

A corpus-based analysis of code-switching in the oral discourse of Shona-English bilinguals

by

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Declaration by candidate

'I hereby declare that the dissertation submitted for the degree MA Linguistics, at the University of Pretoria, is my own work and has not previously been submitted to any other institution of higher education. I further declare that all sources cited or quoted are indicated and acknowledged by means of a comprehensive list of bibliography'.

Faith C. Chapwanya

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Abstract

Bilingualism is one of the by-products of globalization and migration. As people from different ethnicities come into contact, their languages will influence each other. People learn a second or third language in different environments leading to their linguistic proficiency levels being different. In conversations involving bilinguals, code-switching may be prevalent. This practise of alternating between two or more languages during a speech act has been of great interest to researchers with various models and hypotheses being proposed to explain it.

Although code-switching has been studied extensively in literature, indigenous languages such as Shona have received less attention. This study aims to determine whether the markedness model of code-switching can be applied to Shona oral discourse (speech). An analysis is done to ascertain the nature, occurrence and characteristics of code-switching in the speech of Shona-English bilinguals. Participants who attended formal education for at least ten years were selected for the study.

In order to inform on the theoretical background and on previous studies that dealt with code-switching, a literature review was conducted. The study used semi-structured interviews, a cloze test and recordings as data collection methods. Data was analysed to determine the applicability of the markedness model to the compiled corpus. Data analysis was also aided by WordSmith, (corpus analysis software).

Results of the analysis seem to suggest that the markedness model can be applied to Shona-English code-switching. In addition, an analysis of the corpus using WordSmith showed frequently used English words and collocations and concordances of the code-switched words. An examination of the collocations and concordances shows the contexts in which the code-switched words appear.

Keywords

Code-switching

Markedness model

Corpus

Bilingualism

Code-mixing

Borrowing

Nonce borrowing

Translanguaging

Multilingual discourse

Maxim

Collocation

WordSmith

List of abbreviations

A: Advanced

O: Ordinary

P: Participant

R: Researcher

Exam: Examination

List of acronyms

ALLEX: African Languages Lexical project

ALRI: African Languages Research Institute

CS: Code-switching

CM: Code-mixing

M-S: Myers-Scotton

LRMA: Language Resource Management Agency

PanSALB: Pan South African Language Board

OCP: Oxford Concordance Program

TACT: Text Analysis Computing Tools

BNC: British National Corpus

ESFSLDB: European Science Foundation Second Language Databank

Transcription conventions

In transcribing recorded conversations, the following symbols were used based on Jefferson's transcription conventions (2004).

{LG}: Laughter

{NS}: Background noise (e.g. banging of spoons, chairs moving)

{BC}: Background conversation

{BR}: Audible breathing sounds, sighs

(.): Brief pause

(. . .): Longer pause lasting more than 3 seconds

--: Person's name or name of a place

(()): Inaudible

{CG}: Coughing or grunting

-: Incomplete word

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Chapter 1 Overview

1.1 Introduction and background

Globalisation and migration have resulted in the mixing of people from different cultures. It is inevitable that as people from varying linguistic backgrounds interact, their languages will influence each other (Myers-Scotton, 1993a; Clyne, 2003). This is especially true for the global south including Zimbabwe where more than one language is spoken (Myers-Scotton, 1993a; Mumpande, 2006; Garcia, 2009; Ndlovu, 2009). Myers Scotton estimates the number of Bantu languages in Africa to be at least 300. Code-switching (CS) is one of the by-products of language contact which include borrowing and diglossia among others.

1.2 Languages of Zimbabwe

Several language policy documents which are used as guides have been formulated in Zimbabwe (Ndlovu, 2009). One of them is the 1987 Education Act of Zimbabwe. Although the policy has been revised, it continues to mirror the 1987 Act (Mumpande, 2006). Shona and Ndebele being indigenous languages are accorded the status of national languages. Shona is spoken by about seventy-five percent of the population whilst Ndebele is a mother tongue for around sixteen percent of the population (Ndhlovu, 2009; Mberi, 2009).

The exact number of languages spoken in Zimbabwe is debatable. This is because there is no clearcut distinction between what can be considered a language and a dialect (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015). For example, Ndhlovu (2009) puts the number at close to twenty. Thondhlana (2002) puts the number at seventeen with 3 being main languages and fourteen minority languages. Ndhlovu also concurs that there are at least fourteen minority languages in Zimbabwe namely Kalanga, Tonga, Sotho, Barwe, Chewa, Venda, Xhosa, Setswana, Nambya, Shangani, Chikunda, Nyanja,

Hwesa and Sena. Of these, Kalanga, Shangani, Chewa, Venda, Tonga, and Nambya are officially acknowledged as minority languages (Thondlana, 2002; Mumpande, 2006).

1.3 Shona language

Shona language is heavily indebted to Clement Doke (1931). He played an important role in its unification, standardisation and development. He carried out:

A thorough study of the language position throughout the country, with a view to advising the government upon a uniform orthography and a possible unification of dialects for the standardization of an official language for . . . the Shona speaking peoples (Doke, 1931: 1).

One of Doke's recommendations was that the term "Shona" be used to refer to a group of dialects spoken in Zimbabwe which he believed to be mutually intelligible (i.e. speakers of different Shona dialects can understand each other). Wardhaugh & Fuller (2015) note that mutual intelligibility is the mostly used benchmark to distinguish between dialects and languages.

Doke observed that people who spoke Karanga, Zezuru, Korekore, Manyika and Ndaou were able to understand each other. Hence, he considered them to be dialects of the one language which he unified under the name Shona. This could be the reason why Myers-Scotton (1993a) refers to Shona as a "constructed language" because it came about owing to it having been unified by Doke. Chimhundu (2005) suggests that although the etymology of the term "Shona" is speculative, it is now widely accepted.

"Shona is the officially recognized language with a standardized orthography which has been revised a couple of times" (Ngara, 1982: 17). Ngara also notes that Shona does not have the capacity to be used as a language of learning and teaching and in many other domains due to its lack of development in terms of terminology. However, there have been attempts to develop Shona terminology. One notable

attempt is the work done by the African Languages Lexical (ALLEX) project, which now forms part of the African Languages Research Institute (ALRI) at the University of Zimbabwe. Some of the products of the ALLEX project include monolingual dictionaries, corpora and medical dictionaries. The work of the ALLEX project is discussed in detail in Section 3.9. Currently, Shona has grammar books, spelling books, dictionaries and abundant literature.

1.4 English use in Zimbabwean schools

English has gained prominence in Zimbabwe because it was imposed during colonialism at the expense of indigenous languages. Because of the widespread use of English especially in business and in schools as a language of learning and teaching, this has resulted in indigenous languages being used marginally (Mutasa 2006).

As in most countries in Southern Africa, English is the lingua franca in Zimbabwe. African languages are mostly confined to pre-school and early primary school (Mutasa, 2006). Due to lack of infrastructure the languages are not promoted past the fourth grade. Kamwangamalu (2012), shares the same viewpoint noting that in most countries in Southern Africa, the former colonial language is used in education. The few countries in Africa which have adopted indigenous languages for use in education and business are Tanzania, Somalia, Sudan, Ethiopia and Guinea (Magwa, 2006).

In Zimbabwe English is considered to be the vehicle for upward mobility socially, economically, and politically. Many schools opt to use English from grade one with the hope that learners' linguistic performance improves as they move from grade to grade. This has resulted in different levels of bilingualism. Ogutu (2006) suggests that the use of English as a language of teaching and learning results in it having an advantage over other languages in terms of use and acquisition. "Zimbabwe, like many African countries, tends to follow the policy of using the former colonial language (English) as the official language of much of parliament, trade and

industry, the mass media and education” (Thondlana, 202: 32). Magwa (2006) shares the same sentiments when he notes that the failure of Zimbabwe to use indigenous languages in education and business is impeding on the country’s development. Ogutu (2006) cites studies like UNESCO (1953) and Bamgbose, (1984) which show the benefits of mother tongue education.

In further education and training institutions, the dominance of English is evidenced by the requirement that students are expected to have passed English with grade C or better for them to be considered for entrance into these institutions. In contrast, learners can opt not to study indigenous languages at Ordinary level, which is the equivalent to grade 10 and grade 11 in South Africa. This has not helped in promoting and improving the use of indigenous languages. Mutasa (2006) is of the notion that the limited use of African languages is due to the difficulty faced in trying to harmonize the languages.

After independence, learners in primary schools did not pay school fees and the government launched the 1983 literacy campaign. This resulted in more learners including adult learners attending school, leading to increased literacy rates. This is attested by a report from the Ministry of Education, Sports and Culture (1997-2007) which showed an increase in the literacy rate from 63 percent at independence in 1980 to 97 percent in 2002. However, recent challenges in the country seem to have reversed the gains made during the first two decades of independence (Shiza & Kariwo, 2011).

With English being dominant in Zimbabwean society, one wonders how the speech of a Shona-English bilingual is impacted.

1.5 A brief discussion about the Markedness Model

Since this study will be based on the Markedness Model (MM), a brief review of the model here will suffice. A comprehensive discussion of the MM is done in section 2.7. Myers-Scotton (1993a) developed the MM to explain the socio-psychological motivations for code-switching. She suggests that “speakers have a sense of

markedness regarding available linguistic codes but choose their codes based on the persona or relations with others which they wish to have in place” (Myers-Scotton, 1993a: 75). The model is developed on the premise that speakers choose linguistic codes not because of the societal conventions but because they think carefully about the outcome. Sequential unmarked CS, unmarked CS, marked CS, and exploratory CS occur according to the MM.

1.6 Problem statement

Although CS has been well documented globally and particularly in Southern Africa, little attention has been paid to Shona-English CS from a socio-functional perspective. Although Mashiri (2002) studied CS in the spoken language of Shona-English bilingual students at the University of Zimbabwe, the focus of his research was the morpho-syntactic structure of Shona and English. He looked at four grammatical categories namely, descriptive adjectives, nouns, locatives, and verbs. As a theoretical framework, he used the Matrix Language Framework (MLF) to analyse corpus data.

Although Myers-Scotton’s Markedness Model has been very influential in CS studies, the model (in other words, the study of CS from a social-functional perspective) still needs to be applied to Shona-English CS.

In order to unpack the problem statement, two sub-problems have been identified:

Subproblem one: Myers-Scotton proposed the MM to explain social motivations for CS and noted that the model awaits further testing.

Subproblem two: There is more than one perspective on CS available to scholars and all of them should be explored (in particular, in relation to Shona-English CS).

1.7 Motivation

Research in CS from Shona to English has focused on CS in schools and CS from a grammatical perspective. Not enough attention has been paid to Shona-English CS

from a socio-functional viewpoint. That is why this study seeks to describe the nature, occurrence and characteristics of CS in the oral discourse (speech) of Shona-English bilinguals. Furthermore, when Myers-Scotton proposed the MM, she highlighted that “the model and its predictions await further testing” (Myers-Scotton, 1993a: 154). This study is novel and interesting because it seeks to test further the applicability of the model to Shona CS.

Although there is a Shona corpus of almost 2,5 million words that was compiled by the ALLEX project starting in 1992, access to the full corpus is difficult. There is limited online access and one can only search for specific words and results are generated for a maximum of 1000 words. I wrote to the ALLEX project coordinators requesting access to the whole corpus but I did not get permission to access it. In addition, the corpus compiled by the ALLEX project comprises of speech samples from Shona speakers of different ages and from people of diverse linguistic backgrounds.. Anyone who could speak Shona as a first language was free to participate in the project. In contrast, this study focused on the occurrence of CS in the speech of Shona-English bilinguals who has attended formal education for at least 10 years. Therefore, the ALLEX corpus is not ideal to use for answering research questions in this project. That is why I compiled a spoken corpus using speech samples of Shona-English bilinguals in order to determine the nature and characteristics of CS.

Since there is limited corpora in spoken Shona (a less resourced language), the oral corpus was used as a linguistic resource.

1.8 Assumptions

Regarding the social functions of CS, I assume that the markedness model of CS as explained by Myers-Scotton will apply to all instances of CS in my data set.

1.9 Research questions

The following research questions will be used as a guide in this study;

1. What is the nature of CS in spoken Shona?
2. Does the MM of CS apply to the compiled Shona corpus?
3. What functions do the code-switches serve in the contexts in which they appear?

1.10 Objectives of the study

Flowing from my assumption in section 1.8, and research questions in section 1.9, this study aims to do the following:

- To demonstrate the use of the MM as a heuristic instrument in analysing and interpreting my data set.
- To analyse the nature, occurrence and characteristics of CS by making use of corpus analysis software.
- In order to do the above, to compile a corpus of spoken Shona.

1.11 Arrangement of topics in this study

Chapter 1 is an introductory chapter dealing with the background of the study. Two subproblems are identified in order to unpack the problem statement. The motivation for undertaking this study is explained. The aims of the study as well as the research questions are discussed in this chapter.

Chapter 2 provides a literature review of CS and the theories and hypotheses that have been proposed by researchers to explain CS. Particular attention is paid to the markedness model of CS. Key concepts are defined in this chapter. Some of the studies that have been conducted using the MM are highlighted. The functions of CS are also presented.

Chapter 3 reviews literature on corpus linguistics in general and corpus-based studies in particular. Key concepts are defined. There is a discussion about what to

consider when designing a corpus. Types of corpora are explained and examples of corpus compilation projects are given. The existing Shona corpus is discussed.

Chapter 4 presents the research design used in this study including its strengths and weaknesses. The methodology used to collect data is discussed. There is also a discussion about the challenges encountered during data collection and how they were dealt with.

Chapter 5 focuses on data analysis, presentation and interpretation. Data is analysed to determine whether the MM of code-switching applies to the compiled corpus. The corpus, interview transcripts, and the cloze test are analysed. In addition, the compiled corpus is queried using WordSmith tools. Data analysis assisted in answering research questions that were posed in the study.

Conclusions drawn from this study are discussed in chapter 6. The conclusions are based on the research questions that were posed in order to deal with sub-problems identified in the study. In addition, recommendations are made and attention is drawn to limitations of the study.

Chapter 2 Code-Switching: A theoretical overview

2.1 Introduction

CS has come a long way since researchers started gaining interest in the subject. It is difficult to pinpoint the scope of what CS encompasses hence one can encounter contradictions in literature (Bullock & Toribio, 2009). Even the way the term is written in literature is different. Some researchers write the term as one word (codeswitching) and others put a hyphen in between (code-switching). This study will use the latter version of the word but will spell the term in the same way as it is used in literature.

CS has been explored using different approaches which will be discussed in Section 2.2. Researchers have been adopting different terms when discussing CS. This trend has continued with the recent introduction of terms such as “multilingual discourse” and “translanguaging”. These terms are explained in Section 2.4. This study investigates CS through a sociolinguistic perspective. A corpus is examined to study the nature and occurrence of CS.

A variety of theories and hypotheses have also been proposed to account for CS. They include, Myers-Scotton’s Matrix Language Frame (MLF) model and the MM (1993a, 1993b), and Poplack’s (1980) free morpheme constraint as cited by Myers-Scotton (1993b). These theories and hypotheses have contributed to a better understanding of the subject although researchers tend to disagree on some issues. The theories and hypotheses are discussed further in Section 2.6.

In order to inform on the research that has been done previously, this chapter will cover the theoretical framework of the study. A literature review focusing on CS was conducted and this process continued throughout the duration of the research. It was used to inform the theoretical framework, to gain a better understanding of the trends in CS research over the years and to identify any gaps in literature. It also assisted with information about how similar studies were conducted.

The history of CS research is discussed noting early studies that have been conducted. Key concepts including code-switching, borrowing, bilingualism, the MM and corpus are defined providing examples where necessary. There is a brief discussion of new trends in CS research. A description of corpus compilation work in Zimbabwe and South Africa will be done.

In addition, some of the theories and hypotheses advanced by researchers will be discussed. In particular, since the MM will be the basis for analysing Shona-English oral discourse in order to determine whether the model is applicable, a comprehensive discussion about the MM will be done. CS is also discussed in and outside the school context. Furthermore, the study will pay attention to some of the studies done using a corpus-based analysis of CS.

2.2 A historical overview of code-switching

Over the years, CS has been widely researched from different angles throughout the world. Bullock and Toribio (2009) assert that research into CS has been at the forefront of all the language contact phenomena. The approaches employed by researchers are varied as evidenced by the different focus areas. There are some researchers who believe that CS research focuses on two main areas and others who consider CS research to be centred on three main approaches. These approaches are explained below.

2.2.1 Two main focal areas

According to Auer (1998), CS research has mainly focused on two perspectives namely the sociolinguistic and the grammatical perspectives. Auckle & Barnes (2011), summarised these theoretical frameworks as the grammatical (eg. Poplack, 1981, Belazi et al. 1994) and the socio-functional framework (Bentahila 1983, Myers-Scotton 1993a, Mukenge & Chimbarange 2012, Wardhaugh & Fuller 2015). Boztepe (2005) highlighted that the approaches complement each other. Thus, the approaches are not in conflict with each other. He notes that, whereas the grammatical studies attempt to determine the structure and morphology of CS

utterances, the socio-functional studies “attempt to explain why bilingual speakers talk the way they do” (Boztepe, 2005: 3)

2.2.2 Three main focal areas

Researchers like Kamwangamalu, (1989) and Bullock & Toribio (2009) note that there are three main focal points in CS research namely structural, psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic. They suggest that the structural approach deals with what CS can uncover about the makeup of a language and that CS occurs in an orderly manner and the code-switched utterances conform to the grammatical rules of the main language. Bullock and Toribio (2009) explain that the psycholinguistic approach to CS deals with the mental processes that are involved with bilingual speech. The psycholinguistic approach also deals with how switched speech is processed (Kamwangamalu, 1989). Concerning the sociolinguistic approach, they note that the approach is mainly focused on the social factors that support or impede the occurrence of CS.

2.2.3 Coining of the term code-switching

Alvarez-Cáccamo (1998) is of the opinion that the initial coining of the term code-switching was done by Jacobson in 1952. Jacobson, Fant & Halle (1952) as cited by Alvarez-Cáccamo (1998) used the term “switching code” to explain the use of more than one language in a conversation. Thereafter, the term “code-switching” was used.

2.3 Early trends in code-switching research

Before the term CS was coined, studies were already being carried out. Although CS was mentioned in some early research articles, it largely went unnoticed because it was explained in passing as a miniscule topic (Myers-Scotton, 1993a). One such example is Stewart (1968 as cited by Myers-Scotton 1993a). Although Stewart focused on diglossia, he discussed Haitian Creole-French CS. Even though John

Gumperz went on to become one of the most influential researchers in CS, his early research was largely unrecognized because it was done as part of larger discussions.

CS was once considered a linguistic impairment. This is evidenced by some of the early studies in CS (e.g. Weinreich, 1953). Weinreich rejected CS as speech that is produced by an incompetent interlocutor. He considered using two languages in one sentence to be taboo and to signify imperfection. Weinreich believed that if an individual used more than one language in a sentence, this was an indication of failure to master a given language.

The attitude spilled over to classrooms as Boztepe notes:

In the case of bilingual classrooms, the notion of semilingualism embodies itself in the form of negative teacher attitudes towards students who code-switch in classroom interaction. CS, as with any stigmatized language variety, is seen as a deviation from some norm (Boztepe, 2005: 3).

But this perspective has changed over the decades as CS has become one of the major research field in linguistics. A quick check on the Internet produces many articles focusing on CS from a wide range of perspectives. This interest from researchers has helped shed more light on the subject. Bullock & Toribio (2009) are of the view that CS does not show that one is unable to distinguish between languages but shows the creativity enabled by being able to speak more than one language.

According to Kamwangamalu (1999), most of the early studies on CS focused on Spanish-English CS in the United States. He refers to studies done by Espinosa in 1911 on Spanish-English CS as one of the initial studies to take particular interest in CS. Espinosa (1911) investigated Spanish-speaking communities in New Mexico and Colorado. From the data collected, Espinosa noted that speakers' use of both Spanish and English during conversations was a common occurrence. He also indicates that the language mixtures were not only confined to the speech of the uneducated but it happened across the social strata. According to Benson (2001), at a time when the

majority of researchers did not view CS as a subject worth studying, “Espinosa identified CS as cutting across levels of education and socioeconomic classes” (Benson, 2001: 30). Some of the examples of CS speech given by Espinosa include utterances such as “You bet si”, “Hello compadre” (Espinosa, 1911:17).

Research into Spanish-English CS has carried on from the days of Espinosa as demonstrated by recent journal articles on the subject (e.g. Moro, 2015). Moro notes that CS is prevalent in the Hispanic society in the United States and that it is often referred to as “Spanglish” (referring to the mixture of Spanish and English). Moro observes that Spanish-English CS is rife in mediums like movies, music, on television and in literature, to mention a few.

Although early research on CS focused on Spanish and English, CS research has gone global. Studies continue to focus on a wide range of languages in different countries throughout the world (Kamwangamalu, 1999). According to Myers-Scotton (1997), initial research in CS during the 1980s and 1990s concentrated on the reasons behind CS (e.g. Gumperz, 1982; Auer, 1984). Attention shifted to the syntactic structure of CS in the 1980s (e.g. Poplack, 1980, 1981, Sridhar & Sridhar 1980).

In Africa, and particularly in Southern Africa, a lot of languages come into contact on a daily basis. This has led to scholars studying CS as a language contact phenomenon in different settings. An immense number of published books and journal articles that focus on CS attest to the amount of attention that has been given to CS as a subject (e.g. Finlayson & Slabbert, 1997; Myers-Scotton, 1993; Kamwangamalu, 2000; Mashiri, 2002).

2.3.1 Blom and Gumperz’s contribution to code-switching

Myers-Scotton (1993a) considers Blom and Gumperz’s article published in 1972 to be a major turning point in CS research. Their study investigated CS between two Norwegian dialects. Their research triggered a lot of interest in CS between different languages. This interest helped establish CS as one of the most researched language contact phenomena.

Owing to his pioneering work, John Gumperz is considered to have been an influential scholar in the study of CS from a socio-cultural perspective. That is why Myers-Scotton believes that Gumperz is cited a lot in CS research. According to Nilep (2006) Gumperz's research on CS and contextualization has influenced research in sociolinguistics, linguistic anthropology and the sociology of language. For instance, Myers-Scotton (1993a) is of the notion that Gumperz's proposal that helped shape MM is that, speakers use language in a variety of ways in order to convey their intended message. They engage in conversation by using different strategies to achieve their goal. Gumperz (1982) introduced the concept "discourse strategies" to refer to the way speakers choose to use language. He notes that when speakers engage in a conversation, they consider the situation at hand in order to determine the right communication strategy.

In this sense, Gumperz was one of the first of a now growing group of sociolinguists who view linguistic choices as dynamic events. That is, speakers are no longer seen as influenced by situational factors in making their speech choices (Myers-Scotton, 1993a: 57).

Because of this view, Myers-Scotton believes that Gumperz motivated other researchers into considering CS as a skilled performance culminating in the publication of articles on CS (e.g. Jacobson, 1978, 1986; Lance, 1970 as cited by Myers-Scotton, 1993a). Gumperz was motivated by Dell Hymes in developing his hypothesis whereby linguistic choices can be explained within their sociocultural framework.

Blom & Gumperz's 1972 article resulted in the following:

- There was a flood of courses in linguistics departments leading to extensive use of the textbook (The Gumperz and Hymes reader of 1972). This helped increase research into CS.

- Blom & Gumperz advanced CS as skilled performance unlike other researchers like Weinreich (1953) who had dismissed it as incompetent speech. The duo examined CS as a subject worthy to be researched.
- Their use of situational and metaphorical switching to describe CS marked the introduction of an all-encompassing approach to the study of CS. Myers-Scotton (1993a) notes that in spite of the contradictions in the way these terms were used, they helped other researchers to better understand CS.

2.3.2 Criticism of Gumperz's approach to code-switching

Myers-Scotton, (1993a). Myers-Scotton notes that some scholars criticised Gumperz for suggesting that codes can be interpreted similarly in all conversations when he used the “we codes” against “they codes”. Critics argue that code choices cannot be uniformly interpreted. Pride (1979), as cited by Myers-Scotton (1993a) criticised Gumperz for giving conflicting definitions of metaphorical and situational switching and for not examining similarities between the two types of CS. Another bone of contention is Gumperz's lack of clarity on CS as a creative strategy. He did not make it clear whether individual behaviour depends on social norms (Myers-Scotton, 1993a). Despite the criticism levelled against Gumperz, he helped to motivate other researchers to investigate CS. It does not therefore come as a surprise that some researchers believe that Blom and Gumperz's article in 1972 helped to positively shape the CS research landscape.

2.4 Definition of key concepts

By looking at definitions given in literature, one can note that the key concepts described below have varying definitions given by researchers. This is not surprising because,

as with any aspect of language contact phenomena, research on CS is plagued by thorny issues of terminological confusion. Not all researchers use the same terms in the same way, nor do they agree on the territory covered by

terms such as CS, code-mixing, borrowing or code- alternation (Boztepe, 2005: 4).

Garcia & Wei (2014) share the same views and state that linguistics is a subject which has a lot of debates and disagreements about the conceptualization of language. But regardless of the different interpretations, research is contributing towards a better understanding of these concepts.

2.4.1 Code-switching and Code-mixing

According to Wardhaugh, (1992) due to the neutrality of the term “code”, it can be used to denote a language or a language variety. “The term “code” can be used to refer to any kind of system that two or more people employ for communication” (Wardhaugh, 1992: 89). When the term is combined with switching, it indicates that there is alternation between the two systems used by people to communicate.

Despite the amount of research into CS, a universal definition of the term has remained elusive leading to much debate and argument (Moro, 2015). Bullock & Toribio (2009) note that the term CS constitutes a number of language contact phenomena so that makes giving a straightforward definition of CS difficult. Bullock & Toribio further state that coming up with a unified definition of CS has been difficult due to the fact that researchers explore the subject from a variety of perspectives. Even though we may encounter different terms in literature, “these terms, different from each other yet in many ways similar, represent a view of language as a social resource without clear boundaries, which places the speaker at the heart of the interaction” (Creese & Blackledge, 2015: 21).

2.4.2 Why code-switching is difficult to characterize

Differences in opinion arise from defining the term “code-switching” and what constitutes CS. Researchers adopt a definition that suits their research. Thus, in literature, one is likely to encounter a definition for CS as it is used in the context of the research. In this study, CS is implied to encompass code-mixing. That is why the

terms CS and code-mixing (CM) are defined together in this section. Despite the lack of consensus, one will also find that some researchers do agree on the same definition or definitions. According to Bullock & Toribio (2009), defining CS is problematic because of the following reasons:

- (a) There are a number of linguistic items that can be grouped under CS making an absolute definition elusive. Linguistic items such as morphemes, single words, phrases and whole sentences can be referred to as CS.
- (b) The people who produce code-switched utterances may have achieved varying levels of linguistic proficiency making their CS patterns to be different. The differences in setting during conversations may lead to contrasting outcomes.
- (c) CS happens because of a variety of reasons including to fill linguistic gaps, to signify one's ethnicity, to achieve a communicative goal and to show anger or authority. Due to the varied nature of these reasons, giving a clear characterization of CS becomes problematic.

Myers-Scotton (1993a: 4) defines CS as “the selection by bilingual or multilinguals of forms from an embedded language in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation”. She further notes that conversations that include CS are well organised and show discourse harmony the same way as sentences containing one language. Although different languages, vernaculars or styles of a language can be involved during CS, this study is focused on CS that happens between languages.

Some scholars distinguish between language alternations that occur within the same sentence (intrasentential CS) and outside sentence boundaries (intersentential CS) (e.g. Myers-Scotton, 1993a; Muysken, 2000). In this study, intersentential CS and intrasentential CS are discussed when determining the nature of CS in spoken Shona.

The term “CM” is also used by some researchers to refer to language alternation within sentences (e.g. Kamwangamalu, 1989) He asserts that the switched elements can range from single words to whole sentences. Therefore, Kamwangamalu (2000: 92) distinguishes between CS and CM noting that, “CS refers to language alternation across sentence boundaries and CM refers to language alternation within sentence boundaries”. Another definition given is that “CM” refers to the use of more than one language in smaller units of speech, while “CS” refers to the alternation of codes using larger units of speech such as whole clauses (Heugh, 2013). Sridhar & Sridhar (1980) and Auer (1999) similarly distinguish between CS and CM. In this study CS will be used to refer to situations whereby speakers change back and forth between two or more linguistic varieties while engaged in a dialogue. The term “CS” will be used to refer to both CS and code-mixing. Thus, the study will refer to CS that occurs within sentence boundaries as intrasentential CS and that which occurs outside sentence boundaries as intersentential CS.

2.4.3 Intrasentential code-switching

“Intrasentential CS occurs within the same sentence, from single morpheme to clause level” Myers-Scotton, 1993a: 4). The switched item can be one word or more. The following examples illustrate intrasentential CS.

Example 1

In the conversation between two boys, there is CS between Swahili and English.

Kalenjin: Kwetu sisi mtu hawezi kuleta *jokes* kama hizo. *Father* sio mtu wa kuchezea. Kabla ya kw-enda *job*, a—na- *make sure everybody is out of bed*.

“At our home no one can do these kinds of jokes. Father is not a man to play with. Before he goes to work, he makes sure that everybody is out of bed.”

Kikuyu: Mimi siku hizi ni-ko *used* ku-amka *very early* ili niende shule in time. Hata wakati *waholidays* mini huamka *just the same time*.

“These days I’m used to waking up very early so that I get to school in time. Even during holiday time I usually get up (at) just the same time” (Myers-Scotton, 1993a: 3)

In the above conversation, the two boys engage in CS between Swahili and English. They are from different ethnicities (Kalenjin and Kikuyu).

Example 2

Wardhaugh & Fuller (2015), give an example of sentences mainly from one language (Spanish) but containing nouns and verbs from a different language (English) as examples of CS occurring within sentences. The code-switches are shown in italics.

D: Me faltan mi *king* y mi *queen*.

“I am missing my king and my queen.”

S: Es que *kickó*, maestra.

“What happened is that he kicked me teacher.”

(Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015: 97)

Example 3

Ngara (1982: 97) uses the following sentences to illustrate Shona-English CS.

Iye ndiye *trouble causer*.

“She is the trouble causer.”

Hwahwa hunopinda *right through*.

“The beer gets right through.”

Vanhu vacho vari *devoid of sense* ambuya.

“Those people are devoid of sense granny.”

In the above examples, CS occurs within the same sentence. The English phrases “*trouble causer*”, “*right through*” and “*devoid of sense*” occur in sentences containing Shona.

Example 4

Kamwangamalu (1989) uses the term CM to describe incidents where speakers use more than one language within the same sentence during a conversation. French is shown in italics. The conversation is between two Zairean women friends.

Ekoma yo awa oyebisi ngai mobali na yo *a-téléphon-aka yo deux fois par jour, na six heures du matin, na minuit, après-minuit*. Soka *a-téléphoner* yo, dzamati kisi ya bangungi *opomper* ndako mobinda mpo bana balala tii ntango okozanga.

“You told me yourself that your husband calls you twice per day, at six a.m. and at midnight. But just after his midnight call, you spray insecticide in the house so that the kids sleep deeply until the moment you’ll be back” (Kamwangamalu, 1989: 149).

2.4.4 Intersentential code-switching

Intersentential CS occurs when switching occurs outside sentence boundaries (Myers-Scotton, 1993a). Kamwangamalu (1989) prefers to use the term “intersentential CS” to refer to the process of alternating languages outside sentence boundaries only. He uses the term CM to refer to alternations that happen inside sentences as explained in the section above.

Example 1

Kamwangamalu (2000) gives an example of English-Siswati CS as follows:

“He is talking about two schools out of how many? Kudlalelwani kojwa vele ngabatali labangasebenti?”

“He is talking about two schools out of how many? Why are unemployed parents made fools of?”

The example given by Kamwangamalu shows CS occurring outside sentence boundaries. Although he calls this CS, it will be referred to as intersentential CS in this study in order to distinguish it from intrasentential CS.

Example 2

If we consider that “code-switching is the use of overt material (from single morphemes to entire sentences) from language B in language A discourse” (Backus & Dorleijn, 2009: 76), the following example fits this definition. CS between Swahili and English is illustrated below.

Kikuyu: Haya mambo ya mvua tuwache tu. Sisi hatuna uwezo. *We can do nothing.*
“Let’s just leave these matters of the rain. We don’t have any power. We can do nothing” (Myers-Scotton, 1993a: 4-5).

In the above case, language B (English) is used in the discourse of language A (Swahili). So the sentence; *we can do nothing* is an example of intersentential CS.

2.4.5 Other terms proposed for code-switching

According to Moro (2015), since there is no agreed upon definition of CS, this has resulted in scholars proposing varying terms that they use to explain this linguistic behaviour. Some of the terms used to refer to CS include; “code-mixing”, “language switching”, “codeshifting”, “language alternation”, “language mixture” among others (Benson, 2001). Other terms that some researchers have adopted recently are multilingual discourse and translanguaging. The terms will be discussed in the following subsections.

2.4.6 Multilingual discourse

According to Wardhaugh & Fuller (2015) researchers have recently adopted the term multilingual discourse instead of CS. This has led to CS being used less often in research studies. “Multilingual discourse” is employed to encompass various linguistic patterns.

In most multilingual settings, there are no strict or explicit guidelines for what language to speak. People must select a particular code whenever they choose to speak, and they may also decide to switch from that code to another or to mix codes even within sometimes very short utterances (Wardhaugh & Fuller 2015: 96).

Wardhaugh & Fuller give an illustration of English-German multilingual discourse. Two girls choose to use both English and German during the conversation.

I: *Iii*, you *knabber* on your finger.

“Ick, you chew your finger (nail).

K: No, I don’t, this one is broke off.

I: *Ekelig*.

“Gross” (Wardhaugh & Fuller, 2015: 96).

2.4.7 Translanguaging

With the dawn of a new century, linguists started looking at how speakers use language. Some scholars have proposed the term “translanguaging” to explain the act of using more than one language. The term “translanguaging” was coined by Garcia (2009).

Translanguaging is the act performed by bilinguals of accessing different linguistic features or various modes of what are described as autonomous languages in order to maximise communicative potential (Garcia, 2009: 140).

According to Garcia, although translanguaging includes CS, it encompasses other things as well. She notes that it is a way of looking at bilingualism not by centering on the languages but by observing bilinguals as they communicate so as to get a better understanding of them. Researchers believe that languages are intertwined. Therefore an individual does not have independent systems for every language that he or she acquires (Heugh, 2013). The similar view is shared Canagarajah (2013) who advocates against treating languages as separate entities and notes that when languages come into contact, they influence each other.

According to Heugh, translanguaging encompasses CM and CS and targets the techniques employed by people when they alternate between languages during conversations. “The significant difference is that the new concept, in this case,

focuses mainly on the process and activity and situation (the “how” and “where”) rather than on the “what” and “how” of CS and code-mixing language practices” (Heugh, 2013: 360).

Creese & Blackledge (2015: 30) give the following example of a conversation between students and a teacher involving Punjabi and English.

Shaan: Saumvaar mair TV dekhiya.

“On Monday I see TV”.

Kirpal: [to Shaan:] dekhiya si?

“Did you eat on Monday?”

Simran: *Yeah, you had to have roti (chapatti).*

Kirpal: [laughs:] Mair roti daal naal khaadi si.

“I ate chapatti with lentils”.

Creese & Blackledge explain that the use of Punjabi and English in the conversation assists students to derive meaning from both languages. This shows that languages have integrated systems. Translanguaging seeks to explain how speakers use different languages to make sense of what they hear and to convey meaning. Thus, translanguaging seeks to explain multilingual conversations starting from the speaker.

Translanguaging does not view the languages of bilinguals as separate linguistic systems. The term stresses the flexible and meaningful actions through which bilinguals select features in their linguistic repertoire in order to communicate appropriately (Velasco & Garcia, 2014: 7).

In translanguaging, languages are interdependent on each other and they form an integrated system.

Translanguaging is viewed as a means of discussing ways in which people who use more than one language communicate. This view deviates from earlier suggestions

by researchers such as Bloomfield (1927) and Weinreich (1963) who regarded bilinguals to have separate systems for every language that they acquire.

Song (2015) explains that, lately, the term “translanguaging” has been used to account for the deliberate and strategic use of two languages in order to enhance understanding of both languages.

2.4.8 Borrowing/ Lexical borrowing

Borrowing or lexical borrowing is,

the introduction of single words or short, frozen, idiomatic phrases from one variety into another. The items in question are incorporated into the grammatical system of the borrowing language. They are treated as part of the lexicon, take on its morphological characteristics and enter into its syntactic structures (Gumperz, 1982: 66).

This view is supported by Bullock & Toribio (2009) who claim that the morphology and phonology of the borrowed word is altered to suit that of the borrowing language. They illustrate their viewpoint using the Japanese word basubaru that was borrowed from English “baseball”.

Backus & Dorleijn (2009: 77) define lexical borrowing as “the process whereby words from a lending language become entrenched as conventional words in the receiving lexicon.” They give examples of Dutch Turkish words uitgaan “to go out”, opleiding “school”, afstuderen “to graduate”, and Hemelvaart “Ascension Day as words that were originally Dutch but have been frequently used and are now established in Dutch Turkish language.

Kamwangamalu (1989) believes that borrowing occurs when words, clauses or sentences are loaned from one language to another for several reasons, like to fill lexical gaps.

Although there is no clearcut distinction between borrowing and CS, some researchers seem to agree that the borrowed item's morphology, phonology and syntactical structure sometimes changes to that of the borrowing language (Gumperz, 1982; Kamwangamalu 2000).

Taking the preceding definition into consideration, the list below provided by Kamwangamalu (1999: 260) shows examples of borrowing from English to siSwati.

