexical differences in the nouns and the application of the noun class prefixes.

The words in this list were selected bearing the following factors in mind. Firstly, the list excluded words that did not have Silozi translations or were too archaic or complex to translate - for example, the words 'squire'. Secondly, the words that were foreign to the everyday lives and contexts of the Malozi did not form part of this list. For example, words relating to snowy winters such as 'ski' because Barotseland does not have snowy winters. While there were participants who knew Silozi equivalents for such terms, they learnt these terms in school and not from everyday use of Silozi. This would have presented an inconsistent data set because not everyone had learnt them in school.

Silozi also contains non-Bantu terms borrowed from English or Afrikaans, i.e., *gauda* 'gold' or *benkele* from *winkel* 'store' in Afrikaans were not excluded from this study. This data was used to analyse variation in the borrowed terms that form part of present-day Silozi. Finally, because data elicitation via wordlists and morphosyntactic questionnaires can be time-consuming due to the length of the lists, I also had to ensure that the wordlist chosen was not too lengthy. In this case, the wordlist was of a reasonable length of 190 words, for which the participants had to translate to Silozi.

For illustration, images depicting the nouns on the wordlist were sourced and shown to the participants during data collection. This was useful, especially in cases where the participants did not understand an English term because it sounded similar to another, for example, 'sea' and 'see'. The images were used to avoid giving descriptions that might have extensively impacted the response given by the participants (Dimmendaal, 2001).

3.5.2 The questionnaire

As noted in the literature review chapter, the diminutives, augmentatives, and locatives in Bantu languages are usually marked via prefixes, suffixes, and both. To collect this type of data, I developed a morphosyntactic questionnaire to use. This questionnaire contained 46 sentences aimed at capturing the more fine-grained variation. While these sentences were in English, they were read to the participants who translated them into Silozi.

Like any other data collection method, translation methods have their shortfalls, considered when designing the questionnaire. For example, Bowern (2008) notes that translations can be complicated because the participants can translate literally or freely. This means that the sentences could be inconsistent and potentially incomparable. Additionally, they may not understand what is required of them and thus may not be able to translate the sentence adequately. This is the case when sentences are very long. Another issue to consider was that some of the words in the English sentences might not have direct translations in the target language (Bowern, 2008).

Therefore, to mitigate these factors, I ensured that the sentences for the data collection were shortened and that archaic terms such as *yonde*r were omitted before data was collected. Moreover, the pilot study had revealed the type of sentences that the participants struggled with, and thus adjustments were made accordingly. I adopted the definitions by Guerois et al. (2017) to analyse variation in these three class groupings.

Lastly, they would communicate this when the participants encountered a word in the sentence that they were unfamiliar with. In such cases, I substituted the 'difficult' word, a synonymous word that still allowed me to elicit my variable of interest. For example, 'The big dog is dangerous', the word *dangerous* was substituted with either *scary* or *frightening*. While this option was available for the participants, most of them managed to get through the initial phrases given to them.

3.5.3 The metadata

For non-linguistic data, the participants answered a metadata questionnaire (see Appendix A). Bowern (2008) notes that metadata plays an important role in sociolinguistic fieldwork because it provides more context to the data and enables the researcher to sift through the data and know where everything is and how it is connected. Consequently, this type of data aids in keeping

the connection between the collected data and the context (Meakins, et al., 2018). For example, knowing what other languages the speakers use regularly, variation could be attributed to those other languages.

The metadata questionnaire was uploaded online and was administered via Google forms. This allowed me to collect data in a manageable way. This part of the questionnaire had questions such as what the other languages they spoke were, contexts where they used Silozi, where they had first learned the language, and so forth.

3.6 Recording equipment

Initially, I recorded the first round of interviews using an Olympus WS digital recorder and my smartphone, an Apple iPhone 5s. I compared the sound files recorded from both devices and found them very similar in quality and clarity. Consequently, I opted to continue using the Apple iPhone 5s to back up the recordings to an online drive while conducting the data collection. In the initial sessions where I used the Olympus WS digital recorder, the participants appeared nervous because they were focused on the recording device set on the table before them. Using the smartphone seemed to limit this effect as most of them also had smartphones.

The smartphone was set on the table with the speaker aimed towards the participants. This positioning made it possible to get the speaker's voice while limiting background noise. I edited the sound files using Audacity to clarify, remove the background noise and cut out some long spells of silence, laughter, and a question to the participant.

3.7 Transcription and translation

The data had to be transcribed before it could be analysed. Firstly, using the linguistics software PRAAT, I was afforded the convenience of accessing various controls (i.e., playback, pause, rewind) while transcribing. The collected data was transcribed in the speakers' language, primarily Silozi for the participants and English for me. I transcribed the data into excel spreadsheets with one sheet per participant, after which, I printed each section for the comparative analysis. For example, the wordlists from the participants were printed on the excel sheets, and I compared their responses side by side while analysing the salient variables.

During the analysis, English translations were provided using the Leipzig Glossing Rules (Comrie, et al., 2008) as a guide.

I mainly did the transcriptions and translations with some aid from another Silozi speaking student at the University of Cape Town. As a final point of reference, a Silozi lecturer at the University of Namibia read the transcribed and translated data samples to ensure that transcriptions were done adequately.

3.8 Interviews

This section looks at the data collection process using the tools described in the previous section. I collected the data in one on one interviews with willing participants. The qualitative data for this study was gathered using the Language Documentation and Description (LDD) approach based on discussions by Lüpke (2010) and Himmelmann (2006; 1998). The scholars note that at its core, LDD as a method is concerned with the documentation of any kind of communicative events depending on the needs of the study in question. Though language is at the centre, attempts are also made to capture the context wherein such language is used by considering non-linguistic data. This means that the method is concerned with elements such as the speaker's background, social contexts and so forth. Hence, LDD is reliant on various instruments that can capture these communicative events, and examples include camcorders and voice recorders (Himmelmann, 2006). More traditional methods such as field notes also remain relevant in LDD.

When using the LDD as the approach of inquiry, data can be collected from three types of situations, namely the Observed Communicative Events (OCEs), Elicitations (Es) and Staged Communicative Events (SCEs) (Lüpke, 2010; Himmelmann, 1998). Of the three methods, the data for this study was elicited from SCEs. This means that I used prompts such as questionnaires, pictures, and sentences that needed to be translated into the target language. I also collected non-linguistic data in the form of a metadata survey used for the qualitative section of the analysis.

The LDD approach focused on Staged Communicative Events as the primary data source was adopted for this study for various reasons. Firstly, this method provided a systematic manner of linguistic data collection. For example, sentences are translated from the

original language into the language of interest during the elicitation process by the participants. The researcher can tailor these sentences to ensure that the variables of interest are produced frequently during the interview (Lüpke, 2010).

Compared to methods where participants just speak freely (i.e., the Sociolinguistic Interview), LDD is more concise in the data elicited. When using the Sociolinguistic Interview for data collection, the goal is to get participants to speak as freely as possible with questions as the main prompts (Labov, 1966; Labov, 1972; Schilling, 2013). Schilling-Estes (2013) notes that her participants would speak on various topics during data collection. Some of the results of this were that some interviews were much longer than others. Nevertheless, the phonetic data produced was relevant because that study aimed at analysing the postvocalic *r*.

In the case of my study, the variables of interest potentially produced infrequently in these lengthy interviews. For example, conversations wherein the different speakers produce a similar number of diminutive forms are highly unlikely. Therefore, the challenge is that the data can be inconsistent and thus difficult to use in a comparative analysis like the one envisioned for this study. On the other hand, with LDD, the same questionnaire is administered to the participants and thus eliciting a more comparable data sample. With that said, I used a wordlist and a morphosyntactic questionnaire as data collection tools for this study.

Furthermore, a noteworthy aspect of LDD is that it has been used for data collection in multilingual and multicultural communities (Austin & Grenoble, 2007). This means that the language and the socio-cultural context are not seen as separate in LDD but are interconnected. In contrast, the Sociolinguistic Interview has mainly been employed in monolingual studies such as Labov (1966) and Schilling-Estes (2013). LDD is better suited for this study because of the focus on communities with diverse language groups and cultures in the research sites. This means the wordlist used for this study had been adapted to fit the socio-cultural context of the participants; see detailed discussion of the wordlist and morphosyntactic questionnaire in section 3.5. Keeping diversity in mind enables the researcher to observe and respect the cultural practices within the communities where data is to be collected not to transgress social norms (Dimmendaal, 2001).

Another significant feature of LDD is the emphasis on ethical considerations. These considerations make it a participant centred approach, and the participant is seen as the owner of the language being studied and a contributor to the overall study. This is important because

LDD creates a platform for better accountability on the researcher's part in terms of the way the data is managed, interpreted and represented (Austin & Grenoble, 2007; Himmelmann, 1998). These ethical considerations centre on anonymity and a truthful representation of the participants and collected data. Throughout the process, the objective was to respect and uphold the dignity of the participants. For example, because speech data was collected for later analysis, the produced speech events were recorded on a voice recorder. The participants each signed the consent agreement in Appendix A before taking part in the recorded interview sessions.

3.8.1 Interview process

All the interviews were conducted on-site at the institutions by me in September 2019. Apart from being assigned to a lecturer who would assist me, I was also allocated a quiet space where the recorded interviews could occur. At UNAM, one of the lecturers offered his office space, while at UBL, I was given a classroom in a quieter section of the campus. The students returning from the mid-term break were busy with the registrations or supplementary exams on both campuses. As a result, I found the campuses very quiet and conducive to conducting the study's recorded sessions. The disadvantage to this was that the students were not as widely and readily available as they would have been during regular term time. Nevertheless, along with the aid from the lecturers from the different campuses, I recruited 70 participants for the one on one interviews. Each interview took between 20 and 35 minutes, depending on individual speakers.

One of the potential limitations to fieldwork was being the 'outsider' and thus increasing the effects of the 'Observer's Paradox' (Dimmendaal, 2001 citing Labov, 1966). Though being a Silozi speaker came with some advantages, there were also some disadvantages. For example, an advantage was that during my pilot study, I was easily able to fit into the communities and gain access to the participants due to the shared language. However, familiarity meant taking certain things for granted that could affect the data. For instance, I had not noticed that there was potentially a difference in how certain sounds were produced by the speakers of Silozi in the different locations. To my benefit, the recoded interviews made it possible to minimise some of the oversight because I could playback the interviews and focus on certain aspects at a time.

However, making the recordings and later listening to them brought my attention and other aspects I might have missed. Furthermore, being a Silozi speaker who grew up in the diaspora, speakers would attempt to accommodate me by speaking differently; I had to be conscious of this. Though the effects of the Observer's Paradox were limited, and mutual trust was quickly established, I was aware of the potential challenges. These were considered when designing the data collection tools.

Another challenge I faced during the interviews was that the participants seemed to be conscious that they were being recorded at the start of every interview. As a result, some would state that they felt their Silozi was not up to standard. To counteract this feeling, I told them that I was not looking for perfect Silozi but seeking to hear how they spoke. This seemed to encourage them and remove the pressure. We were getting along better less than two minutes into the interview in most cases. I had a notebook handy during the interview and would make notes on some questions I needed clarity. Towards the end of the interview, I would ask these questions. I tried to keep the questions to a limit to avoid keeping the participants long beyond the agreed-upon time frame.

3.8.2 Follow up interviews

After the initial interviews, I reviewed some of the data collected and invited some participants to come back for shorter follow up sessions. Most of the participants were unable to return for follow up sessions, but some offered to come back (13 from Katima Mulilo and ten from Mongu). I opted to have a conversational approach in the follow-up sessions instead of an interview style. These sessions were impromptu since I had to go along with the schedule of the participants considering that it was a busy time of the semester. As a result, I would sit outside with the participants or walk while asking some general questions about Silozi. These sessions were not recorded, but I wrote vital ideas and questions in the shorthand notepad that I carried with me. For example, the difference between *mbumbu* and *mbututu* was pointed out as synonyms for 'baby'. These follow up sessions held with the participants provided some valuable extra information that aided m the understanding and analysing my data.

3.9 Ethical considerations

Ethical measures are put in place to protect and respect the dignity of the parties involved in the research throughout the process (Coulmas, 2013). These ethics are a moral code that the researcher must honour during and after the research process as part of the commitment to the participants and their communities. The ethical code also holds the researcher accountable for presenting genuine data from participants or analysed texts. As the researcher and the participants, I agreed on the ethical terms before each interview. The terms had been reviewed and approved by the University of Cape Town's Linguistics Ethics Sub-committee under the Faculty of Humanities during the proposal writing stage. The metadata questionnaire in Appendix A contains a consent section signed by the participants and me as per the ethical requirements of the Faculty of Humanities (University of Cape Town: Faculty of Humanities). This served as an agreement between the participants and me to indicate that they voluntarily participated in the study.

Each of the research participants was between the ages of 18 and 35 years old at the time of data collection. The participants' identities are concealed, and the data collected during the research is considered and treated as confidential as per the consent agreement form. Firstly, the data, mainly voice recordings and field notes, are available to the academic supervisors on the research project and me. Furthermore, during the analysis of the data and the chapters' write-up, the participants' responses did not contain any personal information that would make them identifiable for their anonymity. A pseudonym was used in cases where some utterances were focused on during analysis. In addition, there were multiple participants, and therefore, individual participants are not easily identifiable by third parties based on their responses

The participants disclosed the research details before signing a consent agreement form. More so, the participants were encouraged to ask questions about the research at any time. Most importantly, the participants were informed that they were taking part in a study and that they had the option to exit the research at any moment without giving a reason. Of the 70 participants, 69 completed the interview, while only one opted out mid-way through the session.

3.10 Chapter summary

In this chapter, the methods around data collection are presented. The data collected and presented in this thesis was elicited from 70 participants in Katima Mulilo and Mongu. The data was meant to be collected to see the participant as a knowledge co-creator. As a result, the LDD method was deemed the best for data collecting. This data was collected using a metadata survey, a wordlist and a sentence translation section. In an interview format, the sessions were recorded for later analysis. As a mixed-methods approach, the data collected is analysed qualitatively and quantitatively in the chapters following hereafter. Finally, the ethical treatment of the participants was central to this study. Thus, the last section outlines the ethical considerations undertaken throughout the research.

Chapter 4: Analysis of variation in the cross-border lexicon

This chapter starts with the discussion of the data collected for this study. The two primary forms of data considered for this study are lexical and morphosyntactic. In addition, the metadata and responses from the follow-up sessions are used as secondary data in the discussion part of the thesis. This chapter is comprised of 4 parts. Firstly, section 4.2 outlines the social characteristics (metadata) of the speakers interviewed in relation to language. This metadata is vital for later analysis on the variation of Silozi between the two locations. For example, the metadata reveals that while Silozi is dominant in both locations, it seems to be learnt earlier in Mongu compared to Katima Mulilo, where people learn it later in life.

Secondly, section 4.3 briefly gives the necessary background on the dictionaries consulted and how they were selected for this study. These texts are significant because they represent the standard of the language in two different eras. Thirdly, section 4.4 discusses variation in the lexicon of the Silozi varieties from the two towns of Mongu and Katima Mulilo. The lexicon is analysed for variation in the 'Mongu variety' and the 'Katima Mulilo variety' of Silozi. Overall, the variety from Katima Mulilo seems to have more influence from the neighbouring languages such as Chisubiya and Chifwe. On the other hand, the Mongu variety has been less influenced by neighbouring languages such as Nyanja and Mbunda. For this discussion, I will refer to these Silozi varieties as the 'Mongu variety' and the 'Katima Mulilo variety'.

4.1 Metadata

This section outlines the metadata of the linguistic data collected in Mongu and Katima Mulilo. As such, the information in the section will contribute to the analysis in the discussion chapter. For example, the metadata is analysed for social patterns that could justify the variation in the Silozi varieties spoken in the two locations. Tables 4.1 to 4.6 summarise the responses given by the participants in Mongu and Katima Mulilo to the metadata questionnaire. The data is drawn from the comprehensive tables found in Appendix E of this paper. In total, 70 Silozi speakers took part in the interviews, of which 40 were from Katima Mulilo, and 30 were from Mongu. Although each participant answered 14 metadata-related questions, only seven were necessary for the study. The selection process of the participants is discussed at length in

chapter 3 as part of the methodology. The following subsections discuss each of the seven questions and outline the findings.

4.1.1 Occupation, gender, and age

The first three metadata questions were focused on demographic information. Thus, the participants had to state their gender, age, and occupation. These three were also required as part of the selection criterion for the participants. Firstly, in terms of occupation, all the participants indicated that they were registered in undergraduate programmes at UBL, LCE or UNAM at the time of data collection. Question 1 elicited gender information; in both Mongu and Katima Mulilo, 50% of the participants self-identified as male while the remaining 50% as female. The gender composition of the sample is presented in Table 4.1 below.

Town	Gender	Total
Mongu	Male	15
	Female	15
Katima Mulilo	Male	20
	Female	20

Table 4.1: The gender composition of the sample by area.

The participants were asked to state their age group in the third question, and Table 4.2 shows the distribution of the sample. In both towns, most of my participants were between the ages of 18-24, who accounted for 53% in Mongu and 75% in Katima Mulilo. After that, the age group 25-30 were the second highest number of participants, with 37% in Mongu and 20% in Katima Mulilo. Those belonging to the age group of 31-35 were in the numerical minority in both towns. They made up 10% in Mongu and 5% in Katima Mulilo.

Town	Age groups	Distribution	Percentage
Mongu (30)	18 - 24	16	53%
	25 - 30	11	37%
	31 - 35	3	10%
Katima Mulilo (40)	18 - 24	30	75%
	25 - 30	8	20%
	31 - 35	2	5%

Table 4.2: The age distribution of the sample by area.

The subsequent questions, namely four to seven, were directly linked to the participant's languages and thus discussed in the following sections. The responses to these latter questions revealed varied patterns in using Silozi. As briefly mentioned in the literature review chapter, Katima Mulilo and Mongu areas are multilingual; this is also reflected in the metadata discussion.

4.1.2 Participants' first languages

Questions 4 and 5 were related to the languages that the participants spoke. In the 4th question, the participants had to state their first language. In Africa, it is primarily the case that many people grow up speaking more than one language concurrently (Stroud, 2008; Heugh, 2017). Many of the participants of this study indeed grew up speaking more than one language. This moves away from the traditional L1 model where one language is usually acquired in childhood and then others learnt later in life. Instead, people live in multilingual communities where they choose a different language to use depending on the context. For example, in the home one would speak Silozi but use another Bantu language to speak to non-Silozi speaking friends while using English in public places. Most participants in this study noted that they had always spoken more than one language from childhood. Thus, in this and other multilingual communities, the choice of language is context specific.

While this seems to present a challenge when identifying the 'first language' in these multilingual settings, the education departments of each country make use of these terms throughout the student's academic careers. Thus, the particiapnts understood what an L1 was. Still, I clarified that for this study, the term 'first language' was used to refer to the language that the participants grew up speaking at home and which they continue using as one of their

languages into adulthood (Rydenvald, 2018). The first language would most likely be acquired from family members such as parents, grandparents or even older siblings. Additionally, the first language is usually the one the participant speaks most proficiently (De Mejía, 2002), as proven to be the case in the current study. Table 4.3 shows the first languages that the speakers claimed to speak.

Town	Language	No. of speakers	Percentile
Mongu	Silozi	27	90%
	Luvale	2	6.7%
	Mbunda	1	3.3%
Katima Mulilo	Silozi	17	42.5%
	Chisubiya	17	42.5%
	Chifwe	3	7.5%
	Totela	2	5%
	Mbalangwe	1	2.5%

Table 4.3: The first languages of speakers in the sample by area

It is worth noting that many speakers were familiar with the concept of a first language based on studying languages in schools. Some referred to the first language as either their 'home language' or mother tongue. With the above distinctions in mind, 90% of the participants indicated that Silozi was their first language while 6.7% Luvale and 3.3% Mbunda in Mongu. More so, from the total number of participants from Mongu, 33% claimed that Silozi was the only Bantu language they knew, which means that they could only speak Silozi and English.

In Katima Mulilo on the other hand, only 42.5% of the participants claimed to be Silozi first language speakers. This number was less than half compared to Mongu. Moreover, the rest of the participants from Katima Mulilo mentioned other languages such as Chisubiya 42.5%, Chifwe 7.5%, Totela 5% and Mbalangwe 2.5% as their first languages. Only one participant from Katima Mulilo claimed to speak Silozi as their only Bantu language. As a result, based on the sample, Mongu has more Silozi first language speakers compared to Katima Mulilo. More so, more people speak Silozi as their only Bantu language in Mongu. These suggest that Silozi is more dominant and potentially more stable in Mongu.

4.1.3 Participants' additional languages

For question 5, the participants mentioned all other additional languages they spoke. An additional language was defined as any other language acquired or learnt after the first language (De Angelis, 2007). Thus, it was one in which they were potentially less proficient. Moreover, this language could be used sporadically or often with varying degrees of frequency. Although some wrote that they had learnt Silozi as a 'home language' in school, they still saw it as an additional language in their day to day lives. Making the distinction between the first and additional language was important because it reduced the chances of uncertainty between myself and the participants.

Table 4.4 accounts for all the given additional languages. The table includes Silozi because all the participants learnt it in primary and secondary school. Most of the participants spoke various Bantu languages as additional languages, 17 in total. Some of the speakers indicated more than one additional language. The full list is available in Appendix E. Except for English, Silozi was the only mutual language used in Mongu and Katima Mulilo. English was spoken by all the participants mainly because it is the medium of instruction in schools. Overall, the data presented in Table 4.4 shows that while there are other languages spoken in Mongu, Silozi is dominant. However, in Katima Mulilo, Silozi is more commonly spoken as an additional language.

Town	Languages	No. of speakers	Percentage
Mongu	English	30	100%
	Mbunda	9	30%
	Nyanja	7	23%
	Bemba	5	17%
	Silozi	3	10%
	Nyengo	2	6.7%
	Luvale	2	6.7%
	Tonga	1	3.3%
	Swahili	1	3.3%
	Kwamashi	1	3.3%
	Komakoma	1	3.3%
	Lunda	1	3.3%
Katima Mulilo	English	40	100%
	Silozi	23	57.5%
	Chisubiya	16	40%
	Afrikaans	3	7.5%
	Totela	2	5%
	Mbalangwe	2	5%
	Kwanyama	1	2.5%

Table 4.4: The additional local languages spoken by the participants per area.

Though Mongu has a higher number of different additional languages, the speakers of each are few. The most popular additional language was Mbunda with 30% of the speakers and was closely followed by Nyanja with 23% and Bemba with 17%. The other languages had even fewer speakers. For example, Nyengo and Luvale had 6.7% each. Lastly, Tonga, Swahili, Kwamashi, Komakoma and Lunda had 3.3% speakers each. Interestingly, only 10% of the participants spoke Silozi as an additional language. This suggests that Silozi does not feature much as an additional language but more as a first language in Mongu. More so, the speakers who indicated Silozi as an additional language encountered it regularly within their communities and at school.

In Katima Mulilo on the other hand, the additional languages mentioned were fewer, but some of them had a high number of speakers. For example, Chisubiya had 40% of speakers.

Interestingly, 57.5% of the speakers specified that Silozi was their additional language. With more than half of the participants speaking Silozi as an additional language, many features of their first languages may be borrowed into Silozi. Other additional languages mentioned in Katima Mulilo include Totela and Mbalangwe, which both had 5% and Kwanyama with 2.5%. Apart from English, the only other non-Bantu language mentioned by the participants was Afrikaans which 7.5% of participants in Katima Mulilo mentioned.

As previously noted, in some bilingual communities, children can acquire two languages simultaneously while growing up (Smith-Christmas, 2014). This was the case with many speakers, particularly those from Katima Mulilo, who grew up in families and/or communities where both Silozi and Chisubiya were used. In fact, 83% of the participants from Katima Mulilo claimed to have grown up in communities where both Chisubiya and Silozi were spoken. The speakers distinguished between the two and gave a reason for their choice. For example, some noted that though both languages were spoken in the community, one was more dominant than the other in their home, thus making it their first language.

4.1.4 Exposure to Silozi

People can learn languages in many different settings, and question 6 was designed to determine where or from whom the participants learnt or acquired Silozi. This helped me ascertain how early they were first consistently exposed to the language, which plays a role in the variation. The question on exposure proved to be important especially as it relates to identity, ownership and belonging as speaker of Silozi. For example, speakers who mentioned that they had been speaking Silozi since childhood used this to show that they were ‘authentic’ speakers. They also considered themselves fluent and took ownership of the language with most identifying as ‘real’ Malozi. In contrast, those who were not as confident about their fluency or authenticity would use lack of early and frequent exposure as the reason their Silozi was deficient.

For this section, I explained to the participants that they had to have regular contact with people at home or teachers. In the response form, the participants listed individuals or institutions where they had first encountered Silozi and learnt or acquired the language. However, I grouped them into three main categories for this paper based on the findings: family, teachers, and friends. This initial exposre to Silozi corroloated with how much long-

term exposure they had with the languge. Table 4.5 below shows the results of this question, and the full list is in Appendix E.

Town	First Silozi teachers	No of speakers	Percentage
Mongu	Family	27	90%
	Teachers and friends	3	10%
Katima Mulilo	Family	21	52.5%
	Teachers and friends	19	47.5%

Table 4.5: Where participants were first exposed to Silozi per area.

In Mongu, 27 participants said they had acquired Silozi at home from their parents or other family members. These same participants also mentioned Silozi as a first language in question 4. Furthermore, 10 out of the 27 indicated that they grew up in monolingual homes where Silozi was the only language used. They went on to learn English in school. As for the remaining 3, they wrote that they had learnt Silozi at school from their teachers, peers, and neighbours in the community who spoke Silozi. In question 4, these three had also indicated Silozi as an additional language. Nonetheless, they noted that they had easy access to the Silozi growing up because it was everywhere in their community.

In Katima Mulilo on the other hand, only 21 of the 40 participants learnt Silozi while growing up from family members. The remaining 19 participants noted that they had first learnt Silozi at school from their teachers, peers, and neighbours in the community but did not feel a strong sense of ownership of the language or belonging. Most of them noted that they had learnt Chisibyia first and took more ownership of it. Regardless, the participants affirmed that they would regularly speak Silozi and Chisubiya concurrently as noted in section 4.2.3. More so, over 80% of the participants in Katima Mulilo grew up in multilingual communities and could speak more than one language. The data shows one main difference regarding people's encounters with Silozi between the two towns. The ratio of speakers who first encountered Silozi at home in Mongu was higher than in Katima Mulilo, namely, 90% in Mongu compared to 52.5% in Katima Mulilo. The key finding here is that the speakers from Mongu had more practice using Silozi from a much younger age than those from Katima Mulilo. As a result, the former took more ownership of the lanaguge than the latter.

4.1.5 Domains

The language (or variety) that one chooses to use (i.e., speak, sign or write) at a given time is determined by various factors such as who is being spoken to, where the interaction is happening and the overall social setting (Fishman, 1972; Spolsky, 2012; Feng & Adamson, 2018). This area where the language is used is known as the domain. Thus, the 7th question sought to elicit data on where Silozi was spoken. On the questionnaire, the participants could write down multiple domains. The given responses could be summarized in four categories, namely at home, school, community, and church in Table 4.6.

Town	Domain	Users	Percentage
Mongu	Home	27	90%
	School	29	96.7%
	Community	30	100%
	Church	22	73%
Katima Mulilo	Home	18	45%
	School	29	72.5%
	Community	21	52.5%
	Church	1	2.5%

Table 4.6: The domains in which speakers per area use Silozi.

Based on Table 4.6., Silozi appears to be used widely across many domains in both towns. However, the responses also show that in Mongu, more speakers use Silozi across all the domains than in Katima Mulilo. In Mongu, 90% of the participants used Silozi in their homes. Beyond that, all participants said they used the language frequently in their communities (i.e., at the market, with neighbours and strangers).

In contrast, only 45% of the participants said that Silozi was used in their homes in Katima Mulilo. Moreover, only 52.5% claimed that Silozi was used in their surrounding communities. For example, one participant said they were more likely to use English than a local language with a stranger. Many also noted that they only used Silozi with people they knew to speak the language. This difference in use is largely because, in reality, Silozi is dominant both socially and in print media for people in Mongu. In Katima Mulilo on the other

hand, while Silozi is prominent, Chisubiya also has a strong presence socially, which is reflected in the number of people who speak it as a first language.

In both towns, Silozi seemed to be used by many in the academic sphere. Mongu still had a higher use ratio of 96.7%, and Katima Mulilo had more than 70%. This statistic is especially interesting because not all the students took Silozi as a course at the tertiary level. In fact, only those who studied to be Silozi language teachers took it on as a course, and they made up 12.5% of all the participants. This suggests that even at a tertiary level, many students relied on code-switching with Silozi to facilitate learning. For Katima Mulilo, this means that while many students may not use Silozi frequently at home or in their communities, the language remains important in their academic careers.

After looking over some of the data, I had brief follow up sessions and asked some of my participants from Katima Mulilo what languages were used in their churches. They said English was the main language used. The reason was that their church communities were often amalgamations of people who spoke different languages. Some of them indicated that when Silozi was used, it would be on rare occasions and for smaller segments like special announcements. The church was also the domain where Silozi was least used in Mongu, with 73% of the participants mentioning it.

4.1.6 Section summary

To summariese, in Mongu and Katima Mulilo, Silozi remains dominant even though the type of dominance differs between the two towns. In the official administrative and academic spheres, Silozi is dominant, and this is reflected in that all the participants learnt it while in school as a subject. Furthermore, it is used in official documents and advertisements; thus, the participants encounter the language frequently. The situation is different outside the official domains because people choose what language to use in a given context. For example, from the data is clear that in Mongu, Silozi is used by many more in their homes, communities and churches as the primary Bantu language compared to Katima Mulilo. In addition, many more people grow up using the language from a younger age within their communities in the former. The metadata findings seem to correlate to the variation patterns discussed in the rest of the chapter to follow.

4.2 The dictionaries

Per the discussion in the literature review, most of Silozi's lexicon is from Sesotho, while some are from Siluyana and other neighbouring languages (Gowlett, 1989). One of the challenges with Silozi is determining which of the terms 'actually' belong to the language and which are borrowed. Thus, I consulted the Silozi dictionaries by Mwendede (2010) and Jalla (1937) to determineif the words given by participants were borrowings or 'actual' Silozi terms. These two were compiled in the Western Province and thus represented the standard of the language. Unfortunately, they did not differentiate between the Silozi dialects. Nonetheless, before the data collection, I composed the wordlist to elicit lexical data while consulting the Silozi dictionaries. In addition, during the data sample analysis, the commentaries therein were also useful. Thus, they were not used prescriptively.