<u>Siswati</u>	<u>English</u>
<i>ibhola</i>	ball
<i>lisaka</i>	sack
<i>lisethi</i>	shirt
<i>sikilwa</i>	school
<i>irabha</i>	rubber

There is no consensus regarding what constitutes as the difference between CS and borrowing. As mentioned previously, the study of language contact phenomena is fraught with controversy (Myers-Scotton, 1997). The two language contact phenomena are introduced into a language so as to help speakers articulate during communication. According to Moro (2015), one of the areas where there is no clear cut distinction is between lexical borrowing and CS. There are researchers like Poplack (1980) and Myers-Scotton (1993a, 1997) whose opinion is that CS and borrowing are distinct. Kamwangamalu (1989) notes that in contrast to CM and CS, borrowed words are used to fill lexical gaps, for example Ciluba language's mbekeci "bucket", mbulanketa "blanket", and the kiSwahili dereva "driver". It seems as though researchers share the same sentiments that CS and borrowing are motivated by the need for linguistic expression and that in both instances, there is insertion of items from one language into another. Problems arise when it comes to classifying linguistic items as either CS or borrowing.

CS occurs when a speaker has competence in at least two languages while borrowing can happen in the oral discourse of bilinguals and monolinguals (Myers-Scotton, 1997; Kamwangamalu, 1999). "Code-switching, by contrast, relies on the

meaningful juxtaposition of what speakers must consciously or subconsciously process as strings formed according to the internal rules of two distinct grammatical systems” (Gumperz, 1982: 66). Sridhar & Sridhar (1980) distinguished code-switching and borrowing as follows:

- (a) The switched items are not used to cover the gaps in the lexicon of the matrix language in code-switching.
- (b) The phonology and morphology of the switched items does not change in code-switching unlike in borrowing.

Myers-Scotton disagrees with the distinction made above. Her view is that there is no clearcut difference between the two terms. Furthermore, she notes that,

Trying to resolve this problem on a structural basis, considering degree of assimilation, yields no useful results. First, assimilation is a gradient, not a categorical concept and can provide us only with a continuum as a metric for evaluation (Myers-Scotton, 1998, 159).

In some instances, the borrowed items become part of the vocabulary of the borrowing language and speakers do not realise that the linguistic item is not an original part of their language’s lexicon. Heugh (2013) states that “butter” and “physics” are English words that were borrowed from Latin words “butyrum” and “physica” respectively. They have become part of English lexicon over the centuries.

Ngara (1982: 74-76) uses the term “adoptives” to describe borrowed words. He gives the following examples of adoptive words whose morphology, phonology and syntax changed to suit the borrowing language.

Shona	English
chikoro	school
dhokotera	doctor
bhangi	bank
sendi	cent
keke	cake
chichi	church
shuga	sugar
ticha	teacher

Table 2-1 Borrowed words (Source: Ngara, 1982: 74-76)

This view is supported by Boztepe (2005) when he claims that there are more similarities than differences between CS and borrowing. Therefore, he sees no reason for contrasting the two. Shona has its own fair share of borrowed words as stated earlier. In this study, care will be taken to identify the borrowed words in the corpus in order not to confuse them with code-switched words. This will be done by listening carefully to the recorded conversations.

2.4.9 Nonce borrowing

In nonce borrowing, the borrowed items' morphology, phonology and syntax do not change (Kamwangamalu, 1999). Nonce borrowings are defined as "single lexical items or bound morphemes which are syntactically and morphologically integrated into the base language. But which may or may not show phonological integration" (Boztepe, 2005: 6). English time expressions and numbers are good examples of nonce borrowing in Shona language.

According to Poplack et al (1988) as cited by Bullock & Toribio (2009), nonce borrowings can be found in bilingual utterances making it difficult to distinguish them from CS. Kamwangamalu (2000) is of the notion that differentiating CS and nonce borrowing can be based on the level of assimilation. He further suggests that if a linguistic item is used a lot in the discourse of another language, it may become

integrated into that language resulting in it being used even by non-bilinguals. This results in the item being referred to as nonce borrowing. In contrast, if the linguistic item is not socially integrated into a language, it is CS.

The following passage contains nonce borrowings which are shown in boldface and CS which is shown in italics.

Teacher: Manje zvakafanana nekuti kana uri kuita **grade one** manje saka vana vazhinji vechisikana ku-primary vanogona sitereki. Vanokasika ku-absorb zvinhu. *But as time goes on, vava kuenda ku-grade five, six, seven, form one* vanononoka kuita *catch-up* mu-ma-**lessons**. *But once they catch up they go ahead.*

“Now for example, it is the same when you are in grade one now so that many of the girls (understand) much better. They hurry to absorb things. But as time goes on, children go to grade five, six, seven, and form one boys are late to catch up with lessons. But once they catch up they go ahead” (Myers-Scotton 1993a: 123-124).

Moreover, Myers-Scotton contends that there are incidences where the borrowed items do not assimilate into the borrowing language. She gives an example of the word “town”/“city centre” which has not assimilated into different Kenyan languages spoken in Nairobi.

2.5 Bilingualism as a condition for code-switching

In order for CS to occur, a person should be able to speak more than one language.

The most significant feature of code-switching is that a speaker needs to be fairly proficient in two languages (in other words, needs to have bilingual competence) in order to practice code-switching. A speaker needs to be able to produce a chunk of one language and then switch over and produce another chunk in the alternative language. CS therefore requires bilingual competence (Heugh 2013: 348).

Bilingualism is one of the conditions for CS to occur. Myers-Scotton (1997), notes that speakers should be capable of constructing meaningful sentences in the

languages involved in CS. Therefore, CS is restricted to bilinguals (Bullock & Toribio, 2009). The speakers' linguistic proficiency levels can vary. Although CS is perceived by laypersons as an indication of poor linguistic skills, researchers regard it as evidence of one's bilingual proficiency. In the following subsection, I will discuss bilingualism as a condition for CS in detail.

2.5.1 Bilingualism

Bilingualism “was long regarded as the equal mastery of two languages” (Mackey, 2000: 26). Weinreich provides a similar definition:

The ideal bilingual switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutors, topic, etc.), but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence (Weinreich, 1963: 73).

Bloomfield (1933) defines bilingualism as the mastering of two languages at native-like levels. He is of the notion that if a person can converse in a second language to the extent that they cannot be set apart from the native speakers, then they are to be called bilinguals. Bloomfield (1927) summed up his viewpoints by providing linguistic profiles of some of the Native American speakers that he studied. Among them was White-Thunder, aged 40, whom he described as not having achieved favourable linguistic proficiency in both Menomini (his native language) and English. On the other hand, Little-Jerome is one of the speakers that Bloomfield regarded as a proper bilingual because he conversed fluently in both Menomini and English. If one considers the explanations given by Bloomfield, it seems as though most of the speakers he studied had not completely mastered even their native language. Bloomfield seems to be prescribing the acceptable standard for his speakers instead of describing how speech was used.

Haugen (1953) as cited by Butler (2013) does not consider a bilingual to be equally proficient in two languages. Instead, he regards a bilingual as being able to utter fully formed and coherent sentences in a second language. But Butler finds issues

with Haugen's definition noting that individual levels of second language acquisition vary significantly making it difficult to measure proficiency levels. Butler advised against classifying a bilingual as someone who has achieved native-like command of a second language since this will exclude most people. Another reason he gives is that it is hard to operationalize native-like command.

Bullock & Toribio (2009) are of the opinion that bilinguals who would have mastered a second language to the same level as first language speakers are scarce. The majority of bilinguals have varying linguistic proficiencies in the second language. According to Ngara (1982), unlike the first language which is learned at a young age, learning a second language can be affected by a number of factors including age, motivation and setting. Bullock & Toribio make similar comments.

Sridhar & Sridhar (1980) underscore that Weinreich's (1963) definition of a bilingual somehow influenced the approaches taken in linguistic research, particularly in psychology, two decades later. According to Sridhar & Sridhar, following on Weinreich's definition of a bilingual, psychologists concentrated on how bilinguals could manage to keep languages apart. This resulted in CS being disregarded as a field of study. Producing mixed speech or switching between languages during the same conversation became linguistic impairment.

There have been great strides in research on bilingualism. Some researchers have proposed that the definition should include a broad spectrum of individuals who have achieved different levels of linguistic proficiency in more than one language (e.g. Butler, 2013). Garcia & Wei (2014) define bilingualism as understanding and speaking two different languages. They view multilingualism as understanding and speaking more than two languages. As this study is concerned with bilingualism, multilingualism will not be discussed any further.

According to Butler (2013), the complexity of bilingualism is evidenced by the different approaches adopted by researchers when describing a bilingual. He further advocates that bilingualism should be viewed as a multifaceted aspect. Linguists

offer varying opinions of what constitutes bilingualism. Some researchers believe that bilingualism has to be treated the same way as linguistic proficiency of which there are varied degrees (Butler 2013). “Different bilinguals have distinct uses, as well as various levels of competence for each code” (Hoffman, 1991, p. 24).

In the case of Africa where there is a tower of Babel in terms of languages spoken throughout the continent, bilingualism is prevalent (Myers-Scotton, 1993a). Bilingualism is exacerbated by globalization and migration. When people move to other places, they may learn another language. Ngara (1982) is of the notion that there are various reasons why people acquire more than one language. They include when children speak different languages from their parents, living close to a different linguistic community and schooling.

Lampert (1975) as cited by Garcia (2009) suggested the use of the terms “additive bilingualism” and “subtractive bilingualism”. According to Lambert, additive bilingualism results in a speaker being proficient in both his or her first and a second language. However, with subtractive bilingualism an individual will lose one language and gain another. Resultantly, the individual will only be proficient in one language. Lampert advocated for additive bilingualism noting that it is helpful socially and cognitively. According to Garcia & Wei (2014: 12) “There are also more extreme positions by some theoretical linguists, who, following Chomsky, believe that a speaker has a set of mini-grammars for lexical domains, leading to different representations in the speaker’s mind”.

Butler (2013) notes that the current trend is that researchers utilize a comprehensive definition of bilinguals to include people with different linguistic abilities in two languages. In this research, bilinguals were considered to have mastered English at different levels. Interviewing potential participants in English enabled me to identify participants who could to speak English. From the interviews, I chose those who were able to converse in English not necessarily with native-like proficiency. This stance was also taken by Kamwangamalu (1989) who suggests that the fluency levels of bilinguals may vary.

2.5.2 Classification of bilinguals in this study

This study used Hoffman's 1991 classification of a bilingual when choosing participants for the research. Most learners in Zimbabwe are exposed to English when they start grade one. They continue to use it at school and by the time they finish form six, they would have used English as a language of learning and teaching for at least 10 years. It is assumed in this study that learners would have reached a high level of proficiency in English as a second language in form four so that they can be considered as bilinguals.

By conducting interviews in English and asking participants to do a cloze test, I gained a better understanding of their level of English proficiency. Although these are not enough to determine the proficiency levels of bilingual speakers, they helped during the selection process. Participants who failed to converse in English and who didn't get at least 12 out of 14 in the cloze test were not considered for the study.

2.6 Some theories and hypotheses proposed to explain code-switching

Since this study will focus on the MM, a brief discussion about some of the theories and hypotheses that have been developed by scholars over the years in their efforts to explain CS will suffice.

Researchers, in their quest to explain CS, apply different theories to different CS data (Van Dulm, 2009). Resultantly, when these theories and hypotheses are tested on different data, they may be supported or disputed. Despite all this, "the identification of various constraints, though sometimes controversial, has inspired a great deal of work in syntax, morphology and phonology" (Nilep, 2006: 2).

2.6.1 The Matrix language principle

The Matrix language approach, or the Matrix Language Principle (MLP) proposes the following:

In CS there necessarily is one language, the matrix language, whose morphosyntactic structure determines what linguistic elements of the other language, the embedded language, can (and how they should) be codeswitched (Kamwangamalu, 1999: 268).

According to Kamwangamalu, there is a matrix language and an embedded language in CS speech. The language that contributes more morphemes in a speech utterance or in a speech sample is the matrix language. In other words, the morphemes of that language will dominate in the speech sample. Taking the current study into consideration, the matrix language is Shona and the embedded language is English.

2.6.2 Free morpheme constraint

One of the earliest contributions to linguistic aspects of CS was made by Poplack (1980, 1981). The free morpheme constraint proposes that “a switch may occur at any point of the discourse at which it is possible to make a surface constituent cut and still retain a free morpheme” (Poplack 1981: 175). www.grammar.about.com defines a free morpheme as “a word or element that can stand alone as a word”. This can be contrasted with a bound morpheme which cannot be considered as a word on its own. According to the free morpheme constraint “no switch is allowed between a bound morpheme of one language and a lexical form of another language unless the latter has been phonologically integrated into the structure of the former” (Mashiri, 2002: 48). Mashiri gives a sentence as an example marking where CS will be permitted by the free morpheme constraint with a forward slash (/).

Uya/ pano/ shamwari/ yangu.

Come here my friend.

Poplack (1981) suggests that full sentences can be switched on condition that the sentence consists of at least a single morpheme in English and Spanish. Considering this premise, repetitions, conjoined sentences, interjections and full sentences can

be switched. The following example was given by Poplack to show CS between Spanish and English,

“Ella canta conciones insultando a los hombres. *That’s why you never heard of her.*”

[“She sings songs insulting men. That’s why you never heard of her.”]

(Poplack, 1981: 176)

Thus, full sentences have been switched in the above example.

2.6.3 Equivalence constraint

The equivalence constraint augments the free morpheme constraint.

It states that the codes will tend to be switched at points where juxtaposition of English and Spanish elements does not violate the syntactic rule of either language, that is, at points where the surface structure of the languages map onto each other (Poplack, 1981: 175).

From the above explanation, CS does not occur at random positions in a sentence but tends to follow a pattern that will allow the embedded language to map onto the matrix language. Poplack gives the following example of Spanish-English CS:

“I told him that pa’ que la trajera ligero”

[“I told him that so that he would bring it fast.”]

(Poplack, 1981: 175)

Myers-Scotton (1993b) is of the view that considering the free morpheme and the equivalence constraints, the equivalence constraint received the bulk of attention in research so far. She points out that it is because the equivalence constraint was briefly and clearly explained making it easier to understand.

Despite all the attention, some scholars have questioned the validity of the equivalence constraint in a number of studies. For example, Kamwangamalu (1989) argues that the equivalence constraint is not adequate in some contexts like in

Lingala and where an object pronoun can be used in place of a direct object as shown in the two sentences below.

Aza ko-embrasser Jeanne/ye publiquement.

“He hugs Jeanne in public”.

Aza ko-yamba Jeanne/ye na miso ya bato.”

“I embrasse Jeanne en publique” (Kamwangamalu, 1989: 166)

From the examples above, **ye**, a direct object can be substituted by an object pronoun (Jeanne) in Lingala language.

Kamwangamalu (1999) observes that a closer look at the articles that challenge the equivalence constraint shows that researchers argue that it is insufficient and is not as comprehensive as previously asserted. Nonetheless, Poplack and her colleagues made great strides in their contribution towards laying the foundation for research into CS.

2.6.4 The Matrix Language Framework (MLF)

Myers-Scotton (1993b) developed the MLF to explain the structure of sentences in intrasentential CS. In the model, the matrix language is the dominant language and the embedded language plays a lesser role. The model also states that the matrix language is the one that dictates morpheme order and is the dominant language. Let us consider the following example taken from speech samples recorded for the current study (P7 represents Participant 7).

P7: *Then somewhere* kuno uku kune chiimba chakadai. Ichi hachisi chiimba *as such*.

“Then somewhere here is a house like this. This is not a house as such.”

The above sentences show that Shona is the matrix language because it provides more morphemes in the sentences and also dictates the basic morpheme structure.

2.6.5 Example of a study of Shona-English code-switching using the MLF

Mashiri (2002) studied Shona-English CS in the speech of undergraduate students at the University of Zimbabwe. He “explored how morphosyntactic structure constrains and intergrates English lexical items and phrases to form Shona-English mixed constructions” (Mashiri: 245). In the study, Mashiri recorded and transcribed 60 conversations and analysed them within the MLF. He bases his study on the Matrix Language Framework (MLF) model proposed by Myers-Scotton (1993b), also called the Matrix Language Principle (MLP) by Kamwangamalu (1989). The model states that a code-mixed structure of the embedded language must conform to the morphology and syntax of the matrix language for it to be acceptable. In the study, Mashiri described and explained the characteristics of mixed codes in four grammatical categories namely, descriptive adjectives, nouns, locatives, and verbs. From the data analysis, he suggested that the MLF does apply to CS in Shona.

Mashiri transcribed speech samples and used the data to describe CM and to show that Shona-English CM is governed by the MLF. He also used the data to explain that English phrases and lexical items are integrated into Shona utterances in a particular pattern.

Findings in each grammatical category studied

Attributive and predicative adjectives- Mashiri gives examples from the data he collected to show that the use of English attributive adjectives is quite common in Shona-English CM. Data also shows widespread use of the auxiliary verb with the predicative adjective.

Nouns- CM by students mostly involves nouns that take the subject markers of Shona noun classes 5 and 10 which are /-ri/ and /i-/ (to be) as illustrated in the following example;

Ndi no da bible rangu.

“I like my bible.”

Locatives- In code-mixed utterances, locatives follow the Shona morphology rule that requires bound morphemes to be attached to nouns.

Verbs- According to Mashiri, the study reveals that the inflection of English verb stems in Shona-English CM follows Shona morphology and syntax.

Data shows that for a Shona-English code-mixed structure to be acceptable, its structure must conform to the morpho-syntactic rules of Shona. One of Mashiri's observations is that, the English spoken by students is of considerable lexical and syntactic complexity and retains its syntax when it appears in mixed utterances. According to Mashiri, the MLF is an ideal model for Shona-English CM and the pattern in the data suggests that Shona-English CM is rule governed and code-mixers, apply the rules though unconsciously.

2.7 The Markedness Model

Since this study will be based on the MM, a review of the model is presented here. In this section, I will use Myers-Scotton's (1993a) book [referred to as (M-S, 1993a) throughout this section] as reference unless mentioned otherwise. Myers Scotton developed the MM to explain the socio-psychological motivations for CS. She analysed specific transcribed examples of conversations gathered from Kenya and Zimbabwe.

The theory behind the markedness model proposes that speakers have a sense of markedness regarding available linguistic codes for any interaction, but choose their codes based on the persona and/ or relation with others which they wish to have in place (M-S, 1993a: 75).

The model was developed so as to provide a theoretical base on which CS could be explained. "Using the concept of markedness implies that code choice is viewed as a system of oppositions. This follows from the fact that markedness is used in the markedness model in a gradient sense. That is, code choices fall along a continuum as more or less unmarked" (M-S, 1993a: 81) The model proposes that speakers have

the inherent ability to identify code choices as marked or unmarked. If a linguistic type is unmarked, this means that it is the anticipated variety during a conversation depending on what society expects in a given situation. In contrast, marked choices are a deviation from the norm. Speakers choose linguistic varieties by weighing the effects of using such varieties.

The main aim of her study was to explain the benefits of using more than one language during a conversation. Subfields included in the MM to explain certain phenomena are sociolinguistics, pragmatics, social anthropology and linguistic anthropology. Taking a cue from John Gumperz's work where he considered CS as a discourse strategy, Myers-Scotton attempts to present the MM as a universal model of CS showing that CS is a creative discourse strategy.

In developing the Data MM, Myers-Scotton gathered data mainly from Kenya and Zimbabwe. A major viewpoint of the model is that there is an unmarked choice in every speech utterance. This means that there is a code which is expected in a specific situation.

According to the MM, during a conversation, speakers are aware of what is required of them. Wardhaugh & Fuller (2015) assert that the MM states that, speakers are aware of the acceptable linguistic codes during interactions. Myers-Scotton considers CS to be valuable linguistic performance which enables speakers to understand each other. She also notes that not all speakers code-switch the same way. Markedness is used to refer to the theory and to describe linguistic structures.

According to Boztepe (2005), the MM attempted to include a broad spectrum of issues and viewpoints into research about CS. In her book, Myers-Scotton gave a vivid description of the way bilingual speakers use languages at their disposal.

An important argument of the markedness model is that code choices are understood as indexing rights-and-obligations sets (RO sets) between participants in a given interaction type. The unmarked RO set is derived from

whatever situational features are salient for the community for that interaction type (M-S, 1993a: 84).

The model is developed on the premise that speakers choose linguistic codes not because of the societal conventions but because they think carefully about the outcome. The MM proposes that speakers' communication intent is accomplished when they use more than one language. Hence, Myers-Scotton treats CS as a discourse strategy following in Gumperz's (1982) footsteps.

Two important concepts to the MM namely the negotiation principle and the cooperative principle will be discussed below.

2.7.1 The negotiation principle

The negotiation principle, modelled after Grice's cooperative principle of 1975 which explains how people can interact effectively by being cooperative and understanding towards one another, views the process of choosing codes during a conversation as identity negotiations. The negotiation principle states that, "choose the form of your conversation contribution such that it indexes the set of rights and obligations which you wish to be in force between speaker and addressee for the current exchange" (M-S, 1993a: 113).

The central claim of the negotiating principle is that all utterances made by speakers show how creative speakers are during a conversation. In addition, when speakers engage in conversation, they weigh the implications of using either a marked or an unmarked code. The decision to use any of the codes is usually done unknowingly.

The following example contains CS. Swahili is the main language used with English given in italics in the transcription. Kikuyu is indicated when used.

Policeman 1: *And do you suppose policemen are gods? How else can we restrain people from stealing except with punishment?* Wewe si mtu wa kutuambia vile tutafanya kazi- tuna sheria yetu.

“And do you suppose policemen are gods? How else can we restrain people from stealing except with punishment? You are not a person to tell us how to do our work- we have got the law.”

Bystander 2: Lakini usiimbe mali ya wananchi in the name of the law.

“But don’t steal people’s property in the name of the law.”

Young man: (handing his identity card to the policeman) Hiki ndicho kipande changu. Sisi apana watu wabaya. (To his sister in Kikuyu) Njeri! Ndumuiguithie.

“This is my identity card. We are not bad people. Njeri! Please convince him.”

Policaman 2: Hatuwezi kujaa kama ninyi ni watu wabaya au wazuri ikiwa hamtatuonyesha *licence* ya hiyo *player*.

“We can’t know whether you are good or bad people if you will not show us the licence of this player.”

Policeman 1: (somewhat with sympathy) *Now why did you carry that record player in this way without a licence- and you know very well that it’s dangerous?* Sisi waaskari hatuwezi kujaa kama ninyi ni wezi . . .

“Now why did you carry that record player in this way without a licence- and you know very well that it’s dangerous? We policemen cant know whether you are thieves or not” (M-S, 1993a: 77).

Myers-Scotton notes that Swahili is the expected language (unmarked choice) in the above interaction, but there is a switch to Kikuyu and English during the conversation. The alternations in language use shown in the example above are accounted for in the MM.

2.7.2 Communicative competence

The idea of communicative competence was proposed by Hymes in 1972.

Underlying this concept is the recognition that competent speakers of a language have tacit knowledge of more than just grammaticality, i.e. what is a well-formed sentence in their language and what is not. In addition, they are

able to judge the acceptability of a given well-formed sentence in a given social context (M-S-1993a: 79).

Therefore, during a conversation, speakers will be able to distinguish acceptable utterances from less acceptable ones.

According to the MM, the unmarked choice is the anticipated linguistic choice during a conversation whilst the marked choice is the one that is least expected. The model uses the terms “marked” and “unmarked” to assign to code choices. There is no strict protocol to determine which codes are marked or unmarked. The universality comes in when speakers are able to recognise linguistic choices as marked or unmarked in relation to rights-of-obligation sets. “Right of obligation set (RO set) is a theoretical construct for referring to what participants can expect in any given interaction type in their community” (Myers-Scotton, 1998: 23).

Gumperz (1982) used the terms “we-code” and “they-code” to describe the two different types of switching. Gumperz notes that the distinction between the two is that one is used especially by members of a group who share something in common whilst the other is associated with communication between the majority of speakers who don’t belong to a group. This description influenced the MM when describing the types of CS.

2.7.3 Predictions about code-switching from the model

- Unmarked CS will be the popular choice among speakers because it helps to maintain the status quo.
- If a linguistic community is conservative, it will make unmarked choices during conversations.
- Status contributes to the making of marked choices. Members of a group that is most likely to move upwards socially and economically will likely make marked choices.

- Predicting the choice for rich and educated members of a community is difficult.
- The well to do members of a community will most likely use marked choices.
- Finally, a sixth prediction regarding interaction type is that more CS will occur in the least conventionalized exchanges. That is, uncertain situations, where conflicting norms seem to apply and their relative hierarchy is unclear, are prime sites for CS” (M-S, 1993a: 154)

Myers-Scotton proposed the following maxims for the model and the resulting types of CS.

2.8 Maxims proposed by the markedness model

In this section, I will discuss each maxim proposed by the MM and the type of CS that results from the maxim. “Markedness is the concept which unifies all four types of switching. It figures in speakers’ choices to switch and in the implicatures these choices provide for the addressee” (M-S, 1993a: 149).

2.8.1 The unmarked-choice maxim

The unmarked-choice reads: “Make your code choice the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in talk exchanges when they wish to establish or affirm that RO set” (M-S, 1993a: 114). In other words, the maxim directs speakers to use the unmarked choice to assert what is expected in that type of exchange. A number of conditions have to be fulfilled like the need for speakers to be bilingual and that the conversation should reflect that the interlocuters’ knowledge of linguistic varieties is sufficient enough. Two types of CS can occur. These are, sequential unmarked CS unmarked CS. Myers-Scotton mentions that these two CS types take place under different situations but their motivations are similar.

2.8.1.1 Sequential unmarked code-switching

Sequential unmarked CS is initiated by a change in external factors. “When one or more of the situational factors change within the course of a conversation, the unmarked RO set may change (M-S, 1993a: 114). Myers-Scotton stresses that even though the RO set changes, the speaker is the one who can elect to react to the change. The model predicts that speakers will welcome the new unmarked RO set. An example is given below to illustrate sequential unmarked CS. Swahili is given in italics.

[1] Subordinate: (entering John M’s office and speaking to Edward M just after John M has stepped out for a minute) Where has this guy gone to?

[2] Edward: He’s just gone out. He will soon be back.

[3] John: (to subordinate when he returns) Why did you change the plan of our stand at the showground? Who recommended the change? . . .

[4] Subordinate: (looking guilty) Nobody told me.

[5] John: (to Edward when subordinate has left: I’ve told this man how to build our stand, but he went and did a different thing. *Ni mtu mjeuri sana*. (He is a stubborn person.)

[6] John: (calling to receptionist) *Letea mgeni soda anywe*.

“Bring the guest soda so that he may drink” (M-S, 1993a: 116).

In the conversation above, Swahili and English are used. There is a shift between Swahili and English as the addressee changes. John uses different languages to address different people in the conversation. When he wants to speak to a junior employee and to a salesman, he uses English. However, when conversing with a receptionist, he uses Swahili. Therefore, there is sequential unmarked CS as the addressee changes. Myers-Scotton states that the structure of sequential CS is usually inter-sentential alternation as in 5 and 6.

2.8.1.2 Unmarked code-switching and where it is likely to occur

According to the MM, unmarked CS is the popular type of CS for bilinguals or multilinguals. “Speaking two languages in the same conversation is also a way of following the unmarked choice maxim for speakers in many bi/ multilingual communities in certain types of interactions” (M-S, 1993a: 117). This is true in urban African settings where speakers usually switch between an indigenous and a foreign language. According to the MM, in unmarked CS, the alternation may be intrasentential, within a word or within the same sentence.

Unmarked CS differs from the other three types in that here it is the overall pattern of CS which provides the social message, not any single individual switch. With other CS types, it is the point of the switch itself (and what follows) which has social impact (M-S, 1993a: 149).

The example given below shows unmarked CS:

Shona 1: Unoziva chiri kunetsa. *Time iya long back*, zvakange zvisinganetsi waingoenda wonotaura kuna *bursar* waona kuti ndatora vanhu vakaita *so vakaita so waona kana uchida vanhu ve-temporary* unotanga *wa-apply* ku- *Ministry of labour* wopihwa vanhu vacho waona.

“You know the problem. A long time back, it was easy because you just got to the bursar and told him that “I take employed people so and so”, you saw if you wanted people for temporary, first of all you had to apply to the Ministry of Labour, you were given your people. (M-S, 1993a: 118)

2.8.1.3 Situations where unmarked code-switching occurs

Myers-Scotton highlights the following conditions that enable unmarked CS to occur.

1. The speakers must be of the same status and speak similar languages. This is because this kind of switching does not occur where there are socio-economic differences between speakers or when speakers don't know each other. In this type of CS, the conversation should symbolize that speakers

- belong to the same socio-economic class. Normally, the conversations will be informal ones.
2. Linguistic competence is not the only condition that enables unmarked CS to take place. What is more important is that speakers have an option to choose the language that they consider to be suitable for the interaction.
 3. Although speakers should be able to communicate in two or more languages, their proficiency levels may not be similar. Speakers may have varying degrees of linguistic proficiency. Myers-Scotton notes that measuring linguistic proficiency is subject to debate and literature does not provide clear distinctions on what constitutes proficiency in a language. Different researchers use varying degrees of linguistic proficiency in their descriptions.
 4. The developing countries are ideal for CS due to the many languages spoken in these countries. There are different ethnicities found especially in Africa. Usually, the former colonial language is the lingua franca and is used in business and education. Myers-Scotton notes that the foreign language is seen as a vehicle of upward mobility. This creates a situation where both the indigenous language and the foreign language are used. Unmarked CS is likely to occur in this situation. According to M-S (1993a), unmarked CS is popular among Spanish speakers residing in USA.

2.8.2 Marked-choice maxim

According to the marked-choice maxim, speakers can “make a marked code choice which is not the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in an interaction when you wish to establish a new RO set as unmarked for the current exchange” (M-S, 1993a: 131). Therefore, it allows speakers to disregard the standard societal expectations. The model claims that marked CS can occur for more than one reason. Marked CS results from the marked-choice maxim.

Marked CS emanates from speakers setting aside the expected code and choosing to negotiate a new RO set. The model states that speakers knowingly or unknowingly assess the benefits of using the marked choice instead of the unmarked choice.

A marked choice derives its meaning from two sources: first, since it is not the unmarked choice, it is a negotiation against the unmarked RO set, and second, as “something else”, the marked choice is a call for another RO set in its place, that for which the speaker’s choice is the unmarked index (M-S, 1993a: 131).

The following conversation at a rural bar in Kenya shows marked CS. The dialogue involves Lwidakho dialect, Swahili and English languages. Instances of CS from Lwidakho to Swahili and English are shown in italics.

Farmer: (Lwidakho) *Khu inzi khuli menyi hanu inzala-*.

“As I live here, I have hunger-.”

Salaried worker: (Interrupting) (Swahili) *Njaa gami?*

“What kind of hunger?”

Farmer: *Yenya khunzirila hanu-*.

“It wants to kill me here-”

Salaried worker: (interrupting again but with more force) (Swahili) *Njaa gani?*

“What kind of hunger?”

Farmer: *Inzala ya mapesa kambuli.*

“Hunger for money. I dont have any.”

Salaried worker: (English) *You have got a land.*

(Scotton, 1983: 128 as cited by M-S, 1993a: 82).

Myers-Scotton explains that due to Swahili and English being associated with power, the salaried worker uses them as a sign his status. The salaried worker is regarded to have a higher status by the farmer. He uses Swahili and English to show his status. Myers-Scotton further notes that Swahili and English are the marked choices

because they allow speakers to negotiate new RO sets during the conversation. In the above conversation, the new RO sets are Swahili and English.

Instances where marked code-switching may occur

(a) As an exclusion strategy

According to Myers-Scotton, given the multi-ethnic nature of most countries in Africa, some people may turn to those who speak a similar language to them in order to identify with their ethnic groups especially in towns and cities where there are a lot of languages.

(b) To show anger or authority

The model proposes that marked CS is used to demonstrate one's authority, anger or irritation. Marked CS is illustrated in the following conversation. Swahili and English are used.

Conductor: Umelipi nauli yabasi?

"Have you paid the bus fare?"

Young man: (no response)

Conductor: Unaenda wapi?

"Where are you going?"

Young man: Nafika Jerusalem.

Conductor: *You must always say clearly and loudly where you are going to alight. Ok?*

(Myers Scotton, 1990 as cited by M-S, 1993a: 134).

In the example above, the conductor asserts his authority by shifting to English during the conversation.

Myers-Scotton (1988) as cited by M-S (1993a: 135) gives an example of a dialogue between two students. The students use the Ndau dialect of Shona but when one of the students keeps asking for money, the other switches to English as follows:

Student: *I said, andidi. I don't want.*

(c) For creative purposes

The MM states that marked CS is sometimes used when retelling an event. This will allow a speaker to be creative as he or she makes marked choices. Myers-Scotton illustrates this with a Kisii man giving an account of his confrontation with police. The man recounts the story in Swahili and then when he talks about what the police said, he switches to English as indicated below:

Juzi nilikuwa natoka huko chini, kufika hapa, sijui kwa *junction* wa Matumabo Road, kufika hapo nikapata mmoja yuko nyuma na mwengine yuko mbele. Basi nikaona watu gani. Mimi natembeu tu natoka kwa duka nikasikia. “We, kuja.”

“The other day I was coming down there when I reached the junctin of Matumabo Road. Arriving there I found one person behind me and another in front. Well, I saw a group of people, I didn’t know what sort of people. I just went along (and) coming from the shop I heard, “You come.”

(The story ends) Akaambiwa, Hapana. *Let's go*. Twende.”

“And he was told, “No. Let’s go. Let’s go (M-S, 1993a: 139-140).

According to Myers-Scotton, the use of English creates a dramatic effect in the story. The authority of the police is shown by their use of English. The English sentence “*let's go*” is repeated in Swahili by the police.

2.8.3 Exploratory choice maxim

The exploratory choice maxim reads: “When an unmarked choice is not clear, use CS to make alternate exploratory choices as candidates from an unmarked choice and thereby as an index of an RO set which you favour” (M-S, 1993a: 142). This maxim produces exploratory CS in which speakers are in a dilemma on which code choice will help attain their social objectives. She notes that exploratory code-switching is the least used type because the unmarked choice is usually apparent.

An example of exploratory CS is given below.

K1: *How are you Mr Karanja?*

K2: *Fine, niguka.*

“Fine, I have just arrived.

K1: *Well, please let’s take one bottle, ga* (Swahili) *kuondoa dust wa thought.*

“Well, please let’s take one bottle, a little to remove the dust from our thoughts.”

K2: (Swahili) *Sawa.*

“Fine”.

K1: (to bar waiter) (Swahili). *Lete scotch on the rocks hapa.*

“Bring scotch on the rocks here.”

Waiter: (Swahili). *Nini?*

“What?”

K1: *Hear him! Tusker beer warm.*

“Listen to him. Some warm Tusker beer.”

(M-S, 1993a: 143)

In the dialogue above, the former classmates, one a businessman (K1) and the other a university student (K2) use Kikuyu, Swahili and English. M-S suggests that the businessman is not sure what language to use when conversing with his former classmate. The businessman explores his choices by using English which is a marked choice in the rural setting and then Swahili and Kikuyu. Although the businessman greets his classmate in English, he responds in Kikuyu and Swahili. The use of English could suggest that the businessman wants to impress his former classmate since there is a difference in status between the two.

2.8.4 The deference maxim

If the situation requires one to show respect, the deference maxim guides speakers to shift to a code that shows respect. Speakers change to a code which allows interlocutors to show respect. Thus, it is used where a code is deemed appropriate under certain circumstances. “While deference (*meaning respect*) is often indicated by using honorific titles or indirect requests, a major form of showing deference is to accommodate oneself to an addressee’s code” (M-S, 1993a: 148). In the following

conversation, although his father addresses him in English, the 12 year old boy responds in Luo language as a sign of respect. M-S notes that by using Luo, the boy is accepting the superiority of his father.

Father: *Where have you been?*

Son: Onyango nende adlu aora, baba.

“I’ve been to the river, father.”

(Source: M-S, 1993a: 148)

2.8.5 The virtuosity maxim

The virtuosity maxim guides speakers to use any code for the accommodation of everybody involved in the conversation. According to the MM, the virtuosity maxim is used as an accommodation strategy in the African settings where educated people use their first language when they converse with less educated family members or colleagues.

The deference and virtuosity maxims are depicted as supplementing the unmarked-choice maxim and the types of CS resulting from them are rare.

2.9 How the Markedness Model has been applied to CS data

Myers-Scotton analysed data that was gathered in Zimbabwe and Kenya to explain and to provide evidence of the model’s application in the speech samples collected. One of her conclusions was that a lot of educated Zimbabweans resident in Harare switched between Shona and English. Similarly, Finalyson & Slabbert (1997) investigated whether the MM applies to code-switching utterances in South African townships. One of their observations was that speakers change linguistic codes in order to accommodate others and as a sign of respect. This study will use the MM as a basis for analysing the corpus because the model used data from Zimbabwe and Kenya to explain the motivations for CS. Therefore, the model is suited for data analysis.

By proposing the MM, Myers-Scotton envisioned that the model can be used to explain CS universally. But she cautioned that the examples are in no way generalizable. The principles governing the MM are the ones that can be applied to CS data for analysis. In the same vein, this study will use the MM to determine the nature and occurrence of CS in Shona-English speech.

2.10 Criticism of the Markedness Model

Some researchers have criticised the MM because they say it is lacking in some respects (Kamwangamalu, 2010). The MM was criticised for using Fishman's approach of 1965 and 1972 and for what they perceive to be its weaknesses (Boztepe 2005). Notable among them are Meeuwis & Blommaert (1994: 417) who argue that although markedness is a valuable concept, "analysis of codeswitching should start, not from an assumption of commonness or universality but on assumption of variability". This view is shared by Boztepe (2005) who notes that there is a lot of debate on whether human action can be a result of conscious calculation.