I considered three factors when selecting the appropriate Silozi dictionaries for this study. Firstly, the two dictionaries had to be from different eras, an older one and another more contemporary. The older dictionary would account for many terms in the early stages of the language, and the newer one would include those and more recent additions. In this way, it would be possible to see which terms may have fallen away or been introduced. Moreover, both would provide an extensive lexical bank that I used to cross-check the Silozi lexicon with the data collected. Secondly, they had to be published officially and credible, thus reducing the possibility of a potentially unreliable wordlist. Thirdly, dictionaries included detailed introductions on their methodologies and vital information on Silozi. In addition, the lexical entries come with definitions and short commentaries such as on the origin of the words. After carefully considering and comparing Silozi dictionaries, I used these two.

Jalla produced the first of the dictionaries in 1937. This is important work because to my knowledge, it is the earliest and most complete Silozi dictionary available that fits my criteria. Adolphe Jalla studied Sesotho, and after moving to Barotseland studied Silozi extensively. His scholarly work on Silozi is both reliable and widely cited. The more recent dictionary is *Dikishinali ya Silozi-Silozi* by Mwendede (2010). Another one I considered was the *English-Silozi Dictionary* by O'Sullivan (1993). However, I chose Mwendede (2010) because it was more recent and contained more entries overall.

Another disadvantage of O'Sullivan's (1993) dictionary was that it only contained Silozi to English lexical entries with no explanations. On the other hand, both Mwendede's

(2010) and Jalla's (1937) dictionaries contain lexical entries with definitions, and these proved useful in my discussion. Lastly, Mwendende's (2010) was a Silozi-to-Silozi dictionary, and it also gave an insider's perspective on the language as the author himself is a Silozi speaker. Some terms collected in the data sample were not in the dictionaries; these were possibly newer borrowings or innovations. For these 'newer' Silozi terms, I followed up with participants to determine the meanings and possible donor languages.

4.3 Lexical variation

This section presents the data that pertains to lexical variation in the Silozi varieties of Mongu and Katima Mulilo. Before analysing the variation in the lexicon, I will briefly describe the data set presented in table 4.7 and offer a preliminary observation. As discussed in chapter 3, the data elicitation was carried out using a wordlist comprised of 172 English words translated into Silozi by each of the 70 participants. Initially, the aim was to elicit data from all the participants where each answer would count as a token. Thus, I would have a total of 12040 token responses. However, some participants could not give Silozi equivalents for some words. In Katima Mulilo, one participant could not complete the interview and opted out. As such, the current data set comprises only 11059 token responses.

Town	Expected tokens	Collected tokens
Mongu	5160	4945 (95.8%)
Katima Mulilo	6880	6114 (88.7%)
Totals	12040	11059 (91.5%)

Table 4.7: A summary of the total expected and collected lexical tokens per area.

The single most conspicuous observation to emerge from the data comparison was that, on average, the participants in Mongu had a higher response rate of 95.8%. In comparison, the average response rate amongst those from Katima Mulilo was lower with 88.7%. Table 4.7 shows the number of tokens given in each respective town. The table does not distinguish between Silozi and non-Silozi terms. For example, those borrowed into the language later from older or 'actual' Silozi terms. Nonetheless, with an average of 91.5% of the lexical equivalents collected, I elicited a rich data set presented in the rest of the chapter to follow.

4.3.1 Borrowing

Thomason and Kaufman (1992, p. 37) define borrowing as "…the incorporation of foreign features into a group's native language by speakers of that language". Borrowing occurs in a contact language situation, and the borrowed features can be lexical, syntactic, phonetic or phonological. Borrowing can start with one linguistic feature (i.e. a word) that can be seen as a linguistic innovation by one or a few speakers. Other speakers then take up this, eventually becoming a common feature of the borrowing language (Thomason & Kaufman, 1992; Haspelmath, 2009). Although the borrowing language maintains its overall linguistic structure, the 'new' features bring some linguistic aspects from the donor language(s); if numerous, these can induce some changes in the borrowing language (Haspelmath, 2009).

As alluded to in the previous sections of this chapter, the Silozi varieties in Mongu and Katima Mulilo are in contact with languages not present in the other town (see 2.2.6). Historically and lexically, Silozi can be seen as a mixed language (Gowlett, 1989). Although perhaps not in the structural sense of Bakker and Mous (2013), there has since been a long period of standardisation as well. Myers-Scotton and Okeju (1973) comment on how lexical items can be borrowed with much ease in contact language situations. Silozi, like many other languages, contains borrowed lexicon that is frequently used to fill lexical gaps, especially from local languages (Sitali-Mubanga, 2018). In addition, the borrowed lexicon is often used for prestige marking. Overall, these lexical borrowings reflect a salient point of variation between the Silozi varieties of Mongu and Katima Mulilo, these will be discussed.

Sub-section 4.4.2 presents the findings of lexical borrowing by Silozi speakers in Katima Mulilo and Mongu. The discussion is divided into two parts, with the first looking at terms borrowed from neighbouring Bantu languages such as Chisubiya in Katima Mulilo and Nyanja in Mongu. This first category shows which of the two Silozi varieties in question borrow more from neighbouring Bantu languages. The analysis will ascertain which the donor languages in the sample are.

Secondly, sub-section 4.4.3 looks at lexicon borrowed from languages that are non-Bantu to Barotseland, which in this case are English and Afrikaans. Most of these terms also encompass lexicon that has been introduced via processes like globalization such as 'computer'

or ‘car’. The aim is to analyse whether the speakers of the two Silozi verieties apply the same principles when indigenizing the non-Bantu lexicon into Silozi. Lastly, this sub-section presents some data on the use and formations of neologisms and semantic expansions to cover the lexical gaps of the new concepts.

4.3.2 Lexicon from intra-Bantu borrowing in Katima Mulilo

The Zambezi Region presents an interesting language situation because Silozi is the first language of a minority group but is recognized as the official language for the region alongside English. As such, many people speak their own Bantu language together with Silozi. For example, in section 4.2, about 83% of the participants in Katima Mulilo indicated that they spoke both Silozi and Chisubiya as either a first or an additional language. Moreover, these participants also claimed that they used both languages frequently in their day-to-day interactions. These results support Busch, Jardine and Tjoutuku's (2006) findings, who report that many people in the Zambezi region speak both Silozi and Chisubiya concurrently. However, the official status of Chisubiya is lower than that of Silozi despite it being the first language for the majority in the Zambezi Region (Busch, et al., 2006). The reason for this is because Chisubiya is unstandardized for the written domains. Similarly, Fwe is widely spoken in Katima Mulilo but with a lower status due to its absence in the written and print domains. Busch et al. (2006) do not address borrowing or mixing between Silozi and Chisubiya, but their results from the data collected in Katima Mulilo shows the presence of borrowing.

Table 4.8 shows borrowed terms given by participants as the Silozi word they knew and used for a specific item. The first column shows the English term followed by the one borrowed into Silozi from another Bantu language in the second column. The third column shows how frequently the term was borrowed in the data set. After that, the original word as it would appear in the donor language is shown in the fourth column, while the fifth shows the donor language where known. Lastly, the standard Silozi terms are given in the final column. These words were given by most of the participants who did not use the borrowings. In addition, they are also noted in Jalla's (1937) and Mwendende’s (2010) dictionaries. Overall, 84 terms were borrowed in Katima Mulilo, and these make up 1,4% of the 6114 words collected with the wordlist.

English	Borrowed term	Freq.	Original	Donor Language	Silozi term
Root	*muhisi*	2	*muhisi*	C	*mubisi*
Baobab tree	*mubozu*	2	*ibozu*	C	*mubuyu*
Knee	*lizwee*	2	*izwee*	C	*liñwele*
Broom	*mufiyezo* *lufiyezo*	14 6	*mufiyezo*	C	*mufiyelo* *lufiyelo*
Headman	*induna*	17	*induna*	Z	**induna*
Scorpion	*onge* *nge*	1 2		U	*kabanze*
Lizard	*litendeleka* *mutendeleka* *katendeleka*	3 1 1	*untendeleka*	C	*mukolozwani*
Hoe	*hamba*	1	*ihamba*	C	*muhuma*
Lice	*njina*	2	*injina*	C	*nda*
Blood	*gazi*	9	*igazi*	Z	**mali*
Smoke	*busi*	7	*busi*	C	*musi*
Smile	*kumwenka*	1	*kumwenka*	C	*lumenyo*
Money	*mali*	8	*imali*	Z	**mali*
Feather	*mulimba*	5		U	*lifufa*
Total		**84**			

Table 4.8: Lexicon borrowed from other Bantu languages in Katima Mulilo (C=Chisubiya, Z=isiZulu, U=Unknown)

Table 4.8 shows the borrowed terms elicited via the wordlists in my dataset in Katima Mulilo. Although the data contained lexical innovations (i.e., semantic extensions and shifts), they are covered later in this chapter. Most of the terms were from Chisubiya while a smaller number appeared to be from isiZulu. Often some of the speakers used a borrowed term to replace a lexical item that was also present in Silozi's vocabulary. What is interesting is that sometimes during the interviews, the participants would display linguistic meta-awareness. Firstly, they would realise that they had mentioned a non-Silozi word and correct it. In total, the participants in Katima Mulilo corrected themselves on 42 instances, and these are not part of the 82 in Table 4.8. I omitted these from the data.

Secondly, they remembered a word they did not know the Silozi term earlier. They would ask to go back to correct themselves, and this happened on 69 instances which are also not part of Table 4.8. Thirdly, some speakers used the borrowed terms as synonyms. For example, two participants noted the Silozi synonyms for 'knee' - *lizwee* (Chisubiya) and *liñwele* (Silozi). Similarly, two synonyms for 'lice' are *njina*, from Chisubiya and *nda* the original Silozi word. Unlike the first two, these instances were rare.

Overall, the borrowed Chisubiya words are indigenised into Silozi. For example, in the borrowing of *njina* 'lice', the augment *i-* is also dropped from the original Chisubiya term *injina* 'lice'. In another example, the word *mubozu* is given by two participants for 'baobab tree' which was a Chisubiya term. In this case, the speakers dropped the augment in *ibozu* 'baobab tree' and added the class 5 nominal marker *mu-* to form the Silozi *mubozu*. The original Silozi term for 'baobab tree' is *mubuyu*. However, the borrowings of these terms were each just mentioned by a few speakers. Since Silozi is taught in schools, it is possible that the participants learnt the Silozi terms and thus become aware of the difference. Similarly, I also echo this idea and show that while in school, students gain a stronger command of Silozi and can distinguish it from Chisubiya.

The Chisubiya term *mufiyezo* 'broom' was frequently used in place of the Silozi term *mufiyelo* 'broom'. These terms differed only minimally, i.e., with the single sounds /z/ and /l/ in the different variations for 'broom'. These lexical variations in Table 4.8 such as *mufiyezo* 'broom' were only mentioned in Katima Mulilo. This is pehaps surprising since in both languages, the sounds are present. The fact that both Silozi and Chisubiya contain these terms that are almost identical means that the words can be used interchangeably. However, the Chisubiya term is more common because the language has the most influence in the Zambezi region.

While isiZulu is not spoken in Katima Mulilo, some terms from the language are part of Silozi's vocabulary. These terms have two possible sources. Firstly, Sikololo from the Makololo migrated from Shaka's Zulu kingdom as discussed in the literature review. Secondly, migrant labourers who had travelled south to work in the British-owned mines in South Africa. Nonetheless, *induna* 'headman', *gazi* 'blood', and *mali* 'money' are all terms from isiZulu. Interestingly, when asked for other synonyms for the above mentioned, the participants gave either descriptive titles or borrowings. For example, no other term was given for *induna*

'headman' apart from terms that described an *induna's* role, such as *muzamaisi wa munzi* 'ruler of the village' or *muñi wa munzi* 'owner of the village'.

Furthermore, the word *mali* has a double meaning in Silozi, either *money* or *blood.* In the case of *mali* 'money', the term *masheleñi* 'money' was also given but is a borrowing of the English word *shilling,* the old British coins used in the colonial era. The derivatives of this term are common across many Bantu languages in areas inhabited by British settlers. The isiZulu words were borrowed early on and seemed to have become the most common terms as indicated by their appearance in Jalla's (1937) and Mwendende's (2010) dictionaries.

4.3.2.1 Affixation and subject marking agreement

In most Bantu languages, the noun class prefix used in the head noun triggers the nominal class concord of the rest of the sentence (Marten, 2020). When borrowing terms, participants in this study either applied the Silozi nominal prefix to the borrowed term or another nominal marker they thought was suitable. Consider this example, in Table 4.8, the Chisubiya word for 'lizard' was mentioned five times in Katima Mulilo in my data set. Firstly, *untendeleka* is the root word borrowed from Chisubiya. This word forms part of class 9, thus having a zero-prefix marker but still contains the augment *u-* before the root word. For Silozi, the participants used three different nominal class markers for the root word *ntendeleka*, namely *li-*, *mu-* and *ka-*. In contrast, the participants from Mongu all gave the same word, *mukolozwani* for lizard which is not classified as a borrowing. Similar borrowings were found in the data.

In the examples by the participants from Katima Mulilo, the *u-* augment was dropped and the *-n-* that followed the augment. After that, they applied nominal markers from the classes 3 *mu-*, 5 *li-* or 12 *ka-*. The original Silozi term *mukolozwani* contains the class 3 nominal marker *mu-*. After offering the three varying terms, the Katima Mulilo participants were asked to translate the sentence 'the lizard is running' to test for concordance. In the sentences they constructed, the participants kept the initial noun class marker they had used earlier and applied it to the rest of the sentence. The examples in (4) to (8) show the sentence translations from three Katima Mulilo based participants and the last one from Mongu for comparative purposes.

(5)	KM1:	*ka-tendeleka*	*ka-mat-a*
		12-lizard	SM12-run-FV
(6)	KM2:	*li-tendeleka*	*la-mat-a*
		5-lizard	SM5-run-FV
(7)	KM3:	*mu-tendeleka*	*wa-mat-a*
		3-lizard	SM3-run-FV
(8)	MO1:	*mu-kolozwani*	*wa-mat-a*
		3-lizard	SM3-run-FV

Based on the data set, when terms are borrowed from Chisubiya into Silozi, there seems to be no common convention around the prefix marker to be used. However, the nominal marker and augment in the original Chisubiya, or isiZulu term are often replaced by the 'new' prefix markers. The role of the augment in this intra-Bantu borrowing is discussed in detail in section 5.2.3. Nonetheless, through the process, a seemingly novel word consisting of morphemes of the two languages, and the concord follows the headword. Most of the borrowed lexical items from the data collected in Katima Mulilo were from Chisubiya, and they do not appear in the Silozi variety spoken in Mongu. These borrowings highlight the significant role that Chisubiya has in the Zambezi Region. The other languages that the participants mentioned were Chifwe 7.5% (3), Totela, and Mbalangwe with 5% (2) each see table 4.4. These other three languages seem to have made fewer contributions to the Silozi variety of Katima Mulilo per my data set.

4.3.3 Lexicon from intra-Bantu borrowing in Mongu

The data in Table 4.2 indicates that 90% of the participants from Mongu were Silozi first language speakers. The remaining 10% indicated that Luvale and Luchazi were their first languages, but they still grew up in Silozi speaking communities, thus learning it as an additional language. All the participants noted that they used Silozi frequently in their day-to-day interactions. After Silozi, the most common languages spoken in Mongu were Mbunda with nine speakers and Nyanja with seven speakers. However, these other languages were not as significant as Chisubiya is in Katima Mulilo. For example, both Mbunda and Nyanja did not have speakers who mentioned them as their first languages.

Simwinga (2009, p. 15) argues that the Malozi are a "culturally strong language group" and thus, dominate over what he calls "culturally weaker groups". As a result, people shift from

the less prestigious languages such as Mbunda, Kwamashi, Komakoma and Luvale to Silozi. Nyanja and Swahili are two of the most popular languages in Eastern Zambia. The presence of these languages in the Mongu data suggest that speakers may either have migrated or been in regular contact with speakers of the languages and learnt them. Though they were only noted as additional languages in Mongu, the most common borrowing into Silozi was from Nyanja. This migration might be a more recent phenomenon because prominent scholars of Silozi such as Mainga (1973), Gowlett (1989) and Mwendende (2011) do not discuss Nyanja or Swahili in Zambia's Western province.

Table 4.9 shows the borrowed terms in Mongu collected during the fieldwork. From this table, Silozi's dominance in Mongu is clear. Compared to Katima Mulilo's data in Table 4.8, the participants from Mongu gave fewer borrowed terms in the wordlist section. From a total of 4945 lexical tokens, only ten terms from the collected data appeared to have been borrowed into the Silozi variety of Mongu, and these represented a mere 0,2% of the total number. In addition, these lexical terms were also not present in the Silozi variety from Katima Mulilo or in Jalla's (1937) and Mwendende's (2010) dictionaries.

English	**Borrowed term**	**Donor Language**	**Freq.**	**Silozi term**
Termite	*macinkinini*	Nyanja	1	*butwa*
	kaunde		1	
Elbow	*kamboyo*	Bemba	6	*ñokolwa*
Shop	*ntilimu*	Bemba	1	*sintolo*
	ntemba		1	
Car	*simbayambaya*	English	1	*mota*
Total			11	

Table 4.9: Lexicon borrowed from Bantu languages in Mongu

Firstly, the two lexical terms for 'termite', namely *macinkinini* and *kaunde* were just mentioned once by two participants. Of these two participants, only the one who mentioned *kaunde* claimed to be a non-Silozi first language speaker (of Luchazi) while the other was a Silozi first language speaker. Thus, *kaunde* might be from Luchazi. The Silozi language speaker stated that they also spoke Nyanja as an additional language. Thus, *macinkinini* could be borrowed

from Nyanja or another neighbouring language. On the other hand, all the other participants mentioned *butwa* as the word for termites.

In Mongu, the term most frequently borrowed was *kamboyo (mboyo)* 'elbow' mentioned six times. *Kamboyo* 'elbow' was used by three male participants and three female participants. Five out of the six participants were Silozi first language speakers, while one was a Luchazi first language speaker. The majority of the participants mentioned either *ñokolwa* with the class 9 zero marker or *kañokolwa* or with the class 12 nominal marker *ka-* as the Silozi term they knew for the *elbow*. What is notable here was that the participants who borrowed *kamboyo (mboyo)* 'elbow' used either class 9 or 12 nominal markers as done with *kañokolwa* and *ñokolwa.* In the Katima Mulilo variety, only *kañokolwa* and *ñokolwa* were mentioned by participants. These also appear in the dictionaries by Jalla (1937) and Mwendende (2010).

During the interviews with some of the participants, I inquired about the origins and possible meaning of the word *kamboyo* that had been used several times for 'elbow'. In terms of linguistic origins, the participants gave mixed responses. For example, some cited that the word was from Bemba while others contradicted it by saying it was from Nyanja. However, there was a consensus from the participants that the word *kamboyo* was a term borrowed into Silozi. Additionally, it was a slang or colloquial term used for the action of poking or pushing someone else with an elbow.

The word for 'elbow' in 'standard' Nyanja/Chewa spoken in Eastern Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique is *chigongono*. The word for 'elbow' in Bemba is *akaboyo*. Thus, *kamboyo* is from Bemba, at least originally. However, since speakers identified it as a Nyanja word, it is possible that it was brought to Mongu via Lusaka by speakers of (town) Nyanja. The augment a- in *aka[m]boyo* has been dropped to fit the Nyanja morphology which does not have pre-prefixes, like Bemba. Kashoki (1972, 2009) and Kabinga (2010) note that there is plenty of cross-linguistic borrowing between Nyanja and Bemba, Zambia's two most widely spoken languages.

In (9) shows one of the explanations by a participant who used the word *kamboyo* in a sentence to illustrate the use and meaning. The participant mentioned that *kamboyo* was taken from Nyanja, and it refers to 'something protruding'. This same word was now used in Silozi as a substitute word for 'elbow'. To contextualise, the speaker mentioned that during a soccer match where two players are both contesting for a ball, one player shoves the other one off the

ball using their elbow. The speaker said that the act of shoving one off the ball was described as *umunatile ni kamboyo* in their variety of slang Silozi.

(9) *U-mu-nat-il-e* *ni* *ka-mboyo*
SM1-OM1-hit-PST-FV with 12-elbow
'He hit him with the elbow.'

Thus, while the term *kamboyo* appears to have been borrowed from a neighbouring language, it is frequently used within the colloquial context. In addition, it also seems to have been semantically expanded to mean 'elbow' by some of the participants.

The last two terms borrowed were *ntilimu* and *temba* for 'shop'. Though Silozi itself does not contain a word for shop, the word most commonly used by participants and dictionaries was *sintolo*. The word *sintolo* is borrowed from the English word *store*. Both *ntilimu* and *temba*, once mentioned, are borrowed from neighbouring languages like *kamboyo*. For example, in a vocabulary list of Nyanja (Chichewa) by Vermuellen (1979), *kantemba* is used to refer to 'a small shop' that is usually found by a roadside. This same word was borrowed in Silozi.

One participant in Mongu used the Nyanja word *simbayambaya* to refer to a car. This term is commonly used to refer to an old large and usually noisy car, i.e., 'lorry'. This name is either an onomatopoeic name given because of the sound of the old engine makes or taken from the English expression *bye-bye* since vehicles would often take people to other destinations. It is worth noting that the latter sounds like folk etimology.

Finally, in Mongu, the participants also displayed metalinguistic awareness. However, they did not self-correct as significantly as their Katima Mulilo based counterparts. This means that only on 11 occasions did participant go back to give the actual Silozi term where they had used a borrowed one. Additionally, they went back to give a Silozi term on 17 occasions where they had initially said they did not know. The difference in these numbers suggests that the Mongu speakers were more confident and better versed in Silozi. As such, they did not need to self-correct as much.

4.3.4 Lexicon from non-Bantu languages

Many new concepts have been and continue to be introduced to Barotseland because of migration and social change. For example, in chapter 2, I discuss how Mongu and Katima Mulilo are located in areas tourists frequent. At the same time, both towns aim to develop and, in the process, continue to inevitably adopt more western aspects. Thus, many terms are borrowed, semantically been expanded or neologized by Silozi speakers to linguistically accommodate these 'new concepts' into the modern-day form of the language. This section looks at lexicon from languages not native to Southern Africa, which in this case are English and Afrikaans. It is worth noting, that while there is an ongoing debate as to whether the latter is an African language or not, this paper does not weigh in on that discussion but looks at lexicon borrowed from it.

For this discussion, I categorise the lexicon into 'early' and 'recent' borrowings based on when they would possibly have been borrowed into Silozi. As such, the dictionaries were useful for the categorisation. For example, the terms *mashelengi* 'money' and *keleke* 'church' are considered early borrowings from English and Afrikaans. The former is derived from the term 'shilling', a unit of currency formerly used by the United Kingdom. The latter is from *kerk*, the Afrikaans term for 'church'. Though Afrikaans is not spoken in Barotseland, Silozi nevertheless contains many borrowings from it. The language contact between Silozi and Afrikaans dates back to when South African soldiers were stationed in Namibia before 1989. Most of the 'early' borrowings appearing in Jalla (1973) were borrowed early on in the formation of Silozi and stabilized into the language. In contrast, the newer terms do not appear in Jalla (1973) but were in Mwendende (2010). Moreover, some of these newer terms were also collected in the data for this study. An example is *Katoni* and *sikatoni* which are borrowed from 'carton'. Globalisation seems to play a major role in the borrowing of the newer terms. For example, many of these are related to technology, are taken mostly from English and are fairly similar in pronunciation to the word of origin. For example, *kompiyuta* from 'computer'.

Tables 4.10 and 4.11 below show the borrowed terms collected from participants during the fieldwork in Katima Mulilo and Mongu, respectively. Both tables start with the English gloss of the borrowed term in the first column, followed by the Silozi versions in the second one per the dataset. After that, the frequency of each borrowed term is indicated in the third column. The donor language is given in the fourth column, while the last one shows the borrowed word as it would appear in the donor language.

English	Silozi form	Frequency	Donor Language	Original
Guitar	*gitaya*	3	E	guitar
	banjo	15	E	banjo
Box	*bokisi*	3	E	box
	pongisi	1		
	katoni	6	E	carton
	sikatoni	10		
Car	*motikala*	11	E	motor car
	mota	28	E	motor
Teacher	*tičele*	11		teacher
Money	*masheleñi*	32	E	shilling
Paint	*penti*	1	E	paint
Hospital	*sipatela*	40	E	hospital
			A	*hospitaal*
Store	*sintolo*	38	E	store
	kantolo	2		
School	*sikolo*	40	E	school
			A	*skool*
Altar	*katala*	5	E	altar
	alutale	3		
	aluta	3		
	tafule	1	A	*tafel*
Bottle	*botela*	35	A	*bottel*
	botolo	4	E	bottle
Ball	*mbola*	27	E	ball
	bola	11		
Cold drink	*drinki*	3	E	drink
	koki	1	E	Coke
Computer	*kompiyuta*	5	E	computer
Bread	*buredi*	2	E	bread
Drinking glass	*ngilazi*	7	E	glass
Electricity	*malaiti*	23	E	lights
	magesi	2	E	gas
Roof	*masenke*	30	E	zinc
Church	*keleke*	31	A	*kerk*
	chechi	5	E	church
Table	*tafule*	40	A	*tafel*
Total		**469**		

*Table 4.10 Lexicon borrowed from non-Bantu languages in Katima Mulilo (*E= English, *A=Afrikaans)*

English	Silozi form	Frequency	Donor Language	Original
Guitar	*gitaa*	2	E	guitar
	gitaili	1		
	banjo	1	E	banjo
Box	*pongisi*	9	E	box
	mbokosi	4		
	mponkisi	6		
	katoni	1	E	carton
Car	*motikala*	2	E	motor car
	mota	27	E	motor
Money	*masheleñi*	30	E	shilling
Paint	*mupente*	11	E	paint
	penti	1		
Hospital	*sipatela*	30	E	hospital
Store	*sintolo*	25	E	store
	benkele	1	A	*winkel*
School	*sikolo*	30	E	school
			A	*skool*
Altar	*katala*	24	E	altar
	katawala	1	E	tower
Soldier	*musoja*	1	E	soldier
Bottle	*botela*	29	A	*bottel*
			E	bottle
Cold drink	*drinki*	2	E	drink
Ball	*mbola*	18	E	ball
	bola	12		
Computer	*kompiyuta*	1	E	computer
Drinking glass	*ngilazi*	2	E	glass
	tambula	2	E	tumbler
Electricity	*malaiti*	26	E	lights
	magesi	1	E	gas
Roof	*masenke*	21	E	zinc
Church	*keleke*	22	A	*kerk*
	chechi	8	E	church
Preacher	*muprista*	1	E	priest
Table	*tafule*	29	A	*tafel*
	tebo	1	E	table
Total		**352**		

*Table 4.11: Lexicon borrowed from non-Bantu languages in Mongu (*E= English, *A=Afrikaans)*

What is interesting about this sample data was that in both locations, Silozi appears to contain more terms borrowed from English and Afrikaans than from Bantu languages, as discussed in sections 4.4.3 and 4.4.4. For example, from the sample collected in Katima Mulilo, only 1.6% of the lexicon was borrowed from other Bantu languages (i.e., Chisubiya or Chifwe), while 5.6% was borrowed from non-Bantu languages. In Mongu, the ratio was 0.2% from neighbouring Bantu languages and 4.7% from non-Bantu languages. Mutunda (2007) concludes that many borrowings are used as identity and prestige markers in a study looking at English borrowings in Nyanja. Similarly, the lexical borrowings from English suggest that Silozi speakers in both towns are more inclined to borrow these because they make their languages more modern.

In some cases, the English and Afrikaans words are almost similar, and it is difficult to say definitively which of the two are the donor language. For example, the Silozi word *botela* 'bottle' could either be from the English word *bottle* or the Afrikaans *bottel.* As such, both terms from English and Afrikaans are listed. While the Afrikaans borrowings are present in Katima Mulilo and Mongu, they are limited to a select number of words. An example of an Afrikaans borrowing is *tafule* 'altar' derived from the Afrikaans word *tafel* 'table'. Another Afrikaans borrowing used was *keleke* 'church' derived from *kerk*. From the data, English borrowings predominate over those from Afrikaans in both Silozi varieties. Both the Afrikaans and English words borrowed into Silozi are indigenized. For example, the English word *store* becomes *sintolo* in Silozi.

Finally, not all the participants gave borrowed terms for the words in the listen in Tables 4.10 and 4.11, hence the varying frequencies. Other participants gave what they referred to as the 'actual' Silozi term that they knew. For example, for *cold drink*, most participants mentioned the Silozi word *sinwo* 'a drink' instead of a borrowed term such as *'drinki'.* Six participants from Katima Mulilo who used this form noted that many people were using a mixed variety of Silozi. They commented that even *'drinki'* was an English word used to show that they were having a 'modern drink' instead of traditional brews.

The meta-linguistic awareness is significant because the speaker shows prestige borrowing from English because it is a language of upwards social and economic mobility. The many borrowings from English reflect the role the language plays in both commnuties. As an official language, it is used in the official domain meaning that knowledge of English gives one an advatange to get employment. Thus, English serves as a language of upward social

mobility. In addition to learning English at school, some of the participants noted that their parents often encouraged them to speak English at home.

4.3.4.1 Types of borrowings

The borrowings from English fall into two basic categories which I will discuss here. The first category includes older English terms, which I refer to as early borrowings. Historically, formerly known as Northern Rhodesia, Zambia had a strong British presence including Barotseland, in the early 1900s. Similarly, the British were also present in Katima Mulilo because it is near to the then Northern Rhodesia. This early English influence is reflected in the borrowing of archaic terms such as *mashelengi,* which was taken from *shilling,* an old former currency used by the British equivantent to twelve pence. Another archaic borrowing is *tambula* from the English term is *tumbler,* 'a drinking glass'. From the data, such borrowings in the early period were limited. However, many early borrowings from English and Afrikaans also appear in the Jalla (1937) and Mwendende (2010) dictionaries.