2.11 Code-switching in Southern Africa

Paying particular attention to Southern Africa, a brief review of studies will be done. In the case of Zimbabwe, Shona-English CS and borrowing began during colonisation. The trend further developed as more and more people became educated (Veit-Wild, 2009). Nowadays, CS is used both in rural and urban areas in Zimbabwe owing to increased literacy rates.

Since language changes over time, so does CS. Languages evolve since "not a single individual speaks the same way all the time, nor does anyone, including monolinguals, use a single register or style in every speech situation" (Kamwangamalu, 2009: 259). Although Myers-Scotton used data from Zimbabwe as evidence to support the MM, further analysis of current data to determine whether the model can still be applied to Shona-English CS will add to the MM data.

2.11.1 Code-switching to accommodate others

There are similarities between Finlayson & Slabbert's (1997) study and the current research. Finlayson & Slabbert considered whether the MM could be applied to CS data from Soweto, South Africa. The duo investigated whether the MM applies to CS utterances in the Soweto township. Finlayson & Slabbert analysed 42 conversations and observed that speakers change linguistic codes in order to accommodate others or as a sign of respect. This view is highlighted by one of the participants in Finlayson & Slabbert's study who responded to a question about whether there is any preference to the choice of language when speaking. The participant replied;

Ha ke bua le Mozulu ke bua Sezulu, ha ke bua le Motswana Setswana *and so* ha ke bua le motho wa *language* e ngwe ke *trya* ho bua *language* ya gage gore a seke a *re I am trying to be difficult* ke ba *like a tribalist*.

"When I speak with a Zulu I speak Zulu, when I speak with a Tswana, Tswana and so when I speak with a person with one language I try to speak the language of him/her so that he/she cannot say I am trying to be difficult or that I am a tribalist" (Finlayson & Slabbert, 1997: 128)

One of the conclusions of Finlayson and Slabbert is that CS is used as a means to accommodate other speakers in Soweto, South Africa. An example given is that of three speakers who were engaged in a conversation. They switched between Sotho and Zulu as shown below.

Zikhona, maar zonke lezi bezikhulunywa ngabantu. Re a mixa kaofela.

"They are there, but, all these are spoken by people. We mix them all" (Finlayson & Slabbert 1997: 126).

They also noted that English is considered a status symbol among black South Africans. The more one is educated, the more their chances are of switching between their mother language and English. In their study, a detailed explanation is given about the functions of CS which include trying to accommodate others and tolerance.

2.11.2 Finlayson, Calteaux & Myers-Scotton

Finlayson, Calteaux & Myers-Scotton (1998) studied how speakers code-switch in order to accommodate others by focusing on the structural and sociolinguistic aspects of CS. Participants in the study had different first languages. The researchers used audio and video recordings. The number of years spent in formal schooling determined the group that one was assigned to. There were two groups of 8 participants each aged between 16 and 24 and residing in Tembisa township, South Africa. In an attempt to understand the psycho-sociological differences of CS, Finlayson, Calteaux and Myers-Scotton analyzed speech samples and concluded that one of the reasons people engage in CS is for them to be considered as being cooperative. Since people have varying linguistic backgrounds. “engaging in CS allows speakers to project ‘multiple identities’; that is, speakers can associate themselves with more than one social group” (Finlayson, Calteaux & Myers-Scotton (1998: 417).

2.12 Code-switching as a communication strategy in some schools

Although the focus of this study is on CS outside the school context, a brief description of CS research in schools will be given. CS has been studied extensively in African classrooms. Most learners in African schools are not mother-tongue speakers of English. In schools where they are expected to use English as the language of learning and teaching, they end up switching between English and their native language. According to Boztepe (2005) with all the research into CS in classrooms, this may be helpful towards a better understanding of the motive behind the behaviour and how it affects the learning process. The following studies looked at CS in schools:

1. Van der Walt, Mabule & De Beer’s (2001) studies in some South African schools showed that teachers and learners often switch between their first language and English. Chimbamba & Mokgwathi’s (2011) findings on CS in English classes in Botswana show that CS is more common especially in

- biology and Home Economics classes. They note that teachers and learners constantly switch from English to Tswana for clarification purposes.
2. CS in the classroom is in response to learners' functional needs, such as the need to bridge the gap between their limited competence in the target language and the need to allow them to construct knowledge through the experience of their language and culture (Chimbgamba & Mokgwathi, 2012: 30).
 3. CS as a communication strategy in schools was highlighted by Mokgwathi (2011). She observed lessons in selected classrooms in Botswana. The study confirmed that CS between English and Setswana was prevalent regardless of the teachers' and learners' proficiency levels in English, age, mother tongue, among other things. Mokgwathi also noted that both teachers and learners viewed CS as a useful teaching and learning strategy that assisted them to comprehend content. She concluded that CS was common in content subjects like History, Biology and Home Economics. Another observation she made is that teachers did not encourage CS especially during Setswana and English lessons. Mokgwathi's conclusions that CS was used for group identity, to boost the confidence of learners, to show the teacher's education levels, to show authority or irritation and to show that one can speak more than a single language, seem to support the MM.
 4. In a case study of schools in the Buhera South district in Zimbabwe, Viriri & Viriri (2013) noted that, despite the fact that teachers and learners are expected to use English, they often switch between English and Shona. The study concluded that although English was supposed to be used in classrooms, teachers and pupils often switched to Shona to clarify certain points during the learning process. CS was a norm in classrooms.

When I was a secondary school student myself, we were required to converse only in English especially during school times. There were instances where learners

would be punished for using their mother tongue. This resulted in learners keeping quiet even if they didn't understand certain concepts because they could not speak English.

5. Rose & Van Dulm (2006) looked at the motivations for CS between English and Afrikaans at a secondary school. Data was analysed using the MM. The pair concluded that CS is a communication strategy and serves a purpose of clarifying concepts in classrooms. Their research supported the MM as a useful model that can be used to explain CS. In the data collected by Rose and Van Dulm, they found evidence of unmarked, sequential unmarked and marked code-switching. It is within the same vein that this study proposes to analyse speech samples from Shona-English bilinguals in order to determine whether the MM can be applied to Shona-English CS

2.13 Conclusion

The current chapter focused on reviewing literature in order to better understand research that has been done on CS in Africa, especially in relation to the MM. A historical overview of CS was done noting the early studies that helped lay the foundation for CS research. Key concepts were defined noting the differences in opinions by researchers regarding the definitions.

Since the MM is important in the current study, a detailed explanation of the model was given. In addition, some of the theories and hypotheses proposed by scholars were discussed. Also included are some of the studies that have been done to determine whether the MM is applicable to CS data in different contexts.

From the literature review, we can see that the study of CS has gone through different stages. Linguists have proposed theories and hypotheses in an attempt to account for this interesting phenomenon. The availability of literature and the different theories and hypotheses attests to the efforts being made by researchers to unpack CS. Despite all the disagreements about CS, research is opening up platforms for further discussion.

I support Bokamba's (1988) assertion that a better understanding of CS will aid in the quest to formulate linguistic theory. By studying the applicability of the MM to Shona-English CS, it is hoped that this will assist to better understand CS as a language contact phenomena.

From the literature consulted, it can be noted that code-switching is a vast subject with a lot of theories and hypotheses.

Still focusing on literature review, the next chapter discusses issues regarding a corpus-based analysis.

Chapter 3 Corpus use in language studies

3.1 Introduction

Corpora have played a significant role in studies about language. The advent of computers has promoted research in language use based on corpora and corpus compilation projects have increased. This chapter will not seek to give a detailed explanation about corpus linguistics as a whole but a brief overview is necessary to provide the context for the current study. The discussion will be focused on defining a corpus and explaining the stages that corpus linguistics has gone through as a field of study. Corpus compilation projects will be discussed and a detailed description of the Shona corpus will be given. In addition, studies that have been done on CS using a corpus-based analysis will receive particular attention.

3.2 Corpus linguistics

“Corpus linguistics can be described as the study of language on the basis of text corpora” (Aijmer & Altenberg 1991: 1). Another definition found in literature is that “corpus linguistics is perhaps best described for the moment in simple terms as the study of language based on examples of ‘real life’ language use” (McEnery & Wilson, 2001: 1).

Researchers study language use using actual texts as they are used in real life (Baker, 2010; McCarthy & O’keeffe, 2010). The main concern of corpus linguistics is describing performance (how language is used everyday).

Corpus linguistics is firmly rooted in empirical, inductive forms of analysis, relying on real-world instances of language use in order to derive rules or

explore trends about the ways in which people actually produce language (as opposed to models of language that rely on made-up examples or introspection (Baker 2010: 94).

According to McCarthy & O'keeffe (2010), the emergence of corpus linguistics was enabled by technological advances in hardware and software towards the end of the 20th century. Research questions in corpus linguistics are centred on how people really use language (e.g. Kennedy, 1998; McEnery & Wilson, 2001; Baker, 2010). Kennedy, (1998) states that corpus linguistics is now associated with the computer, which performs tasks at great speed, is dependable and can manage large amounts of data. Corpus linguistics is viewed as a methodology by some researchers. For example, McEnery & Wilson (2001) are of the opinion that corpus linguistics is a methodology and not a branch of linguistics.

Computers have enabled researchers to store and process huge amounts of texts. Pearson, (1998) indicates that the approaches of corpus linguistics are corpus driven, corpus based and data based. The approaches differ in the way they use corpora. Baker, (2010) supports this notion and suggests that:

Corpus-driven linguists tend to use a corpus in an inductive way in order to form hypotheses about language, not making reference to existing linguistic frameworks. However, corpus-based linguists tend to use corpora in order to test or refine existing hypotheses taken from other sources (Baker, 2010: 95).

3.3 Corpus

There are different definitions of a corpus in literature. "Traditionally, linguists have used the term "corpus" to designate a body of naturally-occurring (authentic) language data which can be used as a basis for linguistic research" (Leech, 1991: 1). Kennedy (1998: 1) uses the traditional definition, "a body of written text or transcribed speech which can serve as a basis for linguistic analysis and description". The modern definition describes a corpus as "a finite-sized body of machine readable text, sampled in order to be maximally representative of the

language variety under consideration” (McEnery & Wilson, 2001: 32). Kennedy states that the work of researchers becomes less complicated when a corpus is stored on a computer because they can analyse the corpus using different software. “The corpus provides contexts for the study of meaning in use and, by making available techniques for extracting linguistic information from texts on a scale previously undreamed of, it facilitates linguistic investigations where empiricism is text based” (Kennedy 1998: 9). Biber, Conrad & Reppen (1998: 12) define a corpus as “a large and principled collection of natural texts”.

The texts found in a corpus may be written or spoken or a mixture of both. In addition, the corpus can be unannotated (i.e. in their existing raw states of plain text) or annotated (ie. enhanced with various types of linguistic information)” (McEnery & Wilson, 2001: 32).

Leech (1997) is of the opinion that for researchers to be able to gather information from a corpus, the first step will be to add information to it by means of annotation. He defines annotation as,

the practice of adding interpretive, linguistic information to an electronic corpus of spoken and/ or written language data. Annotation can also refer to the end-product of the process: the linguistic symbols which are attached to, linked with, or interspersed with the electronic representation of language material itself (Leech, 1997: 2).

But he advises against taking annotations as representing absolute reality and accuracy. Leech points out that the text can be used for various research purposes.

I agree with McEnery & Wilson’s view that unannotated corpora can be used to answer some research questions. The corpus compiled for the current study is not annotated but will be suitable to analyse and describe the nature of CS utterances in Shona-English bilinguals thereby contributing to the study of Shona which is a less resourced language.

Sinclair (2004) notes that texts are arranged randomly in a corpus and a corpus enables the observation of phenomena that are difficult to observe.

There have been a lot of projects aimed at corpus compilation for a range of goals. The size, type and design of a corpus are determined by what the corpus will be used for (Kennedy, 1998).

Although they differ in their definition of a corpus, linguists agree on the fact that language is analysed using real life samples from a body of texts. Biber et al. (1998) note that a general corpus can represent a given language and there are millions of words in it. On the other hand, a specialised corpus tends to be smaller, numbering in the thousands and is usually used to answer precise research questions. For this study, a specialised corpus will be used.

3.4 Corpus: A brief history

The use of corpora in language studies has gone through various stages. Some scholars consider the 1950s to be crucial for the growth of corpus linguistics. “We can pinpoint a discontinuity in the development of corpus linguistics fairly accurately in the late 1950s. After this period, the corpus as a source of data underwent a period of almost total unpopularity and neglect” (McEnery & Wilson, 2001: 4).

During the 1950s, corpus linguistics slowed down because of criticism from some linguists. Notable among them was Noam Chomsky. “Chomsky suggested that the corpus could never be a useful tool for the linguist, as the linguist must seek to model language competence rather than performance” (McEnery & Wilson, 2001: 6). His main concern was rationalism rather than empiricism. Thus, Chomsky argued that using language samples as a basis for description would lead to an incomplete analysis since the samples would not contain all the possible sentences of a language. According to Bonelli (2010), the criticism apparently made it difficult for researchers to use corpora.

McEnery & Wilson comment that although the popular belief is that corpus-based research stopped altogether in the 1950s due to disapproval only to be resumed in the early 1980s, some researchers continued working with corpora in the 1950s, 1960s and 1970s. For example, observing naturally occurring data remained the principal source of information in the field of phonetics and language acquisition.

Aijmer & Altenberg (1991) and Johansson (1991) believe that Randolph Quirk's Survey of English Usage (SEU) Project, done around 1960, marked the starting point of corpus compilation. The corpus was not machine-readable. The SEU aimed to compile "a large and stylistically varied corpus as the basis for a systematic description of spoken and written English" (Aijmer & Altenberg 1991: 1). The Brown corpus compiled by Nelson Francis and Henry Kucera in 1964 is considered to be the pioneering work in electronic corpus compilation.

Any account of corpus-based linguistic analysis must take as a reference point the pioneering Brown University Standard Corpus of Present-Day American English, commonly known as the Brown corpus (Kennedy, 1998: 23).

Francis and Kucera contributed immensely to corpus linguistics because their work was done amid heavy criticism and the process of corpus compilation was a daunting task with limited technology (Kennedy, 1998). Nevertheless, the duo produced a corpus of almost one million words consisting of written American English. "Given the enormity of the task and the available technology, this pioneering work was completed with remarkable speed in that the corpus was available on computer tape with an accompanying manual by 1964" (Kennedy, 1998: 24). The Brown corpus continues to be used by researchers throughout the world at no cost. Since then, there have been a number of projects aimed at corpus compilation in different languages. According to McEnery & Wilson (2001), from 1980 up to now, corpus linguistics has grown rapidly aided by the availability of computers. Some of the corpus compilation projects are discussed in sections 3.8.

3.4.1 Arguments against the use of corpora

By using a corpus, we attempt to model performance instead of linguistic competence. “Chomsky argued that the goals of linguistics are not the enumeration and description of performance phenomena, but rather they are introspection and explanation of linguistic competence” (McEnery & Wilson, 2001: 12). Even if we welcome counting and describing features as aims of linguistics, this cannot be achieved because natural languages are infinite.

In the case of a spoken corpus, achieving complete accuracy when transcribing speech is difficult. “The challenge is to come up with decisions that ensure that the resultant corpus captures the way the language is structured or used” (Chabata, 2000: 81). Although it is difficult to accurately transcribe speech, with due care taken in the transcription process, describing language using real speech samples is far more advantageous than researchers describing how language ought to be used.

3.5 Considerations when designing a corpus

3.5.1 Representativeness

According to Biber, Conrad & Reppen (1998), when drawing up a corpus, it has to be representative enough so that the proposed research questions are answered satisfactorily. Kennedy notes that there is controversy regarding the matter of representativeness in a corpus.

For a corpus to be “representative” there must be a clearly analysed and defined population to take the sample from. But because we cannot be confident we know all the possible text types nor their proportions of use in a population, a “representative” sample is at best a rough approximation to representativeness, given the vast universe of discourse (Kennedy, 1998: 52).

Kennedy further states that regarding a sample of language that may have been collected in a single day as representing a particular language should be taken with a pinch of salt. One has to choose participants carefully. That is why I intend to

interview participants in order to identify those who can communicate in English proficiently. Using only such participants' language use will aid in making my corpus more representative of the research sample in the current study.

3.5.2 Diversity

It is important to look at different registers in a language to be sampled. Biber and his colleagues suggest that, if the language under investigation has dialects, these have to be included in the corpus. Kennedy, 1998 concurs with this view and states that the British National Corpus (BNC) is an example of a well-represented corpus.

3.5.3 Size

A corpus should be large enough to allow diversity. Biber, Conrad & Reppen (1998: 250) note that "every corpus will have limitations, but a well-designed corpus will still be useful for investigating a variety of linguistic issues". One advantage of a small corpus is that it allows for a specialised investigation of language in a specific setting (Koester, 2010). When looking at the current study, CS was investigated with particular focus on the language use of selected Shona-English bilinguals.

Reppen (2010) is of the opinion that corpora can be of varied sizes as long as they are representative enough and can be used to satisfactorily answer research questions. Baker (2010) concurs with this view and suggests that the three aspects namely sampling, balance and representativeness are important in corpus linguistics. The corpus used in the current study consisted of about 29 900 words and is suitable for the research project based on the above criteria.

3.6 Corpus types

3.6.1 General corpus

A general corpus represents a given language and usually contains texts drawn from different categories. It may consist of written corpora or spoken corpora or both. "A general corpus is typically designed to be balanced, by containing texts from

different genres and domains of use including spoken and written, private and public” (Kennedy, 1998: 20). Baker (2010) gives the British National Corpus, The Bank of English or the American National Corpus as examples of general corpora. One of the characteristics of general corpora is that they are very large and can be collected and annotated over a long period of time.

3.6.2 Specialised corpus

A specialised corpus tends to be smaller and is usually used to answer specific research questions. “Specialized corpora can be smaller and contains a more restricted set of texts. For example, there could be restrictions on genre (e.g. just newspaper reporting) time (e.g. just texts that were published in May 1990) or place/ language variety (e.g. just texts that were published in Singapore)” (Baker, 2010: 99). Examples of specialised corpora are those compiled by commercial publishers and corpora collected to answer specific research questions (Kennedy, 1998, Baker, 2010). The Shona corpus that I compiled is an example of a specialised corpus.

3.6.3 Spoken corpora

According to Baker (2010), due to the expenses involved and the amount of work required in recording, transcribing and compiling data, spoken corpora tend to be smaller than written corpora. Leech (1991) notes that when spoken discourse is being transcribed, the transcriber will be involved in both interpreting and representing the speech. Due to the time consuming nature of transcription, the majority of transcriptions are orthographic ones which use standard spelling for convenience and reserve phonetic transcription for exceptional pronunciation. Because of the aforementioned reason, some researchers choose to work with written corpora instead.

Aldophs & Knight (2010) concur with Leech’s viewpoint and add that collecting and transcribing speech samples is demanding but working with spoken corpora provides a unique insight into how language is used. This study will use a spoken

corpus, but it should be noted that the above mentioned challenges were also encountered during the corpus compilation process.

3.6.4 Written Corpora

Baker (2010) notes that a written corpus is easier to compile than a spoken one. He further indicates that a written corpus has to be clearly encrypted in order to retain information about font size, colour and pictures in the corpus. Propelled by how easy it is to compile written corpora, researchers have been more focused on analyzing written corpora at the expense of spoken corpora (Adolphs & Knight, 2010).

3.7 Some of the tools used in corpus search and retrieval

In order to aid corpus analysis, researchers have developed software “The great majority of corpus linguists have made use of commercially available software and freeware available through particular research groups” (Kennedy, 1998: 259). Kennedy further notes that each software product has its own merits and demerits and researchers have to choose software to use based on whether they will get the best results out of it. Biber et al. note that a lot of software can be used to analyse a corpus thereby allowing research on a variety of topics that were previously not possible to investigate or time consuming. Below are some of the corpus analysis tools as discussed by Kennedy (1998).

The Oxford Concordance Program (OCP)- A collection of programs for creating wordlists, indexes and concordances. OCP is a batch program for making wordlists, concordances and indexes. OCP is compatible with most mainframes and is capable of managing different text patterns. One drawback of OCP is that “it works with “raw” text and not with “indexed” text and this has consequences for the speed of processing” (Kennedy, 1998: 260).

Wordcruncher- When it comes to retrieving lexically based features of a large corpus, Wordcruncher comes in handy because it is very fast.

Text Analysis Computing Tools (TACT)- Kennedy notes that TACT is used broadly in corpus analysis research. It has also been used in descriptive linguistics.

WordSmith- Mike Scott developed WordSmith in 1996. This software is accessible via Oxford University Press. “The ability to undertake more detailed analyses of the frequencies of concordance items and the ability to extract collocational information easily make WordSmith an attractive package” (Kennedy, 1998: 267). I used WordSmith to analyse the Shona corpus for CS words and sentences.

AntConc- Used to analyse text, to generate concordances, collocations, wordlists and keyword lists <http://www.laurenceanthony.net/software/antconc/>.

Kennedy notes that the availability of corpus analysis resources for use by graduate students and researchers is limited compared to that available to commercial and industrial establishments. This may be because of the financial limitations faced by graduate students and researchers.

3.8 Examples of corpus compilation projects

Koester (2010) indicates that there are a lot of corpus compilation projects that are being done globally and they vary in size and number of researchers involved. Some of the corpus compilation projects are carried out for commercial reasons whilst others are miniscule and may go unnoticed.

There exist a large number of computerized corpora varying in size, design and research purpose. “The great research potential offered by these corpora has given rise to a dramatic expansion of corpus-based research that few could have foreseen thirty years ago” (Aijmer & Altenberg 1991: 2). Kennedy points out that corpus compilation projects done by undergraduate and graduate students are examples of corpus compilation done on a small scale. Although there is a lot of corpus compilation work being carried out globally, a discussion of a few corpus compilation projects will be done to underscore the projects.

3.8.1 The British National Corpus (BNC)

The BNC was compiled between 1991 and 1995. In this project, universities and commercial publishing companies worked together to produce a representative corpus of spoken and written British English. Currently, there are around 100 million words in the BNC. Half of the costs of the project were covered by the British government. The most recent edition of the BNC was released in 2007 (<http://www.natcorp.ox.ac.uk>).

With the very considerable cost of such a corpus compilation project, and the involvement of commercial publishers interested in producing better lexicographical and grammatical reference books, the project was envisaged as contributing to information technology in the 1990s and beyond through the development of more sophisticated processing of natural language by computers (Kennedy, 1998: 52).

It was anticipated that the project would be a benchmark for similar corpus compilation projects in other countries and for different languages. The goal of the project was to design a representative corpus of spoken and written British English with a variety of genres and topics. The compilers also wanted the corpus to be available as a resource in education, academia and for commercial purposes

3.8.2 European Science Foundation Second Language Databank (ESFSLDB)

The ESFSLDB was compiled to aid research in second or foreign languages. A corpus was compiled using “transcribed speech collected for the longitudinal study of the learning of Dutch, English, French, German, or Swedish by adult immigrants from different language backgrounds” (Kennedy, 1998: 42).

In this study, a specialised corpus will be compiled for the analysis of CS in the speech of selected Shona-English bilinguals.

3.8.3 Language Resource Management Agency (LRMA) of South Africa

In South Africa, a lot of effort has been put into corpus compilation and preservation. One example of such effort is the establishment of the Language Resource Management Agency (LRMA) at North West University by the Department of Arts and Culture. One of their aims is:

To function as a single depository point for various types of electronic data of the official languages of South Africa for research and development purposes in the field of human language technologies (<http://rma.nwu.ac.za/index.php/aims/>).

The LRMA's database contains texts, speech and language related videos in various languages of South Africa. To date, all eleven official languages of South Africa namely Afrikaans, English, Setswana, isiNdebele, isiXhosa, isiZulu, Sesotho saLeboa (Sepedi), Sesotho, Siswati, Tshivenda and Xitsonga are available in the database. Also included are Yoruba and Dutch. No corpus of the Shona language is available on the LRMA database.

3.8.4 The Pan South African Language Board

The Pan South African Language Board (PanSALB) was created by the South African government to encourage multilingualism and to develop languages among other things. PanSALB has partnered with Departments of African languages at a number of universities in an effort to develop the literature, lexicography and terminology of African languages. For example, the Department of African languages at the University of Pretoria compiled a corpus of Southern Ndebele in collaboration with the National Lexicography Unit (which is part of PanSALB). The corpus was then used to compile the Ndebele monolingual dictionary titled "Isihlathululi-Mezwi seSiNdebele" which was published in 2015. This is an example of a very real outcome. A tertiary institution (University of Pretoria) assisted PanSALB with corpus compilation.

3.9 The Shona corpus

The Shona corpus consisting of 2 224 983 words is the brainchild of the African Languages Lexical project (ALLEX) project. The corpus is tagged. It was compiled starting from 1992. The Shona corpus is available on (<http://www.edd.uio.no/allex/corpus/africanlang.html>). The project is jointly managed by the University of Oslo and the University of Zimbabwe with the University of Gothenburg being another participant in the project since its inception. Chabata (2000) describes the Shona corpus as a general purpose corpus noting that it can be used to answer a wide variety of research questions. The ALLEX project at the University of Zimbabwe was later incorporated into the African Languages Research Institute (ALRI). The subsequent section will outline details of the ALLEX project and the ALRI and discuss the work that has been done by the two in enhancing research into the indigenous languages of Zimbabwe.

3.9.1 The ALLEX project and The African Language Research Institute (ALRI)

In Zimbabwe, the ALLEX project started creating the Shona corpus in 1992. To date, the corpus consists of around two and a half million words (Chabata, 2000). One of the aims of the project was to compile corpora of indigenous languages spoken in Zimbabwe that would be used in making dictionaries. The Shona corpus was compiled from transcribed interviews and conversations. Undergraduate research assistants from the University of Zimbabwe carried out fieldwork. There are corpora of Shona and Ndebele languages, the biggest indigenous languages in Zimbabwe. A corpus of Nambya language is also available.

The materials for the corpora come from both transcribed oral interviews on various aspects of life and written literature of various kinds, which are later encoded or scanned, tagged and parsed before they are stored as text and sound in electronic form (Chabata, 2007: 284-285).

Recordings were done in a variety of contexts like churches, schools, lectures and social gatherings.

In 2000 the ALLEX project was incorporated into the African Languages Research Institute (ALRI), which is based at the University of Zimbabwe. One of the institute's focus areas is the development of indigenous languages of Zimbabwe concentrating mainly on corpus development and maintenance.

In addition, some of the ALRI's research areas include language standardisation, monolingual lexicography, and language harmonisation (Chabata, 2007). Besides compiling a Shona corpus, the ALRI has started compiling Kalanga and Nambya corpora. To date, the ALRI has published five Shona dictionaries namely Duramazwi reChiShona (1996), Duramazwi Guru reChiShona (2001), Duramazwi reUtapi neUtano (2004), Duramazwi reMimhanzi (2005), Duramazwi reDedziramutauro noUvaranomwe (2007). Two Ndebele dictionaries entitled Isichazamazwi SesiNdebele (2001) and Isichazamazwi Sezomculo (2006) have also been published by the ALRI. Other works in the pipeline include the Shona children's dictionary and a comprehensive Shona grammar book (<http://www.uz.ac.zw/index.php/research-output>). The publishing of the aforementioned dictionaries has been enabled by the use of corpora that was compiled by the ALLEX project. This highlights the need to continue with corpus compilation.

The success ALRI has achieved in cultivating a love for the indigenous languages has been shown as evidence of the use of its monolingual dictionaries by people who traditionally tended to look down upon these languages (Chabata, 2007: 290).

The ALRI continues to compile the Shona corpus aiming to enlarge the existing one. The work done by the ALLEX project is commendable because it has compiled an annotated Shona corpus. But accessibility of the corpus is a problem because there is a limit of 1000 hits per search on their website which was last modified on 29 October 2003. So it is difficult to access the whole corpus. I contacted the

coordinators of the ALLEX project and the ALRI institute by email on 22 October 2014 and on 24 October 2014 requesting access to the whole corpus. The emails did not yield a response.

3.10 Closing remarks about corpus compilation

The British National Corpus, the ESFSLDB corpus, and the Shona corpus discussed above are examples of corpus compilation at macro-level. Kennedy asserts that there are a lot of projects in which specialised corpora is compiled on a small scale especially to answer specific research questions. From the examples of corpus compilation work discussed above, it can be noted that a corpus is fast becoming a valuable tool in facilitating linguistics research and publishing. In this study, a corpus will be compiled for the analysis of code-switching in the speech of selected Shona-English bilinguals.

3.11 Characteristics of corpus-based analysis

Biber et al. (1998) note that four important characteristics of corpus-based investigation are:

1. It is empirical, analyzing the actual patterns of use in natural text.
2. It utilizes a large principled collection of natural texts, known as a “corpus” as the basis for analysis.
3. It makes extensive use of computers for analysis, using both automatic and interactive techniques.
4. It depends on both quantitative and qualitative analytical techniques.

3.12 Corpus-based analysis and code-switching

A number of studies have used a corpus-based approach to supplement other research methods when analysing CS data as will be done in this study. The

following studies used corpora as a basis for their analysis. Corpus-based analysis is viewed as supplementing other traditional research methods.

(a) Broersma & De Bot (2006) used a corpus-based approach to empirically test Clyne's triggering hypothesis for the first time since the hypothesis was proposed in 1967. The triggering hypothesis claims that words with the same form and meaning can trigger CS. Broersma & De Bot used a corpus of Dutch and Moroccan Arabic bilingual speech. The corpus consisted of speech samples from three participants who recorded themselves during casual conversations. Boersma & De Bot's corpus analysis seems to support the triggering hypothesis. "The results of a corpus analysis suggest that triggering takes place at the lemma level, where the selection of a trigger word enhances the activation of the lemmas of a non-selected language" (Broersma & De Bot, 2006: 11).

(b) Turunen (2012) analysed the English as an Academic Lingua Franca (EALF) corpus which consisted of one million words. He utilised an already available and tagged corpus. The corpus was compiled using data from transcribed speech from Tampere and Helsinki Technological universities. Turunen used discourse analysis and corpus-based analysis to determine the frequency and functions of code-switched words in the corpus. AntConc software was used to search and retrieve CS occurrences in the EALF corpus. Microsoft Excel was used to sort code-switched utterances according to language used, length of switch and speech event. Turunen notes that of the 165 texts available in the EALF corpus, 82 texts contained CS utterances. One of the findings of this study is that CS is used as a communication strategy by speakers of English as a foreign language. The study also identified word search, addressee specifications, referential switching and slips as CS categories found in the EALF corpus.

In the current study, a corpus-based analysis was done using the maxims of the MM using the qualitative research method together with a corpus-based analysis.

3.13 Conclusion

With the advent of computers and the availability of corpus analysis software, corpus linguistics continues to expand (Kennedy, 1998). A lot of research questions that were previously difficult to answer are now being probed. Corpus compilation has resulted in the advancement of language description and a lot of dictionaries have been published using corpora. “The use of computerized corpora as a basis for developing models and descriptions of language and for various applications may prove to be among the most far-reaching achievements of the language sciences” (Kennedy, 1998: 294).

This chapter was centred on the description of a corpus and corpus linguistics. A brief history of corpora was given including what to take into consideration when designing a corpus. Some of the tools used in corpus search and retrieval were mentioned. Examples of corpus compilation projects were given. Also noted are some studies that have utilized a corpus based analysis in CS.

A review of literature done in the previous and current chapters has helped in informing this study about the direction of research in the fields of CS and corpus linguistics.

The following chapter will focus on the methodological framework of this study.

Chapter 4 Methodology

4.1 Introduction

With the goal to analyse the nature, occurrence and characteristics of CS the next step in my project was to compile a corpus of spoken Shona to be used for analysis. The unit of analysis (what is being studied) in this study is Shona-English CS.

After obtaining approval for my project proposal, I applied for ethical clearance from the Ethics Committee in the Humanities Faculty of the University of Pretoria. Having been granted ethical clearance, I set out to gather data that would assist me in answering the following research questions (cf. Section 1.9):

1. What is the nature of CS in spoken Shona?
2. Does the MM of code-switching apply to the compiled Shona corpus?
3. What functions do the code-switches serve in the context in which they appear?

This chapter discusses the research design and methodology used to gather data for analysis in this study. The strengths and weaknesses of using a qualitative research design will be discussed. Attention will also be paid to the description of a corpus-based analysis and its advantages and disadvantages. There will also be a discussion about sampling procedures followed in this study. I will discuss the challenges that I faced during data collection and how I dealt with them. Specific methods used to collect data will be discussed. Also included is a brief explanation about how data will be analysed. I will also address ethical issues pertaining to this study.

4.2 Research design

The research design for this study is qualitative and can be described as corpus-based. I will first discuss qualitative research and then elaborate about what corpus-based analysis entails.

4.2.1 Qualitative research

Qualitative research encompasses examining features or aspects that are diverse. That is why Croker notes that, “qualitative research is an umbrella term used to refer to a complex and evolving research methodology” (Croker, 2009: 5). Leedy & Ormrod concur with this view:

Qualitative researchers often start with general research questions rather than specific hypotheses, collect an extensive amount of verbal data from a small number of participants . . . and use verbal descriptions to portray the situation they have studied. (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005: 94)

As a research design, qualitative research has certain strengths, which make it the preferred design under certain circumstances, such as those of the present study. Since this study set out to explore the applicability of the MM to Shona-English CS, qualitative research design was deemed most suitable. I chose a qualitative research design because it fitted into what I proposed to do. Dornyei (2007) lists the characteristics of qualitative research, which I believe make it appealing for my study. These are discussed below and the relevance for my own study will be highlighted.

4.2.2 Characteristics of qualitative research according to Dornyei (2007)

(a) Emergent research design

No facet of the study design is pre-determined. This allows for flexibility on the part of the researcher to design a method that he or she sees fit for the proposed study. “An important aspect of this emergent nature is the fact that, ideally, qualitative

researchers enter the research process with a completely open mind and without setting out to test preconceived hypotheses” (Dornyei 2007: 37). This allows for flexibility in the research. In this study, although I set out to test the applicability of the MM, I entered the research field with an open mind about whether the model can be applied with acceptable results.

Qualitative researchers have a vast amount of data to use like recorded interviews, texts and images. For the current study, I used interviews, a cloze test and recordings to obtain data.

(b) Insider meaning

Qualitative research is concerned with subjective opinions, experiences and feelings of individuals and thus the explicit goal of this type of research is to explore the participants’ views of the situation being studied (Dornyei, 2007: 38).

The semi-structured interviews gave participants an opportunity to voice their opinions when answering questions about their everyday language use.

Since qualitative research requires a lot of labour, qualitative researchers utilize smaller samples than those used by their quantitative counterparts. This view is also shared by Miles & Huberman (2014). 13 people took part in this study. Although the number was small, the process of data gathering was labour intensive. In total, 12 recordings, which were about 30 minutes long each, were transcribed. This resulted in pages and pages of transcriptions.

Researchers can give their own interpretation of the data in qualitative research. Thus, there can be a variety of interpretations of data. “Several alternative interpretations are possible for each data set, and because qualitative studies utilize relatively limited standardized instrumentation or analytical procedures, in the end it is the researcher who will choose from them” (Dornyei, 2007: 38). In this study,

data was analysed by hand and with the aid of WordSmith (corpus analysis software).

(c) Exploratory nature

Crocker (2009) notes that qualitative research can be used to investigate an unknown phenomenon. This way, a researcher can work on any project with no predetermined theories or hypotheses. Additionally, qualitative research does not seek to generalize findings to other contexts. I do not seek to make generalisations about CS in every Shona-English bilingual because my study was done on a small scale within a certain context. The aim was to analyse the nature, occurrence and characteristics of CS in the speech of selected Shona-English bilinguals.

(d) Making sense of complex matters

When there are intricate matters involved, qualitative research helps researchers understand them better. This is because a researcher can go into the field without pre-determined theories or hypotheses to prove or disapprove. Hence qualitative researchers can learn about a phenomenon whilst studying it (Dornyei, 2007).

(e) Qualitative researchers often use a small sample size.

Small sample sizes may make data handling and processing easier (Leedy & Ormrod, 2014). As mentioned above, this study makes use of a small research sample and a small corpus. 13 people participated in this study with the aim of analysing CS in Shona-English speech.

(f) Flexibility

Due to the flexibility of qualitative research, researchers can immediately proceed to carry out additional research. This allows researchers to reach a better understanding of the concepts under investigation (Dornyei, 2007). The current study seeks to provide a better understanding of the MM and its applicability to Shona-English CS.

(g) Broadenning of horizons

Dornyei states that qualitative research seeks to expand our comprehension of human experience. The data obtained from participants helps to broaden our horizons. I based my analysis of CS on the data obtained from participants as they were engaged in natural conversation. Dornyei also explains that, in the event that things go wrong, qualitative research allows us to adjust to the situation at hand so that we come up with interesting results. During data collection, two of the participants withdrew consent when I was about to record their conversations. Although this was frustrating, I regrouped and continued to look for other willing participants. The withdrawal of some of my participants did not result in me recording fewer participants.

4.2.3 Triangulation

In order to eliminate bias in this study, I used triangulation. “Triangulation involves using different methods as a check on one another, seeing if methods with different strengths and limitations all support a single conclusion” (Maxwell, 2013: 102). Some of the scholars who support using triangulation include Flick (2009), Rallis & Rossman (2009) and Friedman (2012). Semi-structured interviews and a cloze test were used in this study in an effort to eliminate bias.

4.2.4 Limitations of a qualitative research design

Qualitative research in linguistics has its limitations. In this section, I will refer to Dornyei’s (2007) list of weaknesses unless stated otherwise.