The second kind of borrowings are what I refer to as recent borrowings and are mostly from English which has remained an official language in both countries. Over the years, there have been 'newer' borrowings into Silozi. Many other terms seem to have been indigenized differently in the two towns. For example, in Mongu, the word for *guitar* is borrowed as *gitaa* and *gitaili,* while in Katima Mulilo, it is *gitaya*. The reason for this variation is most likely that some of these new words may have become popular more recently in these towns. More so, these borrowed terms also do not appear in Jalla's (1937) and Mwendende's (2010) dictionaries. It is worth noting that the word *banjo* does appear as an early borrowing to refer to stringed instruments.

Some borrowings were unique to one location and not present in the other. For example, in Katima Mulilo, the term *tičele* was mentioned eleven times as the word for 'teacher' but not in Mongu. Instead, the participants in the latter town mentioned the Silozi word *muluti* for a teacher based on the verb *luta* 'teach'. According to Jalla's (1930) dictionary, *muluti* was initially used to refer to missionaries as teachers of Biblical doctrine, but the term was also expanded to schoolteachers. Similarly, *mupente* 'paint' was only mentioned in Mongu and not in Katima Mulilo.

4.3.5 Other lexical innovations

Although many novel lexical items were in the Silozi data sample, not all were borrowed from other languages. Schadeberg (2002) notes that scholars have long studied the semantic and lexical change in Bantu languages. These changes have often seen lexical innovations used to communicate 'new' concepts or ideas. This means that when communities that speak the same language are geographically distanced, the changes that occur in their language can be a salient point of variation. The following section assesses variation in the innovation of lexicon from the data sample.

Tables 4.12 and 4.13 contain examples of the semantic expansions collected in Katima Mulilo and Mongu. The first column contains the English word in each table, followed by the lexical innovation in the second. After that, both tables indicate the frequency of use per the data sample. Finally, the most accurate English literal meaning is given in the last column.

English	Semantic expansion	Freq.	Literal meaning
President	*mueteleli*	11	leader
	muzamaisi	6	director
	mueteleli wa naha	6	leader of the nation
	muzamaisi wa naha	5	director of the nation
	yomuhulu wa naha	3	elder of a nation
	mulena	1	chief
	muatuli	1	judge
	muetapili	1	front runner
Student	*mwana wa sikololo*	20	child of the school
	muituti	20	learner
Pastor	*mufitisi wa linzwi laMulimu*	1	bringer of the word of God
	mukutazi	5	preacher
	mubuleli wa linzwi	3	speaker of the word
	mubuleli wa linzwi la Mulimu	2	speaker of the word of God
Christian	*mulumeli*	23	*one who agrees (with Christianity)*
	mulapeli	12	*one who prays*
	mwana wa keleke	1	*child of the church*
Doctor	*ñaka*	11	faith healer
	ñaka wa sipatela	4	faith healer of the hospital
	mualafi	3	healer
Nurse	*ñaka*	1	faith healer
	ñakanyana	2	small faith healer
	mutusi wa ñaka	1	helper of the faith healer
Tattoo	*siswaniso*	1	likeness

Table 4.12: Lexical innovations used by speakers in Katima Mulilo.

English	Semantic expansion	Freq.	Literal meaning
President	*mueteleli*	7	leader
	mueteleli wa naha	8	leader of the nation
	muyemeli wa naha	2	representative of the nation
	mubusi wa naha	2	ruler of a nation
	mubusi	8	ruler
	muzamaisi wa naha	1	director of the nation
	muñi wa naha	1	owner of the nation
Student	*mwana wa sikololo*	21	child of the school
	muituti	8	learner
Computer	*mazimu mwangala*	5	mirage
Pastor	*mubuleli wa linzwi la Mulimu*	4	speaker of God's word
	mubuleli wa linzwi	2	speaker of the word
	muluti wa linzwi	1	teacher of the word
	yazamaisa linzwi la mulimu	1	director of the word of God
	mukutazi wa linzwi la Mulimu	1	preacher of the word of God
	mueteleli wa linzwi	1	leader of the word
Christian	*mulumeli*	24	one who agrees (with Christianity)
	mulapeli	5	one who prays
	mwana wa Mulimu	1	child of God
Doctor	*mualafi*	21	healer
	mualafi yo mutuna	1	big healer
	mualafi wa kwa sipatela	1	healer of the hospital
Nurse	*mualafi*	16	healer
	mutatubi	7	examiner
	mualafi wa kwa sipatela	1	healer of the hospital
Tattoo	*fanantuti*	1	markings

Table 4.13: Lexical innovations used by speakers in Mongu.

From the data, there were two main innovations used by the speakers. The first is the semantic expansion which occurs in renaming (Schadeberg, 2002). When ideas or concepts filter into a language that does not have names or signifiers for them, they essentially take on what is a 'new' name or signifiers. These semantic expansions are used to fill in the communicative gaps. For example, an equivalent term for *medical doctor* does not exist in Silozi. Thus, the participants extended terms such as, *ñaka* and *mualafi* which translate to 'faith healer' and 'healer' respectively in traditional Silozi. Originally, these were used for traditional Malozi medicine men or women who play the role of healers in their respective communities. The speakers draw links between the occupations thus extending the memories of *ñaka* and *mualafi* to include 'medical doctor'.

Many of the semantically expanded terms in the two locations were similar and the major point of variance was the frequency of use. For example, the main term for 'doctor' in Mongu was *mualafi,* while in Katima Mulilo *ñaka* was used. This variation is possibly due to neighbouring languages. As shown in the opening sections of this chapter, Chisubiya plays a big part in Katima Mulilo. Thus, speakers in Katima Mulilo use *ñaka* which has a Chisubiya cognate *ñanga*, as opposed to *mualafi*.

A limited number of semantic expansions were unique to a location. For example, in Mongu, the term *mazimu mwangala*, 'a mirage' was used as the Silozi term for 'computer'. In a follow-up session, a participant noted that televisions and computer screens show things that are not there in the same way that mirages give the illusion of water in the distance. Another geographically unique term was *ñaka* 'doctor' mentioned only in Katima Mulilo but not in Mongu.

A noun or noun phrase was derived from a verb in the second lexical innovation. To achieve this, the verb undergoes suffixion and is assigned to a class (Schadeberg, 2002). The sample's most common terms concerning human occupations were thus assigned to noun classes 1 and 2. For example, *mueteleli* is one of the words given for 'president'. It is derived from the verb *etelela* 'to walk in front of', which took on the class 1 marker *'mu-',* and the final verb was changed to *-i* to show reflexivity. Other terms that follow the same innovation for president are *muyemeli* derived from *yemela* 'to stand for' used for president. In other examples that do not refer to human nouns, *fanunuti* was given for 'tattoo' and is derived from *fanuna,* which refers to 'small scratch' (on the body) in Mongu.

Similarly, *siswaniso* is used in Katima Mulilo to refer to drawings or paintings derived from *swanisa* 'to replicate'. These two do not appear in the dictionaries. Rather, the word noted for 'tattoo' in Silozi is *pazo*, which in itself does not refer to a tattoo (i.e., ink marking on the skin). *Pazo* refers to scars remaining from ceremonial incisions made on the skin.

Participants often used adjectival phrases to specify the role of both lexical innovations discussed above. For example, the term for a pastor was *mubuleli* 'speaker', but it was followed with *wa linzwi (la Mulumu)* 'of the word (of God)'. Thus, paraphrasing was necessary to quantify the more general meaning.

In cases where they did not use these lexical innovations, the participants used borrowings. Interestingly, the participants who used neither borrowing nor lexical innovations stated that they did not know the equivalents in Silozi and with some stating that there were no such actual words in Silozi. In many cases, the participants exhibited meta-linguistic awareness. For example, they alluded to the borrowings by noting that they knew terms from English but were now used by everyone as the Silozi terms. Overall, the lexical innovations were mostly similar, but some variations were unique to each location.

4.3.6 Lexical choices

The variants discussed so far were due to borrowings and lexical innovations. Another area in which the two Silozi varieties exhibited variance, was with the lexical choices by the participants. This is mentioned briefly in the latter section. Many of the same words were given in both locations, as seen in table 4.14, they seemed to be used in varying frequency by the participants. Table 4.14 compares these lexical choices used in Mongu and Katima Mulilo. The first column contains the English gloss. After that, the next four columns contain the Silozi words given in Mongu and Katima Mulilo respectively. The frequency of use is also given to show which words were most popular.

Term	Mongu	Freq.	Katima Mulilo	Freq.
Fresh milk	*mabisi*	93%	*muzilili*	97,5%
Blindness	*kusabona*	6,7%	*kusabona*	45%
	bubofu	73%	*bubofu*	27,5%
	sibofu	20%	*sibofu*	20%
Slap	*lubaka*	87%	*mpama*	72,5%
Sweat	*mufufuzo*	96,7%	*situkutuku*	45%
	situkutuku	3,3%	*mufufuzo*	32,5%
Road	*mukwakwa*	97%	*mukwakwa*	52,5%
	nzila	3,3%	*nzila*	32,5%

Table 4.14: *Different lexical choices by speakers for shared lexicon per area*

While some of the terms in table 4.14 were listed as synonyms in Jalla's (1937) and Mwendende's (2010) dictionaries, there was a difference in how the participants used them. For example, according to the dictionaries, the terms *mabisi* and *muzilili* are synonyms that both refer to 'fresh milk'. However, 97.5% of the participants in Katima Mulilo mentioned and explained that *muzilili* was 'fresh milk' while *mabisi* was in fact 'curdled milk'. This differentiation was rejected by 93% of the participants in Mongu, who said that both *muzilili* and *mabisi* both meant 'fresh milk'. They mentioned that *mafi* or *maembela* were the words for 'curdled milk', which was consistent with the dictionaries. According to my data sample, both words for 'curdled milk' *mafi* and *maembela* present in Mongu seemed to have been replaced with *mabisi* in Katima Mulilo.

In other cases, the words were still present in both towns but there was greater uptake of one over the other. Consider this example: in both towns, the participants mention the same terms for 'blindness', namely *kusabona, bubofu* and *sibofu.* Although they seem to be used as synonyms, their exact meanings differ. *Bubofu* is a single word that translates to 'blindness' which is akin to the noun *sibofu,* which means 'a blind person'. Lastly, *kusabona* translates as 'to not see' with the negative infix *-sa-*. *Kusabona* does not explicitly mean blindness but can also be used when someone does not see something, i.e., when their eyes are closed or averted. In Mongu, over 73% of the participants mentioned *bubofu* as the term for blindness that they used compared to 27,5% in Katima Mulilo. In the latter town, 45% gave *kusabona* as the correct

term. This expression is also present in Chisubiya and means *not to see*. In both towns, 20% of the participants gave *sibofu*.

A different lexical choice was also the case with the term for the English word *sweat*. In Mongu, 97.5% said *mufufuzo,* while only 32.5% used the same word in Katima Mulilo. The majority (45%) in Katima Mulilo mentioned *situkutuku.* Even though both terms are mentioned in both towns, the participants seemed to prefer one term over the other in each location. The term Katima Mulilo is possibly used more because it has a Chisubiya cognate, *chitukutuku*. Some examples given in the current sub-section show that Chisubiya often influences the lexical choices by the participants in Katima Mulilo. Overall, the more dynamic lexical change in community creates a point of variation.

4.4 Chapter summary

This chapter focused on three main points of discussion. Firtsly, it presented and analysis of the metadata that was collected using word lists that were administered to 70 participants. From the metadata fingings, most participants (27 of 30) in Mongu learn Silozi as their first language at home, while in Katima, almost half of the participants (19 of 40) learnt it at school for the first time. Consequently, more people in Mongu acquire Silozi as their first language, while in Katima Mulilo, it is predominately an additional language. This metadata is critical as it shows how the participants in the location engaged with Silozi throughout their lives – whcich provides insight for the analysis of data. Secondly, this chapter illustrated the importance of two dictionaries employed through the data collection and analysis process.

Thirdly, the bulk of the analysis delves into lexical borrowings that have been adopted into Silozi from both Bantu and non-Bantu languages. The data sample from Katima Mulilo contained 1,4 % lexical items adopted through Intra-Bantu borrowings compared to the 0,2 % of Mongu (0, 2 %). On a larger scale, the ratios are very minimal but yet, they show that the Katima Mulilo variety is more susceptible to borrowing from other Bantu languages than that of Mongu. The reason for the high borrowing in Katima Mulilo is because Silozi is not the dominant lingua franca but rather Chisubiya and Chifwe are more dominant. Contrastingly in Mongu, Silozi is the dominant language both as a lingua franca and officially.

Lastly, this chapter shows that in both towns, many terms are borrowed from English and Afrikaans as either early borrowings or more recent borrowings. These borrowings from English and Afrikaans reflect how globalisation impacts Bantu languages. Borrowings from these non-Bantu languages are in digitalised differently into Silozi depending on the location. Furthermore, unique neologisms and slang terms are present in the Silozi varieties from the two towns. A study using conversational analysis is a method would yield more of these. Overall, this chapter shows that there is nuanced variation in the lexicon of Silozi that is primarily influenced by the neighbouring languages. It is worth noting that because Silozi is taught in schools, many participants often corrected themselves when they gave a non-Silozi word. As such the teaching of Silozi in school can be said to be maintaining a universal standard.

Chapter 5: Analysis of morphosyntactic micro-variation

The previous chapter explored the metadata of the participants and the Silozi lexicon in the two towns of Mongu and Katima Mulilo. The current one is divided into three main sections that investigate fine-grained variation based on the data findings. To start, section 5.1 briefly describes the collected and analysed data in this chapter. Thereafter, section 5.2 discusses the variation in the application of the nominal class system. By extension, the section also looks at how variation is exhibited through secondary classification and the use of the augment. Lastly, section 5.3 is a discussion that analyses how single lexical items borrowed into Silozi impact the overall more for syntactic structure of the language. This is done by focusing on how the use morphemes *nani* and *sweli* in sentences results in nuanced variation in the varieties of Silozi between the two towns. Overall, the chapter shows that there is indeed fine-grained variation on a morphological level in the Silozi varieties of Katima Mulilo and Mongu that is influenced by the neighbouring Bantu languages.

5.1 The data

The data presented in this chapter was collected in interviews with 70 participants from Katima Mulilo and Mongu. From each participant, I elicited data that reflected the use of the noun class formatives and the morphosyntactic structures of the Silozi varieties. As such, the primary data analysed in this chapter are sample sentences. Intending to get more insight into the data, I also wrote down questions that arose in the project notebook during the interviews. These questions were posed to the participants for clarifications at once or after the interview.

After the initial interviews, I listened to the recordings and made notes for the follow-up sessions days after the first interview. Finally, the participants were all invited back for follow up meetings if they were willing and available. However, not all of them could attend the follow-up meetings. Nonetheless, I met up with 51 who returned, and we had short sessions where we spoke about some Silozi use patterns I had observed in the recordings. An interesting note on these discussions was that the participants displayed wide linguistic meta-awareness and ideologies. For example, one noted that their Silozi was not as 'good' as the variety spoken in the village, but that what they spoke was still good enough for communication. Other participants noted their Silozi had become mixed with English from living in town (Mongu). These responses form part of the data discussion below and analysis in the 6th chapter.

5.2 The paired noun classes.

This section analyses the noun class systems to identify variation in the nominal class markers in the Silozi varieties of Mongu and Katima Mulilo from the data set. According to Marten (2020), the initial prefix in the head noun also triggers the rest of the sentence's concordance. Thus, when the class of the head noun is changed, the concord of the rest of the sentence would be the same as that of the 'new' noun class membership. The preliminary findings from the pilot study showed some variation in the use of the nominal markers, particularly the locatives. This is possible because the Silozi varieties have distinct neighbouring languages in both towns. The initial hypothesis regarding the class membership was that variation would be reflected in the nominal class markers used.

Much like the lexical changes introduced into Silozi from other languages, as seen in the previous chapter, the same is expected with the noun class memberships. These potential changes in noun class membership are expected to be reflected in the morphosyntactic structures of the Silozi varieties. Consider examples in (10) to (13), which contain the following phrases *chicken's neck* (singular) in (a) and the *chickens' necks* (plural) in (b). Firstly, in (10a) and (10b), the Silozi versions are given and then followed by the Chisubiya, Nyanja and Bemba versions in (11), (12) and (13), respectively. These phrases were given by the participants who claimed to speak these languages along with Silozi.

Silozi

(10a)	*mu-lala*	*wa*	*kuhu*	(10b)	*mi-lala*	*ya*	*li-kuhu*
	3-neck	GEN3	9.chicken		4-neck	GEN4	10-chicken
	'chicken's neck'				'chickens' necks'		

Chisubiya (Katima Mulilo)

(11a)	*i-nsingo*	*ye*	*nkuku*	(11b)	*i-nsingo*	*ze*	*nkuku*
	AUG-9.neck	GEN9	9.chicken		AUG-9.neck	GEN10	10.chicken
	'chicken's neck'				'chickens' necks'		

Nyanja (Mongu)

(12a)	*mu-nkosi*	*ya*	*nkuku*	(12b)	*ma-nkosi*	*ya*	*nkuku*
	3-neck	GEN3	9.chicken		4-neck	GEN4	10.chicken
	'chicken's neck'				'chickens' necks'		

Bemba (Mongu)

(13a)	*u-mu-koshi*	*wa*	*nkoko*	(13b)	*i-mi-koshi*	*ya*	*nkoko*
	AUG-3-neck	GEN3	9.chicken		AUG-4-neck	GEN4	10.chicken
	'chicken's neck'				'chickens' necks'		

What is notable from (10a) is that in Silozi, the singular *Ø-kuhu* 'chicken' with a class 9 membership becomes *li-kuhu* in the plural membership and takes on the class 10 nominal marker *li-*. However, in the other three languages, the singular form *nkuku/nkoko* 'chicken' does not seem to take on a corresponding plural membership. In Chisubiya, the nouns *insingo* 'neck' and *nkuku* 'chicken' can be used to show both the singular and the plural without taking on different noun class markers or pre-prefixes. Despite this, the class membership changes and is marked by the genitive marker, which changes from the class 9 singular *ya-* to the class 10 plural *za-*.

Secondly, the preliminary findings from the pilot study showed some variation in the memberships of the locatives as reflected by some nominal markers. For example, the term *-nde* 'outside' takes on the class 16 locative prefix *fa-*, forming *fande.* However, during the pilot study, two participants used the class 17 locative prefix *kwa-* to form *kwande.* While the discussion of these variants is focused on a lexical level (i.e., the prefix or suffix on the noun), they are also reflected in the morphosyntactic structure of the language. Thus, the following analysis aims to discuss such variation and ascertain how frequent it is.

5.2.1 Findings: Variation in primary prefixation

The following subsection compares the nouns and their class membership by looking at the nominal class prefixes used in the data collected during the fieldwork. Table 5.1 depicts the primary singular and plural (where applicable) nominal class markers (NCM) for Silozi. For example, the table shows that classes such as 1 and 2 are a singular and plural pair marked with solid lines. On the other hand, some classes such as 15 (infinitive) and 16 to 18 (locatives) do not have corresponding plural forms. Furthermore, classes can take on secondary marking, as shown by the dotted line in Table 5.1. For example, the class 15 marker *ku-* is added to a verb to form an infinitive but has no plural form. Secondary marking is not indicated in table 5.1, which forms part of the discussion. Table 5.1 is based on noun class systems presented by Jalla (1936), Gowlett (1989), and Mwendende (2010).

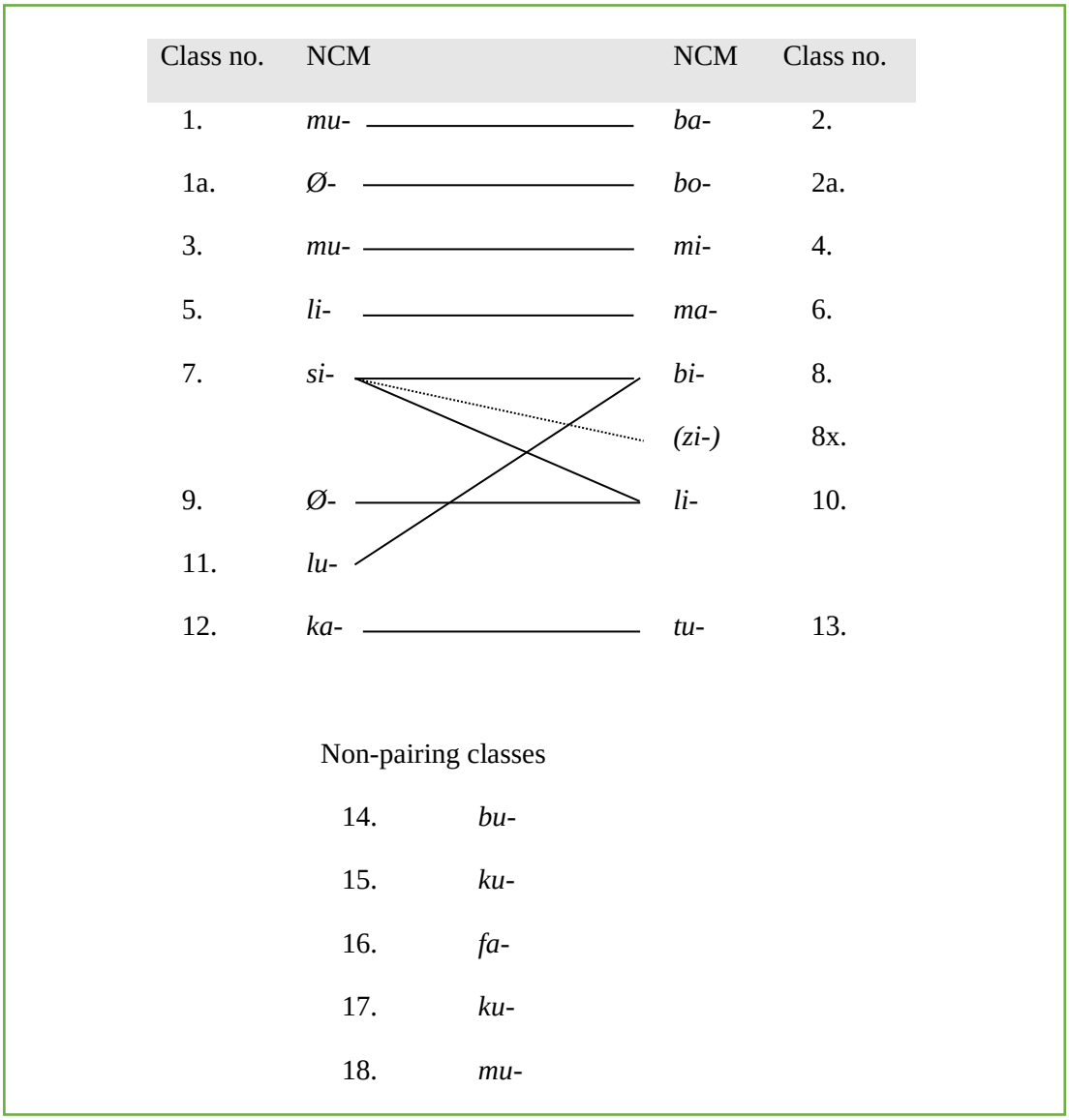


Figure 5.1: The nominal classes of Silozi.

The data collected for this analysis is presented in Table 5.2, a collation of the primary nominal class markers used by the participants in the data samples. The data revealed that most participants used the same nominal markers with similar concord in both towns. The data presented in table 5.2 is a summary of the nominal prefixes affixed to the nouns given in Mongu and Katima Mulilo collected via the wordlist and sample sentences.

Furthermore, some nouns do not have plural forms within classes that naturally contain singular and plural pairings. Consider this example, nouns in class 5/6 have a singular (i.e., *lihutu* 'leg') and plural (i.e., *mahutu* 'legs') pairings. Contrastingly, class 6 noun *mezi* 'water', is uncountable and thus only appears in one category. The noun classes in this study were analysed per the distinct categories from classes 1 to 18. The last column has examples of a word from the data illustrating the relevant class.

Class	Katima Mulilo	Mongu	Examples
1	*mu-*	*mu-*	*muituti* 'student'
1a	*Ø-*	*Ø-*	*ndate* 'father'
2	*ba-*	*ba-*	*baituti* 'students'
2a	*bo-*	*bo-*	*bondate* 'fathers'
3	*mu-*	*mu-*	*mulala* 'neck'
4	*mi-*	*mi-*	*milala* 'necks'
5	*li-*	*li-*	*lifufa* 'wing'
6	*ma-*	*ma-*	*mafufa* 'wings'
7	*si-*	*si-*	*sičalano* 'plant'
8	*bi-*	*bi-*	*bičalano* 'plants'
8x	*(zi-)*	*(zi-)*	**(zičalano* 'plants')
9	*Ø-*	*Ø-*	*ñaka* 'doctor'
10	*li-*	*li-*	*liñaka* 'doctors'
11	*lu-*	*lu-*	*lutaka* 'reed'
12	*ka-*	*ka-*	*kakokwani* 'insect'
13	*tu-*	*tu-*	*tukokwani* 'insects'
14	*bu-*	*bu-*	*bupi* 'maize meal'
15	*ku-*	*ku-*	*kunwa* 'to drink'
16	*fa-*	*fa-*	*fale* 'over there'
17	*ku-*	*ku-*	*kwanu* 'over here'
18	*mu-*	*mu-*	*mwale* 'in there'

Table 5.2: The nominal class prefixes used by speakers in data samples per area.

Although both classes 5 and 10 take on the same prefix *li-*, the former is used to mark the singular and is paired with class 6 while the latter marks plural for the class 9 singular. Classes 5 and 10 have distinct agreement altogether, thus showing that they have different class memberships. Of all the nominal class markers in the table, only the 8x prefix *zi-* did not feature in the nouns given by the participants. Instead, they gave the prefixes from 8 *bi-* and 10 *li-* as the plural markers for the class 7 singular *si-*. The omission of the class 8x prefix in Mongu and Katima Mulilo suggests that the prefix is less popular. In follow up sessions, I asked the participants questions about using the class 8x prefix *zi-*. For example, if words such as *zi-kota* 'trees' or *zimbotwe* 'frogs' were acceptable. In the overall responses, the participants indicated that the prefix *zi-* was only used if the given noun was very 'ugly' or 'undesirable'. For example, *li-kota* 'trees' was a more "normal/neutral" way of indicating plurality and *zi-kota* was used when the trees were "ugly/deformed". Thus, while class 8x *zi-* can often be used, it seems less common since it is impolite. In addition, in this variety class 8x class is used for augmentative purposes which are associated with pejorative readings.

Per the data sample on the class membership, the nominal class formatives, including the locatives in both Mongu and Katima Mulilo did not appear to show variation. The class membership categories and markers did not deviate from the Silozi noun class system presented by Mbeha (2017). For example, the sentence in (14) starts with a noun that has the singular class 1 nominal marker *mu-*. Contrastingly, in (15), the plural class 2 nominal marker and the corresponding concordance show plurality. This data shows that in both towns, membership to classes such as 1 and 2 was marked with the prefixes *mu-* and *ba-* respectively. When used in sentences, these prefixes behaved similarly across all the categories in primary affixation.

(14) *mu-una* *yale* *yo* *mu-tuna* *wa-sabis-a*
1-man DEM.4 DEM.1 1-big SM1-scary-FV
'That big man is scary.'

(15) *ba-ana* *bale* *ba* *ba-tuna* *ba-sabis-a*
2-man DEM.4 DEM.1 2-big SM2-scary-FV
'Those big men are scary.'

As a combination of Siluyana and Sesotho, Silozi's noun class system shares similarities with many other languages found in Barotseland, such as Simbunda, Nkoya and Nyanja, amongst others (Gowlett, 1989; Mbeha, 2017). Therefore, introducing a new nominal class marker

radically different from those used in Silozi is unlikely because none of the neighbouring languages have unique markers that Silozi can borrow. In essence, Silozi has a stable noun class system.

The data collected showed that most of the nominal classes were similar in Mongu and Katima Mulilo, suggesting minor variation. Although some speakers used different nominal prefixes, these were only applied as secondary markers to show diminutive or augmentative qualities. These instances seemed to be a point of morphological variance because the forms were not applied in the same manner in Mongu and Katima Mulilo per the data collected. More so, these also changed the syntactic structure of the varieties. This is discussed at length in the following section.

5.3 Secondary prefixation: Diminutives and augmentatives

The area of linguistics wherein the formation of diminutives and augmentatives is known as 'evaluative morphology' (Grandi, 2017). The diminutive and augmentative forms reflect the speaker's relationship with things around them (Schneider, 2012). In most Bantu languages, including Silozi, the diminutive and the augmentative forms can be marked through various manners, which are discussed in the following sections.

In the questionnaire, the participants were given two sets of words and sentences designed to elicit the augmentative and the diminutive forms (see Appendix B and C). Half of the questions required them to explicitly give the diminutive or augmentative forms in Silozi by using words that indicated size. For example, both (i) and (ii) contain the word 'small/big' to indicate to the participants the size aspect. In response to these, the participants used suffixes, prefixes, and genitive phrases to explicitly show the augmentative or diminutive qualities.

i. *The small / big animal is sitting.*

ii. *The small / big tree provides shade*

The diminutive and augmentative forms were implicit in the second type of questions. Thus, the participants were not prompted to directly use the diminutive and augmentative forms. The implicitly diminutive words represented physically small objects such as *scorpion, razor blade,* and *fishing hook*. These words mostly appeared as part of class 12 and 13 dictionaries. For the

implicitly augmentative words, the speakers were given words representing large objects in the physical world, such as a 'lorry' or a 'mountain' which were part of various noun class categories. These explicit and implicit questions were mixed to obtain more dynamic responses. It is worth noting that other word classes such as numerals and adjectives can also have diminutive or augmentative forms in Bantu languages, but this section is limited to nouns. The following sections outline the results of the formation of the diminutives and augmentatives in the Silozi varieties in Mongu and Katima Mulilo.

5.3.1 Diminutives

The literature around the diminutive marking in Bantu morphology is extensive. However, for this thesis, I will be using Gibson, Guérois and Marten (2017) to frame the discussion. They note that the diminutive in Bantu morphology primarily indicates the quality of being physically small in size. Furthermore, the diminutive can also express features of incompleteness, communicate the pejorative form, or that of being young (Gibson, et al., 2017). In terms of realisation, Gibson et al., (2017) the following ways in which diminutives are formed in Bantu languages, namely (a) secondary nominal prefixing, (b) via relative phrases, (c) reduplication, (d) nominal compounding, and (e.) derivational diminutive suffixing. The data collected is analysed for variation in the formation and use of these diminutive forms.