1. The most common critique of qualitative research in linguistics is that since the research will be based on a small number of selected participants, it is difficult to make general conclusions about what is being researched. This will also be the case in the present study.
2. The researcher’s role in analysing data is often a point of contention. Some scholars like Miles & Huberman (1994) are of the opinion that the ability of

- the researcher to analyse data will determine the quality of the research report. Therefore, if a researcher did not do a good job in analysing data, the quality of the research will be affected negatively. I therefore took great care during the analysis stage by studying the conversation and settings.
3. In instances where a researcher has to observe participants, observer's paradox is a drawback. "The aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain these data by systematic observation" (Labov, 1972: 209). Labov suggested that a researcher has to find ways of overcoming this limitation. Thus, in this study, I requested some participants to record themselves. This was done in order to make them as comfortable as possible during recording.
 4. Unlike quantitative research, qualitative research lacks methodological rigour. It lacks well-defined methods to be followed by researchers. There are no standardized instruments and strategies to follow. But Dornyei argues that qualitative research has been moving in the direction of using rigorous methods. In this study, care was taken with the instruments used to make sure they suited the research questions.
 5. Qualitative research theories can be too narrow or too complex. There is a danger of using data that is not representative enough to propose a theory or hypothesis. Similarly, the comprehensive use of rich data can produce complex theories.
 6. Overall, qualitative research is demanding in terms of time and labour. Handling qualitative data can require a lot of time. I spent 2 months gathering data from 13 participants for this study. The process was fraught with challenges but I pressed on. Even after gathering the data needed, processing it is another challenge. As mentioned earlier when I was discussing its strengths, qualitative research yields large amounts of data

which may be difficult to process. Transcription yielded a lot of data in this study which made data analysis challenging. According to Miles & Huberman (2014) frequently, data collected can get so much that it could be overwhelming for the researcher.

7. One of the major concerns about qualitative research is bias. “When researchers go into research settings, they also take their own age, ethnicity, cultural backgrounds, sexual orientation, politics, religious beliefs and life experiences- their worldview are the lens through which they see their research” (Croker, 2009: 11). Croker suggests that qualitative researchers need to be mindful not to let their perceptions overshadow the research and to implement measures that help eliminate bias. Croker recommends using triangulation to minimise the problem of bias. Triangulation involves “obtaining different perspectives on a phenomenon by gathering data from different participants, and using data collection methods like observations, interviews, and questionnaires” (Croker, 2009: 11). In a similar way, I used informal semi-structured interviews, a cloze test and recordings to gather data for this study. When selecting participants, I considered those who met the minimum requirement of having been exposed to English for at least 10 years. No generalisations were made about the way every Shona-English bilingual code-switches. This study only focused on analysing the speech samples provided by selected participants.

4.3 Corpus-based analysis

As part of qualitative research design, corpus-based analysis was utilised. “The corpus-based approach provides a means of handling large amounts of language and keeping track of many contextual factors at the same time” (Biber et al. 1998: 3). Biber notes that a lot of software can be used to analyse a corpus thereby allowing research on a variety of topics that were previously time consuming or not possible to investigate.

4.3.1 Strengths of corpus-based analysis

Biber et al. (1998) list some of the reasons that make corpus based analysis favourable. They are discussed below.

- (a) The corpus-based approach can be used to analyse large quantities of data and it is not time consuming. In this study, a corpus-based analysis came in handy during data analysis. “With a corpus stored in a computer, it is easy to find, sort and count items either as a basis for linguistic description or for addressing language related issues and problems” (Kennedy, 1998: 11).
- (b) It is based on observation and language is analysed based on naturally occurring samples. Thus, in this study, CS will be analysed based on naturally occurring speech collected from selected Shona-English bilinguals.
- (c) A corpus that has been collected using certain criteria is the starting point for investigation. Although there is a Shona corpus consisting of almost 2, 5 million words, access to the corpus is limited to only 1000 words. Therefore, I decided to compile a corpus that I could easily use in this investigation.
- (d) The computer is the basic unit for analysis of the corpus. Although I analysed the corpus by hand, I used a computer to aid in the analysis process, specifically WordSmith Tools software.
- (e) A corpus can be used to answer a range of research questions that are difficult to investigate.
- (f) Quantitative and qualitative methods can be used in corpus-based analysis. Corpus-based analysis is viewed as supplementing other traditional research methods like quantitative and qualitative methods. In my case, doing a corpus-based analysis fitted the qualitative research design that I opted for. The qualitative research design together with a corpus-based analysis enabled me to analyse a Shona corpus of naturally occurring speech and to determine whether the MM applies to Shona-English CS. Since I worked with

a corpus, using a corpus-based analysis was helpful because a computer aided in the analysis of data.

4.3.2 Disadvantages of corpus-based analysis

1. The compiled corpus maybe too small to answer any research question. This may create problems for the researcher when analysing it. However, “there are no hard rules regarding how large a corpus ought to be, instead size is dictated by a number of criteria. One of these criteria concerns the aspects of language that the corpus is used to investigate” (Baker, 2010: 95-96). The corpus that I compiled was adequate for answering my research questions.
2. According to Biber et al. (1998), a corpus that is not representative and diverse enough makes it difficult to satisfactorily answer proposed research questions. Therefore, one has to choose participants carefully. For this reason, I went to different locations to recruit potential participants and I vetted them before the data collection started.

4.4 Research plan

In order to analyse and describe the nature, occurrence and characteristics of CS in a Shona corpus, the research was carried out in stages.

4.4.1 Stage 1: Theoretical research- A literature review

A literature review was conducted and this process continued throughout the duration of the research. It was used to inform the theoretical framework and to gain a better understanding of the trends in CS research over the years and to identify any gaps in the literature. It also assisted with information about how similar studies were conducted. Therefore, this study made use of both theoretical and empirical insights. A report on the comprehensive literature review about CS and corpora that was carried out is found in Chapters 2 and 3 of this dissertation.

The theoretical framework of the study was explored and previous research on the subject was read.

4.4.2 Stage 2: Empirical research: Research group (participants)

“The main goal of sampling is to find individuals who can provide rich and varied insights into the phenomenon under investigation so as to maximise what we can learn” (Dornyei 2007: 26). This view is also shared by Flick (2009) and Miles & Huberman (2014).

4.4.3 Sampling

In this study, I used purposive sampling, a type of nonprobability sampling in which “people . . . are chosen for a particular purpose, for instance, we might choose people who we have decided are “typical” of a group” (Leedy & Ormrod, 2014: 221). 13 participants who were at least 18 years old and who met the minimum requirement of having been exposed to English as a second language for at least 10 years were selected to participate in the study.

4.4.4 Research site and participants

Data for this study was collected in several parts of Zimbabwe both rural and urban. In urban areas like Harare and Masvingo, people from different linguistic backgrounds come into contact every day leading to language contact situations.

After obtaining consent, I set out to determine the potential participants’ levels of English language proficiencies. 13 people participated in this study. Among them were 5 males and 8 females aged between 18 and 67 years. I travelled to Harare, Gutu and Masvingo to solicit for participants. I chose to go to Harare because as a capital city of Zimbabwe, there are people from different cities and villages living and working there. Masvingo town is 297 kilometres from Harare and Gutu is 100 kilometres from Masvingo. In order to get a diverse sample, I also went to some villages in Gutu. Obtaining consent from participants was one of the major challenges of my study.

At the University of Zimbabwe, I randomly approached students requesting their participation in the study. Most of them were unwilling and just ignored me. Despite this, I managed to get 2 students to participate. After talking to them further, I asked them if they knew anyone else who could be willing to take part in the study. The students assisted me in getting more potential participants from the suburbs who I then managed to interest. All in all, 5 people from Harare took part in the study. In Masvingo and Gutu, the same method of randomly approaching people was employed. I approached people in the evening after they had finished work. I also went to a church and a school and solicited for participation. Some people had reservations about being recorded but I also managed to get consent from others. In a village in Gutu, 4 people agreed to take part in the study. The other 4 participants came from Masvingo. Table 4-1 shows cities/ areas where participants came from.

City/ area	Number of participants
Harare	5
Masvingo	4
Gutu	4

Table 4-1 Cities/ areas where participants came from

4.5 Methodology (data collection instruments)

With the explanations done consent form signed, the next step was to determine whether the potential participants met the minimum requirements by doing interviews in English, administering a cloze test and recording conversations. Up next, I will discuss the instruments used for data collection.

4.5.1 Semi-structured interviews

After obtaining consent and having agreed on the time and place for the interview, I interviewed some participants in pairs. I did informal interviews with potential

participants to determine their age, mother-tongue, schooling background and their general level of English proficiency among other things. The interviews were semi-structured. This means that,

although there is a set of pre-prepared guiding questions and prompts, the format is open-ended and the interviewee is encouraged to elaborate on the issues raised in an exploratory manner. In other words, the interviewer provides guidance and direction but is also keen to follow up interesting developments and to let the interviewee elaborate on certain issues (Dornyei, 2007:136).

Semi-structured interviews were appropriate for this study because they allowed me to get the biographical information that I needed, at the same time allowing participants some flexibility to add more information to their replies if they wished. This was evident when I was doing the interviews. Some participants were keen to elaborate and emphasise certain points. Participants were also made aware that the interviews would be in English. I explained that the reason for the interview was to obtain biographical information and to determine their level of English language proficiency. The interviews were recorded on my phone's voice memos. I also took some field notes about the date and place of the interview. In addition, I noted the gender and age of the interviewees. This information was valuable for the data analysis process. The interview questions are available in appendix A.

“The most obvious challenge of the interview is that it is easy to do but hard to do well, the process of becoming an effective interviewer demands considerable sensitivity, self-critical awareness and openness to change” (Richards, 2009: 195). As I interviewed potential participants, I realised that some were giving one-word answers to my questions. To get more information, I asked follow-up questions to potential participants if they had not answered the question satisfactorily. On my part, as I interviewed more and more people, I could see that I was getting better at interviewing. Hence conducting interviews it was also a learning process for me.

4.5.2 Cloze Test

A cloze test (available in appendix B) was given to participants in order to determine their mastery of English after the interview. I used the cloze test available on www.englishdaily626.com. Participants were asked to fill in the blanks with the words that best complete the English passage given. This was done for exploratory purposes to determine the participants' knowledge of English. People who scored at least 12 out of 14 were considered for participation in the study. All potential participants passed and no one was excluded after writing the cloze test.

4.5.3 Participant recordings of informal conversations

Once someone had passed the cloze test and had demonstrated some mastery of English in the interview, the next step was to record their conversations. Recording of actual conversation was the primary data.

Using machines for recording renders the documentation of data independent of perspectives- those of the researcher as well as those of the subjects under study. It is argued that this achieves a naturalistic recording of events or a natural design (Flick, 2009: 294).

I provided participants with a phone on which to record their conversations. 6 participants recorded their own conversations. I showed participants how to record themselves. Participant recordings were done in order to limit the effects of observer's paradox, which is one of the weaknesses of qualitative research. Participants were advised to carry on with their day to day activities while recording. The conversations were recorded for 2 days and varied in duration from 20 to 30 minutes per day. I requested participants to notify me immediately when the recording was done so that I would go and collect the phone. The date and time of recording were automatically recorded on the phone. For anonymity purposes, I used the letter "P" and a number symbol to identify participants. Participants were numbered from P1 to P13 after a recording. The recordings took place in a variety of

settings like at the participants' homes, workplaces and at the river. In total, 6 recordings are available from 7 participants who recorded themselves.

4.5.4 Researcher recordings

I requested to record 6 participants myself to enable me to write field notes. These were helpful during the data analysis process. Some of the information in field notes includes the following; date, physical location, topic, gender, age, education, social status, the setting, context, body language among other things. On the day of the recording, I asked participants to carry on with whatever they were doing while I recorded. I put the phone on a strategic position between participants then positioned myself a few metres from the participants. I wanted participants to be as comfortable as possible so that they would not hesitate to engage in conversations.

The influence of the researcher on the setting or individual studied, generally known as reactivity is a problem. Eliminating the actual influence of the researcher is impossible and the goal in qualitative study is not to eliminate this influence but to understand it and to use it productively (Maxwell, 2013: 124-125).

This view is also shared by Flick (2009) who further notes that participants are expected to simply forget that they are being recorded and carry on with conversations. At first, participants hesitated but later on as their conversations progressed, I could see that they were more relaxed. I tried not to look at the participants as they were talking so that they would not feel as if I was studying their every actions and conversations. I also concentrated on writing field notes during the recording process in order to distract attention. I used a watch for time keeping. When the conversations had reached 30 minutes, I stopped recording and thanked participants. I would then request participants to suggest a convenient time for a second recording. The total number of recordings done is 6.

4.5.5 Challenges during the selection of participants and how they were dealt with

The process of choosing participants was not smooth sailing. I encountered some difficulties during the process. These are:

- Finding participants was challenging. When I was writing my project proposal, I had read from literature that finding participants was one of the challenges in qualitative research, for example Flick (2009). But I thought that with the small number of participants that I intended to use, it might be a bit easy. Nonetheless, it seemed as though I was looking for a bigger number of participants because the participants were elusive.
- Another challenge related to the abovementioned was the unwillingness of people to participate in the study. Participants were required to read and sign the letter of informed consent. In instances where some participants had agreed to listen to my request, it was hard to convince people to sign the letter. When I approached potential participants and explained my intentions, some of them expressed unwillingness to be recorded citing anonymity issues and time constraints. Most people that I approached requested time to consider my request and promised to get back to me. For some, that was the last time I talked to them whilst others later agreed to participate. All in all, obtaining consent was a challenge. But as I talked to potential participants, I learned that they needed assurances that their privacy was guaranteed during and after the study. Some feared that their recorded conversations might end up on the social media. I explained to them the measures that I will take to safeguard their privacy and that the purpose of the research was to obtain a Master's degree. Thus, with a little bit of persuasion, I managed to get participants.
- Withdrawal of consent: Although some participants consented to being involved in the study, they later withdrew their consent. This was the case

with two of the potential participants. Although I made follow ups to try and convince them otherwise, they did not change their minds. This was time consuming on my part because I had to look for other possible participants. During this research project, I have gained valuable lessons about patience and endurance in order to achieve one's goals.

- Time limitations: Even after setting the time for recording some of the participants, I had instances where I had to reschedule the meeting because the participants were suddenly not available to be recorded. This meant that I had to wait for them to get back to me with a new appointment. I decided to start transcribing the recordings that I already had while waiting for a new appointment. This way, I was making some progress in my research.

4.5.6 Transcription

Finally, the interviews and recordings were transcribed in order to have an electronic corpus available to start the analysis. A broad, orthographic transcription (that is, not phonetic) was done. The internationally accepted protocol for orthographic transcription was followed. I transcribed the recordings onto a Microsoft word document. Standard Shona spelling was used for transcribing recorded conversations. A detailed explanation about standard Shona spelling was provided in chapter one of this study. The transcription process was time consuming but it was necessary because it enabled me to get a corpus out of the recorded conversations. Thus, the recorded speech samples are now available as transcribed speech and also in electronic form as a corpus. Included on the transcription is the pseudonym of participants, age, gender, occupation, date and place where recording took place and duration of the recording. In the transcripts, I included hesitation markers and false starts. Transcriptions of the conversations are included in appendix C. After transcription, I translated the conversations from Shona into English. This was a time consuming exercise. Transcription "is a time consuming process particularly if the text also needs to be translated- depending on the quality of the recording, transcribing a one-hour interview can take as much as

5-7 hours” (Dornyei, 2007: 246). Leech (1991) also shares the same view. All in all, transcribing all the recordings kept me busy for 2 months. Transcription conventions used are available on page viii.

4.5.7 Corpus compilation

The corpus was compiled using transcriptions of speech samples. Data was drawn from 13 participants. All participants had used English as a second language for at least 10 years. Some participants recorded themselves and I recorded others. By recording some participants, I managed to gather some field notes that were valuable during the data analysis process like setting. In total, there are about 29900 words in the corpus.

4.6 Data Analysis

A narrative analysis was done on the collected data. I gave a narrative account of the biographical information of participants. Data was analysed using WordSmith tools. I made a wordlist of all the words found in the Shona corpus. From the wordlist, I could see the most frequently used words, concordances and collocations. This allowed me to study the words in the contexts in which they appeared. The wordlist also provided words that I used to search for CS occurring in the Shona corpus. Data was also analysed to check whether the MM applies to it.

4.7 Ethical considerations

Participation in this study was voluntary and anonymous. Participants were made aware that they were taking part in a Masters research project and that data gathered will be used in this project only. I provided participants with a consent form highlighting the reasons for the study and asking for their permission to participate in the study. Participants were informed that the purpose of the study is to analyse the speech samples for code-switching occurrences. I notified participants that I will provide results of the study to them upon completion if they wish. In

order to preserve the confidentiality and anonymity of participants, the following steps were taken:

- As indicated earlier, no names of participants were used during transcription. Participants were given pseudonyms “P1”, “P2”, up to “P13”.
- Names of places and any information that could lead to the identification of participants were left out. This will be explained further in the transcription conventions.
- I did not transcribe incidences where recordings contained children’s speech. This was in line with some participants’ requests.
- The recordings, transcripts and cloze tests will be kept in a safe in the Afrikaans department at the University of Pretoria for archive purposes.

4.8 Limitations of the study

- Although semi-structured interviews and a cloze test were used to determine the linguistic proficiency levels of participants, this does not provide a complete picture of participants’ levels of linguistic proficiency. However, this was a secondary aim and doing purposive sampling enabled me to choose participants who met the minimum requirement of having used English for at least 10 years.
- This study did not seek to make generalisations about the way every Shona-English bilingual code-switches. The corpus that I compiled is not big and diverse enough to make generalisations about the subject. In this study, focus was on the selected participants who were between 18 years and 70 years who have a certain level of proficiency in English as a second language.
- Due to time limitations and financial constraints, the corpus was not annotated.

- It was assumed in section 1.8 that the MM can be applied to Shona-English CS. This could lead to bias on the part of the researcher. The assumption may lead to the researcher finding examples from the corpus that do not support the model.

4.9 Assumptions

Regarding the social functions of CS, I assume that the markedness model of CS as explained by Myers-Scotton will apply to all instances of CS in my data set. In addition, participants who were able to converse in English during interviews and who scored at least 12 out of 14 in the cloze test were considered as bilinguals. As noted earlier in the literature review chapter, scholars use different measures when considering whether a person is bilingual or not. Scholars like Kamwangamalu (1989), asserts that the linguistic competence of bilinguals may vary. So, a similar approach was adopted in this study.

4.10 Summary of chapter four

A discussion of qualitative research method and a corpus-based analysis was done in this chapter. Each method used to collect data was explained. A description of the challenges faced during data collection was given. Also noted were the steps taken to try and solve the problems. Attention was paid to ethical issues, limitations of the study and assumptions.

The next chapter will present the results of the data analysis.

Chapter 5 Data analysis, results presentation and interpretation

5.1 Introduction to data analysis

In this chapter, I analysed data that was collected for this study to determine the nature, occurrence and characteristics of CS in a Shona corpus. Interview transcripts, the cloze test and transcripts of recordings were analysed. In addition, the compiled corpus was queried using WordSmith tools. Data analysis assisted in answering the following research questions that were posed in the study:

1. What is the nature of CS in spoken Shona?
2. Does the MM of CS apply to the compiled Shona corpus?
3. What functions do the code-switches serve in the contexts in which they appear?

The corpus was analysed by hand to determine the nature, occurrence and characteristics of CS. An analysis was done to ascertain whether the MM applies to the corpus and to establish the functions of CS in the contexts that they appear. This process was aided by the use of WordSmith Tools software,

a set of tools by Mike Scott . . . compatible with PCs running Microsoft windows. The tools enable the user to produce wordlists and key-word-in-context concordances. Other features include the ability to compare two wordlists using the log-likelihood statistic, the ability to identify and extract collocations and word clusters and an aligner and browser for parallel texts (McEnery & Wilson, 2001: 211)

WordSmith tools was used to get information on word frequencies and once a wordlist had been generated, the corpus was queried by using a selection of English

search words in order to generate concordances. I used English search words because I was looking for instances of CS from Shona to English. This allowed me to study the words and nearby phrases in the contexts in which CS occurred.

5.2 Results presentation and interpretation

The following abbreviations were used:

Researcher (R)

Participant 1 to Participant 13 = (P1 to P13)

Due to anonymity issues, all participants were numbered from 1 to 13. Therefore, they will be referred to by their allocated numbers from P1 to P13. All instances where CS occurs are illustrated in *italics* and all translations from Shona to English are shown by the use of double quotation marks. Some of the examples which illustrate the types of CS are numbered in bold square brackets [].

5.2.1 The compiled corpus

As explained in Section 4.5, transcribed speech samples were used to compile the Shona corpus totalling about 29 900 words. The corpus was used as a linguistic resource. From the corpus, I looked for instances where participants switched from Shona to English. The corpus was mostly analysed by hand checking for instances where language alternation occurred. In addition, I used WordSmith Tools software. I made a wordlist to see the frequently used words and to see which English words were used in the corpus. I queried the corpus by using a selection of English search words in order to generate concordances. This process allowed me to study the words and nearby phrases in context.

5.2.2 English Language proficiency

Semi-structured interviews were conducted in order to determine the English proficiency levels of selected participants. The interviews assisted in determining

whether participants were competent in English. M-S (1993a: 119) notes that “while speakers must be relatively proficient in the two (or more) languages involved, the degree of proficiency is open to question.” In the same vein, in this study, participants who could produce complete English sentences were selected. This section will analyse participants’ responses to interview questions. They acknowledged that they sometimes code-switched between Shona and English during conversations. Shona was the first language for all participants and they learned English as a second language at school. Participants had all undergone formal education for at least 10 years. All participants used English to answer questions. Although semi-structured interviewees were inadequate on their own to measure the language proficiency levels of participants, their use helped because it enabled me to pick the most suitable participants. Table 5-1 shows a summary of participants’ responses to interview questions.

Participant	What is your first language?		When did you start learning English?			How far did you go with your formal education?				Did you use English a lot at school?		Do you still use English everyday?			Do you feel confident using English?	
	Shona	Other	Grade 1	Nursery school	After grade 1	Form 4 only	Form 4 and tertiary education	Form 6 only	Form 6 and tertiary education	Yes	No	Yes	No	Sometimes	Yes	No
P1	✓		✓				✓			✓		✓			✓	
P2	✓		✓						✓	✓				✓	✓	
P3	✓		✓						✓	✓		✓			✓	
P4	✓		✓				✓			✓				✓	✓	
P5	✓		✓				✓			✓		✓			✓	
P6	✓			✓		✓				✓				✓	✓	
P7	✓		✓						✓	✓				✓	✓	
P8	✓			✓					✓	✓		✓				✓
P9	✓		✓						✓	✓				✓	✓	
P10	✓		✓						✓	✓		✓			✓	
P11	✓		✓					✓		✓			✓			✓
P12	✓				✓	✓				✓		✓				✓
P13	✓		✓				✓			✓			✓			✓

Table 5-1 Summary of participants' responses to interview questions

5.2.3 The participants

In this section, biographical information collected when participants were interviewed to ascertain the level of their English proficiency is presented by using a narrative. The study involved 5 males and 8 females with their ages ranging from 18 to 67 years. Amongst the participants were 4 students who were studying at various tertiary institutions like colleges and universities. 5 people involved in the study were formally employed with professions such as a doctor, Provincial Programmes Coordinator, teacher, builder and retail services. A high school student, a retired teacher and 2 housewives were also involved in the study.

5.2.3.1 Participant 1 and 2

This was a joint interview. P1, a 40 year old Provincial Programmes Coordinator at and P2, a 35 year old nursing student both started learning English at grade 1. While P1 did formal education up to Ordinary level, P2 went up to Advanced level. Both participants said they used English a lot at school. On the matter of whether they still converse in English everyday, P1 said she used it everyday at her workplace whilst P2 answered that she used English sometimes but not everyday. Both participants said that they felt confident to communicate in English. Since P1's job was a management position, this could explain why she said she felt more confident to speak in English than in Shona. This is because she is responsible for chairing meetings and seminars in English at the company that she works for.

5.2.3.2 Participant 3

P3 is an 18 year old high school student who started learning English when she started grade 1 and did formal education up to Advanced level (equivalent to grade 12 in South Africa). She said she still uses English a lot at school during her studies. When asked about how confident she felt using English, the participant responded that she felt very confident. This can be attributed to the fact that P3 is still attending high school and since English is a medium of instruction, she uses it more often at school.

5.2.3.3 Participant 4

Participant 4 did formal education up to form four and went on to a teacher training college. The 67 year old retired teacher indicated that he learned English at school where it was the medium of instruction. When asked whether he still used English everyday, he replied that he used English “casually”. I took it to mean that he used English less often. On the matter of whether the participant felt confident to converse in English, he said he did feel confident.

From the observations made during the interview, there were instances where P4 hesitated to answer in English and then switched to Shona. For example, when I asked him when he started learning English, he answered in Shona;

P4: *Gore haritsvetwi?*

“Is it I don’t put the year?”

The researcher also switched to Shona when replying;

R: *Uum munokwanisa kutsveta kana muchiziva.*

“Uum you can put it if you know.”

Considering the above conversation, CS seems to be used to seek clarity or understanding. The dialogue has been going on in English but when P4 wants some clarity on the issue under discussion, he switches to the language that he is most comfortable using.

5.2.3.4 Participant 5 and 6

Unlike her counterpart who started learning English when she started grade 1, P6 learned English at creche or nursery school. P5’s formal education goes up to form 4. She then did further education and obtained a teaching diploma and a degree. P6 attended formal education up to form 6. Both participants used English a lot during their schooling days. As a teacher, P5 said she used English often when conducting lessons. She also indicated that her English was improving since she always spoke in English at school. In contrast, P6, a 30 year old housewife, rarely uses English to

communicate but when she does, she feels very confident using it. This is indicated by the following response that she gave;

P6: Yes, yes. (laughs) *Tinoita zvekusvisvina kana tada isu.* (laughs)

“Yes, yes. (laughs) We do it properly if we want to.” (laughs)

In the conversation below, there is CS from English to Shona.

R: Do you feel confident to communicate in English?

P5: Aa I do, I do. My English has improved a lot because I am always speaking in English when I am at school. *Inotoita problem kana ndava kuno kumusha. Vanhu vanozoti unodada.*

“Aa I do, I do. My English has improved a lot because I am always speaking in English when I am at school. It becomes a problem when I am here at home. People will say I am too proud.”

The above example shows P5 switching from English to Shona. Despite being notified that the interview would be conducted in English to determine the proficiency levels of potential participants, incidents of CS like the one above were recorded.

Since this study focused on people who could speak both English and Shona, the interview provided evidence of the communicative competence of the participant. P5 and P6 could communicate proficiently in both Shona and English. P5 started answering the question in English but switched to Shona when she was explaining her reservations about speaking in English at home. She was afraid that people would consider her to be pompous. So in order to show the sensitivity of the subject, P5 used Shona. This seems to suggest that P5 has assigned roles to the two languages she speaks, with English being reserved mainly for work and Shona for home interactions.

5.2.3.5 Participant 7

P7, a 40 year old academic, was the participant with the highest tertiary qualification. He did formal education up to PhD level. He said he used English regularly at school since all subjects except Shona were taught in English. Concerning if he still used English everyday, P7 said that he used English half of the time in conversations and that he felt confident using it.

5.2.3.6 Participant 8

The 25 year old university student started learning English when he was 6 years old. He attended formal education up to Advanced level (equivalent to grade 12 in South Africa). He used English everyday and still communicated in English on a regular basis. He indicated that he doesn't feel confident speaking in English. When probed further about the reason for that he replied;

P8: Aam aa I still need *to kuti ndirambe ndichi- like kuva, kushandisa chirungu changu zvakanaka.*

"Aam aa I still need to, to keep, to be, to use English properly."

The above reply shows P8 switching between Shona and English in the same sentence (intrasentential CS). He started answering the question in English but switched to Shona upto the end of the sentence. There is an incomplete word, "**ndichi-**" and a hesitation, "**aa**" which seems to suggest that P8 was not sure about the language to use when answering the question. His reply was that he still needs to polish up on his English use. CS is used in this case to explain a point. . This seems to suggest that P8 feels more confident speaking in Shona.

5.2.3.7 Participants 9 and 10

Both participants learned English at school. P9, a 49 year old builder's formal education level is form six. He then obtained a diploma in building and carpentry. P10, a 27 year old university student did formal education up to form 6. Both used

English a lot at school. P10 explained that students were made to wear a cow's horn as punishment for speaking Shona during school hours.

P10: Aa yaa we did, we did. I remember we were forced to speak in English every time at school. They had nine aa I think the cow horn that we were made to wear if ever we were caught *tichitaura* Shona.

“Aa, yes we did, we did. I remember we were forced to speak in English every time at school. They had nine, aa I think the cow horn that we were made to wear if ever we were caught speaking Shona.”

On the question of whether they still use English everyday, P9 and P10's answers differed. P9 said that he preferred English and that it also depended on who he was talking to. P10 indicated that the university he attended had people from diverse linguistic backgrounds. Therefore, it was difficult to speak in Shona since some students don't understand it.

Both participants said they felt confident to converse in English with P10 adding that since he converses in English all the time at university, it now seems natural to speak in English all the time;

P10: Yes yes. Aa because I communicate in English a lot at U Z. *Zvatova muropa nokuti* most of the time you are forced to communicate in English.

“Yes yes. Aa because I communicate in English a lot at U Z. It is now a habit because most of the time you are forced to communicate in English.”

It is interesting to note that although P10 claims that for him, using English during conversations seems natural, his reply contains CS from English to Shona. Although the sentence has a mixture of both English and Shona words, the words are not organised randomly but follow a coherent pattern and the sentence makes sense. This seems to support Gumperz's (1982) claim that CS is a discourse strategy.

5.2.3.8 Participants 11 and 12

P11, a 26 year old retail worker began learning English in grade 1. For P12, who is a high school student, English learning started after grade 1. I should have followed upon this answer to find out when exactly after grade 1 did she start learning English but I didn't. This can be considered as a weakness on the part of the researcher because I could have learned more about the participant's learning experience.

P11 attended school up to form 6 whilst P12 went up to form 4. Like the other participants interviewed in this study, both participants used English a lot at school during lessons. P11 indicated that she doesn't use English everyday and that she does not feel confident speaking it because it is difficult. This can be attributed to her job as a shopkeeper. She works at a shop in a rural area and it might be that most of her customers mostly use Shona. P12 noted that she used English everyday but did not feel confident speaking in English.

5.2.3.9 Participant 13

For the 53 year old housewife, English learning commenced at school. She did formal education upto form four and went on to do a dressmaking course. She said spoke Shona all the time and seldom used English during conversations and did not feel confident speaking in English.

From the above discussion about interviews conducted, it can be noted that there was CS both within sentences (intrasentential CS) and outside sentences (intersentential CS). As mentioned earlier, the interviews were conducted in English to determine the English language proficiency levels of participants. It can be said that all participants were able to converse in English and that they understood the language well. English-Shona CS is prevalent in the interviews.

Figure 5-1 to Figure 5-7 provide a summary of the biographical backgrounds of participants and an overview of participants' responses to interview questions.

Figure 5-1 is a representation of participants' age groups.

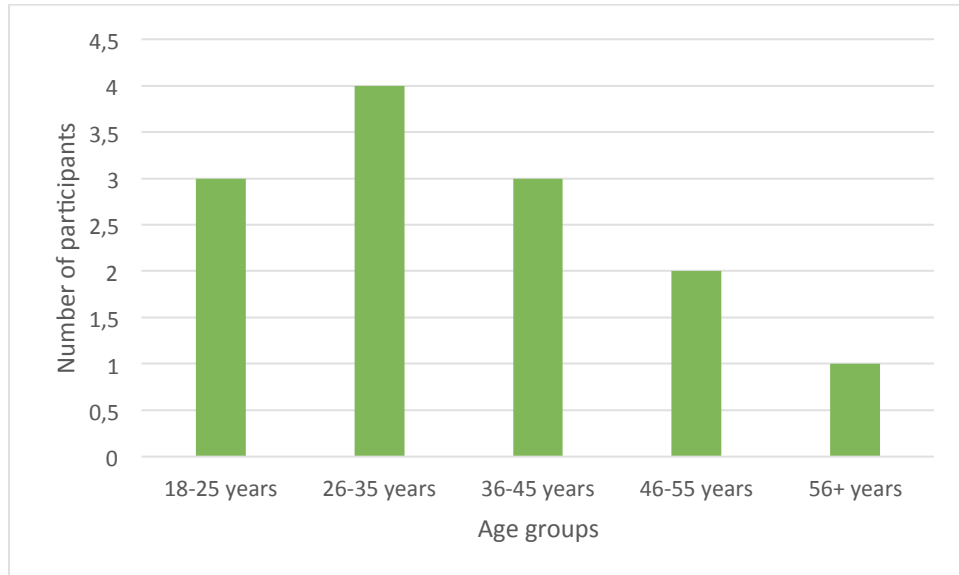


Figure 5-1 Participants' age groups

Below is figure 5-2 showing the gender distribution of participants.

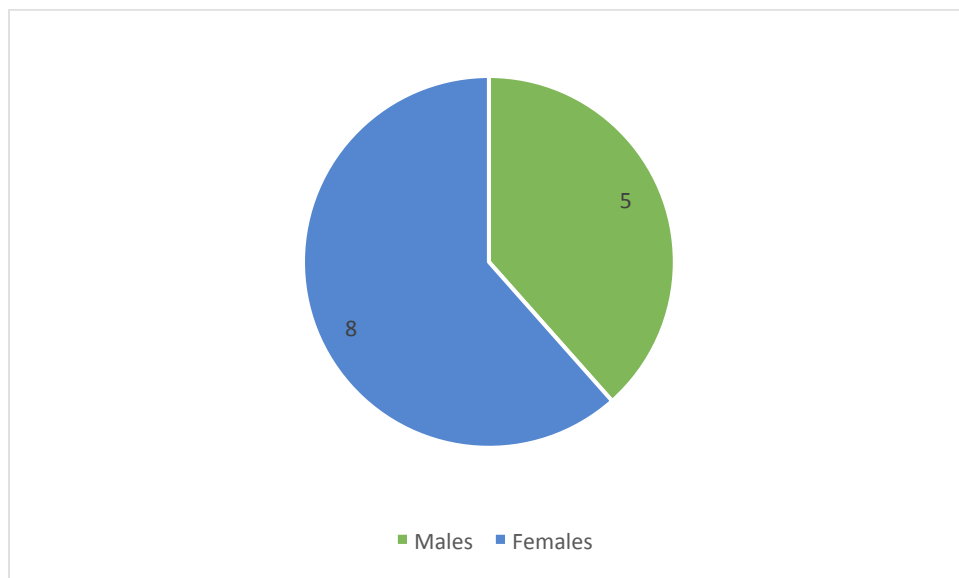


Figure 5-2 Gender of participants

Figure 5-3 illustrates participants' responses to the question, "when did you start learning English?"

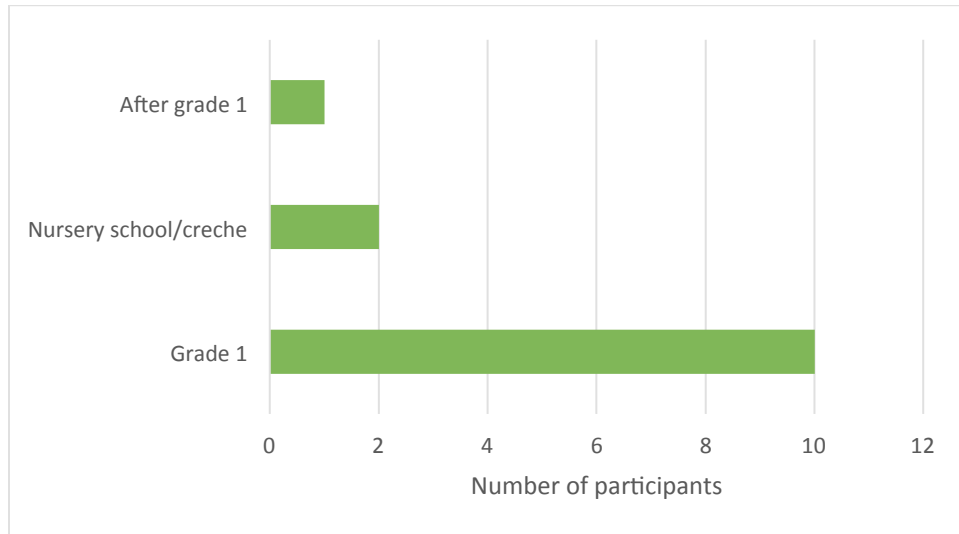


Figure 5-3 Age of learning English

Below is a summary of the level of education of participants.

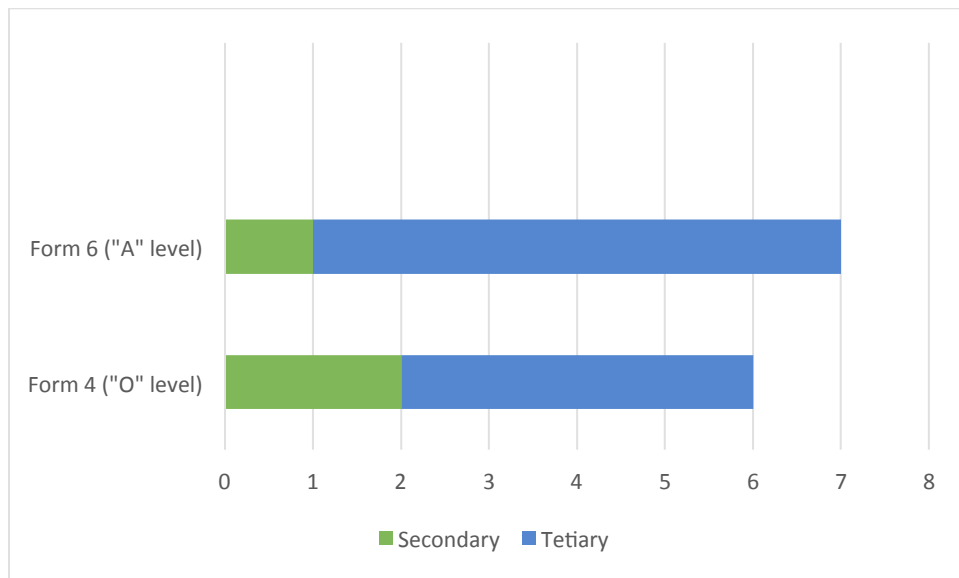


Figure 5-4 Level of education

Figure 5-5 represents participants' responses to the question: "Do you still use English everyday?"