5.3.1.1 Secondary nominal prefixing

The first diminutive form analysed were used for the explicit terms such as *small animal* or *small baby*. When using this form for the diminutive, the noun was moved from the original class category and taking on new membership altogether through secondary classification. The categories used for this secondary prefix were class 12 with the prefix *ka-* singular and class 13 with the prefix *tu-* as the corresponding plural. Consider the examples below. In (16a), the prefix *ka-* replaces the class 7 marker *si-* to create the diminutive form in (16b). Similarly, in (17a), the diminutive prefix *ka-* replaces the original class marker *mu-* in (17b). As a result, *si-kokwani* 'insect' becomes *ka-kokwani* 'small insect' while *mu-shimani* 'boy' becomes *ka-shimani* 'small boy' in the diminutive forms.

(16a) *si-kokwani* → (16b) *ka-kokwani*

7-insect → 12-insect

'Insect' → 'Small insect'

(17a) *mu-shimani* → (17b) *ka-shimani*

1-boy → 12-boy

'Boy' → 'Small boy'

Depending on the context, this diminutive form can be used to show the smallness of size, jocularly or to mark endearment. In the case of (16) and (17), the speakers were often talking about the smallness of size. All the speakers from both towns used the class 12 and 13 memberships to form diminutives, especially for the explicit terms. In secondary marking, no variation was found in the data.

5.3.1.2 Relative phrases

In the second form used by participants, the diminutive was realised via relative phrases added after the noun. For example, in (18), the phrase *yo muinyani* 'who is small' was added to give the noun *mushimani* 'boy' the quality of smallness.

(18)	*mu-shimani*	*yo*	*mu-inyani*	*wa-lil-a*
	1-boy	REL1	1-small	SM1-cry-FV

'The small boy is crying.'

Unlike with secondary marking, in these cases, the noun retained its original class membership, and as such, no new nominal class marker was used. This means that the diminutive marker does not change the class membership in (18). Overall, using the relative phrase to mark the diminutive was popular amongst participants from both towns. Furthermore, the data shows that the use was identical amongst the participants.

5.3.1.3 Combination: Secondary marking and relative phrase

In the third diminutive form found in the data, the secondary marking found in (16) and (17) was used, along with the relative phrasing seen in (18). Firstly, in (20), *sikokwani* 'insect' is originally in class 7 with the prefix *si-* is moved to class 12 taking on the prefix *ka-* in (19) to mark the diminutive form. In these cases, we also observe a change in class membership of the head noun that is also reflected in the rest of the sentence. For example, the change to class 7 results in the demonstrative and subject markers, which both change from the class 7 *se-* and *sa-* to class 12 *ka-* as seen in (20). Secondly, the relative phrase *se si inyani* 'which is small' as used in both (19) and (20). While it also gives the quality of smallness to the insect, it does not change the class membership. This means that both the diminutive prefix and the relative phrase are used in the same sentence to indicate the quality of smallness. Thus, when compared to (19), the example in (20) appears to mark the diminutive twice.

(19)	*si-kokwani*	*so*	*si-inyani*	*sa-i-pat-a*
	7-insect	REL7	7-small	SM7-REFL-hide-FV
	'The small insect hides'			

(20)	*Ka-kokwani*	*ka*	*ka-inyani*	*ka-i-pat-a*
	12-insect	REL12	SM12-small	SM12-REFL-hide-FV
	'The insect which is small is hiding.'			

Two different speakers gave the examples in (19) and (20), the former from Katima Mulilo and the latter from Mongu respectively. In the Mongu interviews, only 5 (out of 30) speakers used the sentence structure in (19) while the rest used the form in (20). Based on the data sample, the double diminutive included using the class 12 diminutive marker, and the relative phrase was more popular in Mongu. In Katima Mulilo on the other hand, 25 of the 40 participants used the form in (19) while 11 used the form in (20). Thus, while both forms were present in both towns, one was more popular than the other. An analysis of other terms shows that in Katima Mulilo, the sentence structure in (19) was used more often while in Mongu, the latter (20) was the more popular.

In the follow-up interview sessions with some of the participants, the Mongu based participants indicated a difference between using the original membership of the noun and the

class 12 membership. Consider this explanation using *sikokwani* and *kakokwani* ‘insect’ as an example. The latter *kakokwani* was used to specifically refer to smaller insects such as ants or termites. At the same time, *sikokwani* was a more general term that could be used for any type of insect regardless of size. Thus, the participants who had opted to use class 12 membership were being explicit and showing that the insects they were referring to were actually small. As such, semantically, they were not applying double diminutives but were being specific about the actual size of the insect they were referring to. In Katima Mulilo, on the other hand, *sikokwani* and *kakokwani* were used interchangeably when it came to the actual meaning. However, the latter speakers used the relative phrases to show the size of the insect. Though the participants in both towns used the class 12 membership and the relative phrases to show a difference in the size of the noun, one was form seemed to be more popular in each.

Applying the nominal class marker in the singular forms also appears to be carried over into the plural forms. In Proto-Bantu, (21) and (22) are the pluralized forms of (19) and (20) respectively which is the case for Silozi as well. Each singular pairs up with a different plural noun class category altogether because the head nouns have different prefixes that trigger a different concordance.

(21) *li-kokwani* *ze* *zi-inyani* *za-i-pat-a*
8-insect REL8 SM8-small SM8-REFL-hide-FV
‘The small insects hide’

(22) *Tu-kokwani* *to* *tu-inyani* *twa-i-pat-a*
13-insect REL13 SM13-small SM13-REFL-hide-FV
‘The insects which are small are hiding.’

No variation was found in nominal class membership, primary, or secondary prefixation based on the examples and discussion of the first three forms above. More so, for both the implicit and explicit terms, the speakers in both Mongu and Katima Mulilo used the class 12 nominal prefix to show the diminutive form as in (16) and (17). Therefore, *kabemba* ‘razor blade’ *kamonyimonyi* ‘firefly’ and *kakokwani* ‘insect’ were examples of the diminutive forms collected. The use of the class 12 (and 13 for the plural) membership was used by the speakers in both towns. However, the minor distinctions found in the case of *sikokwani* and *kakokwani* ‘insect’ are based on the semantic value of the word by the speakers.

5.3.1.4 Derivational suffix

The more significant variation in the diminutives was found in the fourth form. In this case, the participants would add a suffix to the noun to show the diminutive. Firstly, in Mongu, some participants added the reduplicated form *-nana* as a suffix to the noun to show the diminutive. This suffix is found in Proto-Bantu and the derivative is used in many Bantu languages today. In Silozi, this suffix is most used for the participants in both towns' words *mwanana* 'child' and *banana* 'children'. Besides *mwanana* 'child' and *banana* 'children', it was also extended to one other term in the data sample by 10 in Mongu and 19 in Katima Mulilo. These speakers added the suffix *-nana* to the noun *nja* 'dog' to create the singular diminutive *njanana* 'small dog' in (23).

(23) Ka-nja-nana
12-dog-DIM
'Small dog'

Many speakers in Katima Mulilo added the diminutive suffix *-nyana* to other nouns. While the history of *–ana* is complex, it is important to note that it is a common Bantu diminutive suffix and can be found in many contemporary Bantu languages (Gibson, et al., 2017). Its use in Silozi is similar to the Southern African diminutive suffix *-ana*, which often (e.g., in Sotho-Tswana) can come out as -yana and/or trigger alternations of the stem-final consonant. It is highly likely that *-nyana* is historically related to the diminutive marker *-ana/-yana*, which goes back to 'child'. In Jalla's (1937) and Mwendende's (2010) dictionaries, *-nyana* is used in the infinitive verbs such as *kunyana* 'to shrink, stunt, or hinder from growing' and *kukokonyana* 'to become wrinkled'. These suggest a semantic expansion that keeps the quality of 'smallness' at its core. In addition, *-ana/-yana* can also be added to adverbs such as *kalenyana* 'a little while ago' to denote that a small/insignificant amount of time has passed. When this suffix is added to a noun like *tatubonyana* 'test' (viz., small exam), it denotes the quality of being small which is where the focus of this analysis is.

Per the data sample, the suffix *-nyana* was used a total of 51 times by 22 speakers in Katima Mulilo and appeared to be a common feature of their Silozi variety. Unlike *-nana* (in Mongu) which was limited to *mwnana* 'child' and *njanana* 'small dog', *-nyana* was used for various nouns. For example, in (24), the noun *folofolo* 'animal' takes the suffix *-nyana* to show

its diminutive form. Other examples with the suffix *-nyana* are *nukanyana* ‘small river’ and *kotanyana* ‘small tree’.

(24) *ka-folofolo-nyana*
12-animal-DIM
‘Small animal’

In addition, this suffix was also used to show the qualities of being physically small or to show a lower rank (i.e., at work). For example, in Katima Mulilo, the word *ñakanyana* was given for ‘nurse’ while the doctor was referred to as a *ñaka.* In this case, though the nurse plays a key role in a hospital, doctors are more important. Thus, using the suffix *-nyana* for nurse suggests that the doctor is senior in terms of their function in the hospital setting.

Except for *mwanana* ‘child’, no other term in Mongu contained the diminutive suffix *-nana*/*-nyana*, meaning that the participants in Mongu did not use words such as *nukanyana* ‘rivulet/small river’ or *kotanyana* ‘small tree’. Instead, they only used the class 12/13 secondary prefixing and relative marking discussed in the subsections above to indicate the diminutive forms. In a follow-up session, the Mongu-based participants did not recognize the use of *-nyana* as a standard way of speaking. This finding was odd because I expected the Mongu variety to have retained this feature better than the Katima Mulilo variety. From the metadata, speakers from Mongu claimed to use the language more frequently and thus, the variety seems more stable there.

With *-nyana* being a Sesotho derivative, I expected that the Silozi variety from Mongu would have maintained this linguistic feature. It seems that in the process of language change, the diminutive suffix was lost in Mongu but maintained in Katima Mulilo. The loss and the maintenance of the *-nyana* suffix is possibly due to the influence of neighbouring languages. For example, in Chisubiya, the corresponding diminutive suffix is *-zana* as in *kabwazana* ‘small’. Therefore, it is possible that the suffix was maintained in Silozi because of its presence in Chisubiya. Contrastingly, it is absent in the languages that neighbour Silozi in Mongu mean that it is not re-enforced in that Silozi variety.

To sum up this subsection, the use of the nominal class forms and their concordances is largely similar. The data did not exhibit any major differences in exclusive prefixes used in one town and not the other. The only differences in the nominal classes came down to how

they were used when the diminutive form was constructed. The speakers used either the class 12/13 markers to show the diminutive forms or the diminutive suffixes or genitive phrases to mark specific semantic differences. The use of the augmentitive form is discussed in the following section.

5.3.2 The Augmentatives

In Bantu languages, the augmentative usually acts as an opposite for the diminutive form because it reflects the largeness of an object. In addition, it also marks the pejorative forms and shows endearment. Overall, the augmentative form has wider meanings than just that of size. The data collected from Mongu and Katima Mulilo showed that the formation of the diminutives and augmentatives were largely similar via shifting classes and using relative phrases. Moreover, the augmentative forms used by the participants in Mongu and Katima Mulilo were also mostly similar but with some minor distinctions. There were four forms that speakers used when creating the augmentatives discussed here.

5.3.2.1 Secondary class membership

The first augmentative form is realised via secondary class membership. Thus, the nouns become part of class 7 and take on the prefix *si-* in place of the original nominal class marker. For example, *mba* 'stomach' in (25), originally in class 9 with the zero marker *ø-*, moves to class 7 and takes the prefix *si-*. Thus, it becomes *simba* 'big stomach' in (26) to show the augmentative form. The plural augmentative form becomes part of class 8, thus taking on the prefix *bi-* or *li-*.

(25)	*mba*	(26)	*Si-mba*
	9.stomach		7-stomach
	'Stomach'		'Big stomach'

In the data collected, over 50% of participants in both towns used the secondary class membership. It was common, especially when they were required to explicitly show the size of the noun. During the follow-up interviews, the participants gave mixed reviews about using the class 7 membership to indicate the augmentative. On the one hand, those who used it noted that it was the proper marker for largeness. However, others noted that the use of class 7 *si-*

was not polite but rather pejorative. When indicating the augmentative, they gave forms containing either a diminutive suffix or relative marker. Regardless, when asked if the use of class 7 *si-* was rude, those who had used it mostly said that it depended on the context in which it was used.

5.3.2.2 Relative marking

The second form of the augmentative marking involved adding a relative phrase that indicates largeness after the noun. The noun does not shift class membership in this case, but the relative phrase carries the same agreement as the head noun. For example, in (27), the class 9 noun *nja* 'dog' is followed by the relative marker *ye* from the same class and adjective *tuna* 'big'. They form *yetuna* 'which is big' to indicate that the dog is large.

(27) *nja* *ye-tuna* *ya-mat-a*
9.dog REL9-big SM9-run-FV
'The big dog is running.'

In some cases, the nouns were originally hosted in class 7. The relative marker is needed to show the element of largeness. For example, *sipatela* 'hospital' or *sikolo* 'school' both have the class 7 nominal marker *si-*. Similar to (28), these also took on the genitive phrase *se si tuna* 'which is big' to mark the augmentative. The morpheme *tuna* was predominantly used in cases where the respondents were explicitly asked to offer the augmentative form.

(28) *si-nja* *se* *si-tuna* *sa-mat-a*
7.dog REL7 7-big SM7-run-FV
'The big dog is running.'

This form of diminutive marking was common in both towns and was used identically by the speakers. Most of the participants who used the relative phrase combined it with the class 7/8 membership as exemplified in (28).

5.3.2.3 Augmentative suffixing

The third form of augmentative marking is achieved by adding the suffix *-tuna* directly after the head noun. In Jalla's (1937) and Mwendende's (2010) dictionaries, *tuna* is an adjective that translates as 'large, great'. Originally, *tuna* is used as a relative phrase indicating size. Thus, it is preceded by a relative maker such as *ye-* as seen in (27). Thus, *mba yetuna* is formed. However, in this case, the relative marker is dropped and, in the process, *mba* 'stomach' and *tuna* 'big' are combined into one word, *mbatuna* 'big stomach'. The noun remains in its original class with this suffix and does not move into class 7 or 8 as seen in (17) above.

(29)	*mu-una*	*wa*	*mba-tuna*	*ki-yale*
	1-man	REL1	9.stomach-big	COP-DEM
	'The man with the big stomach is over there.'			

Three speakers used this form in Mongu and two in Katima Mulilo. In both cases, the speakers used *tuna* as a suffix several times. However, the challenge with *tuna* as a suffix was that it seemed to be applied only to nouns part of classes 1a and 9. For example, *ñakatuna* 'big faith healer' and *muunatuna* 'big man' from class 1a as well as *njatuna* 'big dog' and *kotatuna* 'big tree' from class 9. These have zero prefix marker and with *-tuna* also being used as an adjective, it becomes possible to ascertain whether *-tuna* is an adjective or a suffix.

In follow-up sessions, I offered the participants the terms with more overt noun class prefixes such as *sikolotuna* 'big school', *lizohotuna* 'big hand' and *muetelelituna* 'big leaders'. The responses to these words were mixed, and some participants felt that these words were correct. For example, one response was from a participant who said that they understood what the words meant, and it was okay. Another one stated that they had heard people use *-tuna* after words in the same way I did. In contrast, others noted that they sounded odd and were not 'Silozi'. One participant noted that these words had meaning individually, but collectively, they did not sound correct. Overall, the data collected on this form of this augmentative marking did not show any variation between the two towns.

5.3.3 The augment

Also known as the pre-prefix, the augment is a morpheme added before the class prefix marker in some Bantu languages such as isiZulu, Ganda and Otjiherero (Katamba, 2006, p. 107). The augment is also known as the initial vowel (i.e., *u-*, *o-* or *i-*). Consider the example below; it illustrates the application of the augment in isiZulu. In (30), the augment *u-* is added to the noun *umfana* and the infinitive verb *ukudla* 'to eat', in both cases before the relevant nominal prefix. In (31), the same sentence when translated to Silozi does not contain the augment but carries the same meaning.

isiZulu

(30) *u-m-fana* *u-fun-a* *u-ku-dl-a*
AUG-1-boy SM1-want-FV AUG-15-eat-FV
'The boy wants to eat.'

Silozi

(31) *mu-shimani* *u-bat-a* *ku-č-a*
1-boy SM1-want-FV 15-eat-FV
'The boy wants to eat.'

Katamba (2006) notes that the augment does not perform the same function that an article (i.e., 'the' or 'a') would in the English language in Bantu languages. Instead, the augment has multiple functions, including bringing focus or specifying to an object. For example, the augment in (32) *u-mfana* 'boy' focuses on 'the boy'. Katamba (2006) also points out that the use of the augment depends on the sentence's syntactic structure. Therefore, depending on the context and sentence structure, the augment can be omitted in isiZulu (Katamba, 2006, p. 107).

Like isiZulu, both Chifwe and Chisubiya also use the augment (Blois, 1970). Although research on the augment in Chisubiya and Chifwe remains limited, evidence suggests that it remains present and productive in both languages (Blois, 1970). For example, in Chisubiya, the vowels that appear to be the most common as augments are *i-* and *u-*. In Chifwe on the other hand, the augment is usually the vowel *o-*, *e-* and *a-* (Crane, 2011). Both (32) and (33) show how the augment is applied to words in Chisubiya. Note that the augment is used with

the class 9 zero marker in the singular form, but in the plural class, the augment is completely replaced by the class 10 nominal prefix *ba-* along with the corresponding concord.

(32) *U-mbwa* *u-sum-a*
AUG-9.dog SM9-bite-FV
'The dog bites (is vicious).'

(33) *Ba-mbwa* *ba-sum-a*
10-dog SM10-bite-FV
'The dogs bite (are vicious).'

When compared to isiZulu, it is evident that in some cases, Chisubiya uses the vowel *u-* where the former uses *i-* as an augment. For example, the isiZulu term form 'dog' is *inja*. Another example is *unkosi* 'respected man', possibly derived from the isiZulu term *inkosi*, 'great chieftain'.

Furthermore, in many cases, one can figure out the quantity by looking at the augment. For example, in (32), the augment *u-* indicates singularity. Thus, both *umbwa* 'dog' and *unkosi* 'man' are singular. However, not all augments make it possible to determine the quantity. Consider examples (34) and (35); they illustrate the augment in Chisubiya. The term *imota* 'car' is used for both the singular and the plural forms. As such, *yonke* 'one' and *zingi* 'many' are needed to indicate the numerical value of *imota*. Similarly, in Chifwe, *enkori* 'walking stick' would also take on the external phrases to show singularity or plurality.

(34) *Wi-na* *i-mota* *yonke*
SM1-POSS AUG-9.car one
'He has one car.'

(35) *Wi-na* *i-mota* *zingi*
SM1-POSS AUG-9.car multiple
'He has many cars.'

5.3.3.1 The augment in Silozi

Some entries from Jalla (1937) and Mwendende's (2010) Silozi dictionaries show that some Silozi words do indeed contain pre-prefixed vowels that behave as augments. For example, the terms *imulepu* 'a bearded man' and *imusunga* 'a prominent warrior' contain the *i-* vowel before the class 1 nominal prefixes *mu-*. According to the explanation in the dictionaries, most of the terms with the augment originate from the Siluyana language. Givón (1970) notes that Siluyana contains a highly productive pre-prefix vowel system. As such, one would expect traces of this pre-prefix vowel to be present in Silozi in the same way that nominal markers were adopted from Siluyana and Sesotho.

However, in the data samples, the participants from both towns could not offer many terms that contained the augment as presented in the dictionaries. More so, upon asking some of them if they recognised words such as *imulepu* or *imusunga,* they mostly said that such words were unfamiliar or constituted a 'deep Silozi' that they did not speak. One of the participants stated that perhaps the older people (who lived in the village) would know these words. While this shows that many terms, specifically those with the augments are used less, it also shows that speakers have a linguistic meta-awareness.

In the data sample from Mongu, only one word was recorded that contained an augment. This word was *induna* 'headman' given by a speaker who did not identify as a Silozi first language speaker. They indicated that their first language was Luchazi, while Mbunda and Silozi were also spoken as additional languages. The rest of the participants in Mongu used *nduna* and omitted the pre-prefix *i-*. Other speakers noted that the use of the augment *i-* in *induna* was incorrect, that it sounded odd or that they had never heard it before. As mentioned earlier in section 4.3.3, *induna* is borrowed from isiZulu with its original augment. However, it seems that Silozi speakers have moved away from using the augment *i-* in the word over time. This trend suggests that although some neighbouring languages contain the augment in Mongu, they do not seem to influence it significantly, as shown with the lexicon in the latter chapter.

In the case of the participants from Katima Mulilo, two words that contained an augment were recorded multiple times. The first of these words is *imutongo* 'chief herdsman' in (36) and (37) which five participants mentioned. Three of these participants claimed Silozi as their first language while two noted Chisubiya. The majority of the participants mentioned

mulisani for ‘herdsman’. The second of the terms given by the respondents containing an augment was the word *induna* ‘headman’, which was mentioned by 17 out of the 40 respondents in Katima Mulilo in (38) and (39). From the remaining 23 respondents, 16 omitted the augment and used *nduna*, while others gave different words altogether.

Of the 17 participants who used the form *induna*, 7 identified themselves as Chisubiya first language speakers, another 7 identified themselves as Silozi first language speakers, while 2 mentioned Chifwe and 1 Totela. The term *nduna* was also mentioned by participants who indicated different first languages (i.e., Chisubiya, Chifwe and Silozi). Moreover, in follow up session, the participants responded that both *nduna* and *induna* were synonyms that were both correct. On the other hand, *imutongo* was said to be an older Silozi word but was recognized by many participants.

(36) *i-mutongo*
AUG-1a.herdsman
‘herdsman’

(37) *i-mutongo* *u-lis-a* *li-komu*
AUG-1a.herdsman SM1-herd-FV 10-cow
‘The herdsman herds the cattle.’

(38) *i-nduna*
AUG-1a.headman
‘Headman’

(39) i-nduna u-zama-is-a mu-nzi
AUG-1a.headman SM1-lead-CAUS-FV 5-village
‘The headman leads the village.’

The use and responses of participants on *imutongo* and *induna* regardless of their first language suggests that these words which contained the augment were acceptable in the Katima Mulilo’s variety of Silozi. It is possible that Chisubiya and Chifwe’s stable augment plays a role in Silozi’s continued use of the augment. On the other hand, in Mongu, the same feature is not taken up as it has been in Katima Mulilo because Silozi remains a dominant *lingua franca* in

Mongu. The minimal use of the augment in Mongu is because many of the terms that contain the augments are of Siluyana origin while Silozi contains a more Sesotho vocabulary (Gowlett, 1989). Furthermore, it is possible that the seemingly harder or archaic terms containing the augment were used less in Silozi. While the data type was limited, it shows that there is variation presents an opportunity for further research.

5.3.4 Auxiliary verbs

According to Demuth and Harford (1999), most Bantu languages have the basic word order of subject-verb-object (SVO). This word order is also present in Silozi (Gowlett, 1989; Marten, et al., 2007). Consider the example in (40) below, the subject *mushimani* 'boy' is first in the sentence, is followed by the verb (phrase) *unwa* 'he drinks' and then finally the object *mezi* 'water'.

	Subject	Verb	Object
(40)	*mu-shimani*	*u-nw-a*	*m-ezi*
	1-boy	SM1-drink-FV	6-water
	'The boy drinks water.'		

The sentence's subject-verb and object structure are maintained regardless of the tense. For example, if (40) was to be in the past tense, the verb would become *nwile* 'drank' past simple tense or *nanwa* 'was drinking' in the past continuous tense. A similar process of verb modification is done when accounting for the present tense. The sentences had the basic subject-verb word order in both towns in the data collected.

However, while this general SVO form was maintained across the different speakers, a closer look at the data revealed some fine-grained variation. For this case, the focus is on the auxiliary verbs *sweli* 'be' and *nani* 'has' that are seemingly added to the verb or the verb phrase. It is worth noting that these auxiliary verbs are not compulsory, but when they are included, it always in addition to the main verb. In the data, I found that the auxiliary verbs exhibited plenty of variation when they were included despite the limit in the data. Beyond the noun class markers and word order, the auxiliary verbs illustrate how nuanced variation can have broader implictions on sentence structures. These additions alter the overall construction of the sentence, in turn marginally affecting the semantic meaning. Although these morphemes (*sweli*

and *nani*) are used in both towns, their functions differed, triggering the variation discussion that follows hereunder.

5.3.5 The imperfective: *sweli*

The first morpheme that stands out in the data is *sweli*, derived from the verb *swala*. In English, *swala* translates to 'hold, seize or arrest' and is used in day-to-day conversation. However, its derivative *sweli* can be used more figuratively to give the continuous imperfective aspect. In the data, a group of participants used *sweli* as an auxiliary which indicates explicitly that an action had continued for a period but without a definitive time for when the said action stopped. This sub-section will only feature *sweli* as a grammatical tense aspect marker in its extensive function.

In the data collected, *sweli* was used as part of a verb phrase and it behaved as an auxiliary verb. It was used to mark the continuous imperfective in the past, present and future tenses. While it was used frequently in Katima Mulilo, speakers in Mongu did not use it as an auxiliary. For example, (41) and (42) were sampled from participants from Mongu, while (43) was sampled in Katima Mulilo. These are all in the future tense and communicate the same idea.

(41) *Mu-tu* *u-ka-ba* *a-ć-a*
1-person SM1-FUT-be SM1-eat-FV
'The person will have been eating.'

(42) *Mu-tu* *u-ka-nze* *a-ć-a*
1-person SM1-FUT.AUX-IPFV SM1-eat-FV
'The person will have been eating.'

(43) *Mu-tu* *u-ka-ba* *a-swel-i* *ku-ć-a*
1-person SM1-FUT.AUX-IPFV SM1-IPFV.AUX-FV 15-eat-FV
'The person will have been eating.'

Firstly, what is evident from the use this auxiliary verb *sweli* is that it behaves as an extra auxiliary verb that communicates the imperfective aspect in the future tense. The inclusion of

sweli in (43) shows that an action is ongoing but is more explicit. By looking at (41) and (42) which omit *sweli*, it is clear that in the present tense, it is not needed. The example in (41) uses the morphemes *ku-* as the auxiliary verb and *-ba* as the imperfective marker and was used 101 times by all the speakers. In cases such as (42), *-ba* was substituted with *-nze*, which was used 17 times by 8 speakers in the Mongu data sample. These two were used interchangeably, and speakers in Mongu stated that they meant the same. The only difference was that *-nze* was seen as an 'old' way of speaking and did not appear in the data sample from Katima Mulilo. Both *kuba* and *banze* in (41) and (42) communicate that the action which is in the future will still be ongoing indefinitely.

In the present and past tenses, *sweli* it would seem necessary as an imperfective marker. In (46), *sweli* is added after the subject marker (SM) *u-* to indicate that it is used in reference to the baby. After that, the verb *seha* 'laugh' takes on the infinitive marker *ku-*. In this example, *sweli* gives the verb in (46) the continuous imperfective aspect to a sentence in the present tense. Therefore, the sentence communicates that the baby is currently still laughing. Thus, it would seem that to be specific, and one would need to use *sweli*; however, this was not the case in the Mongu data set.

(44) *Mbututu* *yo-mu-tuna* ***wa****-seh-a*
1.baby REL-1-big SM1.PRS-laugh-FV
'The big baby laughs.'

(45) *Mbututu* *yo-mu-tuna* *a-****nze*** *a-seh-a*
1.baby REL-1-big SM1.FUT.AUX-IPFV SM1.PRS-laugh-FV
'The big baby laughs.'

(46) *Mbututu* *yo-mu-tuna* *u-****swel-i*** *ku-seh-a*
1.baby REL1-1-big SM1-IPFV.AUX-FV 15-laugh-FV
'The big baby is busy laughing.'

In (44), the omission of *sweli* also results in the omission of the infinitive marker *ku-*. Thus, the main verb *seha* 'laugh' takes on the subject marker *wa-* 'be'. In terms of meaning, (44) can be interpreted to mean that the baby 'does' laugh, i.e., has the ability to laugh when prompted or

only at a given time. Alternatively, it can mean that the baby is currently laughing. Thus, unlike (46), sentence (44) does not specify whether the action is continuous or sporadic and when it happens.

Interestingly, two participants from Mongu used *-nze* in (45) to mark the imperfective in the same manner *sweli* was used in Katima Mulilo. Thus, while (44) was the more common form in Mongu, it was also possible that the imperfective could be marked in the present and past tenses too. In follow up sessions, participants in Mongu did not think that sentences with *sweli* (i.e., 46) sounded right but found (44) right while some said (45) was either too formal or constituted 'deep' Silozi.

The morpheme *sweli* presents a point of variation between the Silozi varieties of Mongu and Katima Mulilo Silozi. The data from both towns showed that *sweli* was used in Katima Mulilo but not in Mongu. In Katima Mulilo, 80% (32/40) of the speakers used *sweli* as a regular part of their sentences in past, present and future tenses. Cumulatively, it was used about 196 times in Katima Mulilo by the diverse participants in terms of the first languages they self-identified as (i.e., Silozi, Chisubiya and Chifwe).

The use of *sweli* to show the continuous imperfective aspect appears to be a feature that is used and accepted by speakers in Katima Mulilo more than it is used in Mongu in general. This use of an auxiliary was present in Chisubiya as well. For example, (47) is the Chisubiya translation of the same idea communicated in (44 to 46) uses *kwete* as the imperfective aspect marker.

(47)	*Mu-ntu*	*mwa-be*	*a-**kwet-e***	*ku-ly-a*
	1-person	SM1-AUX.FUT	SM1- IPFV.AUX -FV	15-eat-FV

'The person will have been eating.'

In Chisubiya, *kwete* is derived from *kwata* which also means to 'hold, seize or arrest' and plays the same role as *sweli.* However, unlike in Silozi, where *sweli* is unnecessary, *kwete* is significant in Chisubiya; otherwise, the sentence becomes ungrammatical. Based on the similarities in (46) and (47), it is highly possible that adding *sweli* to sentences as an imperfective maker is a grammatic feature borrowed from Chisubiya.

The auxiliary is a common feature of many southern Bantu languages, including Sesotho (Chaphole, 1988). The auxiliary imperfective marker *-nze* used in Mongu seems to be derived from the Sesotho *-nste* which plays the same function. For example, in (48), *-ntse* is the auxiliary verb that marks the imperfective. The Silozi example in (49) uses *-nze* in a similar manner.

(48)	*Ke-**ntse***	*ke*	*sebets-a*	*le*	*Sombatha*
	SM1-IPFV.AUX	OM1	look-FV	PREP	name
	'I am still working with Sombatha.' (Chaphole, 1988)				

(49)	*Ni-**nze***	*ni*	*sebez-a*	*ni*	*Sombatha*
	SM1-IPFV.AUX-FV	OM1	work-FV	PREP	name
	'I am still working with Sombatha.'				

While this structure is similar, from the data samples, it appears that *-nze* be used less in Mongu and not at all in Katima Mulilo while *-nste* is remains productive in Sesotho, Silozi's parent languages. Most of the participants in Katima Mulilo did not recognize *-nze* and stated that it sounded odd apart from 4. These noted that it sounded like how old people spoke and were quick to state that they did not use this form.

5.3.6 The possessive: *nani*

Similar to *sweli,* the morpheme *nani* was also used differently in the two towns, affecting sentence construction. Based on the data, the word appears to have two meanings. As a morpheme, *nani* can be translated as *[to] have* in English. Firstly, when applied after the subject marker in classes 1 to 14, it seems to behave as a possessive marker because entities in these classes can possess other enmities or qualities. For example, in (50), *nani* is used with a class 1 noun after the subject marker *u-* as a possession marker. Sentence (50) shows that 'Nyambe owns a puppy at the village'.

(50)	*Nyambe*	*u-**nani***	*ka-nja*	*kwa-hae*
	name	SM1-POSS.1SG	12-dog	17-village
	'Nyambe has a puppy at the village.'			

Secondly, *nani* was used as a copula (i.e., *is* or *are*) when applied to the locative classes. In (51), *nani* behaves as a copula when it is used after the class 17 objects marker *ku-*. In (51), *nani* reflects that 'a puppy' is present in a given location but does not indicate possession in (50).

(51) *Nyambe, ku-**nan-i** ka-nja kwa-hae*
Nyambe, OM17-is-FV 12-dog 17-village
'Nyambe, there is a puppy at the village.'

In both Mongu and Katima Mulilo, *nani* was used as a possessive marker and copula in the sentences where it was present. Examples such as (50) and (51) were recorded in both towns with no variation in the grammatic structures.

In terms of possession, *nani* was used to show ownership of physical and tangible entities such as animals, property, or friends in both Mongu and Katima Mulilo. However, some participants from Katima Mulilo also used *nani* in its possessive form to indicate the possession of intangible things, which was not found in the data sample from Mongu. For example, wisdom, anger, weight (lightness or heaviness). In (52) and (53), *nani* is inserted after the subject marker *i-* to indicate a possessed quality.

(52) *Shakame i-**nan-i** bu-tali*
9.rabbit SM9-have-FV 14-smart
'The rabbit has wisdom.'

(53) *Mota ye-tuna i-**nan-i** bu-kiti*
9.car REL9-big SM9-have-FV 14-heavy
'The big car has heaviness.'

In the Silozi variety from Mongu, the sentences wherein the subject is given a certain quality such as anger, *nani* does not seem to be required as a possessive marker. For example, in (54) and (55) are sampled from Mongu and *nani* is omitted from both. Instead, the qualities such as *butali* 'smartness' or *bukiti* 'heaviness' are preceded by *i-*, an auxiliary marker that also indicates possession. As such, on a semantic level in (52) and (54) as well as (53) and (55) both mean the same thing (i.e., that the subject has a certain quality). However, the difference is that

(52) and (53) can be ambiguous. For example, it can mean that the subject is physically holding the qualities as they would something tangible like an apple.

(54) *Shakame* *i* *bu-tali*
9.rabbit AUX 14-smart
'The rabbit is wise.'

(55) *Mota* *ye-tuna* *i* *bu-kiti*
9.dog REL9-big AUX 14-heavy
'The big car is heavy.'

In Mongu, *nani* was used a total of 64 times to show the possession of an object such as a vehicle or tree. When speaking of the qualities of objects, participants used an auxiliary as seen (54 and 55). In follow up sessions, some Mongu-based participants stated that *nani* could not be used to show the possession of a quality. One speaker emphasised that *nani* meant to physically hold or own something, and thus, a rabbit [in a folk tale] could not hold wisdom, but it could 'be' wise. As such, auxiliaries such as *i-* were prefixed to the quality to show that it belonged to the subject.

On the other hand, in Katima Mulilo, *nani* was used in 105 instances, of which 24 (22, 9%) times was to show the possession of a quality as seen in (52 and 53). In the other 81 cases, it was used to show the possession of a physical object. In the follow-up sessions, the Katima Mulilo based participants noted that *nani* could be used to show the possession of a quality or physical object. The variation in the use of *nani* between the two towns was not as salient as *sweli* was.

5.4 Summary

This chapter discussed the morphosyntactic variation between the Silozi varieties spoken in Katima Mulilo and Mongu. As discussed in earlier chapters of this thesis, the language ecologies surrounding Silozi in Katima Mulilo and Mongu are different. This chapter builds on chapter 4 and shows how lexicon from intra-Bandu borrowing impacts the varieties of Silozi. Moreover, it shows how the variety spoken Katima Mulilo exhibits variation from the one in Mongu.

The primary nominal class prefixes and agreement from both towns were identical in terms of class membership - however, the secondary affixation in forming the diminutive and augmentative revealed variation. In addition, the augment was found to be a common feature of the Silozi variety from Katima Mulilo and less common in the Mongu. Finally, the use of the auxiliary verbs exhibited some variation. For example, in Mongu, speakers used *baka* and *banze* to mark the imperfective, while in Katima Mulilo, the auxiliary *sweli* was used as an imperfective marker. Similarly, respondents from Katima Mulilo used *nani* as a possessive marker for qualities such as wisdom, while those in Mongu did not. Overall, the minor variations on a morphological level affect the semantic structures of the Silozi varieties by creating both abstract and concrete nuances such as in the two towns.

Chapter 6: Discussion and conclusion

As a sociolinguistics study, the central aim of this thesis was to elucidate language variation in Silozi. Thus, I drew on various methods from within linguistics, including dialectology and African linguistics, for the discussions in the previous chapters. This final chapter of the thesis will summarise and conclude the findings discussed in chapters 4 and 5. This chapter contains 6 sections. Section 6.1 summarises the findings from the metadata section and contributions from the participants that were vital to the discussion. Sections 6.2 and 6.3 discuss the variation found in the data on a lexical and morphosyntactic level. While the varieties of Silozi are mainly the same in the two locations, the minor variations that are present are a result of language contact, specifically with other Bantu languages.

Section 6.4 compares the two varieties to identify the more stable one based on the data. With this, the variety in Katima Mulilo is slightly more susceptible to influence from other Bantu languages. However, the fact that Silozi is taught in schools plays a significant role in its maintenance. This is reflected in how participants often corrected themselves during data collection. Section 6.5 looks at how future researchers in sociolinguistic variation studies could carry out similar work using the same methods. Section 6.6 discusses some of the unforeseen challenges I encountered while writing this thesis.

6.1 Language environment of the research sites

Before discussing the variation findings from the data, it is important to first look at the language environments of the research sites. The metadata was elicited during the interviews and in the follow-up sessions with some participants. Overall, the meta-data revealed similarities and differences in the linguistic environment of Mongu and Katima Mulilo. Moreover, it provided insight on the languages use in the research site and thus, played a crucial role in the Silozi variation discussion.

6.1.1 Multilingualism

In most African speech communities, people have a good command of more than one language because they live in multilingual areas (Batibo, 2005; ACALAN, 2009). Consider this example.

Firstly, one will acquire an African language in their home, which would serve as their L1 (e.g., Shona or isiZulu). Secondly, owing to the colonial legacies of the continent, varieties of European languages are also learnt or acquired. These are often used in education and mainly include English, Portuguese, French, Spanish or German. Thirdly, in many communities, speakers of different languages live side by side in the same area. Thus, people also learn their neighbours' languages.

Scholars such as Caplan (1970) and Mainga (1973) have reported that Barotseland is multilingual since many distinct language groups have settled there over the centuries. This multilingual state of the area was confirmed by the metadata wherein all of my research participants stated that they spoke Silozi and other languages including English. Interestingly, the metadata also confirmed that these languages were not the same in the two towns, with the exception of English. In Mongu, the participants spoke Mbunda, Nyanja, Bemba, Nyengo, Luvale, Tonga, Swahili[6], Kwamashi, Komakoma and Lunda. In contrast, the other languages listed in Katima Mulilo were Chisubiya, Chifwe, Totela, Mbalangwe, and Kwanyama. In Katima Mulilo, some participants also mentioned Afrikaans.

In multilingual communities such as these, code-switching is a common phenomenon. Nzwala (2015) reports that pre-school and primary school teachers rely on code-switching as part of their teaching practices in Silozi classrooms. While code-switching facilitates learning, it also creates an opportunity for lexicon to be borrowed from one language into another e.g., Chisubiya or Chifwe into Silozi. For example, in a study based in the Katima Mulilo district, Mashinja and Mwanza (2020) administered a language competency test to assess the familiarity of primary school pupils with Silozi words. The scholars conclude that 73.2% of the pupils scored below 50% on the test (Mashinja & Mwanza, 2020). They note that many pupils used a modern and localised form of Silozi with some loanwords from Chisubiya and English. Many of the students used terms borrowed from other languages in their Silozi variety; thus, setting up lexical variation in traditional Silozi.

[6] Swahili is not spoken in Zambia, but the participant who claimed to speak it learnt it from relatives originating from Tanzania.

6.1.2 Silozi's dominance

In both Mongu and Katima Mulilo, Silozi is standardized for official use. As such, it is used daily in the mass dissemination of information, in advertisments, government publications, and as a subject in schools. As a result, all the participants had learnt Silozi in formal school. Initially, as a medium of instruction in the first four years of primary school and then as a first or second language from the fifth grade till matric. This result was significant because, many participants stated that Silozi was the only Bantu language they could read and write adequately since they had learnt it in school. For example, some stated that they felt most comfortable using Silozi on social media platforms such as Facebook or Twitter even though they spoke other languages. Their language use patterns are significant because they show that most people in both towns use Silozi frequently in formal and informal settings.

As previously noted, Simwinga (2009) argues that although other languages are spoken in these towns, Silozi remains a language of upward mobility. More so, Simwinga (2009, p. 15) posits that the Silozi's dominance in Zambioa's Western Province has resulted in speakers of what he calls "culturally weaker languages" shifting to Silozi, a "culturally stronger language". For example, a participant in Katima Mulilo identifying as a Chifwe L1 speaker noted that not speaking Silozi would disadvantage for her in many ways because the language was everywhere. This meta-linguistic awareness shows that non-Silozi L1 speakers learn the language for its practical value, especially in Katima Mulilo.

In Mongu, 11 participants had been monolingual as children since they had learnt only Silozi in their formative years (i.e., before the age of 6). However, they quickly learnt English and other languages from friends in primary school, thus becoming bilingual. This early monolingualism suggests that there are communities where Silozi is the only language. Despite Silozi's dominance, not all participants from each location claimed to speak Silozi as their first language. For example, in Mongu, 27 of the 30 participants claimed to speak Silozi as their first language. The other three stated Luvale (2) and Mbunda (1) as their first languages. Despite this the 3 of them had also learnt Silozi from an early age before formal schooling either at home from family members or in the surrounding community. They had early exposure to the language and used it every day in varying settings just like their Malozi peers.

In Katima Mulilo, only 17 of 40 participants stated Silozi as their first language; meaning that for the other 23 it was an additional language. This shows that though Silozi is

the official langauge, many people in Katima Mulilo still resist it. One way of resisting is by keeping their own languages in the home, this refected in many people from Katima Mulilo only learing Silozi later in life compared to those in Mongu. For example, of the 23 participants, 21 of them first learnt it in school and not at home or in their communities. After they learnt Silozi, most used it daily with other Bantu languages.

Of note are the comments by participants in Katima Mulilo who during the pilot study and fieldwork said that their ability to speak Silozi was not good because they had mixed it with other languages. However, language mixing was not observed in the data but there many neologisms and borrowing from neighbouring langauges which the participants mistook for language mixing. For example, many Chisubiya and English words were present in the Silozi samples from Katima Mulilo in the lexical data as opposed to the participants switching back and forth between languages in the sample sentences or follow up interviews. In Katima, most speakers did not identify as Malozi (native Silozi speakers), thus, they did not identify with the language as their own.

During the data collection, participants from both towns shared the belief that the Silozi variety spoken in areas such as Kalabo, Senanga and Mongu (Western Zambia) was 'proper' Silozi because it was perceived to be less mixed (viz. fewer borrowings). At the same time, they stated that the Silozi variety spoken in Katima Mulilo and Sesheke was mixed with Chisubiya. As such, some labelled it as *Silozi sa Busubiya* 'Silozi of Subiya(land)'. Thus, even though Silozi is dominant in the official sphere in Katima Mulilo, it is not as socially dominant as in Mongu.

6.1.3 Meta-linguistic awareness

Many participants displayed metalinguistic awareness during the interviews and follow-up sessions. This area of linguistics has to do with speakers' knowledge about their language (Jaworski, et al., 2012). Metalinguistic beliefs and claims are important for understanding the nuances in the differences between the two varieties (Jaworski & Coupland, 2012). This metalinguistic awareness is useful when it come to understanding why the two Silozi varieties differed.

One of the most common sentiments by the participants in both towns was that their Silozi was not as good as that of their grandparents or their peers who lived in the villages. In

both cases, the participants often pointed to the fact that because they lived in urban areas and often were exposed to other languages, their variety of Silozi was mixed. They compared themselves to family members and peers who lived in the villages and were mostly monolingual Silozi speakers. This was an interesting point because many speakers seemed to hint that though borrowing in Silozi was present, it was only in the urban variety. For example, most participants in Mongu were quick to note that they spoke English at school and many other spaces outside their homes. Thus, they would often use English words even in Silozi when communicating an idea or object that did not have a Silozi word, for example, *selulafoni* 'cell phone' and *sipatela* 'hospital'. However, studies of the language suggests that even the rural variety contains borrowings (Stirke & Thomas, 1916; Kashoki, 1999).

In Mongu, over 97% of the participants learnt Silozi at home before attending formal school. Many speakers stated that though their Silozi may contain some English terms, they still spoke the language well enough. In addition, Mongu is the epicentre of Silozi traditions and customs because the Malozi king resides nearby. Thus, annual festivities such as the Kuomboka ceremony strengthen their ties to being Mulozi and the language (Caplan, 1970; Mainga, 1973; Mukena, 2015). Some of the participants who spoke about the ceremony and had taken part in it took pride in their Silozi heritage despite noting that their Silozi was 'mixed' earlier on. Some participants stated that when they were in the village or spoke *Silozi twaa* 'pure Silozi', they could adapt quickly. It is worth noting that the concepts of a pure versus mixed Silozi were often metioned by the participants. The 'pure' form of the language was often attributed to speakers in the villages such as elders who were mainly monolingual. In contrast, the 'mixed' form of the language was seen as the variety spoken in the urban areas.

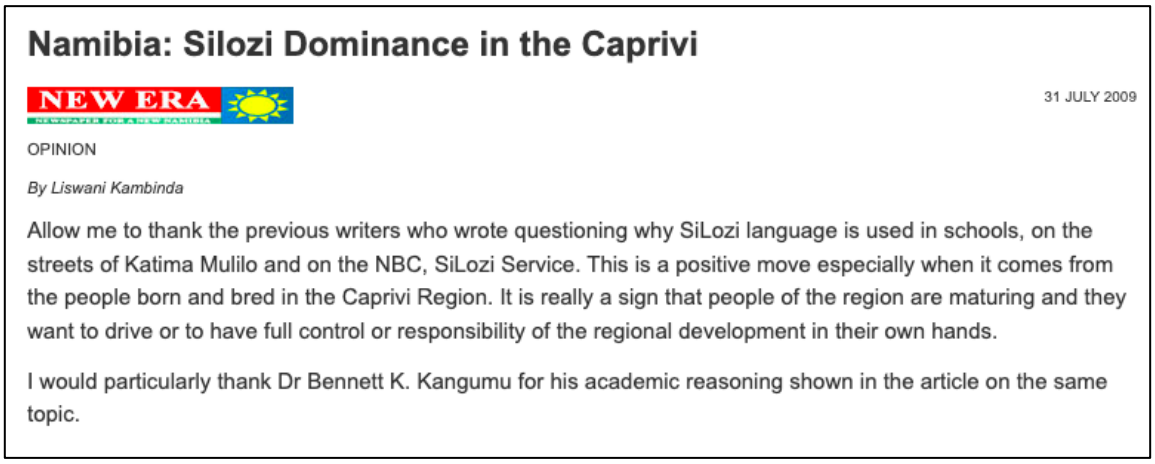
In Katima Mulilo many people identify more with Chisubiya and Chifwe than with Silozi. This affiliation to the Subiya identity, has been a common feature of many papers by scholars in which the rejection of Silozi's hegemony has been a strong point of discussion (Sitwala, 2010). Some participants stated that to many in Katima Mulilo, Silozi is learnt to communicate on a basic level and not with a sense of loyalty to the language. However, the paradox is that the language is one of prestige and thus, participants were aware of its social and economic value. Thus, they had to know how to use it accurately to get ahead.

In Katima Mulilo, about 47% of the participants in this study first learnt Silozi in primary school. This suggests shows that people prioritize learning of Chisubiya and Chifwe in their homes. These participants often cited that the learning Silozi mainly at school limited

their engagement with the language and thus they did not speak it as well as in Zambia. Thus, many participants stated that they spoke a mixed variety of Silozi (i.e., *Silozi sa busubiya* 'Silozi of Subiyaland') and that the 'pure' form was spoken in Zambia. Those who learn Silozi in school seem to use it mainly in conversation outside the home with friends or for official purposes, i.e., to seek employment.

Although this thesis does not discuss language attitudes in depth, many non-linguistic aspects such as culture and identity play a role in developing the variations. There appears to be a differing attitude towards the language in the two towns. In Mongu, many see Silozi as their language even though there may be some mixing with English. Moreover, many speakers in Mongu even stated that they used Silozi on online platforms such as Facebook and Twitter.

In Katima Mulilo, there are two prevailing ideologies on Silozi, on the one hand, it is seen as a Zambian language that dominates over the 'actual' languages of the Zambezi Region. For example, figure 6.1 is an extract from an aricle wherein the author supports a previous article that had opposed the use of Silozi in schools and in the official domain. Such opinion pieces are often written to papers to show Silozi dissent. At the same time, there is an attempt to bring Chisubiya and Chifwe in the written sphere.



Namibia: Silozi Dominance in the Caprivi

NEW ERA

31 JULY 2009

OPINION

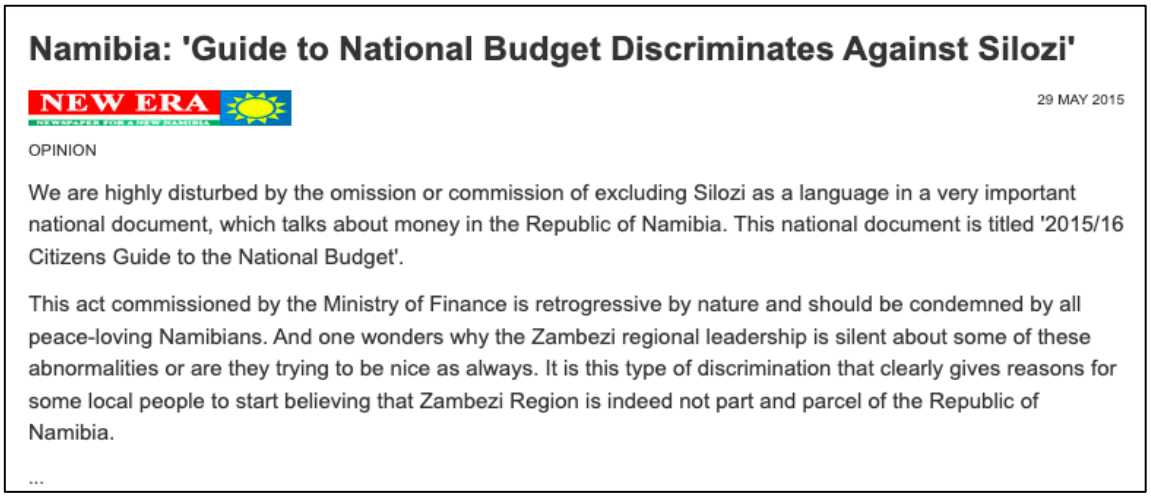
By Liswani Kambinda

Allow me to thank the previous writers who wrote questioning why SiLozi language is used in schools, on the streets of Katima Mulilo and on the NBC, SiLozi Service. This is a positive move especially when it comes from the people born and bred in the Caprivi Region. It is really a sign that people of the region are maturing and they want to drive or to have full control or responsibility of the regional development in their own hands.

I would particularly thank Dr Bennett K. Kangumu for his academic reasoning shown in the article on the same topic.

Figure 6.1: An extract from an article opposing the use of Silozi in the Zambezi region. The New Era Newspaper, 2009)

In contrast, others have written in support of Silozi. For example, the extract in figure 6.2 is taken from an article wherein the writer questioned the omission of Silozi in official documents. Moreso, the leaders are also questioned on why they have not acted on the omission. Articles such as this one suggests that there are people who wish to read official documents in Silozi.



Namibia: 'Guide to National Budget Discriminates Against Silozi'

NEW ERA

29 MAY 2015

OPINION

We are highly disturbed by the omission or commission of excluding Silozi as a language in a very important national document, which talks about money in the Republic of Namibia. This national document is titled '2015/16 Citizens Guide to the National Budget'.

This act commissioned by the Ministry of Finance is retrogressive by nature and should be condemned by all peace-loving Namibians. And one wonders why the Zambezi regional leadership is silent about some of these abnormalities or are they trying to be nice as always. It is this type of discrimination that clearly gives reasons for some local people to start believing that Zambezi Region is indeed not part and parcel of the Republic of Namibia.

...

Figure 6.2: Extract from an article supporting the use of Silozi in the official domain. (The New Era Newspaper, 2015)

The participants in this study and the article extracts do not represent all the people of Mongu and Katima Mulilo, they represent a snapshot of Silozi's dichotomy between the towns. The metalinguistic awareness displayed by the participants shows that the speakers of Silozi notice a difference in the varieties.

6.2 The findings: Variation in the lexicon

This section discusses the initial research questions of this thesis. It looks at the languages change processes such as borrowing and lexical loss that result in variation. The Silozi varieties spoken in the two towns are mutually intelligible. However, despite the similarities, variation in the lexicon was indeed present and this section discusses the data findings in that regard. The variation in Silozi lexicon between the two towns appears to be influenced by neighbouring languages, especially the more popular ones.

In the first question, I sought to analyse variation in the lexicon. As shown above, Silozi has different neighbouring languages in each town. For example, outside of Silozi, Chisubiya and Chifwe are popular in Katima Mulilo, while Mbunda and Nyanja were the common Bantu languages in Mongu. In language contact situations such as these, the most common language change process is lexical borrowing which happens on borrowing scales according to Thomason and Kaufman (1992). For this study, borrowing is defined as "…the transfer of linguistic elements from one language to another, often between neighbouring languages" (Holden & Gray, 2006, p. 25). In their discussion, Thomason and Kaufman (1992) note that

the degrees of borrowing range from lexical borrowing (1) to heavy structural borrowing (5). In the former, only lexcon is borrowed due to 'casual contact' between the langauges while the latter involves 'strong cultural pressure' which isrelcted in more intense borrowing that results in changes in the typographic structure and phonology of the borrowing languages (Thomason & Kaufman, 1992, p. 75). The data collected in this study was not sufficient to identify the level of borrowing in Silozi per the the model proposed by Thomason and Kaufman (1992). Nonetheless, the data samples elicited revealed that the borrowings accounted for the most salient variation.

Silozi has been standardised for over a century and scholars have conducted studies to show words that are historically Silozi terms and those that are more recent borrowings or innovations. In some of these studies, scholars such as Stirke and Thomas (1916) and Kashoki (1999) have shown that the language has terms borrowed from Bantu and non-Bantu languages. It can often be a challenge to ascertain which words are traditional Silozi terms and which are possible borrowings. However, I used the dictionaries by Jalla (1936) and Mwendende (2010), which provide comprehensive wordlists of standard Silozi terms to determine which words were possible borrowings.

Lastly, analysis of the borrowed lexicon in this study showed that it was mainly used to perform two functions. Firstly, to cover lexical gaps, for example, when a concept does not exist in a language, a term can be adopted from another to communicate the new idea (Haspelmath, 2009). Secondly, borrowings can also be used as prestige markers (Haspelmath, 2009). In the latter case, speakers from language of lower prestige often borrow terms from one with higher (Treffers-Daller, 2010).

6.2.1 Intra-Bantu borrowings

Intra-Bantu borrowings are common especially between languages spoken in proximity (Ehret, 1999). Scholars like Kashoki (1999), Gowlett (1989), Stirke and Thomas (1916) have shown how Silozi has been a beneficiary of intra-Bantu borrowing. The primary question here was how much intra-Bantu borrowing was present in the varieties spoken in the two towns. To identify the Intra-Bantu borrowings, I firstly identified the terms that were not from Silozi by comparing them to entries in the dictionaries by Jalla (1936) and Mwendende (2010). Thereafter, I consulted some of the participants and where available, the dictionaries of the neighbouring languages such as Heatherwick's (1951) for Nyanja dictionary.

An analysis of the data revealed some variation in the ratio of intra-Bantu borrowed terms in each town. In the lexical data from Mongu, 4945 terms were elicited and of these, there were only 10 instances of intra-Bantu borrowing which represents 0.2% of the sample. *Kamboyo* 'elbow', a term borrowed from Chinyanja was used 5 times in the data sample. The remaining 5 instances were terms each used only once in the data sample and were borrowed from various languages. Thus, suggesting that the other Bantu languages in Mongu do not influence Silozi significantly enough to cause frquent borrowing of terms.

On the other hand, in Katima Mulilo, the borrowing ratio was slightly higher but overall still a low number. From a data sample comprising 6114 terms, 84 were borrowed from other Bantu languages and these made up 1, 4 % of the elicited terms. Chisubiya appears to be the main donor language with some isiZulu terms such as *nduna* 'headman' and *gazi* 'blood' ar present too. These borrowings were observed with participants who self-identified as Silozi L1 speakers and those who did not. This means that even participants who claimed to have spoken Silozi from an early age used Chisubiya borrowings. This finding is significant because the Chisubiya borrowings seem to be used and accepted by Silozi speakers in Katima Mulilo. When speakers accept lexicon, the chances of these words becoming stable in the borrowing language increase (Haspelmath, 2009). This also seems consistent with Mashinja and Mwanza's (2020) study, which showed that students often used Chisubiya words thinking that they were Silozi terms from an early age.

In the data samples, the participants borrowed terms for two purposes. Firstly, in cases where they did not know the 'real' Silozi words, they used borrowed words to cover these lexical gaps. For example, the word *untendeleka* 'lizard' was borrowed from Chisubiya by 5 participants in Katima Mulilo. They stated that this was the word they knew and used for 'lizard' in each case. The rest of the participants gave *mukolozwani*, the established Silozi term. This type of borrowing was more frequent in Katima Mulilo than in Mongu. Secondly, the terms were also borrowed as prestige markers. For example, *kamboyo* 'elbow' in Mongu was borrowed from Chinyanja but was used a slang term in this context. A participant who knew the Silozi term *ngokolwa* 'elbow' stated that using *kamboyo* showed that one knew 'street language', which seemingly was a marker of his youth. As such, while the participants may have known the actual Silozi term, they opted to use terms from other languages to mark prestige.

Another interesting aspect that stood out was that the participants often corrected themselves during the data collection. For example, in Katima Mulilo, a participant had given the word *mufiyezo* for 'broom' but then corrected themselves a few minutes later to say it was *mufiyelo*. Their response emphasized that the two terms were almost similar but in Silozi, it had an [l] corresponding to a [z] in Chisubiya. They said that this minor difference made it easy to confuse the two. While people borrow from other languages, they have an adequate command of Silozi. This is possibly because they attended formal schooling where they studied Silozi as either an L1 or L2, thus reinforcing their language knowledge of what is and what is not 'good' Silozi, in the process reducing borrowing.

In Katima Mulilo, the Intra-Bantu borrowings are mainly from Chisubiya and Chifwe. The data in the section above shows that in Katima Mulilo, people are more likely to borrow terms into Silozi because most of them tend to use Silozi and Chisubiya concurrently from an early age. The terms borrowed from other Bantu languages were unique to each town in each location. This is because the neigbouring languages to Silozi are not the same in two towns. In Myers-Scotton and Okeju (1973), this is referred to as a borrowing restricted to some geographic dialects. Overall, the Silozi variety in Mongu contains fewer lexical borrowings from other Bantu languages than the Silozi variety in Katima Mulilo. Thus, the lexicon from the Mongu variety is less dynamic and versatile as it takes on fewer borrowings from other local languages.

6.2.2 Borrowings from non-Bantu languages

English and Afrikaans are the non-Bantu languages from which the most lexicon is borrowed in each town. The two languages provide more loanwords than all the other Bantu languages combined. In Mongu, the borrowings from these languages accounted for about 7.1% of the total lexicon while in Katima Mulilo, they accounted for 7.9%. Katima Mulilo had a slightly higher percentage of borrowed terms that is unlikely to be statistically significant. Similar to the intra-Bantu borrowings, these were used as prestige markers and to cover lexical gaps.

When words are borrowed from one language into another, the terms are often indigenized into the borrowing language. Through indigenization, speakers can adapt the borrowed words to their language's linguistic (phonological or morphological) constrains (Mufwene, 2009; Kadenge, 2009). Most of the Silozi terms borrowed from the non-Bantu languages were indigenized in the data set. For example, *keleke* from the Afrikaans word *kerk*

'church', *mukiriste* 'Christian' and *Bibele ye Kenile* 'Holy Bible'. However, not all borrowings from non-Bantu languages necessitate indigenization, for example, *banjo* from English remains the same in Silozi.