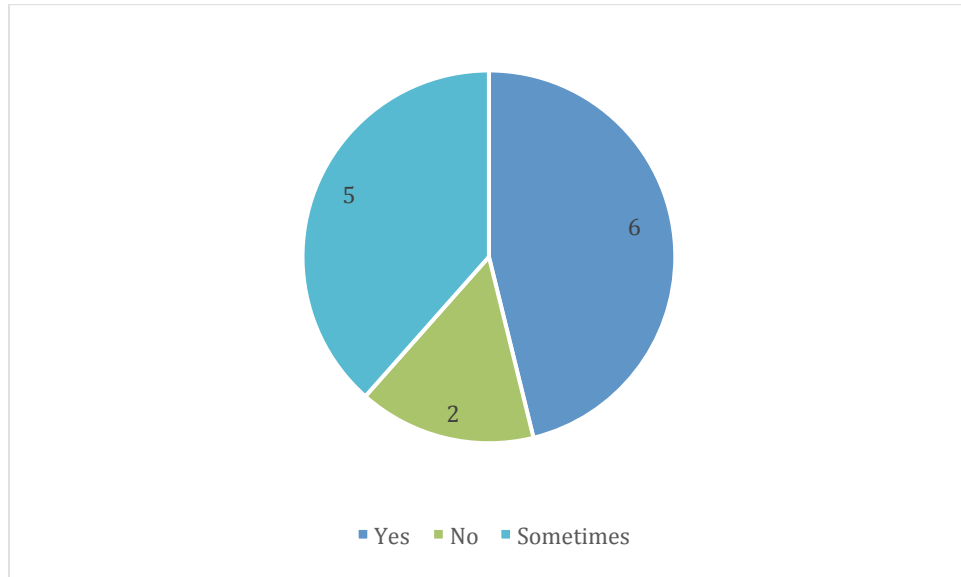


Figure 5-5 English use

Figure 5-6 shows participants' responses to the question, "do you feel confident to communicate in English?"

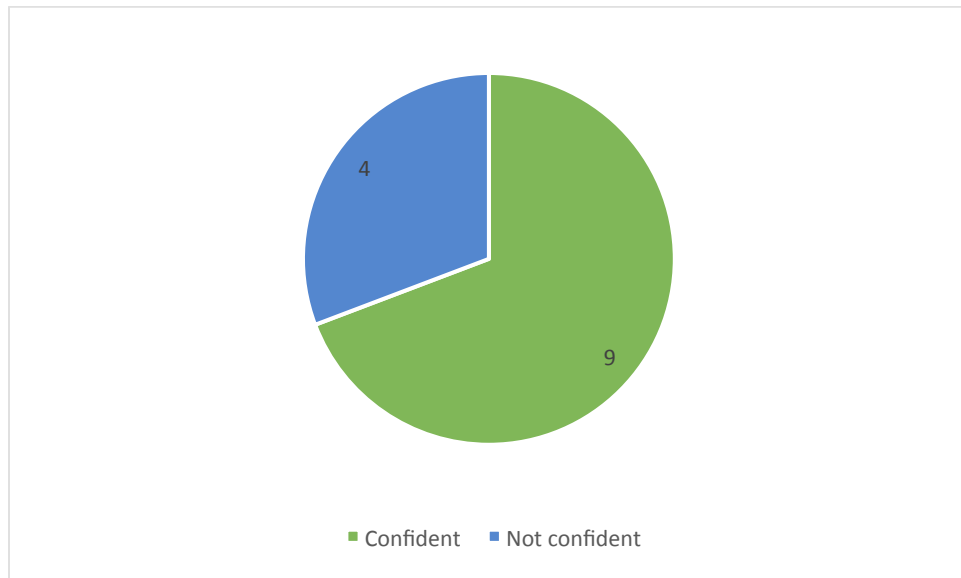


Figure 5-6 Confidence in using English

The employment status of participants is shown in Figure 5-7 below.

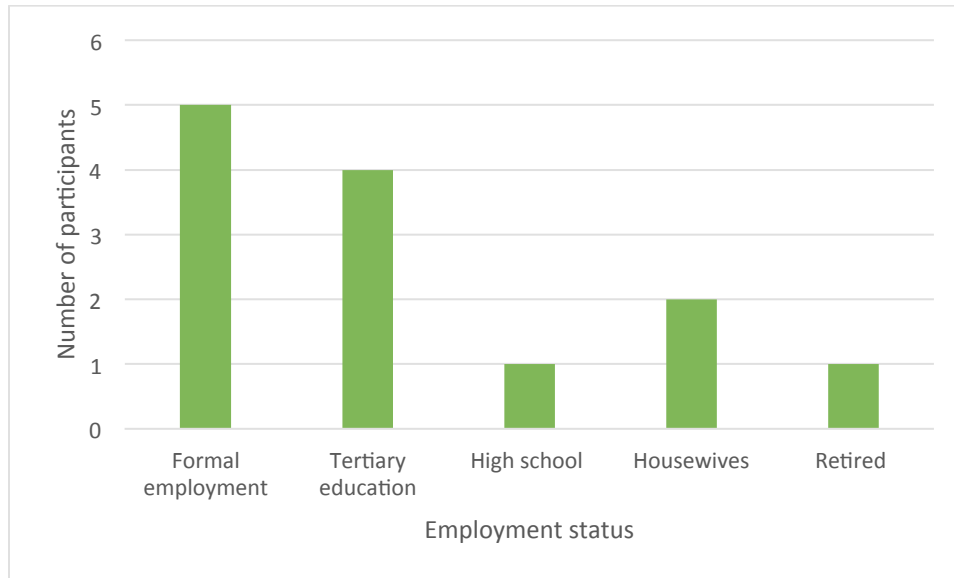


Figure 5-7 Employment status

5.2.4 Cloze test

In addition to semi-structured interviews, the cloze test helped determine which participants were more suited to be selected for the study. There were 14 questions which required participants to fill in the blank spaces using the words they thought were most suitable to complete the sentences. All participants passed the test with at least 12 out of 14.

5.3 Applying the markedness model to the compiled Shona corpus

In this section, the following research questions were considered:

- Does the MM apply to the compiled Shona corpus
- What functions do the code-switches serve in the contexts in which they appear?

The compiled corpus was analysed to determine whether the MM applies to it. A wordlist generated was used to manually search for English words. The English words were then entered into Wordsmith to see the context in which CS occurred. As mentioned in chapter 2, the MM is developed on the premise that speakers

choose linguistic codes not because of the societal conventions but because they think carefully about the outcome. According to the model, speakers follow the four proposed maxims resulting in four types of CS. This section will consider the four maxims and whether the types of CS proposed by M-S do in fact appear in the spoken Shona corpus.

5.3.1 The unmarked-choice maxim

As discussed in chapter 2, the unmarked-choice maxim guides speakers to use the unmarked choice to assert what is expected in that type of exchange. Data was analysed to determine the occurrence of two types of CS (sequential unmarked CS and unmarked CS) resulting from the maxim.

5.3.2 Sequential unmarked CS

There were incidences of CS that occurs when situational factors change during an interaction. The MM states that sequential unmarked CS occurs for example “when the participant makeup of a conversation changes or when the topic is shifted.” (M-S, 1993: 114) The MM predicts that sequential unmarked CS may occur to show the seriousness of the subject under discussion. This is true in the example [1] where P4 is discussing the importance of respecting God.

[1] (Setting: Father and child are discussing different issues at home.)

P4: *Saka we don't want to, to lose that opportunity of respecting God. Ee ndakambotaura navakomana ava. Ndikati imimi zvomotokoniwa manje ndechekuti if you don't want to respect hanzvadzi dzenyu idzi, God will never respect you.*

“So we don't want to, to lose that opportunity of respecting God. I once talked to these boys. I said what you are failing is if you don't want to respect your sisters, God will never respect you.”

P3: Mm.

“Yes”

P4: *Isu, ini chandinokumbira ini, ee zvandoda kutaura pano apa ndechokuti we must pray. Prayer is very important.*

“What I ask, what I am saying is that we must pray. Prayer is very important.”

Since P3 and P4 are father and child, the expected language in this conversation is Shona. This is because the father and child share the same first language. To show the **change in tone** and **the seriousness of the matter under discussion**, the father switches to English when talking about prayer and respecting God. The sentences; “*we don’t want to lose that opportunity of respecting God*”, “*God will never respect you*” and “*prayer is very important*” are examples of sequential unmarked CS.

[2] (Colleagues)

In another conversation, P11 and P12 are discussing the past in Shona.

P12: -- akanyarara haana rough.

“-- is quiet and is not rough.”

P11: {LG}

P12: Ungazvikwanisa izvozvo?

“Can you tolerate that?”

P12: -- anoti uchida kumutengera anenge achikutuka.

“When you want to buy something for --, she scolds you.”

P11: -- anotokutuka. Hanzi iwe -- iwe. --ka. {LG}

“-- scolds you. She says you --.”

P12: (laughs) Haa haiwa.

(laughs) “Well I don’t know.”

P11: Unotozoseka zvako kuti haa vamwe vanhuka, Mwari ngaavaregerere zvokwadi.

{LG} Aa -- ari *rough*. Unotovirirwa watoshaudwa.

“You just give up and say may God forgive her. {LG} Aa -- is rough. You end up shouting.”

P12: Aa.

P11: -- ndiye anoziva kuti vanhu vaku-, ava vanhu vakuru ava.

“-- knows that these are grown ups.”

P12: Mm, haa -- *is a soft guy*.

“Yes, well – is a soft guy.”

P11: Pamwe zvichachinja otaura.

“Maybe it will change when he starts speaking.”

P12: Aa zvochinja.

“Aa it will change.”

P11: Anee ava kuti-.

“He will be saying that-“

P12: Zvochinja haiwa. Kanoto- ka- ka- ka- ndakaona panda ndichiti usadaro. Kakachiramba.

“It will change. He will, I saw it when I was saying don’t do that. He was refusing.”

P11: {LG}

P12: Saka haa zvakatooma. *But he is a soft spoken.*

“So it is unbelievable. But he is a soft spoken.”

P11: Kanozokurirwa nekusataura.

“He gets overwhelmed by the failure to speak.”

P12: *His father is missing out I think. He is a sweet guy. I mean -- not his father.* {LG}

P11: {LG} Yohwee aaya. {CG} Musandisetsa zvangu.

{LG} “Goodness. {CG} Don’t make me laugh.”

P12: {CG} *I mean he, shuwa he is missing out. He is a sweet guy.*

“I mean he, yes he is missing out. He is a sweet guy.”

P11: --.

P12: Mm.

“Yes.”

When the subject changes to a child’s behaviour and the absence of the child’s father in [2], P12 switches to English. Since P11 and P12 are ethnic brethren, the unmarked (expected) choice for them in this casual conversation is Shona. Sequential unmarked CS here is caused by a **shift in the topic** under discussion. Although P12 switches to English, P11 still uses Shona when replying. This is evidence to suggest that both P11 and P12 are bilinguals. Bilingualism is one of the conditions proposed by Myers-Scotton as a condition for CS to occur.

5.3.3 Unmarked code-switching

As noted by M-S (1993a) speakers in many urban African communities switch between a foreign language which will be the official language and their first language. The foreign language is usually learned at school. It was the case for all participants in the current study. In unmarked CS, “speakers engage in a continuous pattern of using two (or more) languages, often the switch is intra-sentential and sometimes within the same word” (Myers-Scotton, 1993a:117). In this study, there is a lot of unmarked CS recorded in the conversations. Unmarked CS occurred in all the conversations recorded for this study. The MM states that for unmarked CS to occur, speakers should be bilinguals. All participants were Shona-English bilinguals and used both languages during conversations. Hence this condition is met in this study. The following examples show unmarked CS.

[3] The following is a dialogue between two sisters, a Provincial Programmes Coordinator (P1) and a nursing student (P2). They learned English at school and Shona is their mother tongue. There is unmarked CS in the conversations. Instances where they switch to English are given in boldface.

P1: Vanhu ini ndakatozvibata ndikazvihwisisa ini. *Zviri clear* kuti vana chikoro zvakatodii.

“I figured it out myself. It is clear that children’s schooling was-.”

P2: Zvakakona.

“It failed.”

P1: Mwana akatoregister zvaakaregister. Saka *what now?*

“The child registered something. So what now?”

P2: Mm.

“Yes.”

P1: Muchataura nemunhu muchadei? *Problem* yanga iripo *is solved.*

“What do you want talking to the person? The problem is solved.”

P2: Ee.

“Yes.”

P1: *So what? Vana-- vanenge vachingoti pano neapo vachingodii, vanhu vachingoona kuti vari kufemawo here, zvapera. Iye zvaanofunga kuti attention. Moziva kuti munhuka?*

“So what? -- and company will be moving around whilst people check if they are breathing. He is an attention seeker. Do you know that a person-?”

[4] Below is a conversation between P7 a 40 year old doctor and P8, a 27 year old university student. Unmarked CS is shown.

P7: *Yaa paproperty iyo inoda kupendwa.*

“Yes, the property needs to be painted.”

P8: *Horaiti.*

“Alright.”

P7: *So I don't know. Maybe kunana, tiri muna ani June?*

“So I don't know. Maybe in, which month are we in, is it June?”

P8: *June.*

P7: *Around end of July or August, early August.*

P8: *Early August. (talks to someone) (laughs)*

P7: *Haungambopeyi for nhingirikiri.*

“You cannot pay for that.”

P8: *For?*

P7: *Because vanhu vaunenge uchipayer vachoka, anenge achiitira kuti apedze ainde kune next.*

“Because the people that you pay will be rushing to finish and go to the next job.”

P8: *Ehe.*

“Yes.”

P7: *Awane mari yake. Whilst iwe ukazviitira you can say I take my time.*

“To get his money. Whilst if you do it yourself you can say I take my time.”

P8: *Wotora time yako zvisvishoma nezvisvishoma uchinyatsoona kuti zvakubuda here. (talks to someone else)*

“You take your time slowly seeing if it comes out properly.” (talks to someone else)

The months in the above conversation, “June”, “July”, “August” are considered to be borrowings in this study. Although Shona has terms that refer to these months; “Chikumi”/ “Chikuni”, “Kunguru”, and “Nyamavhuvhu” respectively, they are rarely used in conversations. They are more prevalent in the written form than in the spoken form. Their use in the corpus seems to support Myers-Scotton’s suggestion that unmarked CS can contain borrowed words.

Example [5] is a recorded conversation between a retail service worker (P11) and a high school student (P12). Their conversation includes Shona-English CS which occurs within sentence boundaries. There are also borrowed words like “Maths” and “TV”.

[5] P11: Hanzi vakandidzidzisa kuverenga Maths?

“She said he taught me to read Maths?”

P12: Kuverenga *instead of* kungoudzwa kunzi unodai unodai. Wotoverenga woziva kuti vanodai, vanodai saka regai ndiite.

“Reading instead of being spoonfed. You read and know what to do.”

P11: Ee Maths dzoverengwa. Tiri kuchikoro taingoudzwa kunzi Maths dzinoverengwa asi unenge usingabvumi hako munhu. Saka -- anogona kudzipasa Maths.

“Yes Maths can be read. When we were in school we were told that you can read Maths but we refused to believe it. So -- might pass Maths.”

P12: Haa akafoirawo. Munhu anoti apedza basa *around eleven* ototanga kuverenga. Anozonakirwa ne T V.

“Well if she fails it’s her fault. When she finishes work around eleven she starts reading. She gets excited by T V.”

P11: Ee, inga -- kava *serious*.

“Well -- is now serious.”

The MM proposes that unmarked CS can consist of single morphemes or single words with speakers alternating between the languages during a conversation. Example [5] above shows CS occurring as single words (e.g. *around* and *serious*).

There are incidences of unmarked CS in the conversation between P5, a 38 year old female teacher and P6, a 30 year old housewife. The two are talking about health issues and their experiences visiting the local clinic.

[6] P5: Ko gumbo riri seiko imi? Ndakanzwa kuti futi mune gumbo.

“How is the leg? I heard that your leg is sore.”

P6: Riri nani. Ndakabva ku*clinic* neChina but akangondipa mapainkiller chete.

“It is better. I came from the clinic on Thursday but she just gave me painkillers only.”

P5: Havana here mishonga kwayo? Iish. Vanhu vepa*clinic* apa vanoda kutonetsa.

“Don’t they have proper medication? It is tough. The people at this clinic are being troublesome.”

P6: Vanayo asi vakati mishonga yacho haisi *safe* kwandiri ndine BP.

“They have them but they said the drugs are not safe for me because I have B P.”

P5: Hoo zviya. Saka vakagoti mudii?

“Ok I remember. So what did they say you should do?”

P6: Hanzi indai kwadoctor.

“They said go to the doctor.”

P5: Ok.

P6: Ndichatoinda kana ndawana mari yacho. Nekudhura kunoita *transport* zvinotoda kuronga.

“I will go when I get the money. With transport being expensive, it needs planning.”

P5: *That’s why* ndakanga ndainda ku*clinic* pa pakakuvara mwana. Nokuti iish vana doctor vacho vanonetsa.

“That’s why I went to the clinic when the child was injured. Because the doctors are difficult.”

P6: *That’s why* ndakatangawo ku*clinic*. Vanodhura vana doctor. Fungai kuti *everytime* yaunoinda vanenge vachitoda kuti ubhadhare *consultation*. Manje ii ndinoiwanepi nhai vasikana?

“That’s why I also started at the clinic. The doctors are expensive. Think about it that every time you go they want you to pay consultation fee. So girl, where do I get it?”

In example [6], *that's why, everytime, safe* can be classified as CS. In addition to unmarked CS being evident in [6], there are also borrowed words. One area where Shona has borrowed English words to fill lexical gaps in the language is medicine. This is evident in the above conversation where English terms are used. For example, the speakers used the terms “clinic”, “BP” (Blood Pressure), and “painkiller”. The syntax, morphology and phonology of these words did not change. One may argue that “doctor” can be classified as a borrowed word because some people use it in conversations or use the borrowed version, “dhokuta”. The Shona word meaning “doctor” is “chiremba” but it is not used consistently. Because of this, I classified “doctor” as a borrowed word rather than CS in this study. Borrowed words found in the corpus are listed in Section 5.4.

5.3.3.1 Affixes in Shona-English code-switching

The study shows some English words that are prefixed with Shona noun prefixes. The prefixes are indicated in boldface.

[7] P9: Handiti breakdown yaka, **yema**payments wakaiona handitika?
“Is it you saw the breakdown for payments?”

In Shona, *zvakahadharwa* is the word meaning “payments”. One can therefore consider the above sentence to be an example of CS. **Yema-** “Of the” has been prefixed to the English noun (plural) “payments”. This seems to show that in CS, the embedded language, which is in this case English does not violate the syntax of the matrix language, Shona.

[8] P10: Asi munoziva henyu kuti makanyorerana pasi kuti tobhadhara kana tanyatsogutsikana *neeverything* zvamunenge maita. Kwete kuti tongokupai mari takanyarara.

“But I guess you know that you signed agreeing that we will pay if we are satisfied with your work. Not that we will give you money quietly.”

The English word “everything” has been prefixed with **ne-**. One can also consider example [8] to contain CS. There is only one English word found in the example but in literature, there is no prescribed number of words required for a sentence to be considered as containing CS. The word “everything” cannot be considered as a borrowed word because Shona uses the word *zvese/ zvose* to refer to “everything”.

[9] P1: Hanzi murume wacho **anotomu***abuser* zvake.

“I heard the husband abuses her.”

In the example above, “abuser” is prefixed with **anotomu-**. With the Shona prefixes added, the one word created makes sense. This seems to further support Myers-Scotton’s claim that CS is not a haphazard phenomenon but that speakers use the language at their disposal in an orderly manner.

5.3.4 Marked-choice maxim

The marked-choice principle states that speakers can use the **unexpected code** choice during a conversation. Therefore, it allows speakers to disregard the standard societal expectations. The model claims that marked CS can occur for more than one reason like to show anger, authority, annoyance, ethnicity, creativity. Marked CS results from the marked-choice maxim and will be discussed below.

5.3.5 Marked CS and its functions

The MM predicted that **status** contributes to the making of marked choices. Members of a group that is most likely to move upwards socially and economically will likely make marked choices. In addition, the well to do members of a community will most likely use marked choices. In marked CS “the speaker simply disidentifies with the expected RO set” (Myers-Scotton, 1993a: 131). Myers-Scotton notes that speakers use marked CS to show authority, ethnicity, level of education and a range of emotions like that one is angry or happy. Looking at the data set, let us consider the following conversation:

CS is used to show anger in [10] between a 67 year old retired teacher and a 53 year old housewife. They are arguing about the focus of a torch. When P13 argues that there is cockroach poison where P4 wants the torch to be positioned, P4 surrenders and leaves the decision to P13. P13 then uses marked CS to show her anger.

[10] P4: Taridzai uko.

“Focus there.”

P13: Iii.

“Iii.”

P4: (())

P13: Handiti apa pane mushonga wemapete here nhai nhai --?

“Isn’t it there was cockroach poison?”

P4: Aa chitsvetai chero pamunotsveta.

“No, put it wherever.”

P13: Haa imi *I am not a saskamu!* Hezvo!

“Well I am not mentally challenged. Goodness!”

P4: Hamufani kumboti, nokutika kana tichitaura kudai toitira kuti tive *newider knowledge* yokuti iye kana achi achiinda kumusha kwake.

“You don’t have to say . . . because when we are talking like this we want to have wider knowledge for when she goes to her home.”

P13: Zvatopera wani. Zvatopera.

“It is over already. It is over.”

The slang word “saskamu” used by P13 means someone who is mentally challenged. The conversation between husband and wife has been going on in Shona. The two participants both above 55 years of age, are expected to use their mother tongue in the rural setting. In the dialogue, Shona is the unmarked code during the conversation. P13 shows her anger and annoyance by using English, the marked choice and a slang word. By doing this, she is demanding to be respected as someone who can make her own decision. The use of an exclamation mark in the

transcription shows that her voice is raised. When P4 replies in Shona and English, P13 reverts back to Shona and pleads that the conversation to be over.

One of the claims made by the MM is that highly educated members of a community are likely to make marked choices during a conversation. This claim seems to be true in example [11] P7 has a PhD degree whilst P8 is a university student. In the conversation, P7 uses English to show his authority. He is giving instructions to P8 in English.

[11] P7: *So maybe you just take that receipt woinda for-*

“So maybe you just take that receipt and go for-”

P8: *Horaiti ndono, fifty pagore?*

“Ok, I will, fifty per year?”

P7: *I think so. So you can pay fees idzodzo. Then aa yaa aam maybe uyo anoita mapiping akaita piping yake akapedza, then uyo otanga kuplaster.*

“I think so. So you can pay those fees. Then aa yes aam maybe after the guy who does pipping is finished, then the other one can plaster.”

P8: *Handiti? Mr --.*

“Is that so? Mr --”

P7: *Maybe taikwanisa kutsvaka yokuti akaplaster pafront nokuisa veranda.*

“Maybe if we manage to get something to plaster the front and to put the veranda.”

P8: *Plaster kufront?*

“Plaster the front?”

P7: *Mm.*

“Yes.”

P8: *Aa but mati topendaka handiti?*

“Aa but did you say we paint?”

P7: *Ya I think so.*

“Yes I think so.”

P8: *Hoo saka it's like toregedza kupenda the whole?*

“Ok, so it's like we don't paint the whole?”

P7: *Ya just leave the outside.*

“Yes just leave the outside.”

P8: Vongopenda kumberi.

“They just paint the front only.”

P7: Mm.

“Yes.”

P8: Pane, ya pane pandakamboona pakapendwa. *It was nice.* (children talking) (. . .)

“I saw the same type of painting. It was nice.

P7: Mmm *because I think it should be ok. I don't remember* kapane-

“Yes because I think it should be ok. I don't remember if there is-“

P8: Saka panenge poda kungoplastwa *I think.*

“So I think it will need to be plastered.”

P7: Yaa, *kutop* uku.

“Yes, at the top.”

P8: Yaa.

“Yes.”

[12] P9, a builder and P10, a university student are discussing children. The setting is a rural shop. The duo have been conversing in Shona but P9 changes the code to English.

P9: {LG} (. . .) Saka mukoma wako ava nevanganiko ku ku kwaari ikoko?

“So how many (kids) does your brother have?”

P10: Aa vanongova netwo avo. Ko imi makazo mava nevangani zvamurimi?

“Aa he only has two. How many do you have?”

P9: Haa ini ini vanonetsazve vana. Nekunetseka kwatoita mari ungaramba uchingotsvaga mari uchingopinza chikoro. Haa asi haa ndine three zvangu.

“Well for me children are difficult. With the way we struggle to get money you end up looking for school fees everytime. Well, but I have three.”

P10: Aa ko makazoita wechithree? Ndaifunga kuti mune vavirika ini.

“Aa did you have a third one? I thought that you have two.”

P9: Haa ndakazoita wechithree, kakomana *twenty thirteen but* haa zvakabva zvatoguma. Totosiira imika imi ndimi mava kutofanirwa kuronga mhuri dzamangwana. {LG} Vana voku, vanhu voku*university* ndimi munowana marika imi kana mazotanga mabasa saka ndimi munotozoita vana vakawanda imi. Isu tingazvigonera nani zvedu isu madhara madhara.

“Well I had a third one, a boy in twenty thirteen but that was the end. We leave it to you to plan future families. You university graduates will get money when you start working so you should have more kids. We the elderly cannot manage.”

P10: Aa isu here? Zvekuita vana vakawanda zvakatopera kudhara. {LG} *I won't be able to take care of them. I will be very busy.* Saka ah handitomborina *plan* yokuti ndiite vana vakawanda.

“Aa do you mean us? Having a lot of kids is a thing of the past. I wont be able to take care of them. I will be very busy. So Ah I don't plan on having a lot of children.”

P9: Aa *plus* inizve ndakazatora mumwe mudzimaizve saka. Handiti unoziva kuti ndaiva netwo vaya? Asi ndakazoita mumwe. Uyu wandakazoita uyu ndakaita neumwe mudzimai asi hii, hi, hi, barika harisi nyore haiwawo.

“Aa plus I took another wife. I guess you know that I had two. The one I had came from another wife but well, polygamy is not easy.”

P10: Aa motoshinga, barika harisi nyorezve.

“Aa you should be strong, polygamy is not easy.”

P9: Ha ndaguta muzukuru. *Thanks very much.*

“Well I am satisfied my grandchild. Thanks very much.”

P10: Muchitendeiko sekuru haa muchitendei zvenyu. Matombodya here imi? Mangotora nyama ndokudya ndokutoti mapedza.

“Don't mention it uncle. Did you even eat? You just ate meat and said you are finished.”

Example [12] above shows the use of marked CS by P10 to show his status. When he is challenged to have many children, he objects. He considers himself to be part of the young generation who have moved on with the times and does not want to have many children. P10 explains that “*I won't be able to take care of them. I will be very*

busy.” To show that he has control over the matter of how many children to have, he uses English. The use of English here can be explained as showing his educational status (university student). In example [12], participants used the interjection **aa** several times.

The conversation below [13] between P3, a teacher’s college student and P4, a retired teacher shows the use of marked CS to show happiness.

[13] P3: Pane hembe dzachozve.

“Amongst the clothes.”

P4: Idzodzo?

“Those ones?”

P3: Mm.

“Yes.”

P4: Uchandipa futi?

“Are you giving me again?”

P3: Ndakupai wani. Dzirimo idzo.

“I gave you. They are in there.”

P4: *My Lord!* (claps) (all laugh) Kuti ndipfeke yakadai neimwe ine *different colour?*

“My Lord! (claps) For me to wear this one and another one with a different colour?”

P3: Mm.

“Yes.”

P4: *Aa my Lord!* (laughs)

“Well my Lord!” (laughs)

To show his happiness about the clothes that he has been given, P4 switches to English and claps his hands. Upon listening to the recording of this conversation, one can hear the pitch of P4’s voice getting high to indicate his happiness. The phrases *my Lord!* and *aa my Lord!* seem to show P4’s happiness.

In another example of marked CS found in this study, P9 starts explaining a point and then repeats it in English in the conversation below. This is done to reinforce or

to emphasise the point that although he is facing challenges in his business, he is determined to keep going.

In [14], P9 utters a sentence in Shona and repeats it in English.

[14] P10: *Ok, ok. Saka kambani yenyu iri kushanda here nhai baba?*

“Ok, ok. So is your company still functional?”

P9: *Hi haa zvakadzvanya muzukuru. Macustomer ndoari kuita mashoma but haa I will keep trying. Zvasiyana nekushandira umwe munhu but I will keep trying.*

Ndongoramba ndichingona kuti ndoita sei. Ndakatoshingirira handichatombodzoki. I will never look back now.

“Well it is difficult my nephew. The customers are few but I will keep trying. It is different from working for someone but I will keep trying. I will see what I can do. I will keep trying I will never look back. I will never look back.”

5.3.6 Exploratory code-switching

This type of CS occurs when the unmarked RO set is uncertain or when speakers are doubtful of the expectations in a conversation (Myers-Scotton, 1993a). According to the MM, exploratory CS does not feature much in conversations because usually the unmarked choice is clear. No instances of exploratory CS were found in the corpus.

5.4 Borrowed words in Shona

Although this discussion is about CS, it is interesting to note that there are borrowed words in the data set. Let us consider Kamwangamalu’s (2000) explanation that the borrowed word’s morphology, phonology and syntax changes to that of the borrowing language. Table 5-2 contains a list of examples of borrowed words that fit Kamwangamalu’s explanation. The Shona words are given with their English equivalents.

Shona	English
Shuwa	Sure
Fenzi	Fence
Majuzi	Jerseys
Kicheni	Kitchen
Dhora	Dollar
Pendi	Paint
Bhuku	Book
Heti	Hat
Sitaira	Style
Horaiti	Alright
Dhirezi	Dress
Hwani	One
Hwindo	Window
Kosi	Course
Bhegi	Bag
Dhishi	Dish
Zipi	Zip
Bhenji	Bench
Taundishipi	Township
Wikendi	Weekend

Table 5-2 Borrowed words found in the corpus

When considering the sentence below:

P11: Inodiwa nhingirikini iya, *spray* iya yemutoilet.

“That toilet spray is needed”.

Chimbuzi is the Shona word meaning “toilet”. Instead of using it, P11 uses “toilet” which has been prefixed with yemu-. This can be considered as an example of CS and not borrowing since Shona already has a term for toilet. Arguments can be made in support of “toilet” being a borrowed word because chimbuzi is rarely used. The

difficulty in classifying “toilet” as either an example of CS or as a borrowed word seems to support the suggestion that there is no clearcut distinction between borrowing and CS (Kamwangamalu 2000). In this study, “toilet” is classified as a borrowed word. This is because as indicated in Chapter 2, CS and borrowing are sometimes difficult to differentiate (e.g. Gumperz, 1982). This view is shared by Moro (2015) who notes that there are divergent views about CS and borrowing. The example below contains a word that can be classified as either CS or a borrowed word.

There are some Shona words which have been borrowed from English which have retained their English morphology and phonology (e.g. “airtime”, “library”, “square”, “fleece”, “percent”, “fifty”, “eight”, “fees”, “metres”, “ceiling”, “first”, “fifteen”, “calculator”, “grade”, “thousand”, and “doctor”). This type of borrowing is referred to as “nonce borrowing” in literature.

5.5 The nature of code-switching in spoken Shona

An assumption was made in Section 1.8 regarding the social functions of CS that the markedness model of CS as explained by Myers-Scotton will apply to all instances of CS in my data set. Data was analysed to determine whether the assumption is correct.

5.5.1 Code-switching occurs within sentence boundaries

From the gathered data, it can be noted that CS occurs inside sentence boundaries (intrasentential CS)

This is true of the following sentences;

[15] P9: *At least* wakawana basa.

“At least you got a job.”

The sentence starts in English and switches to Shona. During the same conversation, P9 starts a sentence in Shona then switches to English before reverting to Shona to finish the sentence.

P9: Manje havazivi kuti mazuvano ukatowana chero basa zvaro *you are better off than* kutongogara kumba uchishaya zvokuita.

“But they don’t know that these days if you get any job you are better off than sitting at home doing nothing.”

P10: Haiwa, vanotoda kukuonai imi *face to face* saka tinotofana kuinda tose.

“No, they want to see you face to face so we should go together.”

Considering the sentence above, the English words “face to face” form part of a sentence which includes Shona words. This sentence seems to show that intrasentential CS follows a pattern. This is because although there is a mixture in the languages used, the resulting sentence still makes sense and the morphology and syntax of both English and Shona is retained.

P9: *Ok, as long as* pane nyama then horaiti one fifty yacho.

“Ok, as long as there is meat then its fine one fifty is fine.”

Example [16] shows CS occurring inside sentence boundaries with the sentence commencing in English, then there is a switch to Shona in the middle of the sentence. The sentence consists of fragments of Shona and English.

[16] P6: Ii vanhu vanoziva kuti mukando unobatsira *especially* kana uchida kukwereta.

“Well people know that contributions help especially if you want to borrow.”

In the middle of the above sentence, P6 switches to English. The word “especially” is used. In Shona, “*kunyanya*” is the word that means “especially”. Instead of using the Shona word, P6 uses the English equivalent. The one English word that is used in the above sentence fits perfectly into the sentence suggesting that CS is not a random and haphazard phenomenon.

5.5.2 Shona-English code-switching occurs outside sentence boundaries

In the corpus, CS occurs outside sentence boundaries (intersentential CS) as supported by examples given below.

[17] P7: *To be constructed on site.* Yaa, hazvina basa rese izvi.

“To be constructed on site. Well, this is not important at all”.

The first sentence in the example above is entirely in English. Then P7 switches to Shona in the sentence that follows. This shows that the two languages are not mixed during the switch and seems to support Kamwangamalu’s (1999) claim that CS is a language contact phenomenon that is available to bilinguals and not to people who speak only one language.

P7: *I will make a copy.* Ndini ndaiva ndakunyora izvi.

“I will make a copy. I am the one who was writing this”.

P7 uses English in the first sentence and then changes to Shona in the sentence that comes afterwards.

In example [18] below, the first sentence is in Shona. Then P8 switches to English in the sentence that follows.

[18] P8: Pane, ya pane pandakamboona pakapendwa. *It was nice.*

“There is, yes there is somewhere that I saw painted. It was nice.”

Example [18] shows CS occurring outside sentence boundaries. The first sentence is in English followed by a switch to Shona.

5.5.3 Code-switching appears to be orderly

The sentences involved in CS still make sense despite being made up of two languages which have different morphology, phonology and syntax. If we take the following example from the study, the point where CS occurs is shown in boldface.

[19] P4: Ee. Saka the influence yavakadzi ivavo *it doesn't work* kuita *unite the family*.
“Yes. So the women’s influence doesn’t work to unite the family.”

The above sentence is grammatical although it contains Shona and English words. This shows that CS has not rendered the sentence ungrammatical. Therefore this seems to suggest that Shona-English CS appears to be orderly.

If we consider the sentence below, the first part is in English then P4 switches to Shona. The transition from English to Shona seems to be done in such a way that the sentence is well formed and is in accordance with the rules of Shona.

P4: *You deny us that chance* yokuti tive tinoraramawo.
“You deny us that chance for us to live.”

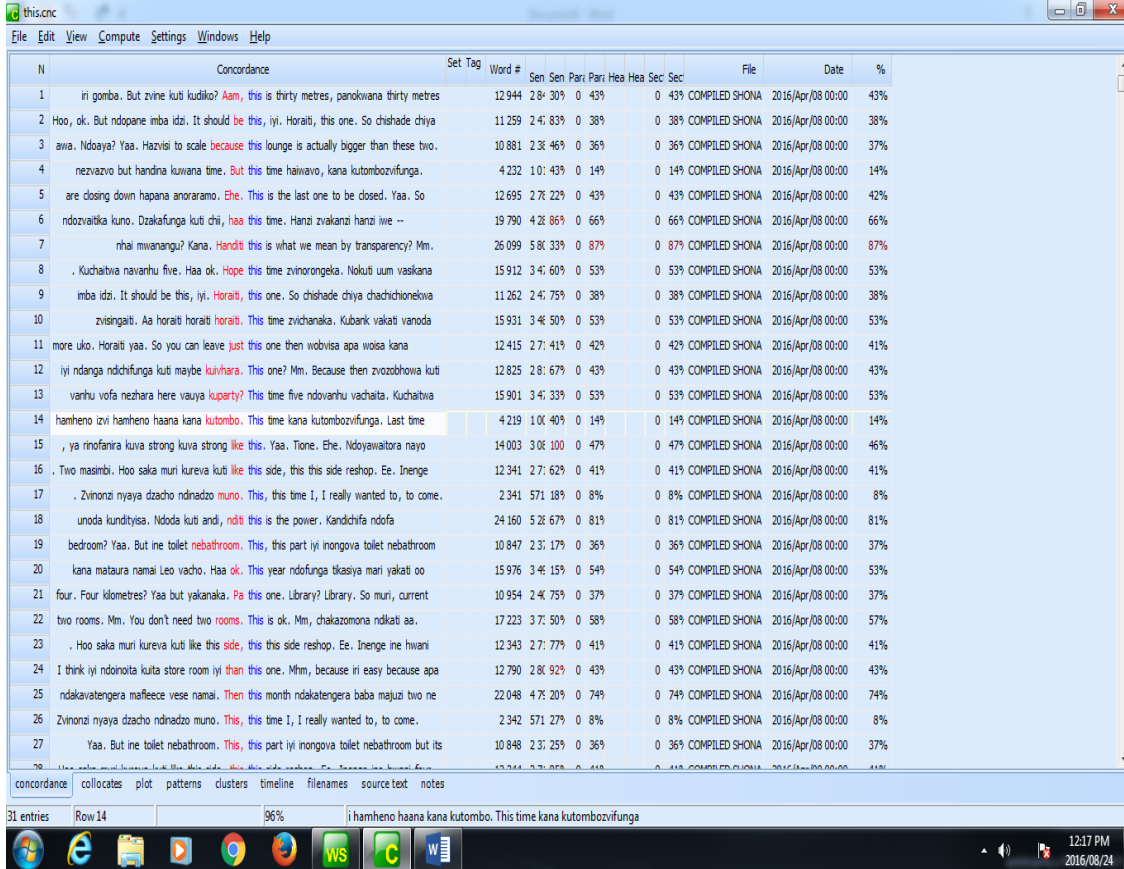
In the following sentence;

P12: Mm, haa vaka, *zvakavaaffecta mentally*.
“Well yes, it affected her mentally.”