Through indigenization, the borrowed terms took on features that made them more suitable to the 'Mulozi's tongue' and slightly similar to other Silozi words. Firstly, Silozi noun class prefixes are added to the borrowed terms to signify class membership as common with Bantu languages. For example, *mukiriste* 'Christian' takes on the class 1 prefix marker *mu-* to mark the singular human from the noun while the plural would take on *ba-*, the class 2 prefix marker. Secondly, final vowels are added at the end of words that lack them in the donor language. For example, terms such as *school* and *hospital* do not contain final vowels in English. These are given final vowels in the Silozi, thus becoming *sikolo* and *sipatela*. Thirdly, a vowel is added to break up some consonant cluster. For example, the vowel *-i-* is added between *-sp-* in *hospital* and thus forming *sipatela*. Lastly, in is *motikala* the Silozi for 'motor car', /r/ is replaced by /l/ and a final vowel is added. Such slight differences in indigenisation gives rise to cross-dialect and intra-dialect variation.

6.2.2.1 The early borrowings

Many terms seem to have been borrowed into Silozi from English. Such terms were used to communicate new concepts to Barotseland when the missionaries started their work. As such, these terms have been in use for many decades in the Silozi speaking communities. Some examples are the words linked to the early missionary activities such as *katala* 'altar' and *Bibele ye Kenile* 'Holy Bible'. Other early borrowings adopted from English include *sipatela* for 'hospital', *sikolo* for 'school' and *malaiti* for 'electricity' derived from the term 'light'. Many of these concepts and establishments have continued to be part of the social makeup amongst the Silozi speaking communities, which means that these terms have been used for many decades.

Afrikaans terms also seem to be part of the early borrowings even though very few participants in Mongu and Katima Mulilo speak the language. However, the language remains one of prestige in Namibia today and is popular in the central and southern parts of the country (Hardijzer, 2019). Some early borrowings from Afrikaans include *keleke* for 'church' derived from the word *kerk,* while *benkele* is derived from *winkel* for 'shop' and *tafule* from *tafel* for

'table'. From my date, these early borrowings were also present in both towns. Since they are given as such in Jalla (1936) and Mwendende's (2010) dictionaries as the actual Silozi terms used, they must be considered a stable part of the language.

These early borrowings were used as prestige markers. They were mainly used to communicate new concepts. For example, while institutions of faith and healing existed within these communities, they did not take the shape of the modern church or hospital. Thus, terms such as *keleke* 'church' and *sipatela* 'hospital' came into use to communicate the new institutions. The participants thought these terms were the 'actual' Silozi terms in both locations and not borrowings from English or Afrikaans. This suggests that these early borrowings have become well-established in the Silozi varieties.

However, not all early borrowings have remained stable, particularly in Katima Mulilo. For example, the term *altar* is given as *katala* which appears in Jalla's (1930) dictionary was only mentioned by only five participants in Katima Mulilo. The others offered different forms such as *alutale* and *aluta*, both variant forms of the English word *altar*. This stands out because participants in Katima Mulilo only give it while those in Mongu keep the initial form *katala* given by Jalla (1930). The the phonology and the loan word adaptation is complex because there are many variations of how words are adapted by the paticipants as seen with *altar*. The major differences were in the newer variants as discussed below.

6.2.2.2 The newer borrowings

The second type of borrowed terms from the non-Bantu languages seem to be recent borrowings. Most of these terms do not appear in Jalla (1936) while most can be found in Mwendende's (2010) dictionary. This provides evidence that they are likely to be newly borrowed into Silozi. The main donor language of these terms was English, an official language in both research sites and a tool for upward mobility. Thus, many borrowed terms seem to be prestige markers and fill lexical gaps. Although Afrikaans is taught in most parts of Namibia, this is not the case in Katima Mulilo or Mongu. In fact, only 3 participants from the entire study claimed to speak Afrikaans as an additional language that they had learnt before moving to Katima Mulilo. The data in this study suggests that Afrikaans is not popular in Katima Mulilo. For example, none of the recent borrowings were from Afrikaans.

I expected the recent borrowings to reflect more variation than the early borrowings discussed in the previous section. Although there is distance and limited interaction between the speakers, the indigenization into Silozi was mostly similar when English was the donor language. For example, the term *guitar* was borrowed as *gitaa* and *gitaili* in Mongu while in Katima Mulilo was *gitaya.* Interestingly, these terms varied because each community seemed to have found a unique way to indigenize them into Silozi. Despite this, their similarity made it possible for speakers from the other location to recognize them and understand the meanings. These new borrowings were not seen as intrusions compared to those borrowed from other Bantu languages. In both locations, participants seemed more accepting of these recent English borrowings. Other examples included the term for 'box' which were given as *pongisi, mbokosi, mponkisi, ponkisi* and *katoni* in Mongu and *bokisi, pongisi, katoni* and *sikatoni* in Katima Mulilo. *Katoni* and *sikatoni* are based on 'carton', while the rest show different degrees of Bantuization/indigenization of 'box'.

While many of the recent borrowings seemed to be mostly similar in the two locations, they also play a more significant role, showing how urbanisation impacts Bantu languages like Silozi. For example, for the word *roof*, the participants gave one of two words: *masenke* and *situa.* In follow up interviews, I asked what the difference was between the two terms. The participants said that *situa* was a thatched roof while *masenke* was a corrugated iron roof. The word *masenke* is derived from *zinc* [sheets] used to make roofs in the urban areas. The two homes depicted in figure 6.1 are in a village, the home labelled A is the traditional design constructed with grass, a cheap and locally sourced product. On the other hand, the home labelled B reflects an emerging type of home using corrugated zinc sheets which comes at an extra cost.

Figure 6.3: The type of homes constructed in villages, showing traditional thatched roof home (left and centre) and a 'modern' zinc roof home (right). (Nuno, 2018)

As people started travelling to urban areas, they brought back elements of their urban lives. In this case, it was zinc iron sheets to build their homes in the villages. This means that only people with more disposable income could afford houses with zinc roofs. Thus, *masenke* 'zinc plated roof' was an indicator of upward social mobility. In my study, the participants seemed to give *masenke* more than they did *situa* even though the photograph shown had both roof types. This response suggests that some words such as *masenke* seem to become more popular over time because of their social significance.

6.2.3 Other types of lexical innovation

For this data, I compiled a questionnaire containing lexical items that the participants would translate from English into Silozi. The aim was to ensure that the terms in the questionnaire were socially acceptable and could be translated into Silozi, I consulted the dictionaries by Jalla (1936) and Mwendende (2010). These enabled me to put together a list of words to expect from the participants. I expected to collect 172 tokens from each of the 70 participants from the sample, which means that the total number of tokens would have been 12040.

When analysing the lexical data for variation, most terms were similar in both locations as discussed in the sections above. Neologisms have to do with new or existing words taking on new meanings that become adopted by speech communities (Grieve, et al., 2018); they

present a unique view into language change and development. In both towns borrowing and lexical adaptation has led to considrebale lexical expansion.

While lexical innovations were not as common amongst all the participants as the borrowed terms were, their presence suggested that speakers in the different areas are open to giving existing words new meanings to communicate new ideas. Much like the borrowings, some of these lexical innovations were unique to each location. For example, in Mongu, 5 different participants used the term *mazimu mwangala* 'mirage' to refer to a computer. This term was recognized by other participants in Mongu who had not mentioned it during the data collection. Some of these stated that *mazimu mwangala* could also refer to a 'television set'. The idea was that these screens presented things that were not there just like mirages. Other Mongu specific terms were *fananuti* 'tattoo' derived from *fanuna* 'to scratch'.

Similarly, some lexical innovations appeared in Katima Mulilo that did not appear in Mongu. For example, *ñaka* 'faith healer' was the word extended to apply to 'doctor'. Some even added the phrase *wa sipatela* 'of the hospital' to show that the terms could be used to refer to many types of healers, but in this case it was a doctor. Regardless, the term *ñaka* seems to have been semantically expanded to include people whose occupation was healing.

Although the data did not produce many lexical innovations that were unique to each location, those elicited in the sample suggest that this is an area where the two Silozi varieties are going to keep growing more 'different'. While the Silozi variety in Mongu remains the dominant language, it too can take on new words from the surrounding languages as seen with terms like *kamboyo* 'elbow' from Chinyanja. The nature of the data collection was not conducive for this type of data to be collected. As discussed in Chapter 3, open ended interviews were not used for this study because they would not yieled similar lexicon and sample pharses from both locations for an adeqauate comparative analysis. Nonetheless, it is worth noting that there is a high possiblity that data collected for conversational analysis via open-ended interviews and observations would yield more lexical innovations. At the same time, such data would possibly reveal more lexical variation in the Silozi varieties from the two towns.

In addition to those that differ, many other lexical innovations were similar in both towns, for example *mulumeli* 'one who agrees' [with the Christian faith] was used to refer to Christians. This is possibly an early innovation which came about as the early missionaries

settled. Other shared innovations were *mueteleli* 'leader' and *muzamisi* 'director' for presidents or notable leaders. What is interesting about these innovations is that they are drawn from verbs. For example, *muzamisi* is derived from *zamaya* 'walk', but in the innovation it is placed in class 1 and takes on the prefix *mu-* and the causative suffix *-isi*. These innovations are very common and appear to be a stable part of the language. What's more is that many of them also appear in the dictionaries.

Beyond lexical innovations, participants seemed to prefer some lexical items over others when presenting the same idea. In this case, the same words were used or given by participants in both towns, however, the difference came down to how much one was used in relation to the others. For example, the terms *mabisi* and *muzilili* were given in both locations as terms for milk. However, 97% of the participants in Katima Mulilo gave the term *muzilili* while 93% of those in Mongu gave *mabisi* as the term they knew. Many other terms fell into this category, for example, 'blindness' as *kusabona* by 45 % in Katima Mulilo and *bubofu* by 73 % in Mongu; 'slap' as *mpama* by 72.5 % in Katima Mulilo and *lubaka* by 87 % in Mongu.

This finding is significant because even though many of these terms are considered synonyms in the dictionaries, they could disappear from the speakers' vocabulary. This has seemed to be the case with many terms that appear in dictionaries but were not mentioned or recognised by the participants in follow-up sessions. For example, some participants from Katima Mulilo said that words such as *mafi* and *maembela* which are synonyms for 'milk' were Silozi terms that perhaps their parents or grandparents knew but they themselves did not use or recognise. In Mongu, many participants said they recognised some of the words, but they were quick to state that these words were used in the village or by their elders and were 'deep Silozi'. Other examples of terms like this include *musikuluhi* for 'Christian convert'; *mbando* for 'palm'; and *sikundamongo, ngalanganja,* and *luamuhelo* which all mean 'tattoo'. Thus, while some of the terms may be known in Mongu, their decrease in popularity and use means that they could disappear from the vocabulary altogether. In Katima Mulilo, many of the 'older' terms seemed to have disappeared from the vocabulary in the collected samples.

6.3 The findings: Morphosyntactic variation

Silozi is a mixed language that has Sesotho and Siluyana as the main contributing languages according to Jalla (1936) and Gowlett (1989). Its mixed character is reflected in the noun class

system which influences both parent languages and Setswana (Mbeha, 2017). More so, scholars have reported that Silozi has taken on lexicon from these neighbouring languages (Stirke & Thomas, 1916; Kashoki, 1999). Due to its Sesotho base, Silozi's is marginally different from neighbouring languages such as Chisubiya, Simbunda and Chinyanja among others (Heine, 1970; Gowlett, 1989). As such, Silozi's classification amongst Bantu languages has been a contested issue (Maho, 2003). With that in mind, the second part of this thesis aimed to discuss variation in the morphosyntactic make-up of the varieties, starting with the noun class formatives.

6.3.1 Noun class membership

From the literature and the metadata findings, it is evident that the Silozi speakers currently live in multilingual communities. Based on the initial findings from the pilot study, the expectation for the data to show that the neighbouring languages would influence the nominal class system of Silozi. Consider this example, during the pilot study, one participant used the class 17 nominal prefix *kwa-* in place of the class marker 16 *fa-* in Mongu. In their sentence, the speaker said *kwa-nde* instead of *fa-nde* to mean 'outside'. Though it was limited to these two locative classes in the pilot study, there was potential for this to be a more widespread phenomenon in the noun class system. The different locative class membership was possibly drawn from a neighbouring language or was an innovation in the Silozi variety.

For this study, the data set of lexical tokens collected in Mongu and Katima Mulilo was comprised mainly of nouns that represented each of the 18 active nominal class categories in Silozi. For example, the noun *mutu* 'person' belongs to class 1 and *nja* 'dog' to class 9. This means that, lexical items with the singular and their plural forms, the locatives, and abstracts were all part of the wordlist. I first analysed the primary nominal class membership for variation using these data samples from the two towns. For comparison, I used the noun class system of Mbeha (2017) compiled by consulting Gowlett (1989), Chanda (2007) and Mwendende (2010). The objective was to find variations within this noun class membership and possible explanations for the variation. However, the data showed no variation in the primary nominal class membership and the application of the markers in the towns. Thus, the lexical items all showed that the primary noun class prefixes in Mongu and Katima Mulilo were identical.

6.3.2 Augmentative and diminutive variation

After that, I analysed 42 sample sentences elicited from each of the 70 participants. These samples sentences aimed to elicit data that would illustrate the marking of the primary and secondary class membership in sentences. As with the lexicon, the primary class membership showed no variation between the two towns or deviation from the noun class formatives of Mbeha (2017). However, the secondary class membership contained variation, notably in the formation of the diminutives and augmentatives. These two reflect the relationship between a speaker and the things around them (Schneider, 2012). The diminutives and augmentatives can be realised in numerous form in Bantu languages.

Firstly, in the diminutive, four methods of marking 'smallness' were observed in the data samples. Namely, secondary nominal prefixing which saw nouns move to class 12/13, taking on the prefixes *-ka* and *-tu*. Secondly, the relative phrases were added after the nouns and behaved like adjectives. Thirdly, there was a combination of the nominal prefixing and relative phrases. While this seemed to be a duplication of the diminutives (i.e., participants using the diminutive twice), it was not the case. Rather, participants used this to be more specific and draw attention to the fact that the object being referred to was small. These first three were used in the same manner in both towns.

The fourth and final form was the derivational diminutive suffixing, which showed variation. In Katima Mulilo, participants often used *-nyana* as a diminutive suffix, seemingly derived from the Proto Bantu suffix *-ana*. In Mongu, this diminutive suffix was only used in *mwanana* 'child'. In contrast, in Katima Mulilo, it was more popular and used for many terms such as *kotanyana* 'small tree', *nukanyana* 'rivulet' and *bukanyana* 'small book'. Besides nouns, it was also used in adverbs such as *kalenyana* 'a little while ago'. The fact that this diminutive marker was used by 22 of the 40 participants from Katima Mulilo suggested that it is possibly a stable part of their variety that is not present in Mongu. In addition, the participants from the latter suggested that using double diminutives in the manner above sounded odd.

On the other hand, the augmentatives have to do with largeness in size. As with diminutive usage, there were various competing forms of these augmentatives. The first was via secondary class membership using classes 7/8 which saw nouns take on the prefixes *si-* and *li-*. Secondly, the augmentative was also realised via using relative phrases that behaved as adjectives. As such, these provided more information on the noun in the same way they would

for the diminutives. The third and final, was realised via the derivational suffix *-tuna* 'big' which was added to the noun. This suffix behaved as an opposite for the diminutive *-nyana* and was used in both towns by 5 participants in total. Thus suggesting that it not a very popular form. In terms of overall variation, there was no salient difference found in the augmentatives.

6.3.3 The augment

Although the nominal class membership showed similarities, there was some variation in the use of the augment (pre-prefix) in the Silozi varieties from the two towns. Initially, I expected the pre-prefix to be a popular feature of the Silozi from Mongu since Siluyana contains this feature according to Givón (1970) and the dictionary entries by Jalla (1936) and Mwendende (2010). With many words taken from Siluyana, it was possible that such a feature would have been present in the variety from Mongu. However, the pre-prefix in Mongu was limited and only found in one instance. In the entire data sample, only the word *induna* 'headman' was given by a non-Silozi L1 speaker. In follow up sessions, I showed the participants some terms with augments taken from the dictionaries and inquired if these words were known. Many of the participants stated that the words with pre-prefixes were not part of their daily vocabulary and some noted that they were part of 'old or deep Silozi'.

In Katima Mulilo on the other hand, the pre-prefix seemed to be slightly more common than in Mongu. The vowel *i-* was the only used pre-prefix and 17 participants gave it throughout the data sample for words namely *induna* 'headman' and *imutongo* 'herdsman'. In follow up sessions, I also shared other terms with augments with the participants. Unlike those in Mongu, the participants from Katima Mulilo did not seem to find the use of the augment as incorrect. Most of them stated that the Silozi terms with the augment sounded archaic but not 'wrong'. The augment in the Katima Mulilo variety is acceptable because the neighbouring languages namely, Chisubiya and Chifwe contain active pre-prefixes. As noted in the lexicon, these languages influence Silozi in Katima Mulilo and the augment may be a feature that has stabilised due to the language contact situation.

6.3.4 The auxiliary verbs

Auxiliary verbs are a common feature of Bantu languages and have been widely studied. The auxiliaries such as *wa* 'is' or *na* 'was' were similar in both varieties. However, one of the most glaring differences from the data was in the auxiliary verbs that were slightly more complex.

In the data from Katima Mulilo, the verbs *sweli* and *nani* were used as auxiliaries. *Sweli* which is derived from the verb *swala* 'to hold/seize', was used to mark the imperfective while *nani* was used to mark the possessive in sentences.

In a study on isiXhosa variation by Bloom-Ström (2018), the linguistic constructions that appeared different were identified. After that, these were verified with the participants to determine whether they were accepted or rejected as an acceptable way of speaking. For this discussion, the term 'proper form' refers to the participants' standard in their speech communities. While there were some variations in the responses given by the participants, there remains an acceptable standard within the respective speech communities. Similar to Bloom-Ström (2018), when I discovered that *sweli* and *nani* were used in varying forms, I shared some of the examples with the participants in the follow up sessions. In response, most of the participants from Mongu said that the inclusion of morphemes *sweli* and *nani* in the sentences was 'not proper Silozi'. Thus, while *sweli* and *nani* were acceptable as verbs, they did not seem grammatically acceptable as auxiliaries in Mongu. Instead, the morpheme *nze* was added to show the imperfective in Mongu in the same way *sweli* was used in Katima Mulilo. *Nze* was not used in the latter town.

In Katima Mulilo though, the participants did not cite any mistakes whether *sweli* and *nani* were omitted or included in sentences. Rather, they said that it represented different ways in which people spoke. Therefore, although these variants are acceptable in both towns, some seem to be more commonly used and accepted in Katima Mulilo than Mongu. Although there was variation in this respect, the changes brought on by verbs *sweli* 'be' and *nani* were nuanced.

6.4 Stability of the varieties

Many factors influence language change, but I only discuss those relevant to this study for the following sub-section. When speakers of different languages live in close proximity, language practices such as borrowing, code-switching and code-mixing are often employed (Bokamba, 1988). The aim can be to bridge communication gaps, mark prestige, or both. In extreme circumstances where there is no mutual intelligibility, new languages or varieties can be formed in the process, such as pidgins (Sebba, 1997). Variation occurs on a spectrum ranging from obvious variants, such as borrowing lexicon to more fine-grained variation that requires closer

analysis to be uncovered. The data collected for this study included both the obvious variants and those not as obvious.

According to the data sample, one of the most prominent causes of language change was contact between Silozi and other languages. In both communities, lexicon was freely borrowed into Silozi from English, an official language and some from Afrikaans. Many of these terms borrowed from these languages, whether old or recent, communicate concepts non-existent in Silozi. For example, *wailesi* and *ledio* were borrowed for '[wireless] radio'. The main difference in these English borrowings was how they were indigenized into Silozi. For example, *gitaya* vs *gitaili* for guitar in Mongu and Katima Mulilo, respectively. Regardless, the ratio of these borrowings was almost identical in both towns and his shows the impact of globalization on local languages including Silozi.

At the same time, the data samples also revealed intra-Bantu borrowing in the two communities. This means that though Silozi was the dominant Bantu language in both towns, there was some influence from other Bantu languages. Since both varieties seem to take on linguistic features from the neighbouring languages, a significant difference was that the variety in Katima Mulilo was found to contain more features from neighbouring languages than Mongu. For example, on a lexical level, words like *induna*, *gazi* and *mufiyezo* appear to have been borrowed into the Katima Mulilo variety by many participants. Borrowing such as these are likely used and generally accepted considering how frequently the individual participants used them. Moreover, there seemed to be a resistance towards the hegemony of Silozi with some speakers noting that they only use the language to communicate. As such, many other Chisubiya words featured in the data sample from Katima Mulilo.

In Mongu on the other hand, Silozi is by far more dominant than any other Bantu language. As such, a significantly lower number of borrowings were found in the data. Of the 5 different borrowed terms in Mongu, only *kamboyo* 'elbow' was used numerous times as a prestige marker. Some speakers alluded to it as a term from street language and thus, they used it to signify that they were in touch with the latest trends.

Languages also naturally tend to change over time. When speakers of what is generally accepted by linguists to be the same languages live in different geographic zones, subsequent independent changes after separation usually result in the varieties becoming less similar over time. Consider these examples, on the one hand some terms cease to be used such as *liungwa*

‘hurricane’ in Katima Mulilo. On the other hand, neologisms can be formed to communicate new ideas such as *mazimu mwangala* ‘computer’ in Mongu. Such changes in the Silozi varieties may occur independently of each other and remain distinct due to the distance between the two towns. The fact that the movement of speakers between Mongu and Katima Mulilo is not frequent means that the Silozi varieties in the two towns are not in regular contact. Where contact may occur, it is not significant enough to carry the linguistic aspects from one community to another where contact may occur.

Overall, a comparison of the two varieties suggests that the Katima Mulilo variety is more prone to change than the Mongu variety. For example, a brief analysis of the lexical data showed that of the 5160 expected tokens in Mongu, 4945 (95.8%) were collected meaning that only 215 terms were outstanding. Similarly, in Katima Mulilo, out of 6880 expected tokens, 6114 (88.7%) were elicited meaning that these participants did not give 766 of the terms. Comparing the response rate of the two, Katima Mulilo seemed to have a higher ratio of ‘missing’ terms. With many of these missing terms, the participants from the two towns often noted that they did not know the Silozi words or simply replaced them with borrowed terms. At the same time, the Katima Mulilo variety also seemed to contain more borrowings from the neighbouring Bantu languages.

As a popular language in Barotseland, a comparison of the varieties spoken in the two research sites shows that the Mongu variety is the more stable. This is mainly because Silozi is the most dominant Bantu language and is a stronghold in Mongu. Some speakers claimed that it was the only language they used on some days, particularly when they were at home with family. In Katima Mulilo on the other hand, most participants stated that they used Silozi and Chisubiya concurrently in their daily lives. When the two or more languages are often used concurrently by bilinguals and in the same domains, the speakers will often code-switch and code-mix (Heredia & Altarriba, 2001). As such, linguistic features, especially lexical ones can be borrowed from one language into the other. This was reflected in the data collected from Katima Mulilo, where most of the participants stated that they were bilingual. For example, the discussions in Chapter 4 show that many participants in Katima Mulilo gave Chisubiya terms as the actual Silozi terms they knew. Furthermore, Chisubiya’s influence on the Katima Mulilo Silozi is also seen on a syntactic level in Chapter 5. Thus, the Silozi variety in Mongu is more stable in terms of change while the Katima Mulilo has seen more changes and is likely to keep changing more than the Mongu variety.

Though Silozi in Katima Mulilo contains more loan terms due to intra-Bantu borrowing, this will not necessarily threaten the variety stability in the region for two reasons. Firstly, it is an official language that also serves as a language of upward socio-economic mobility in Katima Mulilo. Secondly, it is taught at schools from the 1st to the 12th grade. Therefore, while some speakers used Chisubiya terms, they could correct themselves by giving actual Silozi terms. Thus, even though they may be "free" to use Chisubiya borrowings as they wish, they need to use their Silozi equivalents appropriately in settings such as when looking for work or doing well in prescriptive contexts such as in education. This suggests a possibility of people speaking either formal or informal varieties depending on the context. Such trends have been seen in many languages like Swahili in Tanzania (Legère, 2006). Urban spaces provide an ideal hub for mixing languages as seen in the case of Swahili varieties (Legère, 2006). Silozi in Mongu and Katima Mulilo are no exception to such changes. Many other variables can be considered in future studies.

6.5 Recommendations for future research

Today, Silozi is taught in the schools and is widely used in the two towns and the wider Barotseland region. Thus, the language will remain stable and continue to gain more speakers barring major language policy changes or other unpredictable circumstances. Though, misunderstandings can sometimes occur due to the use of exclusive lexicon. For example, *mbando* 'chest' seems to be unknown in Katima Mulilo which could cause some confusion. The variation in Silozi discussed here is not significant enough to hinder mutual intelligibility between participants from Mongu and Katima Mulilo. Furthermore, the data collected could not be compared to previous data or papers because no sociolinguistic variation studies have been done. Thus, it is nearly impossible to state whether some observed differences are becoming more or less prominent in the language.

Silozi will take on more words from other languages in urban areas where people are seemingly multilingual. This language change my be limited in the rural areas because they are dominantly monolingual. Thus, many words and expressions disappearing in urban Silozi may be present in the rural varieties. For example, some participants made mention of the notion that a better form of Silozi was spoken in their village. They stated that their elders were the speakers of the real Silozi. It is worth noting that the varieties spoken in the rural areas are not impervious to change, but are less prone to change when compared to the urban variety.

Moving forward, the Silozi varieties discussed in this paper are expected to gain more features that will make them further distinct. I further posit that examining Silozi varieties such as rural varieties compared to urban ones would yield more variation. In the smaller rural communities, people are more likely to speak one language as opposed to multiple languages compared to urban spaces where there is more diversity. In the interviews, many participants mentioned that people in their village spoke better Silozi than their own. Some participants stated that their Silozi was a mixed form. For example, a speaker from Mongu stated that their grandparents would not use words like *kamboyo* for elbow, it was only in Mongu that they first encountered this new term. At the same time, other Mongu based participants stated that *kamboyo* was a legitimate Silozi word.

There were differences in the Silozi varieties studied in this thesis. Some parts of the Silozi varieties were more stable while others are more prone to change, and these exhibited the most variation. The changes were mainly due to the role of the neighbouring languages. The data for this study was mainly collected via structured questionnaires which elicited specific data from the participants. While the aim was for this to be natural, it is undeniable that an interview has its limits. The challenge with this type of interview is that people are more conscious of their responses and want to give the best possible answers. A study wherein the participants are observed and recorded or one where data is collected via unstructured interviews would possibly yield more borrowings and thus contain more variations. Conversational data would give a clearer sense of lexical and morphosyntactic variation. Nonetheless, this thesis proved that variation is indeed present in the Silozi varieties of Mongu and Katima Mulilo.

6.6 Limitations

During the write up of the thesis, the global Covid-19 pandemic resulted in shutdowns. In the process, the University of Cape Town was closed for most of 2020 and part of 2021. This was challenging because most of the literature I used was only available in print format in the African Studies Jagger Library. The library closure meant that I could not access these resources. In addition, I frequently used library services such as inter-Library loans, printing services, study labs, and the internet to conduct my research and write my chapters.

In 2021 as the University was opening up again and restoring some of their services, a fire that started on Table Mountain devastated the campus and burnt some buildings in April of 2021. In the process, the African Studies Jagger Library was burnt, and many books lost. Apart from the challenges experienced during data collection, these two unforeseen events made it increasingly challenging to write the thesis.

The indefinite closure of borders also meant that I could not go back and conduct more follow up interviews. As such, I had to often call my mother and some of the contacts I met in Katima Mulilo and Mongu to discuss some of my ideas. This was challenging because we had to manage our schedules and often, my contacts did not have access to internet services for lengthy or frequent call via mobile applications such as Facebook Messengers or WhatsApp. In addition, I had to respect their time.

6.7 Summary

This chapter discussed the findings of the research. While Silozi remains mostly similar in both towns, the influence of neighbouring languages and English is undeniable. Practices such as borrowing, code-switching, and code-mixing all seem to play a crucial part. There is indeed variation in the lexicon and morphosyntactic structure of the varieties that are influenced by the different language ecologies of the research sites.

In Mongu (Zambia), Silozi is dominant both as a lingua franca and as an official language. In addition, there are strong ties to the Bulozi culture and this is signified by the popularity of the *kuomboka* ceremony attended by many Malozi from al over the country and beyond. Many participants often referred to Silozi as their language. Thus, suggesting solidarity with the language and culture. In Katima Mulilo, Silozi is dominant in the official domains, but as a lingua franca, it competes with other local Bantu lanaguges. Moreso, some inhabitants are in resistance of Silozi's dominance in favour of their own lanaguges such as Chsubiya or Chifwe – which are popular as lingua francas. Therefore, the data sample shows that the influence of other Bantu languages on Silozi is more prominent in Katima Mulilo then it is in Mongu.

A study utilising ethnographic linguistic methods such as observation and unstructured interviews would be likely to uncover more variation. Overall, this thesis contributes to the body of work on variation, specifically in southern Bantu languages. The conclusion is that

there is indeed variation in the cross-border Silozi varieties on Mongu and Katima Mulilo. The study makes a distinct contribution to the study of micro-variation in Bantu languages, by exploring the unique context of Silozi as a lingua franca and cross-border language. Silozi has been subject to different developments and influences, which, as the study shows, is reflected both in lexical and structrural variation and in language use and attitudes.

Appendix A: Metadata survey

Title: A Sociolinguistic study of Silozi in Zambia and Namibia. Researcher: Gustav Mbeha, August 2019 Date: ……... Place of interview: ……..

Demographic information:

1. Name: …… Pseudonym: ….…….……
2. Gender: ☐ Male ☐ Female
3. Age: ……...….
4. Work/occupation: ……...….
5. Level of education: …….…….……...
6. Place of residence: ……...…….
7. Period of time lived in current area: …….…….....
8. Citizenship: …….……...
9. Village/Town of origin: …….…….....

Language metadata:

10. Is Silozi your mother tongue language? …….
11. Who taught you Silozi? …….…….
12. What other languages do you speak besides Silozi?
13. Where do you use Silozi? List the places.
14. Can you read and write in Silozi? (If yes, where did you learn)
15. On a scale of 1-10, how well do you speak Silozi?