The Shona prefixes **zvakava-** and suffix **-a** are added to *affect*. The word “*zvakavaaffecta*” meaning “it affected her” is created. The prefixes and suffix added create a grammatical word.

5.5.4 Concordances

The corpus was queried for concordances. This was done in order to analyse the context in which specific English words appeared. For example, concordances of the word “this” are shown in Figure 5-8.



N	Concordance	Set Tag	Word #	Gen	Sen	Pari	Para	Hea	Sec	Sec	File	Date	%
1	iri gomba. But zvire kuti kudikwa? Aam , this is thirty metres, panokwana thirty metres		12 944	2.8	309	0	439		0	439	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	43%
2	Hoo, ok. But ndopane imba idzi. It should be this , iyi. Horaiti, this one. So chishade chiya		11 259	2.4	839	0	389		0	389	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	38%
3	awa. Ndoaya? Yaa. Hazvivi to scale because this lounge is actually bigger than these two.		10 881	2.3	469	0	369		0	369	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	37%
4	nevazviro but handina kuvana time. But this time haiwavo, kana kutombozvinga.		4 232	1.0	439	0	149		0	149	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	14%
5	are closing down hapana anoraramo. Ehe . This is the last one to be closed. Yaa. So		12 695	2.7	229	0	439		0	439	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	42%
6	ndozvaitika kuno. Dzakafunga kuti chi, haa this time. Hanzvi zvakanzi hanzvi iwe --		19 790	4.2	869	0	669		0	669	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	66%
7	nhai mwanangu? Kana. Handi this is what we mean by transparency? Mm.		26 099	5.8	339	0	879		0	879	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	87%
8	. Kuchaitwa navanhu five. Haa ok. Hope this time zvinorongeka. Noluti uum vaskana		15 912	3.4	609	0	539		0	539	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	53%
9	imba idzi. It should be this, iyi. Horaiti, this one. So chishade chiya dhachichionekwa		11 262	2.4	759	0	389		0	389	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	38%
10	zvisingati. Aa horaiti horaiti horaiti . This time zvichanaka. Kubank vakati vanoda		15 921	3.4	509	0	539		0	539	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	53%
11	more uko. Horaiti yaa. So you can leave just this one then wobvisa apa wosa kana		12 415	2.7	419	0	429		0	429	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	41%
12	iyi ndanga ndichifunga kuti maybe kuvihara . This one? Mm. Because then zvozbhova kuti		12 825	2.8	679	0	439		0	439	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	43%
13	vanhu vofa nezvara here vauya kuparty ? This time five ndovanhu vachaita. Kuchaitwa		15 901	3.4	339	0	539		0	539	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	53%
14	hamheno izvi hamheno haana kana kutombo . This time kana kutombozvinga. Last time		4 219	1.0	409	0	149		0	149	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	14%
15	, ya rinofanira kuva strong kuva strong like this . Yaa. Tione. Ehe. Ndoyawaitora nayo		14 003	3.0	100	0	479		0	479	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	46%
16	. Two masimbi. Hoo saka muri kureva kuti like this side, this this side reshop. Ee. Inenge		12 341	2.7	629	0	419		0	419	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	41%
17	. Zvinanzi nyaya dzacho ndinazo muno . This , this time I, I really wanted to, to come.		2 341	5.7	189	0	8%		0	8%	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	8%
18	unoda kundityisa. Ndoda kuti andi, nditi this is the power. Kandichifa ndofa		24 160	5.2	679	0	819		0	819	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	81%
19	bedroom? Yaa. But ine toilet nebathroom . This , this part iyi inongova toilet nebathroom		10 847	2.3	179	0	369		0	369	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	37%
20	kana mataura namai Leo vacho. Haa ok. This year ndofunga tkasiya mari yakati oo		15 976	3.4	159	0	549		0	549	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	53%
21	four. Four kilometres? Yaa but yakanaka. Pa this one. Library? Library. So muri, current		10 954	2.4	759	0	379		0	379	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	37%
22	two rooms. Mm. You don't need two rooms . This is ok. Mm. chakazomona ndikati aa.		17 223	3.7	509	0	589		0	589	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	57%
23	. Hoo saka muri kureva kuti like this side, this this side reshop. Ee. Inenge ine hwani		12 343	2.7	779	0	419		0	419	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	41%
24	I think iyi ndoinota kuita store room iyi than this one. Mhm, because iii easy because apa		12 790	2.8	929	0	439		0	439	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	43%
25	ndakavatengeri mafeece vese namai. Then this month ndakatengeri baba majuzi two ne		22 048	4.7	209	0	749		0	749	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	74%
26	Zvinanzi nyaya dzacho ndinazo muno . This , this time I, I really wanted to, to come.		2 342	5.7	279	0	8%		0	8%	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	8%
27	Yaa. But ine toilet nebathroom . This , this part iyi inongova toilet nebathroom but its		10 848	2.3	259	0	369		0	369	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	37%

Figure 5-8 Concordances of the word “this”

“This” appeared both at the beginning and in the middle of sentences. “This” appeared in sentences containing CS as illustrated in the following sentence:

“*Hope this time zvinorongeka*”
 “Hope this time it will be orderly.”

Concordances of “but”

“But” was the most frequently used English word in the Shona corpus as shown in figure 5-9. It appeared both at the beginning and at the middle of sentences. In the following examples, “but” appeared at the start of sentences.

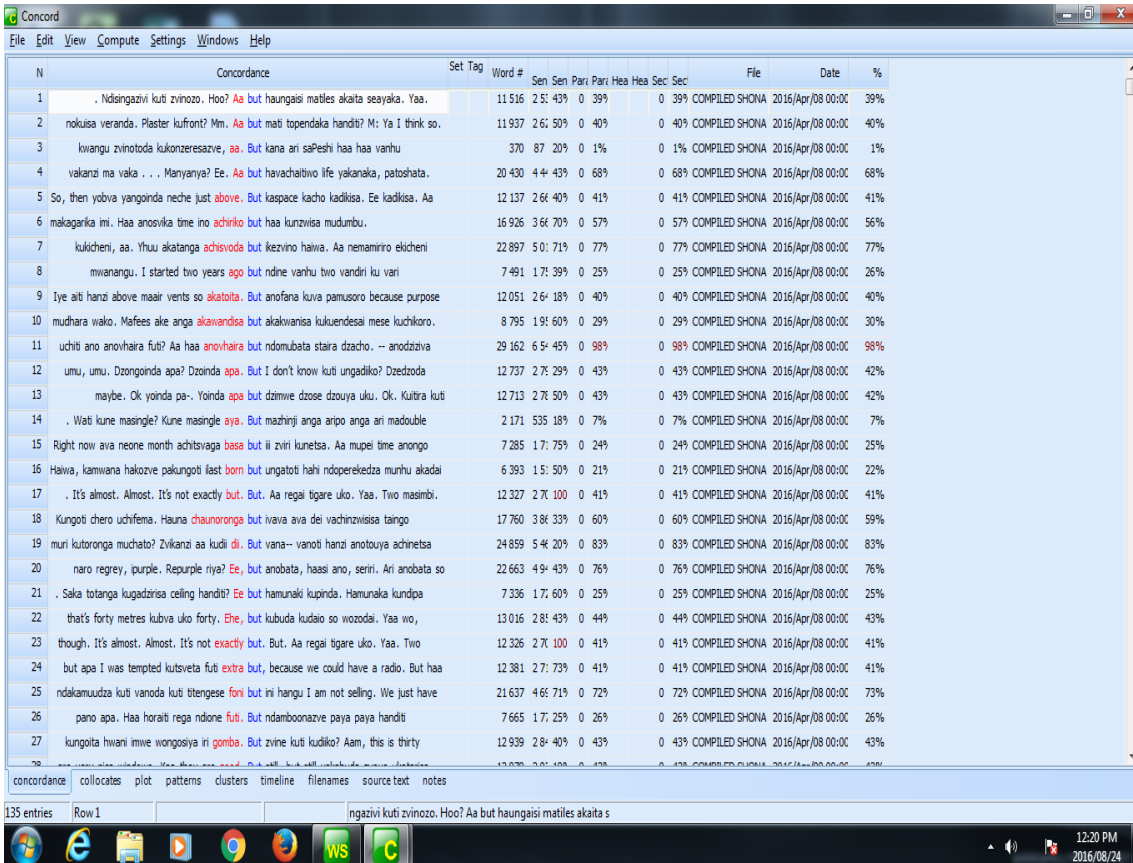
P1: Ee. *But* havachaitiwo life yakanaka. Patoshata.

“Yes. *But* she will not have a good life. There is a problem.”

The examples that follow show “but” appearing in the middle of sentences.

P9: I started two years ago *but* ndine vanhu two vandiri kushanda navo.
 “I started two years ago but I have two people that I am working with.”

Considering the sentences above, Shona-English CS seems to appear both at the start of a sentence and in the middle. Figure 5-9 is a screenshot showing some of the concordances of the word “but”.



N	Concordance	Set	Tag	Word #	Sen	Sen	Par	Hea	Sec	File	Date	%	
1	. Ndsingazivi kuti zvinozo. Hoo? But haungaisi matles akaita seayaka. Yaa.			11516	2:51	439	0	399	0	399	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	39%
2	nokusia veranda. Plaster kufront? Mm. But ma! topendaka handiti? M: Ya I think so.			11937	2:61	509	0	409	0	409	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	40%
3	kwangu zvinotoda kukonzeresazve, aa . But kana ari saPeshi haa haa vanhu			370	87	209	0	1%	0	1%	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	1%
4	vakanzi ma vaka . . . Manyanya? Ee. But havachaitivo life yakanaka, patoshata.			20430	4:4	439	0	689	0	689	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	68%
5	So, then yobva yangonda neche just above . But kaspace kacho kadikisa. Ee kadikisa. Aa			12137	2:66	409	0	419	0	419	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	41%
6	makagarka ini. Haa anovika time ino achiro but haa kunzvisa mudumbu.			16926	3:66	709	0	579	0	579	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	56%
7	kukicheni, aa. Yhau akatanga achisvoda but kezvino haiwa. Aa nemamiriro elicheni			22897	5:01	719	0	779	0	779	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	77%
8	mwanangu. I started two years ago but ndine vanhu two vandiri ku vari			7491	1:71	399	0	259	0	259	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	26%
9	Iye aiti hanz above maair vents so akatoita . But anofana kuva pamusoro because purpose			12051	2:61	189	0	409	0	409	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	40%
10	mudhara wako. Mafees ake anga akawandisa but akakwanisa kukuendesai mese kuchikoro.			8795	1:91	609	0	299	0	299	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	30%
11	uchiti ano anovhaira futi? Aa haa anovhaira but ndomubata staira dzacho. -- anodziva			29162	6:51	459	0	989	0	989	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	98%
12	umu, umu. Dzonginda apa? Dzoinda apa . But I don't know kuti ungangidiki? Dzedzoda			12737	2:71	299	0	439	0	439	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	42%
13	maybe. Ok yoinda pa-. Yoinda apa but dzimwe dzose dzouya uku. Ok. Kuitira kuti			12713	2:71	509	0	439	0	439	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	42%
14	. Wati kune masingle? Kune masingle aya . But mazhinji anga aripo anga ari madouble			2171	5:35	189	0	7%	0	7%	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	7%
15	Right now ava neone month achitsvaga basa but li ziviri kunetsa. Aa mupei time anongo			7285	1:71	759	0	249	0	249	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	25%
16	Haiwa, kamwana hakozeve pakungoti last born but ungangoti hahi ndoperekedza munhu akada			6393	1:51	509	0	219	0	219	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	22%
17	. It's almost. Almost. It's not exactly but . But . Aa regai tigare uko. Yaa. Two masimbi.			12327	2:71	100	0	419	0	419	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	41%
18	Kungoti chero uchifema. Hauna chaunoronga but ivava ava dei vachinzvisisa taingo			17760	3:81	339	0	609	0	609	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	59%
19	muri kutoronga muchato? Zvikanzi aa kudi di . But vana-- vanoti hanz anoutouya adinetsa			24859	5:41	209	0	839	0	839	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	83%
20	naro regrey, purple. Repurple riyaz? Ee , but anobata, haasi ano, seriri. Ari anobata so			22663	4:91	439	0	769	0	769	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	76%
21	. Saka totanga kugadzirisa ceiling handiti? Ee but hamunaki kupinda. Hamunaka kundipa			7336	1:71	609	0	259	0	259	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	25%
22	that's forty metres kubva uko forty. Ehe , but kubuda kudao so wozodai. Yaa wo,			13016	2:81	439	0	449	0	449	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	43%
23	though. It's almost. Almost. It's not exactly but . But . Aa regai tigare uko. Yaa. Two			12326	2:71	100	0	419	0	419	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	41%
24	but apa I was tempted kutsveta futi extra but , because we could have a radio. But haa			12381	2:71	739	0	419	0	419	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	41%
25	ndakamudza kuti vanoda kuti itegeze foni but ini hangu I am not selling. We just have			21637	4:61	719	0	729	0	729	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	73%
26	pano apa. Haa horaiti rega ndione fusi . But ndamboozve paya paya handiti			7665	1:71	259	0	269	0	269	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	26%
27	kungota hivani imwe wongosya in gomba . But zvive kuti kudiko? Aam, this is thirty			12939	2:81	409	0	439	0	439	COMPILED SHONA	2016/Apr/08 00:00	43%

Figure 5-9 Concordances of “but”

5.5.5 Frequently used English words in the corpus

From the wordlist created using the Shona corpus, the 5 most frequently used English words in the corpus are shown in Table 5-3. The position of the words in the wordlist, frequency and percentage are shown. The English words appeared in

sentences containing Shona-English CS either as the only code-switched words or as part of a phrase.

Position	Word	Frequency	Percentage
16	but	135	0.46
18	because	128	0.44
22	I	108	0.37
26	ok	98	0.33
42	it	75	0.26

Table 5-3 Frequently used English words

In comparison, the 5 most frequently used Shona words are shown in Table 5-4 below.

Position	Word	Frequency	Percentage
1	kuti	633	2.15
4	saka	393	1.34
5	kana	334	1.14
7	ini	271	0.92
8	hanzi	259	0.88

Table 5-4 Frequently used Shona words

Data seems to suggest that the 5 frequently used Shona words recorded higher frequencies and percentages than 5 frequently used English words. Even the position of Shona words on the wordlist was higher than that of English words. This maybe because Shona was the matrix language and English was the embedded language during the conversations.

The following discussion will illustrate some of the frequently used English words and their collocations.

(i) Because: 128 entries

The second frequently used English word in the corpus is “because” which appeared 128 times. Some of the sentences in which “because” appeared are shown below.

P11: *Because* vanhu vari kunyora June.

“Because people are writing in June.”

P4: She is not tired *because* zvokufonerana zvonetsa.

“She is not tired because phoning is difficult.”

(ii) I: 108 entries

P9: Haa *I* understand, *I* understand muzukuru.

“Well *I* understand, *I* understand my nephew.”

P1: “*Ini* handina kutaura naye ini. *I* think kungomunyararira. Ignorance pays.”

(iii) Ok: 98 entries

Ok appeared as a complete sentence in most sentences in the corpus. It was used to agree or to acknowledge a point.

P9: *Ok*. Ko mabasa arisei edegree rauri kuita?

“Ok. How are jobs for the degree that you are doing?”

P10: “*Ok, ok*.”

5.6.6 Collocations of code-switched words found in the compiled corpus

Data analysis shows the contexts in which the code-switched words appeared. This is shown in the examples of collocations given below.

(i) Think: 33 entries

“Think” collocates with “I” in 30 instances out of the 33 entries recorded in the corpus.

P1: Haa *I think* mwana wake.

“Well I think it’s his child.”

P6: Yaa *I think* vazhinji vanoda kuti vajoine.

“Yes, I think many want them to join.”

(ii) Know: 21 entries

“Know” collocates with “I don’t” in 18 instances out of 21 in the corpus. Some of the instances are shown below.

P7: *I don’t know* kuti tingadiiko apa.

“I don’t know what to do here.”

P12: Do *you know* kuti haatsatiswi?

“Do you know that you cannot crush them?”

(iii) Was: 8 entries

Was collocates with it in 7 of the 8 entries in the corpus. It also collocates with I in 1 instance.

P7: I don’t know about the same but apa *I was* tempted kutsveta futi extra but . . .

“I don’t know about the same but here I was tempted to put extra but . . .”

The table below illustrates collocations of the words “think”, “know” and “was”.

Word	Entries	Collocation	Collocation times
Think	33	I	30
Know	21	I don’t	18
Was	8	It	7

Table 5-5 Collocations

5.6 Conclusion

Data analysis has shown that the MM is a strong model that can be applied to Shona-English CS. Data analysis confirmed the assumptions made in section 1.8 that the

MM of CS as explained by M-S will apply to Shona-English CS. However, due to the more limited nature of data gathered, there were no incidents of exploratory CS in the study. According to the MM, exploratory CS is a less popular type because usually the unmarked choice is apparent during conversations. Since data was gathered from individuals who knew each other, the unmarked choice was clear.

In this chapter, data was analysed to determine the nature, occurrence and characteristics of CS in the oral discourse of Shona-English bilinguals. In addition to analysing transcripts of recordings, the compiled corpus was analysed using WordSmith tools.

Data seems to suggest that Shona-English CS occurs both within sentence boundaries (intra-sentential) and outside sentence boundaries (inter-sentential). The functions of CS like to show authority, anger and happiness, are discussed in this study. Some English words found in the corpus were prefixed with Shona noun prefixes. It can be noted that some sentences found in the corpus contained both Shona and English.

The five frequently used English words in the corpus are shown in comparison to 5 frequently used Shona words. The study also shows some of the collocations of English code-switched words found in the corpus.

It is also interesting to note that English borrowed words appear in the compiled corpus. The words are either used as they are or their spellings are changed to suit Shona spelling conventions.

In the following chapter, conclusions, recommendations and limitations of the study are discussed.

Chapter 6 Conclusions and recommendations

6.1 Introduction

Conclusions drawn from the study are discussed in this chapter. The conclusions are based on the research questions that were posed in order to deal with sub-problems identified. In addition, recommendations are made and attention is drawn to limitations of the study.

6.2 Conclusions drawn

After analysing data, the following conclusions were made concerning the subproblems identified in this study.

6.2.1 Subproblem one

Myers-Scotton proposed the MM to explain social motivations for CS and noted that the model awaits further testing.

In order to deal with subproblem one, the following research questions were posed;

“Does the MM of code-switching apply to the compiled corpus?”

“What functions do the code-switches serve in the contexts in which they appear?”

Data seems to suggest that the MM of CS applies to the compiled corpus. This is evidenced by the occurrence of the types of CS suggested by Myers-Scotton in the MM. The compiled corpus provided evidence of the CS types that are discussed below.

6.2.1.1 Sequential unmarked code-switching

The study showed that when the **situation** changed during conversations, some participants used CS. This is illustrated in [1].

6.2.1.2 Unmarked code-switching

Data gathered for this study shows a lot of unmarked CS. All participants in the study used unmarked CS in their conversations. One of the conditions for the occurrence of unmarked CS suggested by the MM is that participants should be bilingual peers. All participants in this study were Shona-English bilinguals and knew each other. Therefore, one finds unmarked CS in participants' conversations. The existence of unmarked CS in the compiled corpus can also be attributed to the education levels of participants. All participants chosen for this study spent at least 10 years in formal education where English was the medium of instruction and they used English often at school.

6.2.1.3 Marked code-switching

Participants used marked CS during conversations in this study. Data seems to suggest the use of marked CS to show anger, annoyance and happiness.

6.2.1.4 Exploratory code-switching

According to the MM, exploratory CS occurs where the unmarked choice is uncertain. Participants were bilingual peers and therefore unmarked CS was certain. There is no evidence to show the use of exploratory CS in this study. This can also be attributed to the limited number of participants which might have affected the diversity of participants.

6.2.1.5 Functions of code-switches in the contexts they appeared

Data seems to suggest that CS was used to show emotions such as anger, annoyance and happiness. Other functions of CS were not addressed because they were not part of my study.

6.2.2 Subproblem two

There is more than one perspective on CS available to scholars and all of them should be explored (in particular in relation to Shona-English CS).

The following research question addressed subproblem two:

- What is the nature of CS in spoken Shona?

After analysing the compiled corpus and transcriptions of recordings, the following conclusions were made:

(i) Shona-English CS occurs within sentence boundaries

Data showed instances where Shona-English CS occurred within sentences (intrasentential CS). Examples of sentences found in the corpus were given as evidence. Some sentences started in English and switched to Shona whilst other sentences started in Shona and then switched to English.

(ii) Shona-English CS occurs outside sentence boundaries

Examples drawn from the study seem to suggest that Shona-English CS occurs outside sentence boundaries (intersentential CS). For example, a participant would use Shona in one sentence and then switch to English in the next sentence and vice versa. This was evident in the sentences analysed in this study.

(iii) Some English words are prefixed or suffixed with Shona prefixes and suffixes

The study has shown that Shona prefixes and suffixes are added to some English words during CS. With the Shona prefixes or suffixes added, the code-switched words still made sense. This seems to support Myers-Scotton's (1993a) claim that CS is not a haphazard phenomenon but that speakers use the language at their disposal in an orderly manner.

(iv) Shona-English CS appeared to be orderly

Despite speakers using two languages which have different rules of grammar, CS seemed to be orderly. The study seems to show sentences in which the transition from English to Shona seems to be done in such a way that the sentence is well formed and is in accordance with the rules of Shona which is the matrix language (main language used during conversations) in this study.

(v) Frequently used English words in the compiles corpus and their collocations

The wordlist created from the corpus showed that “but”, “because”, “I”, “Ok”, and “it/it’s” were the top 5 frequently used English words. A query of some English words found in the corpus generated their collocations. The study has shown that the 5 most frequently used English words in the corpus did not have specific collocations but had a variety of collocations. “Think”, the word which featured 33 times in the corpus collocated with “I” in 30 instances. This was the highest number of collocations of an English word found in the corpus.

6.3 Borrowed words found in the corpus

Although this discussion is about CS, it is interesting to note the existence of borrowed words in the corpus compiled for this study. There were several examples drawn from the corpus to show the borrowed words. The difficulty in classifying some words either as examples of CS or as borrowed words seems to support Kamwangamalu’s (2000) claim that there is no clearcut distinction between borrowing and CS.

6.4 Recommendations

1. Considering that participants switched between Shona and English and their conversations remained meaningful, CS seems to be a strategy employed by speakers during conversations and should not be treated as inadequate speech.
2. The research group consisted of Shona-English bilinguals who had attended formal education for at least 10 years. It would be interesting if studies were

done to determine whether those who have spent fewer years in formal education still use CS in the same manner as the participants in the current study.

6.5 Limitations of the study and implications for further research

- Due to time constraints, the choice of participants was limited to those who gave consent and were available to participate due to time limitations. Some participants kept postponing the scheduled meetings for interviews or cancelled the meetings altogether and the researcher had to look for replacements. If there was enough time, the researcher could have selected participants from a wider pool.
- When determining the English proficiency levels of participants, this study relied on interviews and a cloze test. However, the study could not determine the exact level of participants' English proficiency. It could have been more interesting if more standardised tests were used before selecting participants for the study.
- The study only focused on Shona-English bilinguals who had spent at least 10 years doing formal education. Therefore, results cannot be generalised for all Shona-English bilinguals.
- Since the corpus used for this study was small, further research with a larger corpus could produce different results.

6.6 Contributions of the study

6.6.1 Corpus

A Shona corpus consisting of about 29 900 words was compiled for the purpose of this study. The corpus is a contribution to Shona language and can be used by researchers as a linguistic resource.

6.6.2 Adding to empirical data

This study adds to the already extensive empirical data that Myers-Scotton reports on. When the MM was proposed, it was noted that the model needed further testing. Applying the MM to a Shona corpus has shown the strength of the model.

6.6.3 A better understanding of Shona-English code-switching

In addition, as Shona is a less resourced language, this study has contributed to a better understanding of Shona-English CS. CS is shown as a useful discourse strategy in line with claims made by other researchers like Gumperz (1982). CS occurs in the speech of Shona-English bilinguals as they negotiate meaning during a conversation.

6.7 Conclusion

Since there is more than one perspective on CS available to scholars, this study set out to analyse the nature, occurrence and characteristics of Shona-English CS by using the MM and corpus analysis software. Two subproblems were identified and dealt with using research questions proposed for the study. In order to test the MM and to unpack the social motivations of CS in spoken Shona, a Shona corpus was compiled using conversation transcripts of 13 participants.

Data seems to show that the MM of CS applies to spoken Shona. Sequential CS, unmarked CS and marked CS were evident in data collected for this study. However, there is no evidence of exploratory CS in the corpus but the MM explains that exploratory CS rarely appears in conversations. The study also shows CS being used to show anger, annoyance, happiness and authority. In the compiled corpus, CS appears to be orderly.

CS as a research topic has come a long way from being considered as imperfect speech to being one of the widely researched language contact phenomena. Although the subject is fraught with disagreements and use of different terms to refer to CS, more research is shedding light on the matter. One wonders what the next decade will produce in terms of CS research.

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Appendix A: Interview questions

How old are you?

What is your first language or mother language?

When did you start learning English?

How far did you go with your formal education?

Did you use English a lot at school?

Do you still use English everyday?

Do you feel confident to communicate in English?

Thank you for your time.

Appendix B: Cloze Test

Fill in the blanks with words that would best complete the following passage.

Jill was _____ to her class slowly one day. She was worried _____ the History test she would have to _____ that morning. As she was reaching the classroom, a piece of paper suddenly fluttered down and _____ near her feet. As Jill _____ at the paper, her heart nearly _____ a beat. It was the History test paper complete _____ answers!

Jill's very first thought was not to _____ anyone about what she had found. She would memorize _____ the answers and do extremely _____ in the test. After some hard thinking, however, she knew that it would be a very _____ thing to do. Besides, it would not be _____ to her classmates. In the _____, Jill returned the paper to her History teacher, Miss James.

"Thanks, Jill. I have been _____ for it," said the teacher.

Answers

- | | | |
|--------------------|----------------|-------------|
| 1. Walking | 7. with | 13. end |
| 2. About | 8. tell | 14. looking |
| 3. Write/ take | 9. all | |
| 4. Landed/ dropped | 10. well/ good | |
| 5. Looked | 11. bad | |
| 6. Skipped/ missed | 12. Fair | |

(Source: www.englishdaily626.com)

Appendix C: List of transcribed conversations

The following represents samples of the transcriptions used in this study. In total, 12 transcriptions of conversations are available.

- Transcription 1: Participant 1 and 2
- Transcription 2: Participant 3, 4 and 13
- Transcription 3: Participant 5 and 6
- Transcription 4: Participant 7 and 8
- Transcription 5: Participant 9 and 10

Transcription 1: Participant 1 and 2

P1: *Heater* hapana,ini handingazvikwanisi {LG} Motofuka ma motofuka machira nayo. Moramba muchingodaro kusvika adzokera kumusha achivatisa nayo. Kwakutozoitakura kwakuinda nayo.

P2: {LG} Ka-- kanoweta. {LG} Ndakaona kunhingikiri -- dzovhura, dzoweta door rakavhurwa.

P1: Ee.

P2: Iish, ndozvamunoiawo?

P1: Kupi ku- (interrupted)

P2: KuHarare.

P1: Aa taidiiko isu, taivhara handiti?

P2: Mm.

P1: Aa ini ndaivhura.

P2: -- aripo.

P1: Nhaiwe --, ini ndaivhara here ini?

P3: Tanga tisingambovhari.

P2: Hezvo!

P1: Aa ini ndanga ndisingavhari. Ndaitozoti kana ndoda ku . . .

P2: Aa saka zviri normal?

P1: Ini ndaitoti kana ndoda ku ku kumama.

P3: Zviri *normal*.

P1: Ini ndaitoti kana ndoda kuzomama manje ndovhara.

P3: Mhh, ndopomozovhara *door*.

P1: Mm, kana kuti -- aripo ndopandaivhara. Mazuva ataivakozve -- waionekwa onekwa pamba.

P2: Saka ndokutora *wig* ndokuchizadza mumusoro.

P1: Masvika vanhu vakatamazve?

P2: {LG} Zvakarova.

P1: Aa, mm.

P2: *But it's a it's a nice home.*

P1: Zvakarova tika . . .

P2: *It's it's nice and friendly than* (interrupted)

P1: *Than* kuya kuya?

P2: Aiwa, ndiri kureva hangu kuti.

P1: Horaiti kuti yakanaka.

P2: *For the amount it's ok.*

P1: Aa chakazo.

P2: *Because* iya iya handiti yaiva *two rooms.*

P1: Mm.

P2: *You don't need two rooms. This is ok.*

P1: Mm, chakazomona ndikati aa. Iyeyu ndiye wakatsvaga uyu.

P2: Yowe! Inga vanhu vanokura takatarisa.

P1: Zvezvisati aaa. {NS} {LG}

P2: Ndiwe wakatsvaga?

P1: Ee.

P2: Uchifamba? (giggling)

P1: Ee.

P2: Hoo?

P1: Ndakatanga kuti *first day* ndobva ndabva kubasa. Ndobva ndauya, ndobva ndatanga kuti kuma*five* kwatosviba *time* dzandasvika dziya. Ndokutsvaga, ndokutanga kutsvaga. Ndobva ndainda ku*corner* uko, mberi uko. Ndobva ndatozodzokera kumba *late*. {LG} Ndobva ndachinosvika ndobva ndatoudza -- ndikati pakati pakati pakati pakati. Ndobva amukawo chaka*colour* iye ndobva ainda kwandakaa ndamuudza. Ndobva asvika, ndobva avashaiwa. Uum, wakawanika iripo handiti?

P3: Mm.

P1: Asi paiva nevana vechikoro.

P2: Vanodii?

P1: Saka *treatment* dzachowo akangoona kuti hadziiti magariro.

P2: Hoo?

P1: Hamheno odzokawo ndobva atojingirisa jingirisa. {LG}

P2: Saka kuseri kune munhu?

P1: Ndeya--. {LG}

P2: Kuseri kune munhu?

P1: Hee?

P2: Kuseri kune munhu?

P1: Ee.

P2: *I think it's ok.*

P1: Anga asati ambotsvagazve --. Waitoti a handisati ndambotsvaga. Havana kumbotsvagazve chero kuHarare ndini ndaingotsvaga paya.

P2: Hoo *it's new territory for her?*

P1: Aaa uyu wakura uyu. {LG} Ndopandakaona kuti wakura.

P2: Kutoti totsvagawo pokurenda?

P1: Ee zvake. Saka ndakatozoti ndakudzoka ndobva atonditi, ndobva tatomhanya ee.

P2: Makatama sei?

P1: Mhm?

P2: Makatama sei?

P1: Takatsvaga mota mutown, rhoru.

P2: Inga makura.

P1: Haa ini ndagara ndakakurazve ini. {LG} MuHarare handiti ndozvi aa . . .
(interrupted)

P2: Ko iri *bag* iri?

P1: Nderenyuzve, ndiro . . .

P2: Iri.

P1: -- ripi?

P2: Iri.

P1: *Mornachy*?

P2: Ndoriya he?

P1: Ndoriya *Mornachy* ra--.

P2: Ok aa hoo ndoraiindisa -- kuchikoro.

P1: Ndera-- rekuchikoro. Marirememberka?

P2: Iri ndorawakatenga manje manje.

P1: Iri ndorandakatenga ku-.

P2: Mhm?

P1: Chimwe chacho chakatozopambiwawo na-- haa.

P2: {LG} Asi unofarira mapumps?

P1: --?

P2: Ee.

P1: Ee ndocash yacho inenge iripo.

P2: Ndoinenge iripo. {LG}

P1: Anoda magogo.

P2: Ehezve ndakamunzwa -- na-- kuti anoda zvegogo. Saka imarii idzodzi?

P1: *Six dollars*.

P2: Hoo, (.) mapumps. Inga unochengeta,kana kuti hadzipfekwi.

P1: Aa dzo dzo dzakaa dzapedzisira gore rapera paya.

P2: Nguva yechandozve ndoi- (())

P1: Hadzizopfekekizve ee. Saka ikezvino ndopadzava kutanga kuchishanda *because* muno munotonhora. Haa pamajombo (())(interrupted)

P2: Aa baba vari kunetseka nenyaya yemakumbo nHINGIKIRI kudzinga mbudzi. Mai vanotonetsekawo nemakumbo saka vasimbisisa kuti hanzi tsvagai mari ye-(inrerrupted)

P1: Fenzi?

P2: Yefenzi, aa hazvisi kutomboita.

P1: Eezve, hazviiti.

P2: *Because* mbudzi nemombe.

P1: Ini ndakaa ndatozviona. Nokuti panoda kuti, kuti vagare zvakanaka panoda kuti pofenzwa poiswa gedhe.

P2: Hanzi *barbed wire* mukatsvaka mabhanduro *two*. Hino mabhanduro hwani rinoita *eighty-three*.

P1: Kupi?

P2: Kunodiwa *two* saka ah ndonyaya iripo. Haa vari kunetseka nemakumbo vese. Nyaya yekumanyirana nembudzi nemombe iyi.

P1: Mm.

P2: Hino dei vakomana ava dei va zvaa zvichiita taingoti mwenemwe *hundred hundred* tiri *three*.

P1: Mose?

P2: Ini na-- na-- Toita mwenemwe *hundred* totenga mabhanduro edu. *Plus* vati hanzi panofanirwa kupendwa.

P1: Mm.

P2: Saka *hundred* vopenda. Zvino ii unoudza ani wako?

P1: Veduwee kana muchida zvakanaka, siyanai navakomana ava. Munorongeswa kuinda musango.

P2: Anongobvuma.

P1: *Better* uzive kuti hapana hapana.

P2: Haatomborambi anongoti hoo.

P1: Izvozvi ukatoinda zvonzi aa mati chiiko imi, mati chii, mati marii? Aa mm horaiti, *monthend* toonana. Mugoiona, anodzima foni. Ende -- futi haana *problem* nomunhu. Unongodzima foni ogara.

P2: {LG} Haa ibasa.

P1: Oti chinouya chinoona ini. Ndozvaanoita -- achiziva kuti haumubati. Kana ari --, - - nhai? Haa horaiti horaiti horaiti. Unopedza *fifty dollars* iro richiita *eighty*, mm.

P2: Haa vanoda nhingikiri, vanoda fenzi. Vanototambura chaiko nenyaya yekudzingirirana nemombe. Samai vatosimbisisa kuti veduwee nditsvagireiwo fenzi mundindifenzere masha. Zvimwe zvese hazvo tiri *right*.

P1: Haa mai vakatodaro, vaitodaro.

P2: Vakadaro kubva *last year* paya.

P1: Ini *last year* ndaitozviziva kuti panofanira kuitwa izvozvo asi kuti zvakazouyawo cha mhengo dzasumukawo uko ha.

P2: Aa dei vakomana avo vachikwanisa kuwana something zvaiita hino ii.

P1: Ndokuchingozo ndokuchingozosara pachena seizvozvi. Zvino hapana chaucharonga. Kungoti chero uchifema.

P2: Hauna chaunoronga but ivava ava dei vachinzwisisa taingo taingoita mudeme mudeme. Hino hapana anonzwisisa.

P1: Haa hapana. Uyo wakatoitwa *takeover* na--zve. Uri kungoshandira yokuroora nemabhachi. Akatotenga mabhachi anamai va--?

P2: Mm.

P1: Aa.

P2: Majasi ese akatenga.

P1: Aa, mishonga inoshanda.

P2: {LG} *But* haa . . .

P1: -- zvichamupfukira rimwe gore. Izvozvo zvokuti hanzi havandifoneri *it's eating her up*.

P2: Ee.

P1: Nerimwe, angataura zvake na-- angasekaka.

P2: Hanzi vanatete vangu vese hapana anoda kundifonera.

P1: *Because* izvozvoka, chero iwewe wega mufungwa dzako kufunga kuti (grunts)

P2: Kana ndikaindako ndonogara sei?

P1: Hapana waunojairana naye.

P2: Hauna.

P1: *Because* ini ndinosunga *play* zvokuti munhu haaswederi padhuze neni {LG}.

P2: {LG} Iwe unotosunga *play*.

P1: Ini ndosunga *play* ini zvokuti chero kupfuura nepandiri munhu anotenderera nekuseri uko achida cup iri papa anoinda nekoko.

P2: {LG} Aya.

P1: Ndakatarisa zvangu ndiri zii. Wobika zvitii zvako wopedza.

P2: Wobika sadza rako.

P1: Ini ndosumuka ndonobika sadza rangu ndodya.

P2: {LG}

P1: Ndorandinodya sadza rangu randakakura naro ndichirerwa namai vangu. Zveshu tsvigiri dzenyu idzi munadzo.

P2: Ndozvandaiudza vana -- kuti aa. Hoo ndaiudza mai -- madeko ndikati mai --ka, pano apa takakura tichiti dheka riya *rewwhite*.

P1: Mm?

P2: Raiinda kunotsvaga muvhunzandadya. Wouya muvhunzandadya usina mafuta.

P1: Mm.

P2: Wobika, totorova sadza motoswera.

P1: Mm.

P2: Manheru ndizvozvo. Saka nhasi zvokuti munhu anoramba nemari achidini *it's not new*. Even kumba kwangu *when I look at what I have* ndototi tsk. Ini ndakakura ndichitambudzika saka hazvitombondishamisi kuti paita chikafu chakawandisa chinonyimwa nomunhu kana kuti paita munhu ane mari achanditengerawo chingwa. Handinei. Pandakasvika kuHarare kwacho, takadya sadza nemurivo. Ndakafa here? {LG} Ndikamuka ndika- ndakaa ndatengawo chichingwa ndika tikamwa tii yedu. Vavava neshuga va vava nezvimasamba nei nei. Aa vaiva nesadza neufu nemasamba. Ndandakanganwa. {LG}

P1: Vaiva nei?

P2: Masamba vaiva nawo.

P1: Nemasamba, ha, zvakaoma. Saka vanga vakaomerwa vasikana.

P2: Saka vakangonhonga nhongawo zvunhu *zvefifteen fifteen dollars* ndobva tazotsvaga muriwo.

P1: --, ee vaka, havana kufanana vakomana. Vakasiyana.

P2: Saka ndakamuudza (interrupted)

P1: -- ukamusvikira ukati --, kana ane mari zvake aba yekuchikoro zviya.

P2: {LG}

P1: --, hona zvinhu zvakamira zvakadai, zvakadai, zvakadai. Ane zvaanoita --. Ane zvaanoita --. Asi kana ainayo anokuudza kuti aa mira, kana achida zvake, mangwana ndokupa. Omuka *odealer* kuchikoro kwake.

P2: Mm.

P1: Yaunenge wataura iyoyo anokupa.

P2: Mm.

P1: Kana ichitovapo anotokupa yese agotokupa yekombi. Chiinda kumba.

P2: Mm.

P1: Asi adaro anotombodealer newe chaizvo kana ambokupa {LG}

P2: {LG}

P1: Haakupi futi anotombogara *because*-. Asi zviru nani pana --. -- unorwadza *because* zvaanoita. Anototi hauna chii haa horaiti, iwe hauna here yaunayo.

P2: Ndozokupa.

P1: Tongozoti pamonthend ndongozokupa yese.

P2: Ini handiti ndakanzi ndipeiwo *two dollars* ndouya ndichikupai manheru *but* mangwana acho aitondivhunza yebhazi {LG} yekombi.

P1: Yekuinda kumukadzi?

P2: Mm. Uyu achingoshushira zvanzi-

P1: Iye anenge achingoti huya.

P2: Ee hanzi huya.

P1: Anenge achiti unofamba nei?

P2: Pataitocrosser, *because* kubva uko handiti unofamba nekuseri?

P1: Haachisina motahe?

P2: Aa yakainda kuservice. {CG}

P1: Ndoyaanenge achidira. Kutu -- huya ugare kuno kuitira mota achiinda kubasa. Nokuti waiidaka mota iya. Zvaingogara zvichitonetsana.

P2: Hino unovhaira nemota isu tinayo. Ini ndaa kudriverka ini. Ndakazoinda kumalessons.

P1: Hoo, mava *nelicence*?

P2: Handisati. Ndava *nethirteen*, ndoda kusvika *twenty lessons but* ndakutodhiraiuha.

P1: Hoo?

P2: Ukatouya kunhingi uko ndokwanisa kutokufamba newe (laughs).

P1: Inga manaka.

P2: Aa ndakaona kuti (interrupted)

P1: *Driving* ndidzo driving dzinoshainwa nadzo kubasa kwedu?

P2: Aah.

P1: Vanhu vanoshaina *nedriving*.

P2: Uhm?

P1: Unonzwa kunzi mota dziripo idzi, haudhiraiuhi , inda nebhazi.

P2: Aa hamenowo kuti fenzi yacho inofenzwa inoitwa riini *but* aa vari kutambura nemombe. Ikezvino mombe dzichangosundirwaka dzonetsa.

P1: Ichii *eighty five, eighty-five* here?

P2: Haa baba vati hanzi panodiwa *hundred because* vanozokwidza.

P1: Chii?

P2: Nhingikirizve. (interrupted)

P1: Kuikwidza kubva maGutu?

P2: Ee, vanoitengaka zvibhanduro zviya.

P1: *Hundred hundred*.

P2: *Ibarbed?* Mm.

P1: Ko matanda acho vanawo here?

P2: Nematanda. Haa zvinhu zvacho here. *But* matanda ukatenga *like* tomboti kubva pakona kusvika pakona ukaita kana *five* aka *treatwa*, amwe unongotsvaga asina *kutreatwa*.

P1: Mm.

P1: Ivo baba kana vachitoti hundred vanoziva kutoti vanotenga sei.

P2: Ee vati hanzi aiwa (interrupted)

P1: Baba vakangwaraka vaya.

P2: Vati *hundred* inoita nokukwidza *but* panozodiwa matanda saka pakaita *one twenty* totsvaga nematanda. Vanhu vacho vanoda kufu- (interrupted)

P1: Saka itoitai *one twenty, one twenty*. Ndofunga *two fifty*, haa *fifty*.

P2: Vanhu vanotoda ku-. Ko vanhu vacho vanofenza vanenge vachida mari?

P1: Saka yekutoti vainde ivo kwaGutu *nokunotranporter itwo fifty*.

P2: Ivo vakatorimisaka futi dhirenhi riya riya, bani, *forty dollars*.

P1: Kuhwinda?

P2: Ee.

P1: Dei vachingorega kuhwinda. Havasati vaibhadhara?

P2: {LG} Unoita samai. Hanzi namai munongorima.

P1: Ini handidi ini.

P2: Hanzi munongorima, vanhu vouya vachingouya *every month* vachiti *pensioner* uya ngaachitipa mari dzedu. Mai havadi kuti parimwe. Hanzi siyai *because* kunongoita nzara *I don't see why*.

P1: Ini ini inika ndakambovaudza.

P2: Hanzi ndingapata.

P1: Ndakambovagarira pasi ndikati-.

P2: Hino baba vano, havadi. Hanzi hanzi ndingapata.

P1: Mm, ini ndakambovataurira ndikati no zvokuti hanzi murambe muchiti ngengenge, munongonorima pazvuru zvenyu mogara.

P2: {LG}

P1: Churu chemomo, churu chemomo.

P2: *Because* kumba kwakatorimwaka, kwakatotsindikirwa.

P1: Nokuti unonetseka nei, nokuti uchada kusakura.

P2: *But* kutsindikira kuri *right because* mashanga.

P1: Anonetsa.

P2: Anonetsa.

P1: Ee haa zvaizotovanetsa *worse* nemombeka?

P2: Haa mombe vari kunetseka.

P1: *But* pamba panoda kufenzwa nokupendwa.

P2: Dei ndandine mari ndai.

P1: Musha wacho haunaki.

P2: Ee aa baba vanditsanangurira kuti munofanirwa ku tinofanirwa kufenza musha. Ndoda kubvisa iyi yazara muraini. {CG} Vanoda *yellow*.

P1: Vatevedzerazve vanhu?

P2: Ee, *sort of orange*. *It's yellow going for orange*.

P1: Iya iya, pane imwe.

P2: Renhingikiri riya rakanzi *don't quit*. Riya card riri kumadziro.

P1: Horaiti chiya chiya ichi.

P2: Iyoyo.

P1: Yakanaka iya.

P2: Ndojavanditaridza kuti vanoda.

P1: Nokuti -- wakatoshinga nayo. haatombodi nayo. Akatoitoraka kutoiisa pa- haa.

P2: Saka ivo vanoda kuichinja kunhingikira, kuita *yellow*. Yellow muraini muya hamuna. Hameno kwa kwa-- kunei?

P1: Aa hakuna kune *pink*.

P2: Saka muraini muya hamuna *yellow*. Ndojavanoda *sort of orange*.

P1: Ee, ndozvavanofanirwa kuita izvozvo.

P2: Saka vati hanzi *thirty dollars*.

P1: Pendi?

P2: Mukawana *thirty dollars* ee.

P1: Aa ishoma.

P2: Ishoma.

P1: Haa *thirty* ishoma. Maingoti umwe neumwe.

P2: *Thirty dollars* unowana gaba riya zihombwe riya.

P1: Motokwana.

P2: Saka rinokwana. Saka a hamenowo kuti. Ivo vati hanzi taura navakomana ndikati ii.

P1: Navakomana mai --.

P2: Mm.

P1: Hee, kana mune *airtime* kana *yefifty*. Motombobhajeta *airtime*.

P2: *Plus* handiti ndakamboti ndichauya.

P1: *Airtime yefifty*.

P2: Ndakamboti ndichauyaka kudhara dhara. Ndobva ndamuudza kuti --, -- ndiri kuuya. Zvikanzi aa, ndobva atanga kuchindifonera. Ndati *hallo* obva akata. Kuda kuziva kuti ndiri kupi. {LG} Akaita nguva achidaro. Saka akaita nguva achidaro.

P1: Vakomana vanoda une *airtime* yako *yethir fifty* iwe uchida *eighty*, wo wo wo *wobenefita thirty*, ha.

P2: Zvanzi namai indai munotaura kuti moita sei na--. Ndikati mhai.

P1: Hanzii?

P2: Hanzi taurai kuti moita sei naye.

P1: Pachii? (chewing)

P2: Aa vanoti vari vari vaiti hanzi taurai naye. Ini handidi kutaura naye ini. *I think* kungomunyararira.

P1: *Ignorance pays*.

P2: Haiwa ngaangosiiwa akadaro. *Because* kukura kwatakaitaka. Handiti takatoona kuti *fees* haadi nayo?

P1: Mm.

P2: Ndoyatainyanyoda. Taida chikafu here isu?

P1: Uuum.

P2: Taida *fees* kuti apinzewo, sokupinzwa kwawakaitwawo wopinzawo hwani.

P1: --ka?

P2: Ndozvaakarambazve izvozvo.

P1: *Fees* ya-- zvakatopera.

P2: Saka tichanetsekerei?

P1: Mwana akatotadza kuinda kuchikoro.

P2: Ee, saka tinonetsekerei? (())

P1: Mozivaka?

P2: Ee?

P1: Vanhu ini ndakatozvibata ndikazvihwisisa ini. Zviri *clear* kuti vana chikoro zvakatodii.

P2: Zvakakona.

P1: Mwana akatoregister zvaakaregister. Saka *what now?*

P2: Mm.

P1: Muchataura nemunhu muchadei? *Problem* yanga iripo *is solved*.

P2: Ee.

P1: *So what?* Vana-- vanenge vachingoti pano neapo vachingodii, vanhu vachingoona kuti vari kufemawo here, zvapera. Iye zvaanofunga kuti attention. Moziva kuti munhuka?

P2: Anofunga kuti vachauya chete.

P1: Hanzi vanoda mari vachandifonera chete.

P2: Ee.

P1: Ivo vana -- vanofanira kuudzwa kunzi musamufonera.

P2: Musamufonera.

P1: Handiti? Ndokutotaurirana kwatingaita. Kokuti vana --, *never contact -- any problem*.

P2: Kana akauya akati pane chinodiwa here munongoti aa hapana monyarara *because-*.

P1: Mm.

P2: Ndoo *treatment* yoga yandinotoona *because* moziva akashaiwa.

P1: *Because* akaramba achiteverwa kunzi chii achirafura vanhu achiita seika, anozoona sekuti ndiye akanyanya kukosha sitereki.

P2: Sepandakainda aida kuti nditi chii, ndimuti chiuya kuno timbotaura.

P1: Muchimufonera muti huya undione.

P2: Ehezve aida kuti nditaure.

P1: Muchitaurei?

P2: *Because* nyaya yenhingikiri-

P1: Ya--?

P2: Ndobva ndanyarara zvangu.

P1: Moziva kuti chii?

P2: Saka paakazofona ndichiperekedzwa na-- hanzi aa, achitaura pafoni, hanzi ndichamboprekedza mai --. Vakutodzokera? Kana kumboti nditaure navo. Ini ndanga ndisingatodi kutaurawo naye zvangu. *But* haana kana kumboti nditaure navo. Kana kuti ndiri kuuya kuMbare kuzovaona kana chii.

P1: Mm, munei nazvo.

P2: Zvikanzi tosangana kumaten.

P1: Naiye manje?

P2: Ee.

P1: Oreva --?

P2: Ee, uku munhu haana mari yekombi.

P1: Ee, iye -- unongohora achipa --zve. Mai va-- ndovanouya kuzotora mari.

P2: Ee vakaa vatouyazve, kana dziri chokwadi.

P1: Kupata, aiwa-

P2: Kupay ya--?

P1: Mm (chewing) asi munozivaka, zvakaoma kudaroka, vanhu vakadzidza kumuiginowa muchazondiudza *by end of the year* kuti iye -- unohwa sei. *Because ignorance* inorwadza --.

P2: Inomurwadzaka?

P1: Ndakazviona. Inhema here --?

P2: Mmm.

P1: Maka maka maka. Inomurwadza zvokuti unosvika pakuda kuchema.

P2: Kutu hamusi kuda kutaura neni?

P1: Ee. Ini akanditsvaga ndichi-

P2: *Because* aindibeeperka, aindibeeper izvozvi kuti. Ndaiva ndati ndiri kuuyazve kudhara. *Obeeper* ndoti *hallo* otoona kuti *number* yangu. Haazivi kuti ndinoroamer. {LG}

P1: Mm.

P2: Handianzi hangu *macalls* but izvozvi iri kushandisa (())

P1: Manje iye.

P2: Inokwanisa kuanzika ndiri muno. Iye anofunga kuti ikaanzwa vari ku- {LG} (())

P1: --, moziva kuti chinongoshanda panama -- moziva kuti musatuka munhu, munongoignowa.

P2: Baba vazviturea kuti hanzi siyanai, ngatichingosiya, siyai zvakadaro.

P1: *Ignorance* ndomuziva -- kuti inomurwadza. Ivo vana -- variko kumba ikoko, handiti haauyi? Ngavasamufonera.

P2: Mm.

P1: Moziva kuti ari ega anofunga kuti, kuti vanhu vapenyu uko. Chii chiri kumboitika kumba uko?

P2: {LG}

P1: Moziva?

P2: Uku mai, uku mai mapiritsi, chii chiri kuitika.

P1: Chii chiri kuitika? Vanhu havachambondifoneri.

P2: Havachambonditi mari.

P1: Nokuti *noise* chaiyo chaiyoka? *Noise* chaiyo haibhadhari.

P2: Ee.

P1: Asi munhu ukamusera *table* yokuti aiwa chimboitai veduwee, isu tadini. Nokuti ikezvino *problem* hapana. *Problem* ya-- yakatopfuura. Vanhu takatojekerwa nazvo kuti mwana ngaainde kwa-- imi makapasa muripo.

P2: {LG}

P1: Saka munodei? Haafanirwi kumbotaurwa naye. Unofanirwa kungoignowewa. Naiye -- wacho vanhu vongonyarara, zii *because* munga-

P2: Ndakainda ndichiti ndoda kunomushaudha but ndakangoti haa tsk.

P1: Munodzingirirana nemhepo.

P2: Unoziva kuti *maybe* mhengo idzodzo handiti ndaka, maybe ndingadei ndakafa zuro but nenyaya yokuti ndakanyarara zvangu *I survived*. Unodzingirirana nemhengo uchifamba shuwa. Ndakanyarara ndikati aa tsk. *Because* ndaa ndati- (interrupted)

P1: Haa *ignorance* -- inomuuraya.

P2: Mai vanga vanditi hanzi, hanzi kana wasvika kuHarare wotombo, hanzi unovadana vese wotanga kuvatonga.

P1: Haa kutongesei?

P2: {LG} Namai ndikati horaiti mhai.

P1: Unotourawa uriwe. Unotozoina kun'anga achiti hanzi vana vanofanirwa kufa. Saka ukanyarara unondipomera mhosva yei? Ini ndoona kuti hapadi kutaura ini, panoda kunyarara. Ini handimbofi ndakafonera -- kana kumuvhunza ini. Kana -- kana kumuvhunza. Tinongonosangana kumusha.

P2: Kubva paya hamuna kumbozotaura?

P1: Hatina.

P2: Makatombotsvaga?

P1: Akanditsvaga ndikangota ndichingotarisa hangu ndichingonyarara. Wakanditsvaga --. Wakazonditsvaga munaaniko Kiri?

P2: Hezvo!

P1: Mm, mai vakatozondifonera vachiti hanzi iwe davira *call* ya--.

P2: Anonhingikira, unoziva zvanoita? Anoudza baba namai kana, seipapa apa pauyu --.

P1: Zvakaitika, akatora advantage --.

P2: Ee?

P1: Ndomazuva azvaka zvakatosunga aya aya, paya paya. Saka ndobva ndichitotaura nanamai ndichitoti aa zvinhu zvakamira zvakadai zvakadai zvakadai handiti. Saka iye ndopaaindako ndobva anoudzwa kunzi chii chii chii handiti. Ndobva afunga kuti ini kana zvakadaro akandifonera ndinodii ndinodavira.

P2: *Unoanswer*.

P1: Ndobva ndarega. Ndobva afona kumba zvikanzi haasi kudavira foni yangu. Ndobva mai vandifonera vachiti davira foni ya-- ati hanzi anoda kukutumidzirai mari chii chii chii. Ndikati muudzei kuti arege. Seizvozvi. Ndakavaudza ini vhunzai -- uyu. Ndikati muudzei kuti hanzi neni regera zvako *thank you*. Ndobva azo *following*

day akaita mazuvazve achiti akagara gara ofona. *Ten missed calls, eleven missed calls.*
Ndikati handidaviri.

P2: Hezvo!

P1: Takapedzerana patakabudamo. Ndobva ndatoregera.

P2: Aa ini aindinhingikira, anondifonera. Akambondifonera zvake ku- {LG} akandifonera. {NS} Manje mumwe musi ndamusendera message ndichiti -- uri ku- Pane musi wandakaa ndabhoikana.

P1: Anenge ane fonizve --. -- unojusirwa imariiko?

P2: Ndaka ndakaa ndabhoikana.

P1: *Line* rake reNetone unongofona kusvika pamadiro. Hameno kuti unojusirwa hundred here kana kuti *two hundred dollars*.

P2: Ndokuchindifonerazve zvikanzi, ndamusendera *message* ndichimuti, handichazivi kuti yaiva nyaya yei, ndatsamwawo futi.

P1: (())

P2: Zvikanzi, aa ini ndikaudzwa zvinyaya zvokuti anodai ndinonyangadzwa zvokuti ndobva ndasenda message. Ndobva afonta ndichitova mulibrary. Zvikanzi aa, ii kuda kundiudza nyaya dzokuti hanzi -- ari kuinda. Ndomazuva handiti uyu anga apuwa *hundred dollars* na--.

P3: Mm.

P2: Haazvizivi --. Zvikanzi -- ndiri kutomutsvagira *hundred dollars* yake. Kwangoshota kwangosara *hundred dollars* yokuti aindise, aindise kunobhadhara munhu. Ndikati horaiti --. Asingazivi kuti ndotozviziva {LG}

P1: Ee anenge asingazivi.

P2: Hanzi ndiri kugadzirisa. Ndandamuudza kuti gadzirisa zvunhu --, ndiwe watakatotarisa chii chii chii.

P1: Aaa.

P2: Zvikanzi ndiri kutogadzirisa chii chii.

P1: Anoworsena uya.

P2: Ndokuchidii, ndokuchibva ndanyarara handina kumbozotaura ndichinzwa zvinyaya izvozvo. Seipapa pamakaita zvamakaita handina kumufonera kumuti chii. Iye aifunga kuti chii mai -- vachafona.

P1: Ndichafonerwa.

P2: Ndobva *abeeper*, ndobva ndarega kufona. Ndobva azofona, ndobva ndichiti *hallo*, obva akata. Ndobva zvapera izvozvo. Ndobva ambozoshaudha -- mazuva manje manje.

P1: {LG} Aida kumurova.

P2: -- ndokudii?

P1: Ndobva -- aka akakandwa pazheka --. {LG} Hanzi kunongwa kunonzi pazhe gwengwendere. {LG} Pazhe.

P2: Adaro manje handiti.

P1: -- ndokusara mumba akagara. --? – {LG} Hanzi na-- ndikati-

P2: Hanzi na-- ndakamuti ini I have seen it all. Zvenhamo ndakatoita zvese zvese zvaungandiitira. Saka hapana *another way* yaungandiitira ini.

P1: Anenge achida anenge achida vana--zve vaakapotsa auraya.

P2: {LG} Haiwawo usazvitevedzera iwe --. Ndozvaari saka kutongoiginowa.

P1: Asi -- wakapotsa afa haa -- aa wakarwara.

P2: -- ane shunguzve. -- aiti akachema kumusha handiti haa anoita gore rese achichema. {LG} Ndozvaari.

P1: Hino zvaiti -- une *stress*.

P2: Mm.

P1: Aiva neshungu dzake achirwara. Ini ndopandaiti, ndaingoti ndikadzokawo kumba ndongoita zviri nani asi ndabuda kuzhe ndenge ndichatodonha. Ndichiudza - - kuti uyu une zvake. {LG} Ini ndobuda pazhe ndendichiita zvangu. Kubasa chaiko kutoti haa.

P2: Saka ipapo manje atuka vana --, --, vana --. -- ava kundisendera *message* achiti ndozvaitika kuno. Dzakafunga kuti chii, haa *this time*.

P1: Hanzi zvakanzi hanzi iwe -- (interrupted)

P2: Chizviuraya.

P1: Ndoda kuinda newe kumusha, anzi kuMbuzi here.

P2: NeNyaradzo?

P1: Eee. Hanzi zvakanzi --, iwe haumbondinetsi.

P2: {LG} Nokuti uri paNyaradzo?

P1: Nokuti uri paNyaradzo. {LG} Ndoinda newe neNyaradzo kumusha ini. Moti munhu?

P2: Saka ndokuchidii, ndokuchi- {NS}

P1: Unoti hanzi ndakakuisa paNyaradzo saka {LG}

P2: Aiwazve zvikanzizve, ndokuchifunga chii kuti aa -- vanozo-. Ndobva ndaudzwawo zvakana zvikadii, ndobva ndati imi nyararai, siyanai nazvo. Imhepo dziri kutosumuka idzi. Ndobva iye atanga kuchindibeeper aindibeeper. Ndiri mulibrary kudai atobeeper, kudai atofona. Ndikadavira anokata. Saka kuda kuti iwe akukata wobva wafona *back*.

P1: Wofona *back*.

P2: Ndobva ndati haa. -- achitoti haungofoni here kuda pane zviriko? Ndikati haiwa.

P1: Zveiko?

P2: Iye ndiye ane, ndakamuudza ndikati iye ndiye ane *airtime* yemahara.

P1: Aa -- handiti Netone inenge yakazara? Apa aida kunzwa kuti zvunhu zvaaita zvata zvasvika here.

P2: Zvataurwa here? Ndobva ndati ii --, ngatinyarare, siyanai nazvo. {NS} Saka paaingondibeeper ndikati *hallo* okata. Ndopazvangopera zvakadaro. Saka pandakainda handina kumbomuvhunza kuti wakatukirei vana or wakatukurei --, wakatukirei vasikana vamwe ava? Handina kumuvhunza. Aihuta asingadi kana, achitoti mai vava vauya. Ndozvavaitoitazve.

P1: Toitwa *mahigh courts*.

P2: {NS} Mm, kutoti mai vava vauya.

P1: Hazvifanirwi kumboitwa *mahigh courts*.

P2: Aa ini *I think* kusiyana nazvo. Akatoramba hake nemari yake. *What can we do?*

P1: *Because* ini chandakazokwanisa ndechekutora *laptop*. Ndakatomuudza ndikati ndinoto haa.

P2: {LG}

P1: Pakanetsazve vhunzai -- uyu. Hino ini ndinozomirawo futi kana ndada.

P2: Ndeyake?

P1: Ndeya-- iyi.

P2: Wakatora sei?

P1: Saizvozvi. {LG}

P2: Haisi yekubasa?

P1: Kuto, ndeyekubasa. Ndakatoitora.

P2: Ndoreva kuti haisi yokubasa kwako? Waiva nelaptop yokubasaka iwe?

P1: Ee ndinayo. Ndine mbiri. {LG} Yekubasa mubhegi. -- osara neimwe.

P2: Hezvo!

P1: Iyi ndeya--wo yemuno, *personal copy*.

P2: {LG} Mune zvinhingiri zvenyu, zviro zvenyu. Ndatofunga kuti ndeyekubasa.

P1: Aiwaizve, iyi ndeya--zve iyi. Vane *personal*.

P2: *Personal copy*. {LG} Makaoma vanhu.

P1: Iyika iyi, ndoya-- *personal copy*. Zvayaida kuitwa, -- anga atora chibhegi. Inzwai, inotova *nehistory*.

P1: Ndiye aida kutoitorawo --.

P2: Ndiye angadai atova nayo izvozvi.

P1: --, inzwai, -- wakatora chibhegi payakamboinda. Ndobva anosiya chibhegi kwa--. Kwakuchiuya, iyi manje iyi ndoyaida kuti ichiinda kwaani, kwa--. Ndoyaakanga akatargeta. Ndobva tazvibata zvedu isu vana batai. {NS} Ndikati -- chibhegi chenhingikiri chiripai? Aa handitombozivi, ndimi makatochirasha imomo, ndimi ma. Ndobva ndaitora.

P2: Sadza raita.

P1: Ndikati *for everything* --.

P2: Hoo todyirepi? *Where is the table?*

P1: {LG} *Table* ndoiyoyi iri papo.

P2: Haa *maslippers*?

P1: Ndikati *for everything* --, chese, chese, chese, chese.

P2: Mamuchiti magwavha anonzwise mudumbu asi apera. {LG} Vanhu.

P1: Haa isu tinodya pore na--.

P2: Hoo?

P1: Asi muchaona mangwana.

P2: Ma manyoka?

P1: Munongoti vadhiraivha mirai. {LG}

P2: (water pouring) Haa inodziya. {LG} Haa iyi inotopisa munhu chaiko.

P1: Inodziya, wavadziisira?

P2: Haa inodziya zvisingamboiti.

P1: Handina kumbodziisa ini. {LG}. Ava havadi sadza rakawanda ava.

P2: *Which is which?*

P1: Chingotorai chero. Dai tavabikira tii. Ndevetii.

P2: Ndangoti aa ndamwa tii here? {LG} Aa isu zvetii ndozvedu.

P1: Ndikati tozotadza kuchengetwa kana tainda kuSouth. {LG}

P2: Iii haaya.

P1: Tigowana *zvimacoffee cofffe* ne-

P2: {LG} Aaa.

P1: Kuno hatichazvizivi.

P2: Hamuchazvizivizve?

P1: *Zvimacoffee coffee*, chii chii.

P2: Aa gore rino rakangooma.

Transcription 2: Participant 3, 4 and 13

P4: Haa ndandichimboti mumbowanaka *time* yokumbodiscussa.

P3: {LG}

P13: Haiwawo.

P4: Hanzi mhamha vana mhamha vavowo.

P3: {LG} Yaa.

P4: Handiti iwe uri mhamha?

P3: Ee.

P4: Una mhamha vakowo. Saka ndati haa no, rega ndimboti oo ndimboti taramukei kuti mumbokurukura.

P3: {LG}

P4: *But* zvinenge zvakanaka izvozvo nokuti tikaramba takangoti go^x pano. Unofana kutaura namai namai muchikurukura, muchimbokurukura nyaya dzenyu. Isu tinopindawo.

P3: {LG}

P4: Ee totaura. Isu kana totauraka, dzedu hadziiti. Dzangu newe.

P3: Mm?

P4: Haa dzangu dzedziri *public*.

P3: {LG}

P4: Tiri *mawhistleblower*. {LG} Isu tisu vanonzi *mawhistleblowers*. Imi enyu zvezviri *private but* ini ndokwanisa ku *kublowner*. Ndongoti imi mai zvakati, zvakati, zvakati.

P3: Asi *light* harisi kushanda?

P4: Ani?

P3: *Light* ramunosimboita riya.

P4: Mai?

P3: *Light*, mwe- ii.

P4: *Light* iro rakatsva.

P3: Mhm.

P4: Ee, saka harisi kushanda. Saka tiri kushandisa nhingi. Hanzi rinoda *eight dollars*.

P3: Hoo.

P4: Kuti rishande. Hanzi rakatsva ma ma *T B. Ifo- ifour*.

P3: *Ok*.

P4: Saka rinoti *two, four, six, eight* ma- manhingi acho, ma-. Hanzi asi kuHarare hanzi anoita *fifty, fifty, fifty*.

P3: *Ok*.

P4: Saka ndakaona kuti haa. (()) Nokuti tatichingotizve kungotungidza tochi. {LG} (.) Haa wandishainisa mwanangu.

P3: {LG}

P4: Ndandongonzi huyai ku, va-- huyai pano.

P3: {LG} Nokuti makapfeka juzi dzva?

P4: Haa iwe zvakaoma. Iri here iri, hariiti.

P3: Pane rimwe rakadaro, *different colour* asi.

P4: Rauinaro?

P3: Pane hembe dzachozve.

P4: Idzodzo?

P3: Mm.

P4: Uchandipa futi?

P3: Ndakupai wani. Dzirimu idzo.

P4: *My Lord*. {NS} {LG} Kuti ndipfeke yakadai neimwe ine *different colour*?

P3: Mm.

P4: Aa *my Lord!* {LG}

P3: Pana majuzi *three*. Majuzi two nesweater, sweater isina zipi.

P4: Aa unofana kuzondi, unofana. Aa kwete. Unofana kundiratidza mwanangu.

P3: Zviri pabed penyu. Ndizvitore?

P4: Chimbotungidzazve. Hauna foni here?

P3: Mai vane, ndavapa makenduro mai.

P4: (()) Zvakanaka uno. Hapana chunhu chakanaka.

P3: {LG}

P4: Sokuti mwana kana auya. --, togara tichinamata nguva imwe neimwe kuti *be with those people*. Haa {LG} Kandichinamata ndotanga iwe. Wazvinzwa here?

P3: Mm.

P4: Chero kana ndovata ndonamata.

P13: --, --!

P3: Mhaa.

P13: Regai tiri kutowarira kumba uko kuti vanhu vaone kuzorora.

P3: Chimboisai *light* mhai.

P13: Mazuvano iri rakafa iri.

P4: Makendurozve andakupai.

P13: Haa anonetsa.

P4: Haa itai. Anonetsa chiizve?

P13: Aa ndajaira kushanda nefoni ini.

P4: Haa.

P13: Inofuta kusvika mangwana.

P4: Imboitai zvamaudzwa nomwana.

P3: Vanoda kuona hembe dzavo baba.

P13: Aa ndongovapa hembe dzavo.

P4: Hembe dzandapuwa ndoda kudziona.

P13: Munodziona. Idzi hembe dzenyu idzi.

P4: Eee usina kuzvara wofanana nowakazvara.

P13: Oo idzi hembe dzenyu idzi.

P4: Musangotutirazve.

P3: Regai ndikupei ndichiita hwani hwani. {LG}

P4: Haa vakomana, kungokanda here.

P13: Aa.

P3: Masiya *jean*.

P13: Hee?

P3: Masiya *trouse*.

P13: Rega ndione apa kuti, iri. Zvemakenduro zvonetsa. Ndoda kutoti ava vawarire ti-, vanhu vazorore. {NS}

P4: Ndoda kuona zvangu.

P3: Oo.

P13: Zvenyu izvo.

P4: Iri?

P3: *Ijean*.

P4: *Ijean*? Aa rakanaka, horaiti.

P13: Rega ndotora rupasa ndigadzire kumba uko. Handiti ndozvawataura?

P3: Mm. Iri rakangofanana neiroro asi *igrey colour*.

P4: Hoo *grey colour*?

P3: Mm, rine *zviblue*.

P4: Rakanaka. {NS} Aaaa.

P3: Asi zi- *isame* nhingikiri.

P4: Patani?

P3: Ehe *isame, different colour*.

P4: Iyi ndoda kuinotengesa *kushop* iyi.

P3: Aa {LG} Mukatengesa handichakuvigirii chunhu.

P4: Horaiti yapera. Handichadi. Handichakutengeseri. Vakomana nhasi ndandonanaidza nana-- zvikanzi.

P3: Nana ani?

P4: --. Ha mati haa *trackuit? My Lord*.

P3: Kana kukazonyanya kutonhora.

P4: Kwete, kukanyatsa kudii?

P3: Kukanyanya kutohora mopfeka iri.

P4: Ukabata kudaika o, *it's very heavy*.

P3: Mm. Saka ndizvozvo zvese.

P4: Aa ndozvataishuvira izvi. Kwete kuti usina kuzvara ofanana newakazvara. Aa ndaramba ini.

P3: {LG}

P4: Aa my Lord. {LG} Izvi zve-, ihwani, two three, four.

P3: Mm.

P4: {NS} Ndinotenda, ndinotenda mwanangu.

P3: Muchitendeiko.

P4: Aa kwete, kutenda ikoko tino, Mwari agoropofadza mwanangu.

P3: {LG}

P4: Ee nokuti haungoiti wega. Mwari ndounotungamirira kuti ita izvi ndiMwari.

P3: Ee ndizvozvo.

P4: Saka isu sera tichitiwo Mwari akutungamirire.

P3: Mhm.

P4: Ehe, kuti urambe uchiita izvozvo. Takanzwa *neprogramme* dzako. Ndodai, ndodai, ndodai. Ndikati aa *my Lord* zvunhu zvakana. Ee ini ndangozoona avo vosvika. {NS} (())

P3: Mm.

P4: Ee. Mwari unongoronga zvunhu zvake. Ini handigoni kukukondirorayi vanangu. Ini kuti ndikuti ita izvi ndigokugona, asi Mwari ndounoti kuti zvunhu zvose zviumbike. Handiti?

P3: Mm.

P4: Kuti zvunhu zvese zviumbike, pane forosi riripo. Ndoda kumbotaura hangu ipapa pamusoro pekuti forosi. Mukuru uripo. Nokuti pane zvakasetwa naMwari zvatinongoona. Kuti, kuti unzi *first born* pazouya *second born* zvichingoina zvakadai. Kusvika mumwe ozonzi iwe ndiwe nhamba nine urongwa rwaMwarika urwu. Kwete hwedu asi urongwa hwaMwari hunenge huchingovapo.

P3: Mm.

P4: Saka *we don't want to, to lose that opportunity of respecting God. Ee ndakambotaura navakomana ava. Ndikati imimi zvomotokoniwa manje ndechekuti if you don't want to respect hanzvadzi dzenyu idzi, God will never respect you.*

P3: Mm.

P4: *Because va- masikirwe amakaitwa imi gwara iroro anoratidza kuti Mwari une chokuita nemi. Mukaparadzana matorasika. Nokuti Mwari une creation, une chokuita. Sera muchiona muna -- na-- ava vachi, muchizama kuti vabatane kudai. Once they are separated. (interrupted)*

P13: Ndonhinganikira, ndотора hanguzve machira ndivape?

P3: Mm, mm.

P13: Haa?

P3: Ee.

P13: Horaiti.

P4: *Once they are separated you are in for disaster.*

P3: Mm.

P4: Ee, *in the same way, {NS} These people, especially vakomana ava ee vava under the influence of vakadzi.*

P3: Mm.

P4: Ee. Saka *the influence yavakadzi ivavo it doesn't work kuita unite the family. Those vakadzi ivava vavo, they were vakau-, vakada. Takavachengete, takavachengetera varume.*

P3: Mm.

P4: Handiti? Tiri vaviri isu takavachengetera varume. Ndoku, wo-, wo-takuchengetera murume, iwewo wakachengeterwawo. {NS} Iwe baba namaiko vakatichengetera mukadzi.

P3: Mm.

P4: Saka (()) Asi iwe mukadzi chirega kuti izvi hazviitwi kumusha komurume.

P3: Mm.

P4: *You deny us that chance yokuti tive tinoraramawo.*

P3: Izvo ndatongozvionawo pano nhasi, kuno hangu. Kwedu uko vanhu vanongoita. Vakati ndoda kuitira vabereki vangu unongoti horaiti. Zvokuti aiwa hazviitwi aa. Zvokuti munhu anoshinga kuti handiiti, hautiri vabereki vako chunhu, hauiti aa.

P4: Hauiti. -- ndakashamisika nazvo ini. Tichangobvako.

P3: Mm.

P4: Kutotipingizha kuti aa, ku. {CG} -- kutotipingizha kuramba kana chii.

P3: Izvozvi handiti munoziva kuti haana kundiona? Haana kundiona. Haana kutombouya kuzo.

P4: Wakaramba?

P3: Hanzi mai vangu vauya saka ndiri kuona mai vangu. Haana kuuya kuzondiona.

P4: Wakaramba?

P3: Mm, kana kufona kana kudii. Handizivi kuti akaramba here. Saka ndangobva.

P4: Hoo na--?

P3: -- ndiye wandandinaye.

P4: Saka waramba?

P3: *I think* aramba. -- anga achiti hanzi ainda kunoona mai vake adii. Ndangoona kuti anenge aramba. *Because* azofona achiti kuna -- hanzi chiuya. -- akati rega ndimboperekedza mai -- vari kudzokera. Anga akutoti chiuya. {NS} Haa -- haa, anotohwise tsitsi uyo.

P4: Aiwa, nyaya iripo ndeyokuti ini ndinongomu, ini chatoi, ini zvanda, zvata, zvatatichironga na namai. Hapeno kuti wasiya waronga sei ku kunana uku?

P3: Aa ndangovatengera zvandangowanawo.

P4: Ee.