Consent slip

The information collect through this questionnaire will be used in a sociolinguistic study of Silozi in Zambia and Namibia. This study is part of a PhD in Linguistics degree programme at the University of Cape Town. All information will be treated as confidential and will be used for research only. No personal information will be published in the research papers or distributed to third parties. Sign below if you agree to the terms and conditions as well as if you agree to be a participant in the current study.

Signature of interviewee: ……

Appendix B: The questionnaire

Part A: The lexical questionnaire

	English	Silozi Singular	Plural
1.	President	*ø-mapo*	*li-mapo*
2.	Leader	*mu-zamaisi*	*ba-zamaisi*
3.	Herdsman	*mu-lisani*	*ba-, ma-lisani*
4.	Student	*mw-ana wa sikolo*	*ba-ana (ba sikolo)*
5.	Teacher	*mu-luti*	*ma-luti*
6.	Pastor	*mu-lisani*	*ba-, ma-lisani*
7.	Doctor	*mu-alafi*	*ba-alafi*
8.	Christian	*mu-lumeli*	*ba-lumeli*
9.	Nurse	*mu-alafi*	*ba-alafi*
10.	Liar	*li-hata*	*ma-hata*
11.	Child	*mw-anana*	*ba-nana*
12.	Father	*ø-ndate*	*bo-ndate*
13.	Mother	*ø-mme*	*bo-mme*
14.	Uncle	*malume*	*bo-malume*
15.	Sister	*ø-kaizeli*	*bo-kaizeli*
16.	Brother	*ø-kaizeli*	*bo-kaizeli*
17.	Man	*mu-una*	*ba-ana*
18.	Woman	*mu-sali*	*ba-sali*
19.	Wife	*mu-sali*	*ba-sali*
20.	Husband	*mu-una*	*ba-ana*
21.	Son	*mw-ana*	*ba-ana (ba ba-shimani)*
22.	Daughter	*mw-ana*	*ba-na*
23.	Person	*mu-tu*	*ba-tu*
24.	Hunter	*mu-zumi*	*ba-zumi*
25.	King	*mu-lena*	*ma-lena*
26.	Queen	*mu-leneñi*	*ba-leneñi*
27.	Headman	*ø-nduna*	*ma-nduna*
28.	Ashes	*mu-fuse*	*mi-fuse*
29.	Fire	*mu-lilo*	*mi-lilo*
30.	Hair	*mu-lili*	*mi-lili*
31.	Mouth	*mu-lomo*	*mi-lomo*
32.	Neck	*mu-lala*	*mi-lala*
33.	Rope	*mu-hala*	*mi-hala*
34.	Wind	*m-oya*	*mi-oya*
35.	Road	*mu-kwakwa*	*mi-kwakwa*
36.	Root	*mu-bisi*	*mi-bisi*

37.	Paint	*mu-pende*	*mi-pende*
38.	Boer (Afrikaner)	*mu-bulu*	*ma-bulu*
39.	White person	*mu-kuwa*	*ma-kuwa*
40.	Indian man	*mu-Indiani*	*mu-Indiani*
41.	Chinese person	*mu-Chaina*	*ma-Chaina*
42.	Baobab tree	*mu-buyu*	*mi-buyu*
43.	Cold drink	*mu-capi*	*mi-capi*
44.	Marriage	*li-nyalo*	*ma-nyalo*
45.	Plate	*mu-keke*	*mi-keke*
46.	Cock	*mu-kombwe*	*mi-kombwe*
47.	Milk	*mu-zilili*	*mi-zilili*
48.	Hanging line	*mu-fohola*	*mifohola*
49.	Sea	*li-wate*	*ma-wate*
50.	Tail	*mu-hata*	*mi-hata*
51.	Hoe	*mu-huma*	*mi-huma*
52.	Finger	*mu-nwana*	*mi-nwana*
53.	Tooth	*lii-no*	*mee-no*
54.	Sun	*li-zazi*	*ma-zazi*
55.	Wing	*li-fufa*	*ma-fufa*
56.	Day	*li-zazi*	*ma-zazi*
57.	Foot	*li-hutu*	*ma-hutu*
58.	Leg	*li-hutu*	*ma-hutu*
59.	Knee	*li-ñwele*	*ma-ñwele*
60.	Lake	*li-sa*	*ma-sa*
61.	Egg	*li-i*	*ma-i*
62.	Mountain	*li-lundu*	*ma-lundu*
63.	Hand	*li-zoho*	*ma-zoho*
64.	Claw	*li-nala*	*li-nala*
65.	Breast (human)	*li-zwele*	*ma-zwel*
66.	Breast (animal)	*si-kanji*	*zi-kanji*
67.	Cloud	*li-lu*	*ma-lu*
68.	Bone	*li-sapo*	*ma-sapo*
69.	Eye	*lii-to*	*mee-to*
70.	Earth	*li-fasi*	*ma-fasi*
71.	Dirt	*ma-sila*	*ma-sila*
72.	Feather	*li-fufa*	*ma-fufa*
73.	Fat/Oil	*ma-fula*	*ma-fula*
74.	Name	*li-bizo*	*ma-bizo*
75.	Stone	*li-cwe*	*ma-cwe*
76.	Bark (tree)	*ø-kota*	*li-kota*
77.	Money	*ø-shelengi, mali*	*ma-shelengi, mali*
78.	Liver	*si-biti*	*zi-biti*
79.	Year	*si-limo*	*li-limo*

80.	Worm	*li-buku*	*ma-buku*
81.	Bush	*mu-shitu*	*mi-shitu*
82.	Food	*si-co*	*li-co*
83.	Cross (Christianity)	*si-fapahano*	*li-fapahano*
84.	Shotgun	*si-fefe*	*li-fefe*
85.	Hospital	*si-patela*	*zi-, li-patela*
86.	Broom	*si-fiyelo*	*li-, mi-fiyelo*
87.	Chest	*si-fuba,*	*li-fuba*
88.	Shoe	*si-katulo*	*ma-katulo*
89.	Tin	*li-kapa*	*ma-kapa*
90.	Cooking stick	*mu-sokwani*	*mi-sokwani*
91.	Scorpion	*ka-banze*	*tu-banze*
92.	Reed	*lu-taka*	*ma-taka*
93.	Portion/share	*ø-kabelo*	*li-kabelo*
94.	Razor blade	*ka-bemba*	*tu-bemba*
95.	Insect	*ka-kokwani*	*tu-kokwani*
96.	Lizard	*mu-kolozwani*	*mi-kolozwani*
97.	Small animal	*ka-folofolo*	*tu-folofolo*
98.	Firefly	*ka-monyimonyi*	*tu-monyimonyi*
99.	Soldier	*mu-sole*	*ma-sole*
100.	Police Officer	*mu-polisa*	*ma-polisa*
101.	Fishing hook	*ka-shuto*	*tu-shuto*
102.	Altar	*ka-tala*	*tu-tala*
103.	Beer	*bu-cwala*	*ma-cwala*
104.	Shop	*si-ntolo, benkele*	*li-ntolo li-benkele*
105.	Football	*ø-mbola*	*li-mbola*
106.	Computer	*ø-kompiuta*	*li-kompiuta*
107.	Car	*ø-mota*	*li-mota*
108.	Box	*ø-bokisi*	*li-bokisi*
109.	Bread	*si-nkwa*	*zi-nkwa*
110.	Guitar	*ø-banjo*	*li-, ma-banjo*
111.	School	*si-kolo*	*li-kolo*
112.	Grass	*bu-cwani*	*ma-cwani*
113.	Termite	*ka-twa*	*bu-twa*
114.	Plough	*si-kikele*	*li-kekele*
115.	Cup	*ø-komoki*	*li-komoki*
116.	Door	*si-kwalo, mu-nyako*	*li-kwalo, mi-nyako*
117.	Wallet	*si-kwama*	*li-kwama*
118.	Enemy	*si-la*	*li-la*
119.	Dangerous person	*si-lembelembe*	*li-lembelembe*
120.	Stupid person	*si-kuba, si-anganu*	*li-kuba, li-anganu*
121.	Elbow	*ø-ñokolwa*	*li-ñokolwa*

122.	Animal	*ø-folofolo*	*li-folofolo*
123.	Stomach	*ø-mba*	*li-mba*
124.	Bird	*ø-nyunwani*	*li-nyunwani*
125.	Fish	*ø-tapi*	*li-tapi*
126.	Flower	*ø-palisa*	*li-palisa*
127.	Fly	*ø-nzi*	*li-nzi*
128.	Head	*ø-toho*	*li-toho*
129.	Heart	*ø-pilu*	*li-pilu*
130.	Intestine	*li-la*	*ma-la*
131.	Wisdom	*ø-ngana*	*li-ngana*
132.	Lice	*ø-nda*	*li-nda*
133.	Meat	*ø-nama*	*ma-, li-nama*
134.	Moon	*ø-kweli*	*li-kweli*
135.	Tree	*ø-kota*	*li-kota*
136.	Nose	*ø-ngo*	*li-ngo*
137.	River	*ø-nuka*	*li-nuka*
138.	Seed	*ø-toze*	*li-toze*
139.	Snake	*ø-noha*	*li-noha*
140.	Hammer	*ø-nsando*	*li-nsando*
141.	Horn	*lu-naka*	*ma-naka*
142.	House	*ø-ndu*	*li-ndu*
143.	Tattoo	*mu-pendo*	*mi-pendo*
144.	Slap	*lu-baka, mpama*	*ma-baka, li-mpama*
145.	Family	*lu-basi*	*ma-basi*
146.	Bottle	*ø-botela*	*ma-botela*
147.	Glass	*ø-ngilasi*	*ma-ngilasi*
148.	Mucus	*li-mina*	*ma-mina*

2 NO PLURALS

149.	Water	*me-zi*
150.	Salt	*li-zwayi*
151.	Sky	*li-halimu*
152.	Skin	*li-talo*
153.	Sweat	*mu-fufuzo, mu-fufulelwa*
154.	Soil	*mu-bu*
155.	Village shower	*lu-shoko*
156.	Blood	*gazi, mali*

157.	Smoke	*mu-si*
158.	Time of hunger	*ø-tala*
159.	Smile	*ø-minyo*
160.	Bad Luck	*bu-mayi*
161.	Cruelty	*lu-nya*
162.	Blindness	*bu-bofu*
163.	Drunkenness	*bu-cakolwa*
164.	Badness	*bu-maswe*
165.	Ugliness	*bu-maswe*
166.	Beautifulness	*bu-nde*
167.	Night	*bu-sihu*
168.	Grain	*bu-beke*
169.	Maize meal	*bu-pi*
170.	Smartness	*bu-tali*
171.	Heavy	*bu-kiti*
172.	Fear	*ø-sabo*
173.	Light	*bu-bebe*
174.	Long	*bu-telele*
175.	Short	*bu-kuswani*
176.	Poverty	*ø-tala*
177.	Electricity	*ma-laiti*
178.	Dust	*ø-mbundu*
179.	Rain	*ø-pula*

Part B: The morphosyntactic questionnaire

I. Nominal Prefixes

A) Diminutives

1. The small baby is beautiful.
2. The small babies are beautiful.
3. The small tree is broken.
4. The small trees are broken.
5. The small dog is making noise.
6. The small dogs are making noise.
7. A rabbit is very clever.
8. Rabbits are very clever.
9. The small goat is eating grass.
10. The small goats are eating grass.
11. I lost one bead at home.
12. I have other beads at home.

B) Augmentative

1. The big baby is laughing.
2. The big babies are laughing.
3. The fat baby is crying.
4. The fat babies are crying.
5. The big ugly dog is dangerous.
6. The big ugly dogs are dangerous.
7. That thin ugly dog is sick.
8. Those thin ugly dogs are sick.
9. The big tree has fallen.
10. The big trees have fallen.
11. We are going to the big hospital.
12. Nyambe's big school is far.
13. That big man is scary.
14. The big car is heavy.

II. Locatives

A) Class 16: English equivalent 'on'

1. Sit down.
2. Put the baby on the bed.
3. Go play outside.
4. Drink the water on that table.
5. It is beautiful outside.
6. He sat on it.
7. There is a bird on the roof.
8. The mirror is behind the wall.
9. The monkey hit the dog on the head.

B) Class 17: English equivalent 'at'

1. There is a guest at your house.
2. The boy is at the river.
3. Weddings happen at churches.
4. Stay away from that tree.
5. Go away from us.
6. The dog barked at the monkey.
7. He fell at school.
8. Sit there on that chair.

Class 18: English equivalent 'in'.

1. The boy saw the monkey in the tree.
2. He hates swimming in the river.
3. The water is in the house on the table.
4. He likes it inside.
5. He threw the ball in there.
6. They put the chairs in the room.
7. There is nothing inside the bottle.
8. There was no space in the car.

Appendix C: The participants

no.	Pseudonym	Q1. Gender	Q2. Age Group	Q3. Year of Study	Q4. Frist Lang.	Q5. Additional Lang. (Excl. Loz + Eng)	Q6. Initially learnt Silozi from?	Q7. Where is Silozi used?
1	Abel	Male	18-24	2nd	Silozi	Swahili	Mom	Home
2	Mwilima	Male	18-24	2nd	Silozi	Mbunda	Parents	Home
3	Neo	Male	18-24	3rd	Silozi	*	Family	Home
4	Norbert	Male	25-30	3rd	Silozi	Mbunda, Nyengo, Kwamashi, Komakoma	Family	Home, School, Friends
5	Kamwi	Male	18-24	3rd	Silozi	*	Mother	Home
6	Namwi	Female	25-30	3rd	Silozi	*	Mother	Home, School, Friends
7	Pamela	Female	18-24	3rd	Silozi	*	My parents	Home
8	Maves	Female	25-30	2nd	Silozi	Tonga, Bemba	My Family	Home, Friends
9	Nansunga	Female	18-24	1st	Silozi	*	Mother	Home
10	Max	Male	18-24	4th	Silozi	Nyanja	Mother	Home, Friends
11	Chomba	Male	31-35	1st	Silozi	Lunda, Luvale	Parents	Home, School, Friends, Church
12	Lwendo	Male	18-24	1st	Silozi	Mbunda, Luvale	Parents	Home, School, Friends
13	Nigel	Male	18-24	1st	Silozi	*	Mom	Home, School, Friends
14	Palesa	Male	18-24	1st	Silozi	Nyanja, Mbunda	Family, Friends	Home
15	Nunu	Female	25-30	1st	Luchazi	Mbunda	Church, School	School, Friends
16	Neta	Female	18-24	1st	Silozi	Bemba	Parents	Home
17	Rebekka	Female	31-35	1st	Silozi	*	Mother	Home
18	Namasiku	Female	25-30	1st	Silozi	*	Mother	School
19	Raihana	Female	18-24	1st	Silozi	*	Mother	Home, School, Friends

20	Imasiku	Male	25-30	3rd	Silozi	Nyanja	Mother	Home
21	Chuma	Female	25-30	1st	Silozi	Bemba	Family	Home
22	Edgar	Male	25-30	3rd	Silozi	*	Parents	Home
23	Maria	Female	31-35	3rd	Silozi	Bemba, Nyanja	Parents	Home
24	Monde	Female	25-30	3rd	Silozi	Nyanja	Mother	Home
25	Mwaka	Female	25-30	3rd	Silozi	Bemba	Mother	Home
26	Mwinsi	Female	18-24	3rd	Luvale	Mbunda, Luchazi	Peers	Home, School, Friends
27	Mulemwa	Female	18-24	1st	Silozi	Nyanja	Parents	Home
28	Moses	Male	18-24	1st	Silozi	Mbunda, Nyanja	Mother	Home, School, Friends
29	Brian	Male	18-24	1st	Silozi	Nyengo, Mbunda	Mother	Home, School, Friends
30	Kasane	Male	25-30	2nd	Luvale	Mbunda	School	School, Fiends

Table: Mongu participants

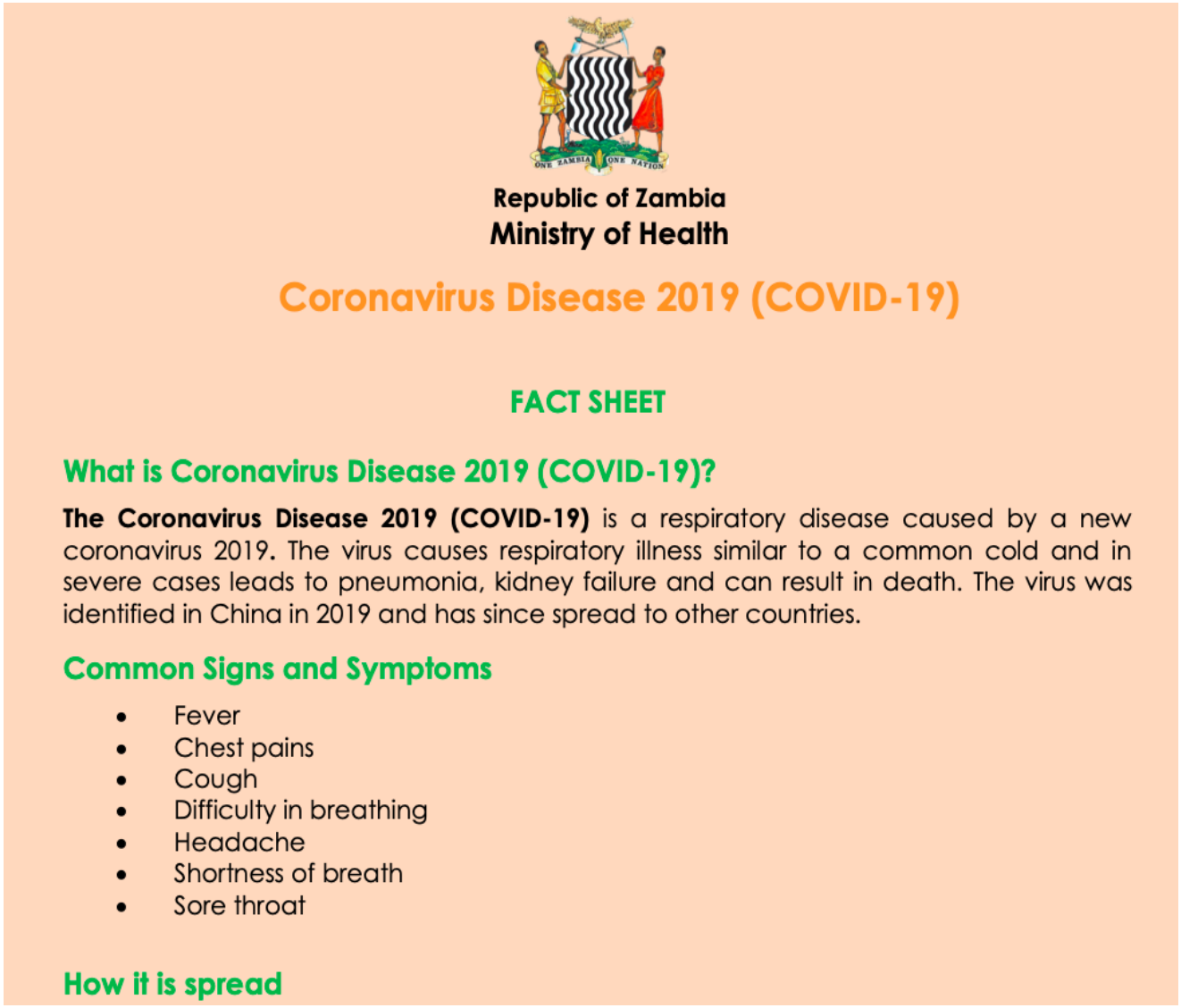
no.	Pseudonym	Q1. Gender	Q2. Age Group	Q3. Year of Study	Q4. Frist Lang.	Q5. Additional Lang. (Excl. Loz + Eng)	Q6. Initially learnt Silozi from?	Q7. Where is Silozi used?
1	Sarah	Female	18-24	1st	Silozi	Chisubiya, Kwanyama	Mother	Home, School, Friends
2	Prisca	Female	18-24	1st	Silozi	Chisubiya	Father	Home, School, Friends
3	Leonard	Male	18-24	2nd	Silozi	Chisubiya	Family	Home, School, Friends
4	Chika	Male	18-24	2nd	Silozi	Chisubiya	Teachers	School
5	Calvin	Male	18-24	1st	Silozi	*	Family	Home, School, Friends
6	Gustav	Male	18-24	1st	Chisubiya	Afrikaans	Teachers	Friends, when spoken to
7	Samson	Male	18-24	1st	Silozi	Chisubiya	Mother	Home, School, Friends
8	Fanuel	Male	18-24	2nd	Totela	Chisubiya	Mother	Home, School, Friends
9	Selma	Female	18-24	3rd	Chisubiya	*	Teachers	School, Friends
10	Lester	Male	18-24	3rd	Chisubiya	*	Family	Home, School, Friends
11	Matengu	Male	25-30	2nd	Chisubiya	*	Family	Home, School, Friends
12	Lucy	Female	18-24	3rd	Chifwe	*	Teachers	School, Friends
13	Simona	Female	18-24	2nd	Silozi	*	Grandmother	Home
14	Nsala	Female	25-30	2nd	Silozi	Chisubiya	Mother	School
15	Maira	Female	18-24	2nd	Chisubiya	*	Teachers	Friends
16	Chombo	Male	18-24	1st	Chisubiya	*	Teachers	Home
17	Sezuni	Male	18-24	1st	Chisubiya	*	Teachers	School
18	Sarah	Female	25-30	3rd	Chisubiya	*	Teachers	School
19	Ben	Male	18-24	3rd	Chifwe	Chisubiya, Mbalangwe	Teachers	Friends
20	Mimi	Female	25-30	4th	Silozi	Chisubiya	Family	Home, School, Friends
21	Telma	Female	25-30	4th	Silozi	Afrikaans	Grandmother	Home, School, Friends
22	Mareta	Female	18-24	3rd	Totela	Chisubiya, Totela	Mother	School
23	Mutwa	Male	18-24	1st	Silozi	Chisubiya	Family	Home

24	T'Challa	Male	18-24	1st	Silozi	Chisubiya	Mother	Home, School, Friends
25	Azuri	Male	18-24	1st	Silozi	Chisubiya	Mother	Home, School, Friends
26	Tony	Male	18-24	1st	Chisubiya	*	Teachers, Friends	Friends
27	Shuri	Female	18-24	1st	Chisubiya	*	Teachers	School
28	Nakia	Female	18-24	1st	Silozi	Mbalangwe	Teachers	School
29	Astra	Female	18-24	3rd	Chisubiya	*	Father	School, Friends
30	Okoye	Female	18-24	3rd	Silozi	Chisubiya	Mother	Home
31	Ramona	Female	31-35	3rd	Silozi	Chisubiya	Teachers	School, Friends
32	W'Kabi	Male	25-30	3rd	Chisubiya	*	Teachers	School
33	Astra	Female	25-30	2nd	Chisubiya	*	Mother	School
34	Anna	Female	18-24	3rd	Chisubiya	*	Teachers	School
35	Maya	Female	18-24	2nd	Mbalangwe	*	Teachers	School
36	Nancy	Female	18-24	3rd	Totela	Afrikaans	Teachers	School
37	Mwilima	Male	18-24	3rd	Chisubiya	*	Grandmother	Home
38	Jamba	Male	25-30	2nd	Silozi	Chisubiya	Mother	Home
39	Sitwala	Male	18-24	1st	Chisubiya	*	Teachers, Friends	School, Friends
40	Josta	Male	25-30	1st	Chisubiya	Totela	Teachers	Friends

Table: Katima Mulilo participants

Appendix D

Below is the English version of image 1.1.



Republic of Zambia
Ministry of Health

Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19)

FACT SHEET

What is Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19)?

The Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) is a respiratory disease caused by a new coronavirus 2019. The virus causes respiratory illness similar to a common cold and in severe cases leads to pneumonia, kidney failure and can result in death. The virus was identified in China in 2019 and has since spread to other countries.

Common Signs and Symptoms

- Fever
- Chest pains
- Cough
- Difficulty in breathing
- Headache
- Shortness of breath
- Sore throat

How it is spread

References

Abtahian, M. & Kasstan, J., 2020. Contact and Sociolinguistic Variation. In: *The Handbook of Language Contact.* pp. 221-239.

ACALAN, 2009. *Report on ACALAN's Synthesis Conference on National Policies on the Role of Cross Border Languages and the Place of less Diffused Languages in Africa.* [Online] Available at: https://archives.au.int/handle/123456789/1632 [Accessed 2019 October 2019].

Ambrose, D., 2007. *Lozi.* Roma, Lesotho: House 9 Publications, National University of Lesotho.

Austin, P. K. & Grenoble, L., 2007. Current Trends in Language Documentation. *Language Documentation and Description,* Volume 4, pp. 12-25.

Bakker, P. & Mous, M., 2013. *Mixed Languages.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Barbieri, C. Vicente, M., Oliveira, S., Bostoen, K., Rocha, J., Stoneking, M., Pakendorf, B., 2014. Migration and Interaction in a Contact Zone: mtDNA variation Among Bantu-speakers in Southern Africa. *PloS one,* 9(6).

Barro, M., 2010. Trans-nationalising the African Public Sphere: What Role for Trans-Border Languages. *African Development,* 1 & 2(35), p. 55–70.

Bastin, Y., Coupez, A. & Mann, M., 1999. Continuity and Divergence in the Bantu Languages: Perspectives from a Lexicostatistic Study. *Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale,* 162(1).

Batibo, H., 2005. *Language Decline and Death in Africa: Causes, Consequences, and Challenges.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Beleza, S. et al., 2005. The Genetic Legacy of Western Bantu Migrations. *Human Genetics,* 4(117), pp. 366-375.

Bennett, P. R., 1970. Sesotho-Lozi: A Clue to the Evolution of Multi-level Tonal Systems. *Journal of African Languages,* Volume 9, pp. 153-164.

Bible Society of Zambia, 1985. *Bibele ye Kenile: Testamente ya Kale Ni Ye Nca.*

Bleek, W. H. I., 1862. *Comparative Grammar of South African Languages.* London: Trübner.

Blench, R. M., 1993a. New Developments in the Classification of the Bantu Languages and their Historical Implication. In: D. Barreteau & C. Von Graffenried, eds. *Dating and Chronology in the Lake Chad Basin.* Paris: ORSTOM, pp. 147-160.

Blois, K., 1970. The Augment in the Bantu Languages. *Africana Linguistica,* 4(1), pp. 85-165.

Bloom-Ström, E. M., 2018. Linguistic and Sociolinguistic Aspects of Variation in the Eastern Cape: Complexities of Xhosa Language Use. *Studia Orientalia Electronica,* Volume 6, pp. 90-120.

Bloom-Ström, E. M. & Petzell, M., In press. Micro-variation approaches to Bantu language varieties. In: L. Marten, E. Hurst, N. Kula & J. Zeller, eds. *The Oxford guide to the Bantu languages.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bokamba, E. G., 1988. Code-mixing, Language Variation, and Linguistic Theory: Evidence from Bantu Languages. *Lingua,* 76(1), pp. 21-62.

Bostoen, K., 2018. The Bantu Expansion. In: *Oxford Research Encyclopedia of African History.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

Bowern, C., 2008. *Linguistic Fieldwork: A Practical Guide.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Branford, W. & Claughton, J. S., 2002. Mutual Lexical Borrowings among some Languages in Southern Africa: Xhosa, Afrikaans and English. In: R. Mesthrie, ed. *Language in South Africa.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 199-215.

British and Foreign Bible Society, 1951. *Bibele ili Buka ye Kenile ya Manzwi a Mulimu : Testamente ya Kale ni ye Nca.* London: s.n.

Bruchmann, R. D. K., 2000. *Caprivi: An African Flashpoint: An Illustrated History of Namibia's Tropical Region Where Four Countries Meet.* Northcliff: Rainer D. K. Bruchmann.

Buiswalelo, H. M., 1984. *Lilimi la Silozi: Litopa ze Pahami.* Windhoek: Gamsberg Publishers.

Burger, J., 1960. *An English-Lozi Vocabulary.* Mongu (Northern Rhodesia): Paris Missionary Society.

Busch, B., Jardine, A. & Tjoutuku, A., 2006. *Language Biographies for Multilingual Learning.* (Vol. 24) ed. Cape Town: PRAESA Occasional Papers.

Buschfeld, S. & Kautzsch, A., 2014. English in Namibia: A First Approach. *English World-Wide,* 35(2), pp. 121-160.

Cameron, D., 2012. *Verbal Hygiene.* Oxon: Routledge.

Caplan, G. L., 1970. *The Elites of Barotseland 1878-1969: A Political History of Zambia's Western Province.* London: C. Hurst & Company.

Central Statistical Office, 2012. *Zambia 2010 Census of Population and Housing: National Analytical Report,* Lusaka: Central Statistical Office.

Chambers, J. K. & Trudgill, P., 2004. *Dialectology.* 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Chanda, V. M., 2007. *Aspects of Phonology and Morphology of Selected Zambian Languages.* Lusaka: Uiniversity of Zambia.

Chaphole, S. R., 1988. *A Study of the Auxiliary in Sesotho.* Cape Town: University of Cape Town.

Cobbing, J., 1984. *The case against the Mfecane.* Working Paper, African Studies Institute .

Cobbing, J., 1988. The Mfecane as Alibi: Thoughts on Dithakong and Mbolompo. *The Journal of African History,* 29(3), pp. 487-519.

Colyer, S., 1914. *Sikololo: Notes on the Grammar with a Vocabulary.* London: John Bale, Sons, and Danielsson.

Comrie, B., Haspelmath, M. & Bickel, B., 2008. *The Leipzig Glossing Rules: Conventions for Interlinear Morpheme-by-Morpheme Glosses.* Retrieved March, 2019 ed. Leipzig: Department of Linguistics of the Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology & the Department of Linguistics of the University of Leipzig.

Corder, S. P., 1993. A Role for the Mother Tongue. In: S. M. Gass & L. Selinker, eds. *Language Transfer in Language Learning.* Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 18-31.

Coulmas, F., 2013. *Sociolinguistics: The Study of Speakers' Choices.* 2nd ed. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Crane, T. M., 2011. *Beyond Time: Temporal and Extra-temporal Functions of Tense and Aspect Marking in Totela, a Bantu Language of Zambia.* UC Berkeley: Doctoral dissertation.

Creswell, J. W., 2014. *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches.* 4th ed. Los Angeles: Sage.

Cukor-Avila, P. & Bailey, G., 2013. Real Time and Apparent Time. *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change,* pp. 239-262.

Dasgupta, K., 1986. *In Search of the Zambian Past.* Lusaka: Multi Media Publications.

De Angelis, G., 2007. *Third or Additional Language Acquisition (Vol. 24).* Clevdon: Multilingual Matters.

de Luna, K. M., 2017. Conceptualizing Vegetation in the Bantu Expansion: Reflections on Linguistics in Central African History. *Quaternary International,* Volume 448, pp. 158-168.

De Mejía, A.-M., 2002. *Power, Prestige and Bilingualism: International Perspectives on Elite Bilingual Education.* Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Deane, P. M. & Deane, P. M., 1979. *The First Industrial Revolution.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Demuth, K. & Harford, C., 1999. Verb Raising and Subject Inversion in Bantu Relatives. *Journal of African Languages and Linguistics,* Volume 20, pp. 41-62.

Demuth, K., 2000. Bantu Noun Class Systems: Loan Word and Acquisition Evidence of Semantic Productivity. In: G. Senft, ed. *Classification Systems.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 270-292.

Demuth, K., 2014. The Acquisition of Bantu Languages. In: D. Nurse & G. Philippson, eds. *The Bantu Languages.* London: Routledge, pp. 209-222.

Department of National Education, 1985. *Lozi: Orthography,* Windhoek: Department of National Education.

Dimmendaal, G., 2001. Places and People: Field Sites and Informants. In: *Linguistic Fieldwork.* Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, pp. 55-75.

Dixon, R. M., 1968. Noun Classes. *Lingua,* Volume 21, pp. 104-125.

Doke, C. M., 1943. *Outline Grammar of Bantu.* Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.

Doke, C. M., 2018. *The Southern African Bantu Languages: Handbook of African Languages.* 2nd ed. Oxon: Routledge.

Dollinger, S. & Clarke, S., 2012. On the Autonomy and Homogeneity of Canadian English. *World Englishes,* 31(4), p. 449–466.

Eberhard, D. M., Simons, G. F. & Fennig, C. D., 2019. *Ethnologue.* [Online] Available at: Online version: http://www.ethnologue.com [Accessed 01 August 2019].

Eckert, P., 2000. *Language Variation as Social Practice: The Linguistic Construction of Identity in Belten High.* Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers Inc..

Ehret, C., 1999. Subclassifying Bantu: The Evidence of Stem Morpheme Innovation. In: J. Hombert & L. M. Hyman, eds. *Bantu Historical Linguistics: Theoretical and Empirical Perspectives.* Stanford, California: CSLI Publications, pp. 43-147.

Elderkin, E. D., 1998. Silozi and Namibia. In: K. Legère, ed. *Cross-Border Languages: Reports and Studies: Regional Workshop on Cross-Border Languages.* National Institute for Educational Development (NIED). 23–27 September 1996. Windhoek: Gamsberg Macmillan Publishers, pp. 205-225.

Ellenberger, D. F. & Macgregor, J. C., 1992. *History of the Basuto: Ancient & Modern.* Morija: Lesotho : Morija Museum & Archives.

Faculty of Humanities. *Guide to Research Ethics: Research on Human Subjects.* Cape Town: University of Cape Town.

Fagan, B. M., 1966. Early Farm and Iron Workers. In: B. Fagan, ed. *A Short Historyof Zambia: From Earliest Times until A.D. 1900.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 80-92.

Feng, A. & Adamson, B., 2018. Language policies and sociolinguistic domains in the context of minority groups in China. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development,* 39(2), pp. 169-180.

Fisch, M., 1999. *The Secessionist Movement in the Caprivi: A Historical Perspective.* Windhoek: Namibia Sceintific Society.

Fischer, J., 1958. Social Influences on the Choice of a Linguistic Variant.. *Word,* 14(1), pp. 47-56.

Fishman, J. A., 1972. *Advances in the Sociology of Language 2.* The Hague: Mouton.

Flint, S. L., 2003. State-Buidling in Central Southern Africa: Citizenship and Subjectivity in Barotseland and Caprivi. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies,* 36(2), pp. 393-428.

Fortune, G., 2001. *An Outline of Silozi Grammar.* 2nd ed. Lusaka, Zambia: Bookworld Publishers.

Gal, S., 2007. Multilingualism. In: C. Llamas, L. Mullany & P. Stockwell, eds. *The Routledge Companion to Sociolinguistics.* New York: Routledge, pp. 149-156.

Gann, L. H., 1958. *The Birth of a Plural Society: The Development of Northern Rhodesia under the British South Africa Company.* Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Garner, M., 2007. Techniques of Analysis. In: C. Llamas, L. Mullany & P. Stockwell, eds. *The Routledge Companion to Sociolinguistics.* New York: Routledge, pp. 41-47.

Giannekas, M., 2014. *Create Custom Map - MapChart.* [Online] Available at: https://mapchart.net [Accessed 30 July 2019].

Gibson, H., Guerois, R. & Marten, L., 2017. Patterns and Developments in the Marking of Diminutives in Bantu. *Nordic Journal of African Studies,* 4(26), pp. 40-40.

Givón, T., 1970. *The Si-Luyana Language: A Preliminary Linguistic Description.* Lusaka, Zambia: University of Zambia - Institute for Social Science Research.

Gluckman, M., 1950. Kinship and Marriage Among the Lozi of Northern Rhodesia and the Zulu of Natal. In: A. R. Radcliffe-Brown, ed. *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage.* London: Oxford University Press, pp. 166-206.

Gorman, W. A. R., 1950. *Simple Silozi: A Guide for Beginners.* London: Longmans Green and Co.

Gowlett, D. F., 1964. *Morphology of the Substantive in Lozi.* Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand.

Gowlett, D. F., 1967. *Morphology of the Verb in Lozi.* B.A. Honours: Dissertation. University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

Gowlett, D. F., 1989. The Parentage and Development of Lozi. *Journal of African Languages,* 11(2), pp. 127-149.

Grandi, N., 2017. *Evaluatives in Morphology In Oxford Research Encyclopedia of Linguistics.* Oxforrd: s.n.

Grieve, J., Nini, A. & Guo, D., 2018. Mapping Lexical Innovation on American Social Media. *Journal of English Linguistics,* 46(4), p. 293–319.

Grollemund, R. et al., 2015. Bantu Expansion shows that Habitat Alters the Route and Pace of Human Dispersals. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences,* 112(43), pp. 13296-13301.

Grosjean, F., 2001. Individual Bilingualism. In: R. Mesthrie, ed. *Concise Encyclopedia of Sociolinguistics.* Oxford: Elsevier Science Ltd, pp. 10-16.

Guerois, R., Gibson, H. & Marten, L., 2017. *Parameters of Bantu Morphosyntactic Variation: Draft Master List.Leverhulme Project 'Morphosyntactic Variation in Bantu Typology, Contact and Change'.* London: SOAS, University of London.

Guthrie, M., 1948. *The Classification of the Bantu Languages.* London: Oxford University Press.

Guthrie, M., 1971. *Comparative Bantu, Vol 2.* Gregg Int. Publishers Ltd.

Haacke, W. H. G., 2008. Linguistic Hypotheses on the Origin of Namibian Khoekhoe Speakers. *Southern African Humanities,* Volume 20, p. 163–177.

Hardijzer, C., 2019. *Forbidden Images (1960s to 1980s) - Illegal photographs captured by young men conscripted into the South African Military.* [Online] Available at: http://www.theheritageportal.co.za/article/forbidden-images-1960s-1980s-illegal-photographs-captured-young-men-conscripted-south [Accessed 23 June 2021].

Haspelmath, M., 2009. II. Lexical borrowing: Concepts and issues. In: M. Haspelmath & U. Tadmor, eds. *Loanwords in the World's Languages: A Comparative Handbook.* Berlin, New York: De Gruyter Mouton, pp. 35-54.

Heine, B., 1970. *Status and Use of African Lingua Francas.* München: Weltforum-Verlag GmbH.

Herbert, R. K., 1990. The Sociohistory of Clicks in Southern Bantu. *Anthropological Linguistics,* 32(3/4), pp. 295-315.

Heredia, R. R. & Altarriba, J., 2001. Bilingual Language Mixing: Why Do Bilinguals Code-Switch?. *Current Directions in Psychological Science,* 10(5), pp. 164-168.

Heugh, K., 2017. Re-placing and Re-centring Southern Multilingualisms. A De-colonial Project. In: C. Kerfoot & K. Hyltenstam, eds. *Entangled Discourses: South-north Orders of Visibility.* London: Routledge, pp. 209-229.

Himmelmann, N. P., 1998. Documentary and Descriptive Linguistics. *Linguistics,* Volume 36, pp. 161-195.

Himmelmann, N. P., 2006. Language Docuentation: What is it and What is it Good for?. In: *Essentials of Language Documentation.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 1-29.

Holden, C. J. & Gray, R. D., 2006. Rapid radiation, Borrowing and Dialect continua in the Bantu Languages. *Phylogenetic Methods and the Prehistory of Languages,* 19(1), pp. 19-31.

Holmes, J., 2013. *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. 4th ed. New York: Routledge.

Hornberger, N. H., 2006. Frameworks and Models in Language Policy and Planning. In: T. Ricento, ed. *An Introduction to Language Policy - Theory and Method.* Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, pp. 24-41.

Hudson, R. A., 1996. *Sociolinguistics.* 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Jalla, A., 1936. *A Dictionary of the Lozi Language.* 2nd ed. London: The United Society for Christain Literature.

Jalla, A., 1937. *Elementary Grammar of the Lozi Language: With Graduated Exercises.* London: The United Society for Christain Literature.

Jaworski, A. & Coupland, N., 2012. Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Metalanguage: Reflexivity, Evaluation and Ideology. In: A. Jaworski, N. Coupland & D. Galasinski, eds. *Metalanguage: Social and Ideological Perspectives (Vol. 11).* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 15-51.

Jaworski, A., Coupland, N. & Galasinski, D., 2012. Metalanguage: Why now?. In: A. Jaworski, N. Coupland & D. Galasinski, eds. *Metalanguage: Social and ideological perspectives.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 3-11.

Jenkins, J., 2013. *English as a Lingua Franca in the International University: The Politics of Academic Eglish Language Policy.* New York: Routledge.

Kabinga, M. 2010. *A Comparative Study of the Morphosyntaz and Phonetics of Town Bemba and Standard Bemba of the Copperbelt Zambia*. University of Cape Town.

Kadenge, M., 2009. African Englishes: The Indigenization of English Vowels by Zimbabwean Native Shona Speakers. *Journal of Pan African Studies,* 3(1).

Kamungu, B. & Likando, G., 2015. Mission Education in the Eastern Caprivi Strip during the Colonial Times, ca. 1920s - ca. 1964. *Journal for Studies in Humanities and Social Sciences,* 4(1 & 2), pp. 205-215.

Kamungu, B., 2011. *Contesting Caprivi: A History of Colonial Isolation and Regional Nationalism in Namibia.* Basel: Basler Afrika Bibliographien.

Kashoki, E. M., 1999. *Loanwords in Silozi, Cinyanja and Citonga.* Ndola: University of Zambia Press.

Kashoki, M. E., Katengo, M. E. & Mundia, M., 1998. Cross-border Language Perspectives: Experiences and Lessons from Zambia: Focus on SiLozi. In: K. Legère, ed. *Cross-Border Languages: Reports and Studies: Regional Workshop on Cross-Border Languages.* National Institute for Educational Development (NIED). 23–27 September 1996. Windhoek: Gamsberg Macmillan, pp. 168-201.

Katamba, F., 2006. Bantu Nominal Morphology. In: D. Nurse & G. Philippson, eds. *The Bantu Languages.* London: Routledge, pp. 103-120.

Kela, J., 2022. *A Study on the Namibian Transitional Langauge Policy in Education and the Role of Code-switching.* Cape Town: MA Thesis: University of Cape Town.

Kerswill, P., 1994. *Dialects Converging: Rural Speech in Urban Norway.* Oxford: Oxford University Press on Demand.

Kerswill, P., 2006. Migration and Language. In: K. Mattheier, U. Ammon & P. Trudgill, eds. *Sociolinguistics/Soziolinguistik. An International Handbook of the Science of Language and Society.* Berlin: De Gruyter, pp. 1-27.

King, K. & Fogle, L., 2006. Bilingual Parenting as Good Parenting: Parents' Perspectives on Family Language Policy for Additive Bilingualism. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 9(6), pp. 695-712.

Kothari, C. R., 2004. *Research Methodology: Methods and Techniques.* 2nd ed. New Delhi: New Age International Publishers.

Kperogi, F. A., 2015. *Glocal English: The Changing Face and Forms of Nigerian English in a Global World.* New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc.

Labov, W., 1966. *The Social Stratification of English in New York City.* Washington D.C: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Labov, W., 1972. Some Principles of Linguistic Methodology. *Language in Society,* 1(1), pp. 97-120.

Labov, W., 1986. The Social Stratification of (r) in New York City Department Stores. In: *Dialect and Language Variation.* pp. 304-329.

Legère, K., 2006. Formal and Informal Development of the Swahili Language: Focus on Tanzania. In: *Selected Proceedings of the 36th Annual Conference on African Linguistics.* Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Proceedings Project, pp. 176-184.

Lehmann, C., 2004. Data in Linguistics. *The Linguistic Review,* 21(3-4), pp. 175-210.

Lestrade, G. P., 1937. The Spelling of Names of Bantu Languages and Tribes in English. *Bantu Studies,* 11(1), pp. 373-375.

Library of Congress, 2007. *Library of Congress: Subject Headings.* 30th ed. Washinton D.C.: The Library of Congress.

Lisimba, M., 1982. *A Luyana Dialectology – Lozi Language Dialectology.* Ph.D. Thesis Madison University of Wisconsin.

Lisimba, M., 1985. *A Luyana Dialectology.* Ann Arbor, Michigan: University Microfilms International.

Livingstone, D. & Wallis, J. P. R., 1956. *The Zambezi Expedition of David Livingstone 1858-1863.* London: Chatto and Windus.

Livingstone, D., 1852. *Dictionary of the Barotse, Tete, etc., Languages.* Cape Town: Grey Collection, South African Public Library.

Livingstone, D., 1851. *Vocabularies of Eight Bantu Languages.* Cape Town: Grey Collection at the South African Libraries.

Livingstone, D., 1850. *An Alphabetical vocabulary of the Various Tsuana Dialects.* Cape Town: Grey Collection, South Africa Public Library.

Lüpke, F., 2010. Research Methods in Language Documentation. *Language Documentation and Description,* Volume 7, pp. 55-104.

Lusakalalu, P., 2003. What is Rukavango?. *Nordic Journal of African Studies,* 12(1), pp. 92-104.

Lusakalalu, P., 2007. Media, Education and the Count of Namibian Languages. *Journal of Namibian Studies,* Volume 2, pp. 85-101.

Mabille, A., Dieterlen, H. & Paroz, R. A., 1988. *Southern Sotho-English Dictionary.* 8th ed. Morija, Lesotho: Morija Sesuto Book Depot.

Magagula, C. S., 2009. *Standard versus Non-standard IsiZulu: A Comparative Study between Urban and Rural Learners' Performance and Attitude.* MA. Linguistics Dissertation: University of KwaZulu-Natal.

Maho, J., 1999. *A Comparative Study of Bantu Noun Classes.* Gothenburg: Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis.

Maho, J., 2003. A Classification of the Bantu Languages: An Update of Guthrie's Referential System. In *The Bantu Langauge Series*. D. Nurse & G. Phillipson, eds.. Abingdon: Routledge.

Mainga, M., 1965. The Origin of the Lozi: Some Oral Traditions. In: R. Brown & E. Stokes, eds. *The Zambezian Past: Studies in Central African History.* Manchester: Manchester University Press, p. 243.

Mainga, M., 1966. The Lozi Kingdom. In: B. M. Fagan, ed. *A Short History of Zambia: From Earliest Times Until A.D. 1900.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 121-127.

Mainga, M., 1973. *Bulozi Under Luyana Kings.* London: Longman Group Limited.

Maritz, C. J., 1994. Fwe en Subia van Caprivi: Bestaan daar n Grens?. *South Africa Journal of Ethnography,* 4(17), pp. 126-136.

Markey, T., 1982. Afrikaans: Creole or Non-Creole?. *Zeitschrift Für Dialektologie Und Linguistik,* 49(2), pp. 169-207.

Marten, L. & Kula, N. C., 2007. Morphosyntactic Co-Variation in Bantu: Two Case Studies. *SOAS Working Papers in Linguistics,* Volume 15, pp. 227-238.

Marten, L. & Kula, N. C., 2008. Zambia: One Zambia, One Nation, Many Languages. In: A. Simpson, ed. *Language and National Identity in Africa.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 291-313.

Marten, L., 2020. Noun Classes and Plurality in Bantu Languages . In: P. C. Hofherr & J. Doetjes, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of Number in Language.* Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 1-21.

Marten, L., Kula, N. C. & Thwala, N., 2007. Parameters of Morphosyntactic Variation in Bantu. *Transactions of the Philological Society Volume,* 105(3), p. 253–338.

Mashinja, B. Z. & Mwanza, D. S., 2020. The Language of Literacy Teaching and Learning in a Multilingual Classroom: Is Silozi Appropriate in the Zambezi Region of Namibia?. *International Journal of Humanities Social Sciences and Education (IJHSSE),* 7(3), pp. 31-42.

Matras, Y. & Bakker, P., 2003. The Study of Mixed Languages. In: Y. Matras & P. Bakker, eds. *The Mixed Language Debate: Theoretical and Empirical Advances.* Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, pp. 1-20.

Matras, Y., 2009. *Language Contact.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mbeha, G., 2017. *Silozi, a Mixed Language: An Analysis of the Noun Class System and Kinship Terms.* M.A. Linguisitcs. Mini-Dissertation: University of Cape Town.

Meakins, F., Green, J. & Turnip, M., 2018. *Understanding Linguistic Fieldwork.* Oxon: Routledge.

Meeussen, A. E., 1967. Bantu Grammatical Reconstructions. *Africana Linguistica,* 3(1), p. 80–122.

Meinhof, C., Van Warmelo, N. J. & Werner, A., 1932. *Introduction to the Phonology of the Bantu Languages: English Version of Grundriss Einer Lautlehre der Bantusprachen.*. Berlin: D. Reimer/E. Vohsen.

Mesthrie, R. & Bhatt, R. M., 2008. *World Englishes: The Study of New Linguistic Varieties.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mesthrie, R. & Surek-Clark, C., 2013. Fanakalo. In: S. M. Michaelis, P. Maurer, M. Haspelmath & M. Huber, eds. *The Survey of Pidgin and Creole Languages.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mesthrie, R., Forthcoming. 15 Variation in Multilingual Communities: An Exploration. In: P. Kerswill, Y. Asahi & A. D'Arcy, eds. Routledge Handbook of Variationist Sociolinguistics. London: Routledge .

Mesthrie, R., Swann, J., Deumert, A. & Leap, W. L., 2009. *Introducing Sociolinguistics.* 2nd ed. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Morton, B., 1997. Agonising Over the Mfecane. *Journal of Natal and Zulu History,* 17(1), pp. 99-119.

Msindo, E., 2005. Language and Ethnicity in Matabeleland: Ndebele-Kalanga Relations in Southern Zimbabwe, 1930-1960. *The International Journal of African Historical Studies,* 38(1), p. 79–103.

Mtenje-Mkochi, A. A., 2018. A comparative analysis of the nominal class marking systems of Cisukwa, Cindali and Cilambya. *Journal of Humanities,* 26(1), pp. 16-36.

Mufwene, S. S., 2007. Creoles and Pidgins. In: C. Llamas, L. Mullany & P. Stockwell, eds. *The Routledge Companion to Sociolinguistics.* New York: Routledge, p. 175-184.

Mufwene, S. S., 2009. The indigenization of English in North America: Selected Papers from the 13th IAWE Conference. In: *In World Englishes: Problems, Properties, Prospects.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins, pp. 353-368.

Mukena, N., 2015. *Comparative Analysis of Lozi Royal Praise Poetry between the Male and Female Litunga of Western Province of Zambia in form, Content, Function and Performance.* Masters' Thesis: University of Zambia.

Mukuni, O. R. M., 1991. *Silozi-English Phrasebook.* Lusaka: Kenneth Kaunda Foundation.

Mutunda, S., 2007. Language Behavior in Lusaka: The Use of Nyanja Slang. *The International Journal of Language Society and Culture,* Issue 21.

Mwendende, B. M., 2010. *Dikishinali ya Silozi-Silozi.* Cape Town: Center for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS).

Mwendende, B. M., 2011. *An Investigation into the use of the New Approved Silozi Orthography at High School Level in Selected Schools in Mongu District.* Master of Education. Dissertation: University of Zambia.

Mwikisa, P. W., 1994. African Languages in Education and Development: Challenges for the 21st Century: The Case for Sesotho, Setswana and Silozi. *Paper Presented at a Colloquim on Harmonising and Standardising Languages for Education and Development.,* Issue 11-14 July 1994. Cape Town, South Africa.

Myers Scotton, C. & Okeju, J., 1973. Neighbors and Lexical Borrowings. *Language,* 49(4), pp. 871-889.

Namibia Statistics Agency, 2017. *Namibia Inter-censal Demographic Survey: 2016 Report,* Windhoek: Namibia Statistics Agency.

Ndlovu, F., 2013. Cross-border Languages in Southern African Economic and Political Integration. *African Studies,* 1(72), pp. 19-40.

Nickanor, N. M., Conteh, M. & Eiseb, G., 2007. *Unpacking Huge Quantities into Smaller Units: Smaill-Sacle Cross Border Trade Between Namibia and her Northern Neighbours*, Windhoek: Unpublished Manuscript.

Nzwala, K. C., 2015. Challenges faced by student teachers when teaching through the medium of mother tongue during school based studies: A case for Katima Mulilo Campus Bachelor of Education 4 (Pre & Lower primary) students. *Namibia CPD Journal for Educators,* 2(1), pp. 1-11.

Nuno, A., 2018. *View of Traditional Village, People and Thatched and Zinc sheet on roof houses and Terracotta brick walls, cloudy sky as background, in Angola*. [Accessed 12 06 2021].

O'Sullivan, O., 1993. *English-Silozi Dictionary.* Lusaka: Zambia Educational Publishng House.

Oliver, R., 1996. The Problem of the Bantu Expansion. *The Jouranal of African History,* 7(3).

Omer-Cooper, J. L., 1966. *The Zulu Aftermath: a Nineteenth-century Revolution in Bantu Africa (Vol. 1966).* London: Longmans.

Omer-Cooper, J. D., 1993. Has the Mfecane a Future? a Response to the Cobbing Critique. *Journal of Southern African Studies,* 19(2), pp. 273-294.

Patrick, P. L., 2001. *The Speech Community.* Working Paper. Essex Research Reports in Linguistics, University of Essex, Colchester, UK. (Unpublished)

Posner, D. N., 2005. *Institutions and Ethnic Politics in Africa.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Pretorious, J. L., 1975. *The Fwe of the Eastern Caprivi Zipfel: A Study of their Historical and Geographical Background, Tribal Structure and Legal System, with Special Reference to Fwe Family Law and Succession.* Masters Thesis: University of Stellenbosch.

Ricento, T., 2006. Theoretical Perspectives in Language Policy: An Overview. In: T. Ricento, ed. *An Introduction to Language Policy - Theory and Method.* Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, pp. 3-9.

Roberge, P. T., 2002. Afrikaans: considering origins. *Language in South Africa,* pp. 79-103.

Roberge, P. T., 2004. Afrikaans: Considering Origins . In: R. Mesthrie, ed. *Language in South Africa.* Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, pp. 79-103.

Roberts, A., 1976. *A History of Zambia.* London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd.

Rodríguez-Ordóñez, I., 2019. The Role of Linguistic Ideologies in Language Contact Situations. *Lang Linguist Compass,* 13(10).

Rydenvald, M., 2018 . Who Speaks what Language to whom and when – Rethinking Language use in the context of European Schools. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language,* Volume 254, pp. 71-101.

Sankoff, G., 2001. Linguistic Outcomes of Language Contact. In: J. Chambers, P. Trudgill & N. Schilling-Estes, eds. *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change.* Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, pp. 638-668.

Schadeberg, T. C., 2002. *Progress in Bantu Lexical Reconstruction.*

Schilling, N., 2013. *Sociolinguistic Fieldwork.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schneider, K. P., 2012. *Diminutives in English.* Vol. 479. Walter de Gruyter.

Schreuder, D. M., 1980. *The Scramble for Southern Africa, 1877-1895: The Politics of Partition Reappraised.* Vol 11 ed. Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.

Sebba, M., 1997. *Contact Languages: Pidgins and Creoles.* Basingstoke: Macmillan Press.

Sekere, N. B., 2004. *Sociolinguistic Variation in Spoken and Written Sesotho: A Case Study of Speech Varieties in Qwaqwa.* MA Dissertation in African Linguistics: University of South Africa.

Simwinga, J., 2009. Emerging Evidence for Language Shift: The Case of Nkoya in Kaoma, Western Zambia.. *The Journal of Humanities (Lusaka),* 9(1), pp. 61-87.

Sitali-Mubanga, G. N., 2018. Some Effects of English Loanword Adaptation into SiLozi. *International Journal of Education,* 10(4), pp. 1-19.

Sitwala, J. N., 2010. *Language Maintenance in the Malozi Community of Caprivi.* Masters' Dissertation: University of South Africa.

Smith-Christmas, C., 2014. Being Socialised into Language Shift: The Impact of Extended Family Members on Family Language Policy. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 35(5), pp. 511-526.

Spolsky, B., 2012. Family Language Policy – The Critical Domain. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 33(1), pp. 3-11.

Stirke, D. E. C. & Thomas, A. W., 1915. *Sikololo Phrase Book.* London: Bale & Danielsson.

Stirke, D. E. C. & Thomas, A. W., 1916. *A Comparative Vocabulary of Sikololo-Silui-Simbunda.* London: Bale & Danielsson.

Stroud, C., 2008. 21.Multilingualism in ex- colonial countries. In: P. Auer & L. Wei, eds. *Handbook of Multilingualism and Multilingual Communication.* Berlin, New York: De Gruyter Mouton, pp. 509-538.

Summer Institue of Linguistics, 2005. *Ethnologue: languages of the world.* 14th ed. Dallas: Summer Institue of Linguistics.

Tagliamonte, S. A., 2006. *Analysing Sociolinguistic Variation.* Cambridge : Cambridge University Press.

Taljard, E. and Bosch, S.E., 2006. *A Comparison of Approaches to Word Class Tagging: Disjunctively vs. Conjunctively Written Bantu Languages*. Nordic Journal of African Studies, 15(4).

The New Era Newspaper, 2009. Namibia: Silozi Dominance in the Caprivi. [Online] Available at: https://allafrica.com/stories/200907310953.html [Accessed 08 06 2022].

The New Era Newspaper, 2015. Guide to National Budget Discriminates Against Silozi. [Online] Available at: https://neweralive.na/posts/guide-national-budget-discriminates-silozi [Accessed 08 06 2022].

Thomason, S. G. & Kaufman, T., 1992. *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics.*. Berkeley: University of California Press..

Tollefson, J. W., 2006. Critical Theory in Language Policy. In: T. Ricento, ed. *An Introduction to Language Policy - Theory and Method.* Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, pp. 42-59.

Tonchi, L. V., Lindeke, W. A. & Grotpeter, J. J., 2012. *Historical Dictionary of Namibia.* 2nd ed. Plymouth: Scarecrow Press, Inc.

Trask, R. L., 1999. *Language and Linguistics.* London: Routledge.

Treffers-Daller, J., 2010. Borrowing. In: M. Fried, J. O. Östman & J. Verschueren, eds. *Variation and Change: Pragmatic perspectives. Handbook of Pragmatics Highlights.* Amsterdam / Philadelphia: John Benjamins, pp. 17-35.

Trudgill, P., 1994. *Dialects.* 1st ed. London: Routledge.

Turner, V. W., 1952. *The Lozi Peoples of North-Western Rhodesia.* London: International African Institute.

Van Bakkel, M. A., 1981. The "Bantu" Expansion: Demigraphic Models. *Current Anthropology*, 22(6), pp. 688-691.

Van Horn, L., 1977. The Agricultural History of Barotseland, 1840-1964. In: R. H. Palmer & N. Parsons, eds. *The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa.* Berkeley: Univ of California Press, pp. 144-170.

Vermuellen, J., 1979. *Chinyanja (Chicewa) - English Dictionary.* Lusaka: Unpublished Book.

Villegas, J. & Lee, S. J., 2019. *Creating maps for linguistic field-work using R.*

Wakumelo-Nkolola, M. et al., 2008. *A Unified Standard Orthography for Namibian Bantu Languages: OshiWambo, OtjiHerero, RuKwangali, RuManyo, SiLozi and ThiMbukushu.* Cape Town, South Africa: The Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS).

Wardhaugh, R., 2006. *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics.* 5th ed. Malden : Blackwell Publishers.

Welmers, W., 1973. *African Language Structures.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Werner, A. & Dilthey, R., 1905. German and British Colonisation in Africa. *Journal of the Royal African Society,* 4(14), pp. 238-241.

Werner, A., 1919. *Introductory Sketch of the Bantu Languages.* London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd..

White, C. M. N., 1962. The Ethno-History of the Upper Zambezi. *African History*, 21(1), pp. 10-27.

Wilkes, A. 1985. *Words and word division: a study of some orthographical problems in the writing systems of the Nguni and Sotho languages* South African Journal of African Languages 5(4): 148–153.

Woods, B. H., 1993. A Synchronic Study of English Spoken in Ottawa: Is Canadian English becoming more American?. In: S. Clarke, ed. *Varieties of English Around the World: Focus on Canada.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 151-178.

Wookey, A. J., 1940. *Secwana Grammar with Exercises: English to Secwana and Secwana to English.* 2nd ed. London: London Mission Society.

Wright, S., 2007. Language Policy and Language Planning . In: C. Llamas, L. Mullany & P. Stockwell, eds. *The Routledge Companion to Sociolinguistics.* New York: Routledge, pp. 164-172.

Zeller, J. & Ngoboka, J. P., 2015. On parametric variation in Bantu, with particular reference to Kinyarwanda. *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 113(2), pp. 206-231.

Zeller, W., 2009. Danger and Opportunity in Katima Mulilo: A Namibian Border Boomtown at Transnational Crossroads. *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 35(1), pp. 133-154.

Zenner, E., Speelman, D. & Geeraerts, D., 2014. Core Vocabulary, Borrowability and Entrenchment: A Usage-based Onomasiological Approach. Diachronica, 31(1), pp. 74-105.