P3: Ndatengera chikafu ne nemuriwo. (phone ringing)

P4: Saka ini chandandichifunga.

P3: Mm.

P4: Ndechokuti {NS} (phone) ee iye --, iye -- ngaambovhiringidzwa naiye -- achinzi unofana kundiroora.

P3: Mm.

P4: (()) Saka ikozvino izviwo ndinoona kuti {NS} nyaya dzokuroorwa kwake. Ee iye -- ndichaita sezvandakaita --. Vakatema -- nebhotoro pano apa. Handiti mozviziva?

P3: Mm.

P4: Vakaita zvavanoita. Ndikati aa chiitai zvamunoda.

P3: Mm.

P4: Saka ikozvino izvi ndiri kuda kuti, ndinosvoda achangoroora.

P3: {LG}

P4: *We must keep on praying* nokuti vachangoorana.

P3: Mm.

P4: Ee, kuti ndi*withdrawe* -- kuti dzoka kuno kumusha. Ndi*withdrawe* -- kuti huyai kuno kumusha.

P3: Haiwa ngavagare. Iye -- handiti haagarike? Anongo, vanongotogara vega. Regai angowana pokugara achiverenga --.

P4: Ini, ini, inini nyaya iripo pano apa --.

P3: Mm.

P4: Tinoti tika handiti ikozvino ndagaisa nhasi.

P3: Mm.

P4: Ndopacker zvimugorogodi zviviri.

P3: Mm.

P4: Handiti?

P3: Mm.

P4: Ndotanha murivo apo ndovapa.

P3: Mm.

P4: *Then* ndomukira kumashop ndovatumidzira kaa ndine dhora. Kaa pasi, tikashaiwa dhora rokuvatmidzira.

P3: Mm.

P4: Rokupa dhiraiuha hazvisviki. Ndovapa vogara. Ndozvavanorarama nazvo.

P3: Mm. Sanhasi ndakavatengera *chigrocery chetwenty dollars* ndikavatengera nhasi *ten dollars* muriwo. Bhinzi ne- nematemba. Saka vanga vachiti haa zvinombochovha sitereki. Dzimwe bhinzi ndatouya nadzo kuno namatemba ndauya nazvo.

P4: Ee. Saka ndoimwe nyaya yatatichitombozama kutaura na-, tichitaura namai ava. {NS}

P3: Mm.

P4: Tikati haa ikozvino it's too early kuti tirambe. Ti titi -- hatidi.

P3: Mm.

P4: -- uyu wakarambana nomukadzi wake. Varambana nomukadzi wake uko zvikanetsa. Akauya kuno akagara.

P13: Haa ndofunga ndapedza --.

P4: Tikati isu *we don't encourage*.

P13: Mazvinzwa?

P3: Mm.

P13: Mhaiwee!

P4: Isusu *we don't encourage* kuti iwe --, iwe muroora utodzokera kumusha kwako.

P3: Mm. Mhai foni yangu ndoda kuti *battery* ndichengetedze. Ndoda kudzima.

P13: Hoo.

P3: Mm.

P4: Ndikati iwe kuuya kwawakaita pano wakafambirei? Wakauya norudo.

P3: Mm.

P4: Zvino zvawakauya norudo rwapera here? {LG} Ivo -- ndikati rwapera here? Kana rwapera dzokera hako. Zvikahi haruna.

P3: {LG}

P4: Ndikati kana rwusina kupera chigara.

P3: Mm.

P4: Ee, iye -- ndokuzoti *after a week* ndokuzotevera pano apa. {LG} Nokuti ndakamuudza ini ndikati iwe, wakauya pano apa hauna kufambira zvimwe zvinhu wakauya norudo. Rwapera here? Kana rwapera dzokera.

P3: {LG}

P4: Zvikanzi haruna. Ndikati chigara. {LG} Tichitaurirana. Saka ndoimwe nyaya iripo pano apa yandai yandandichitaura hangu yandandichida kuti ivo -- ikozvino vari pano. Ikozvino vakuwirirana na-- chaizvo.

P3: {LG}

P4: Asi kuti vachengetedze mai kuti vazive kuti mai vanoda.

P3: Chiitai mhai. Ndoda kudzima foni yangu. Mangwana ndingatambura.

P13: Yangu inofuta kusvika kwaidza haitani, haingingi hainetsi.

P3: Yangu inonetsa moto iyo.

P4: Taridzai uko.

P13: Iii.

P4: (())

P13: Handiti apa pane mushonga wemapete here nhai nhai --?

P4: Aa chitsvetai chero pamunotsveta.

P4: Hamufani kumboti, nokutika kana tichitaura kudai toitira kuti tive *newider knowledge* yokuti iye kana achi achiinda kumusha kwake.

P13: Zvatopera wani. Zvatopera.

P4: Nokuti iye kana achiinda kumusha kwake unoti ndoinda kumusha uko oindazve kumusha. Une misha mitatu. Saka unofana kuziva musha uno kuti wakamira sei. Saka ndonyaya yandoda kuti. Nyaya iripo ndeyokuti ini ndaka takataurirana namai zvandandichitaura zviya. Vanga vasimuno zvatambotaura paya.

P13: Aa toramba tichingodzokorora? Ndoziziva nyaya dzese.

P4: Vana, takati hazvigoni.

P13: Kudzokorora konetsa, hai.

P4: Kutu titi vana ava vadzoke. Ndakaa ndati ngavadzoke.

P3: Mm.

P4: Mai vakati kwete. Munenge makutoputsa musha. Isu ngatitumidzire zvunhu zvichidii, zvichiindako. Kana vati hatichina totumidzira.

P13: Ini mwana uyu anga achitaura kuti hanzi-

P4: Hino isu tetisina manje mari yokuzofona.

P13: Aiwa mirai nditaure ini --.

P4: Ee chitaurai.

P13: Uyu wakasvika kuhazvanzi akaona kuti -- haana chunhu. Saka imi siyanai na--. Haasati awana zvunhu zvokwana paari. Saka siyanai na--.

P3: Aa ngingikiri.

P13: Ee.

P3: Mari yake inongotorwa nomukadzi.

P13: Ee ndonyaya iripo. Hapana kana chimwe.

P4: Mari inotorwa nomukadzika?

P3: Mm. Nezuro *mutown* patakamusiya. -- ini handina mari yokuzouya. Anga anga, kuda anga anzi ugonditora futi undimirire. *Because* ini akanditizazve.

P13: Achishandiswa.

P3: Anga anditiza akati ndokuti -- undimirire *mutown*. -- ini handina mari yokuzouya kumba. Ndikati aa oo *two dollars* iyi. Ndobva ndatomuti aa -- chitora. Ndaka ndakainda ndichinotenga *grocery* rana--. Ndikati -- tora fanta umo. Akachena muromo kudai. Ndikati tora fanta umo hanzvadzi umwe. Ndobva atora fanta. Aa maita basa. Ndokuzouya kumba.

P13: Haa.

P3: Akazofona kuma*eight*. Ndandati aa chiregai totsvaga huku -- zvaati hanzi ndouya kuma*four*. Kana kuuya. Kuda akarambidzwa. Kuzoti na*eight* ava kufona zvikanzi mazodii huku? Tikati aa tazotenga muriwo nematamba tikadya. Aa horaiti. Ndiri kuuya manje manje. Ndokuzouya akazosvika ndavata.

P13: Heya.

P3: Achitovhunza kuti -- vawana machira here? Vakavata kupi?

P13: Hino kudero? Ari kutamburawo -- uyo.

P3: Mangwanani ndobva ndati ini ndakuinda. Aito akatonditaridzawo bhuku reroora rake achiti ndozvandakaita izvi. Ndokuti ma, ndikati aa ini ndiri kutodzokera nhasi. Ndoda kumboinda nekumba ndichinoona vanamai ndobva ndatodzokera. Zvikanzi aa regai ndikuperekedzei kuinda kuMbare. Anga asina mari yekombi. Saka ini ndatobhadharira --. Ndandati ndokutsvagirai murivo kuMbare wozodzoka. Ndabhadhara kombi kuinda kuMbare kusvika. Tasvika kuMbare ndobva ndati aa iwe handina kumbokuona wakadhakwa. Ndongosikuona wakadhakwa. Chii chiri kuitika? Asi hauna mari? Oo *two dollars* iyi unodii, ugodhakwa. Handichazivi kukuona wakadhakwa. Aa otoseka. Ndobva andikwidza. Ndobva ati haa horaiti bhabhai bhabhai. Ndoona munhu adzoka napahwindo. --, ini handitorina mari yekombi yekudzokera kumba.

P13: Unenge asina.

P3: Ndikamupa two dollars. Aa tsk.

P13: Unohwisa urombo --.

P3: Ndoshaya kuti chiiko. Anoshandireiko?

P13: Ichitorwa nomunhuwo zvake?

P3: Ndamupa *two dollars*.

P13: Unorwadza.

P4: Aiwa.

P3: Mm. Asi uyo anga achiti, because azofona. Pandandichitoperekedzwa na-- anga achitofona achiti hanzi uchiri kupi? Zvikanzi na-- aa -- vari kudzokera nhasi. Ndoda kumbovaperekedza. Saka vaa vakutaurirana kuti tozosangana kumaten. Saka anodii kumupa mari yekombi? Munhu anoshanda anoshaiwa mari yekombi?

P13: Uuu.

P3: Asi anomuti huya. Unouya nei? Aa hamenowo kuti chii chiri kuitika pavanhu ivava.

P13: Hame haa ini zva-- wenyu aa.

P3: Hamenowo.

P13: Handimukwanisi.

P3: Saka ini ndandichi, handina kutombozoshaudha --. Ndakangoti aa regai ndimusiyeye.

P13: Ini -- mwana wangu. {CG} Kuti ndimu . . . Makuriro aakaita -- muno mumba umu achitambudzika.

P4: *Ee we must pray for --.*

P3: Mm, haa.

P4: *We must pray for --. We must pray for --.*

P13: Nokuti papinda pfumvu yakaoma pamusoro pa-- iyeye.

P4: *Because iwe une shuwa kuti vatete vangati ee mari yangu ndoda eight hundred.* {LG} Ndakaseka ini.

P3: Kokuzoti kuuya mumba mangwanani. -- vari kuuya nguvai? Hanzi tikati aa vari kuuya kumafive. Ndandati vana -- tisangane kuMbare kumafive.

P4: Iye --?

P3: Hanzi ndobva ati horaiti ndakuenda. -- hande tinoita. Achiziva kuti -- vari kuuya. Handimuzivi.

P13: Vari kudzoka ehe.

P3: Ndokuinda ndokutoinda. Ndamutown ndakazoona -- akauya ku kuRoadport. Akanditambira.

P13: Heya.

P3: Zvikanzi aa atoinda. Hanzi mai vake vauya.

P13: Haa.

P3: Kana kufona kuti vatete kana kuti chii, kana kuti chii. Ini ndikati aa ini ndine zvonhu zvangu kumba kwangu handi. Aiti ndoda kuona kuti vanodyei.

P13: Unotambura munhu.

P3: Takadya sadza nemurivo nezuro. Ndaitoda kutenga huku. Ndandatopa vana-- mari yehuku ndikazoti aa -- chisarai nesix *dollars* yacho mozodii mozotenga something.

P13: Unotambura ndiyani? Kurwara uko.

P3: Ndikati ndinouya kumba komunhu kuti ndizodya.

P13: Aa hezvo.

P3: Ini kwangu ndinotodya. Chikafu chacho chakatowandisa.

P4: Iwe plus uchitorasha. {LG}

P3: Ndinotorasha kumba kwangu wotondishai tsvinyira nezvi ne. Toda kuona kuti vanodyei kana vauya kumba kwehazvanzi yavo.

P13: Heya.

P3: Ndakasiya ndatenga *grocery* ndikatenga zvandakatenga. Ndobva nda- tadya ndobva ndabva. Nechingwa. Vana -- vatomwa tii nhasi. {LG}

P4: {LG} Vamwa tii nhasi?

P3: Vamwa tii nechingwa.

P4: Ndofunga zvafara.

P3: Aa ndakavatengera *two loaves* ndikatenga zvandakakwanisa kutenga.

P13: Haiwawo. Kuswerera izvozvo?

P3: Nhasi ndavatengera bhinzi dzakadai, nematemba.

P4: Dzakawanda?

P3: Ee, zvokuti muriwo havambotamburi. Ndobva ndavasiira imwe mari.

P13: Aa.

P3: Saka vari vari right. Kwakutadza kana kuti, paafona pacho achiti ndichambotenge, ndichambo.

P13: Haa regai amboita zvake zvomuharare --.

P3: Ndobva akata ndokutosiyana naye.

P13: Achanzwisisa.

P3: Ndikati aa uyu anoda kuti tiite shaisano pano apa.

P13: Mm, achanzwisisa.

P3: Ndikati ini, ini kumba kwangu handishaiwi chikafu chokuti ndingatouya wobva waviga chikafu uchi.

P13: Haa nhai (()) chaunotamburira.

P3: Huya kwangu ndikupe chikafu kana uchichida. {LG}

P13: Aa hezvo.

P4: --, ini pane nyaya yandinoda kuti nditaure apa.

P13: Haai.

P4: Yakasimba sababa.

P3: Mm.

P4: Ee pane nyaya yokuti takainda uko.

P3: Mm.

P4: Ichinzi vatete vanoda *eight hundred* kuti agozoperekwa. Hino pano hapaperekwi munhu kausingawirirani nana. Ndoda kuti ndikuudze ndiwe vatete.

P3: Mm.

P4: Kana usingawirirani nanatete.

P13: Aa hezvo.

P4: Pano hauperekwi.

P3: {LG} Munoramba muroora. Isu tadii hedu? Kuda isu tonetsa. {LG}

P4: Aa aa.

P13: Aa kana haiwawo.

P3: Isu totizwa navarooro. {LG}

P4: Kwetezve nhaiwe, ini handisi kuda kuti munhu a a aperekwe pano.

P3: Mm.

P4: Ndinomuti unotambirwa nani? Ini handimutambiri, ava havamutambiri.

P3: Momuti taura na-- ndovanofanirwa kukutambira. Nokuti izvozvi ndakainda kuHarare ndikadzoka asina ku kana kufona kana kudii.

P4: Ndati, ndati-.

P3: Taurira -- kuti ndiri kuda kuuya kuzoperekwa.

P4: Kwete.

P13: Unongo, unongofona. Aa.

P4: Terera unzwe zvandataura. Ndati kunze kwako.

P3: Mm.

P4: Haaperekwi pano.

P3: Ehezve. Haa ndashamisika kuti hezvo, ndainda kuHarare, -- akarooro.

P4: Aa -- ndichamufonera. -- ndotomu ndichamufonera.

P13: Hamheno zvenyu.

P4: Ndomuti kunze kokuti mapi, mataurirana na na--.

P3: -- vanofanirwa kunge varipo.

P13: Haa zvinorema.

P4: Hapa, kunze kokuti, aa kunze kokuti.

P3: -- ndovanofanirwa kutotaura.

P4: Mukadzi wako unofana kuwirirana nana . . . kwete, kwete iwe. Handitangi kutaura pamusoro pako. Ndongoti ee ndokumbira kuti iwe -- muroora uwirirane nanatete.

P13: Haa, haiwa.

P4: Ndokuti zvunhu zvifambe. --, ee.

P13: Haa zvonetsa.

P4: -- *has been capitalised*, hwani. -- *has been capitalised*. Hapeno kuti zvakamonera vana vangu vakomana.

P13: Haa.

P3: Isu, isu kwatakaroowa hatidaro isu. -- vakati --. Izvozvi vana baba namai vakauya. Vakatengerwa hembe, vakatengerwa, vakaindiswa kunoona mhuka, vakanzwii vakanzwii. -- idai vanababa idai vana. Ndichingoita. Hapana chandaimboti no ini. Kana *one day* randooti no kana vanababa vauya. Asi izvi.

P4: Kuswera zuro ndakanga ndina --.

P3: Ee.

P4: --.

P13: *Mapensioneer?*

P4: -- vaya vepamusoro ava. Zvikanzi aa.

P3: Vanokuzivaizve?

P4: Zvikanzi aa, zvikanzi --.

P3: Mm.

P4: Haa ndigere kumboona zvakadaro. Makazvara paya.

P13: *Mapensioneer* anonetsa.

P4: Hanzi makazvara mwana usingaiti.

P3: {LG}

P4: Hanzi isu toshaiwa kuti, hanzi kuti umuti papi {NS} kuti pakadii. Hanzi haa paya paya hatitauri hedu isu. Makatiitira basa paya. {LG}

P3: Ini handitauri. Kana -- vangoti zvakati zvinoitwa. Ndobaba vemusha ndovanotaura.

P13: Aa.

P3: Maropofadzo anouya. Ipapa pahembe dzandakakutengerai vakandipa mari vakati aa kana makuzoinda kumba mozotengerawo vanababa nokuti vanamai vakauya tikavatengera. Ndikati horaiti, ndobva ndatotenga hembe.

P4: Saka handiti munozviona?

P4: Maropofadzo anongouyawo nekuside. Hino kana uchiti munhu wese akashata iwe ndiwe wakanaka. Aa ngaaita.

P13: Hamenowo.

P4: Isu, ini chandinokumbira ini. Ee zvandoda kutaura pano apa ndechokuti *we must pray. Prayer is very important.*

Transcription 3: Participant 5 and 6

P6: Mauya nemabhuku acho ese here nhai maiguru?

P5: (chewing) (.) Ndatora ese. Asi ndinofunga kuti makasara neamwe mabhuku, nebhuku remazita emamembers.

P6: Kana ndimi makasara nawo. Ndinorangarira kuti makazosara muchiweka mari dzacho na--.

P5: Aa horaiti, regai ndigonotarisa kana pandinodzokera. Kuda ndakakanganwa.

P6: Kana kuti chingoregai ndione kana ndisina. Regai ndiinde, ndiri kuuya manje manje. (.) {NS} Aa {LG} aa ndariwana. Kutokanganwa zvangu kuti ndini ndinaro.

P5: Yaa ini ndinogarisa mabhuku angu paone *place* and ndanga ndiri shuwa kuti ndimi munawo. Gara zviya mamembers ava mangani?

P6: Regai tione, regai tione. {NS} Mmm tichiverenga *these ones* vakajoina ne*Sunday* tava *fifteen*.

P5: Haa vasikana, imika imi. Ndiyani aizviziva kuti tingawanda kudaro.

P6: Ii vanhu vanoziva kuti mukando unobatsira *especially* kana uchida kukwereta.

P5: Aa regai tione zvakanzi nemadzimai tigadzirise. Gara zviya vakatipa zvinhu zvakawanda zvokugadzira. Regai tiione kuti tingatanga nechipi.

P6: Ii ngatitangei tasete mari yacho. Zviya takawirirana marii?

P5: *Five dollars* pamwedzi.

P6: Ko yefine?

P5: Dhora, dhora chete. Ini ndofunga kuti ishoma.

P6: Yaa *I also think fine* ishomasa. Yaa *but* zvinenge zvava kutoda kuvhota kuti iwedzerwe.

P5: Aa *ok, ok*. Aya mamembers ese aya. Chinyorai mamembers ese aya ari pano apa aya tigoziva zvatinoita.

P6: Haa chingondipai bepa racho ndogozononyora ndava kumba. Zvunhu zvacho zvakawanda zvinoda kuitwa.

P5: Aa *ok*, hero bepa racho iro.

P6: Takati *day* riri *free* nderipi kuti tiite musangano?

P5: *Saturday* mangwanani naseven *o'clock*.

P6: Naseven *o'clock*? *Ok* regai ndinyore.

P5: Ehe naseven *o'clock*.

P6: Chimwe chii chinoda kunyorwa? (sneezes)

P5: Mm pane varume vaya vanoda kujoina.

P6: Yaa *I remember* madzimai akaramba.

P5: Asizve haa vakati tombomirira *next meeting tozodecider*.

P6: Ini hangu handioni chakaipa kana vachibhadhara. Kana vachingobhadhara mari dzavo vakasiyanei navamwe vanhu?

P5: Vakadzi munovaziva imi. Havadi zvinhu zvinopindwa navarume. Vanoda kutomboita zvamakuhwa havo.

P6: Vangaita sei nyangwe ndimiwo? Dzose itsvimborume, havana kana vakadzi. Saka vari *right*.

P5: Yaa *I think* vazhinji vanoda kuti vajoine.

P6: *Hope* vanobvumirwa kujoina. {CG}

P5: Ko *interest* yeanenge akwereta takaiisa pamarii?

P6: Yakanzi *five percent for members*. Asi vasiri mamembers aa *ten percent*. (. . .)

P5: Ikezvino pane *fifty dollars* inofanira kudzoka *monthend*.

P6: Aa mirai timbo, aa mirai timbopedza nezve*interest*.

P5: *Ok*, takati kana *member* ikasadzosa *within a month* tinofanira kubhadhara, inofanira kubhadhara *ten percent interest*.

P6: Ee kana angorega kubhadhara *back* anobva abhadhara yemanon-*members*. Saka mati *fifty dollars* ndoinofanira kudzoswa *monthend*? {CG}

P5: Ee ndiyo chete inodzoka *monthend*.

P6: *Ok*. Ndivanaani vakaikwereta?

P5: Ii, ii -- vane *twenty dollars*, -- vane *thirty dollars*.

P6: Kouya nyaya yeparty.

P5: *This year* takati toita muna *November*. Ndopanoda vanhu vakawanda kuita *party*.

P6: *Committee* yokubika ndiyo iyi.

P5: *Last year* vakagona asi vakanonoka kutipa *lunch*. Takaa tofa nezhara isu. Takatozopona nekuinda kumashops.

P6: Aa vanhu vaidhisha vaiva vashoma. Ndopakaita *problem*.

P5: Haa imi imi imi, nyangwe zvakadaro vanhu vofa nezhara here vauya *kuparty?*

P6: *This time five* ndovanhu vachaita. Kuchaitwa navanhu *five*.

P5: Haa *ok. Hope this time* zvinorongeka. Nokuti uum vasikana *last time* ndakabva ndanezhara chaiyo chaiyo. Vanhu vakacomplainer zvisingaiti.

P6: Aa horaiti horaiti horaiti. *This time* zvichanaka.

P5: Kubank vakati vanoda vanhu *three*. Saka ini nemi *then chairwoman* ndiye wechithree.

P5: Aa *ok*. Ini ndinenge ndiri *free* nechitatu. Saka tokwanisa kuinda nechitatu.

P6: Horaiti ndichataura namai Leo tione kuti tingaita chitatu chacho here. {CG}

P5: Mozondifonera muchindiudza kana mataura namai -- vacho.

P6: Haa *ok. This year* ndofunga tikasiya mari yakati oo patinokandirana kuitira *January disease* vasikana. Vamwe tine *mafees*.

P5: Aa ee. Gore rapera vanhu vakatambura zvisi, vachishaya kwekukwereta.

P6: {LG} Nenivo ndakatambura. *Fees* dzanga dzakandiwandira zvisingaiti.

P5: Saka tingasiya marii sokuona kwenyu?

P5: Uuum ngatitii *thirty dollars* ndoyatosiya.

P6: Aa inoita sezvo homwe yedu ine *one thousand five hundred*.

P5: Vanhu vakasiya {NS} aa, *three hundred, three hundred* ndoinoita kwete *thirty*.

P6: Aa horaiti, horaiti, horaiti.

P5: Saka ndizvo zvese handiti zvatatichifanirwa kugadzirisa? Regai ndimboona mubhuku racho.

P6: Yaa regai ndionewo rangu bhuku rino iri. (. . .) {NS} {CG} Haa chikosoro vasikana chikosoro chanetsa.

P5: Yaa. Mungatanga kukosora ikezvino kuzoti *April*, panopera *June* mune manzwa kwazvo.

P6: Haa hamheno, hamheno, hamheno. ({NS} Yaa *I think* ndozvese. Ee imi chisainai apa.

P5: Aa horaiti regai ndisaine. {NS} Ndonyora *date* ranhasi?

P6: (. . .) Yaa *date* ranhasi.

P5: Aa horaiti vasikana, ini regai ndiinde. Aiwa, imi mofanirwa kusainawo handiti?

P6: Ee regai ndisaine apapa. Ndichauya kuzotenga muriwo mangwana kumba kwenyu. Ndakanzwa kuti mune muriwo usingaiti.

P5: Mangwana, mozouya nechina mangwana handipo.

P6: Horaiti ndokuonai nechina chacho. Asi ii vasikana matondiomesera. Ndandichida muriwo zvisingaiti ndisati ndadzokera kuchikoro *paholiday* pano apa. {LG} Aa makazvinzwa here kuti Nyaradzo iri kuuya ne, iri kuuya neChina?

P5: Ee ndakazvinzwa zvichitaurwa. Haa ini haa.

P6: Zviri nani tijoine vasikana.

P5: Haa shuwa. VeNyaradzo vanenge vanobatsira sitereki. Makaona kuti parufu rwa- - vakaita zvinoyemurika chaizvo chaizvo? Ndiyani aimboziva kuti vanhu vanofara parufu veduwee?

P6: Ndakazviona. *That's why* ndichida kujoina Nyaradzo.

P5: Ini hangu ndakaita *lucky* ndakajoiniswa Nyaradzo nemwana wangu. {CG}

P6: Aa horaiti. Ndibaba -- kani vakakujoinisai?

P5: Ehee, atova *netwo years* achiita *mapayments*.

P6: Ii vasikana aa tatova, tisu tega tasara saka. Regai tingojoinawo veduwee.

P5: Haa shuwa joinai. Pamusha pakaita nhamo hapadi kuti vanhu vazonyanyotambura. Nyaradzo inopa *even* bhazi rinouya nevanhu verufu kana munhu afira kutaundi. Saka zviri nani chaizvo chaizvo. Ndakaatenda *mafunerals* akawanda eNyaradzo. Haa haushori veduwee vasikana. Hautomboshori zvachose. Vanhu vanoziwa zvavari kuita, zvavanenge vachiita ivava.

P6: Aa horaiti, tongozonzwa kwamuri.

P5: Haa horaiti zvakanakai. Ko dhibha moziva kuti ririko *Monday* here kana kuti ririko rimwe zuva?

P6: Uuum dhibha aa regai ndione. Regai nditarise pachibhuku chedhibha. Ndirikuuya. {NS}

P5: {CG} {NS} (. . .)

P6: Yaa ndariwana. Dhibha i*Monday*.

P5: Aa horaiti maita basa vasikana. Tongozonzwa kwamuri. Aa pane zvandandichida kumbokuvhunzai futi. Ii ndakanzwa kuti maimbodzidzisa vanhu kusonaka imi.

P6: Ii vasikana zvazvemakore. Aa ndakazvipedzisira *ninety*. *Nineteen ninety* chaiyo.

P5: Aa ndandichida kungodzidziswa zvishoma shoma zvokusona ma, zvokuti ndingooona kugadzirisa hembe. Nokuti ii vazukuru vangu vawandisa. Va va vaviri ava vari kunetsa kuchengeta. Vanobvarura zvisingamboiti.

P6: Aa horaiti. Mamuchida kudzidziswa zvairiini?

P5: Aa chero pamunenge makasununguka. Ini ndakasununguka *anytime*.

P6: Yaa zvotoda ndatombodzidzira futi nokuti uum haa vasikana ava makore, makore chaiwo chaiwo.

P5: Hii veduwee musadaro kani. Vazukuru vangu vangafamba neshuku chaiyo chaiyo. Haa ndatambura nokutenga mabhurugwa nehembe ini.

P6: Aa mirai tione, mirai tione. Mm *maybe* Svondo nokuti ndikabva kucheche ndendiri *free* zvangu. Saka kana muchikwanisa kuuya svondo tokwanisa kuzogadzirisa zvedu.

P5: Haa horaiti vasikana, mungaita basa ii. (claps hands) Ndanzwa vasikana. Zvizukuru zvangu zvinobvarura izvozvo zvisingaiti.

P6: Hoo saka muri kugara navazukuru venyu mazuvano?

P5: Haa mai vacho ndakati vamboinda kunotsvaga basa avo. Chimwanazve chakakurumidza kuita vana saka hii ndakangooona kuti akagara agozovei panyika? Hazvimbobatsiri kana.

P6: Aa makatogona. Varume vamazuvano vanotsvinya, kutsvinya kudaro.

P5: Takatozozviziva kuti ane mukadzi wake nhumbu yatovapo *five months* saka heyi. Iyewo mwana wangu ndomuudza kuti chisiyana nemurume womunhu haadi. Kutoinda shuwa kunopuwa imwe mimba. Haa ndakangoti da, ndakadaro dzii. Saka ndakangooona kuti ii hapana zvandingatomboita. Kutotora vazukuru oinda onotsvaga chikoro. Hanzvadzi yakati inomubhadharira kana akagona, *college*. Saka aa kana angopasawo *maths* dzacho hanzvadzi yakati inobhadhara *college*. Saka ii totongorwa kuti akanyora gore rino, *college* ozoinda *next year*.

P6: Aa zvotova nani kana achizowana anobhadharira. Nokuti ii vamwe havadi zvokubhadharira vanhu vanenge vambotambisa nguva yavo seizvozvo.

P5: Saka ndouya nei? Ndouya *nemachine* yacho here kana kuti tozoshandisa yenyu?

P6: Aa zviri nani kuuya *nemachine* yenyu *because* ini ndendichiita, imi muchiitawo. Saka tinokurumidza kupedza kana. Ndandichifunga kuti tikangoita *one day, then*, tikaswerera *then* mokwanisa kuzonozviita.

P5: Haa vasikana vasikana, vasikana, maita henyu zvokwadi. *Hope* handizokudisappointiyi. Nokuti hiish zvokusona zvinotondinetsa chaizvo chaizvo. Vakangonditengera mushini wakangogara mumba. Saka ii vanonzwa nokutaura kuti dzidzirai kusona, dzidzirai kusona. Saka iish zvonetsa.

P6: Aa ndakambovadzidzisa madzimai akawanda emuno mese umu. Ndini ndakavadzidzisa kusona.

P5: Aa ndakazvinzwazve nembiri. Ndakakunzwai nembiri ndosaka ndatouya kwamuri. Ndakakunzwai nembiri yokugona kusona.

P6: Yaa. *Gov, gov, government* yaimbobatsira sitereki. *Imagine* kuti vakangotora vanhu vakati huyai musone, huyai mudzidze, huyai mudzidziswe kusona. Saka iish ndakaa ndakawandirwa zvisingatomboiti.

P5: Hoo? Haa ndakazvinzwazve kuti vazhinji ndimi maka, ndimi makavadzidzisa kusona. (. . .) Aa vasikana, regai ndione kuti ndodii pano apa. Pane chimwe chachiri munjere dzangu. Chiiko? Mm foni nhamba dzangu handiti munadzo?

P5: Yaa ndinadzo, ndinadzo. Imi dzangu munadzowo here?

P5: Ee haa ndinadzo, ndinadzo. Ii tongozosangana patino, patinoinda kwaGutu. *Then* tozoronga *from there*. Asi kusona vasikana ndiri kutouya handitomboiti zvokutamba.

P6: {LG}Aa horaiti, horaiti, tongozoona mauya.

P5: Ko mumunda makakohwa zvakadiiko gore rino?

P6: Ii gore rino zvaiva nani vasikana. Mvura yakatombonaya zvokuti mapani ose aya ataka atakaita *winter* haa takatowana zvakati wandei.

P5: Hoo, aa ndoona makatosumudza nengaranizve apa.

P6: Ee aa takatosumudza nengarani. *Plus* tikawedzera *chelast year* haa tinofamba, tinombochovha.

P5: Nokuti ii makazvinzwa kuti paradio zviri kunzi gore rino kune nzara isingaiti? Saka hii musatombotengesa zvenyu. Nzara yacho iriko haitomboiti. Vari kutoplanner kutenga chibage kune dzimwe nyika.

P6: Yaa ndakazvinzwa zvangu paradio kuti vari kuplanner kutenga chibage. Ii zvakaoma vasikana. Hamheno. Vazhinji vakanonoka kurima vakashaiwa zvachose kana chokugocha vakachishaiwa.

P5: {LG} Zvakaoma. Ini ndakatozopona nechokugadheni asi haa kukohwa chaiko handina. Ndingada kukureverai nhema. Handina kana kutombokohwa zvachose. Chemu, chemugadheni ndochandakatongoita, takatongogocha nokudya kusvika chapera. Saka hii tisu vamwewo vachatotenga gore rino. Imi muno, kana muchingozotengesa mototifungawo.

P6: Yaa, hamheno. {LG} Handi, aa handisati ndataura nababa. Kana ndikataura nababa tikanzwa kuti vane fungwa dzipi ndichakuudzai. Asi haa *I think* tinotengesa nokuti ii chati wandei ende isu tiri vashomaka isu.

P5: Aa horaiti. Musatombondikanganwa vasikana veduwee. Ndinganetseka zvaclose chose nevazukuru vangu vakawanda ivava. Imi henyu muri vashoma. (. . .)

P5: Pfuurai muchitanha magwavha kana muchimada mumuti umo kugadheni. Anonaka chaizvo ariko awo emukati muchena.

P6: Hoo zviya mune magwavha. Aa ndaitofunga kuti akapera ini. Enyu anosvika time ino achiriko? Haa mugere, makagarika imi.

P5: Haa anosvika *time* ino achiriko *but* haa kunzwise mudumbu. Haumbozonyanyomadya. Unongozoti zvishoma shoma wotorega zvako.

P6: Aa horaiti regai nditovigira vazukuru vangu. Vanomadawo magwavha zvisingaiti. Vanowana chinovanyaradza. Kuchikoro uko hii, akapera asati atomboibva *even*. Unotonyara kuti somunhu waticha woswera uchirega vana vachipinda *muorchard* vachingodya magwavha pamadiro here. Unozoita sousiri *responsible*. {LG} Ha shuwa unozoita sousiri *responsible*. Vanhu vese vanenge vangokutarisa kuti ndovaya vane vana vanodya magwavha mambishi. {LG} Yaa regai tiinde tinotanha.

P5: Mirai ndimbovhara *madoor*, ndivhare *madoor*. Mbudzi dzacho dzonetsa. (. . .) Aa horaiti handei hedu.

P6: Mm, *ok*. {NS} (. . .) Haa horaiti, horaiti, ndiri kuuya. Ndabaiwa.

P5: Mabaiwa, masoso kahi?

P5: Haa tsine chaidzo chaidzo, itsine.

P6: Aa *sorry, sorry, sorry*. Ndofanirwa kutopakura ipapa. Aa kukanganwa. Ndofanirwa kunogamuchira baba vari kudzoka nhasi. Saka ii, imi chingopfuurai nomugadheni muchingonhonga nhongawo. Ini regai ndimbodzokera ndirongedzere kuti ndiinde *kubus stop*.

P5: Aa horaiti, *pari right*. Tokuonai, tozokuonai. Mongozondifonera.

P6: Aa horaiti, zvakanaka.

P5: Aa maita basa. Ndozokuonai, bhabhai.

Transcription 4: Participant 7 and 8

(There is background noise from cutlery, pots and plates throughout the recording)

P7: Unokwanisa kuita *malines* okuti apa neapa, *then* uku neuku.

P8: Horaiti.

P7: (. . .) Tichamunetsa akare akati handizvigoni.

P8: {LG} Kuti haa akakuudzai kuti haa.

P7: Kuti haa zvinhu zvenyu izvi haiwa handizvigoni.

P8: (())

P7: *Or* anotanga kuti hanzi hazviiti.

P8: Yaa. {LG}

P7: Kuti hazviiti. (())

P8: Hoo {LG} kutya mumvuri.

P7: Mm. {NS} Mm ndazozvimbirwa zvino.

P8: Zvaa-

P7: Saka iyi rega ndi ndinoifotokopa.

P8: Horaiti.

P7: *I will make a copy.* Ndini ndaiva ndakunyora izvi.

P8: Hoo. Aa ndoyamakashandisa pamakauya?

P7: Ee.

P8: Hoo. *Maoriginals* aya makamaona?

P7: *I think so, yah.* Handiti zvanga zviri *mufile*?

P8: Ee *mufile so.*

P7: Mm. {NS} Izvi *you can keep* izvi. *Maybe paweekend we will see* kuti tinga-

P8: Totsvaka zvipi? {NS}

P7: Mhamha ndovai vairatidza kubhoikana kuti hanzi muri *kudelayer.*

P8: {LG} Haa.

P7: Hanzi zvinhu zvenyu zvamamira mvura inonaya manje manje.

P8: {LG}

P7: -- anodzokera kuchikoro.

P8: Haa, ivo va-

{BC}

P7: (talks to another person)

P7: Usaudza vanhu. {LG}

P8: Yaa.

P7: Kusvika zvanyatsoita.

P8: Yaa.

P7: Kana wakuzoita, inonzi chii, *homewarming or whatever*.

P8: *Housewarming*.

P7: *Housewarming*, then wozotaura. Ko iyi wanga waiona iyi?

P8: Yaa.

(child playing)

P8: *Mapictures?*

P7: *Ndoplan* yayo.

P8: Horaiti. (child talking) Yaa, *it's very big*. {LG}

P7: Manje ndozviri kuda *kudelayer shop* manje.

(Child talking)

P8: *Shop?*

P7: Mm.

P8: Hoo.

P7: *Because zvese one time*. {LG}

P8: Hazvizobudi.

P7: Hazvibudi.

P8: {LG} Horaiti.

P7: Saka *picture* iyi, ndouku.

P8: Horaiti.

P7: Saka ichi chakabudikira ndeichi.

P8: *Ok.*

P7: Saka *somewhere* pano apa haa chongova chiimba chakangoita chiimba chisina nebasa rose.

P8: Mhm.

P7: *Then somewhere* kuno uku kune chiimba chakadai. Ichi hachisi chiimba *as such*. Chongova-

P8: Hamheno.

P7: Ndechemazen'e.

P8: Horaiti.

P7: *But* iyi imba chaiyo chaiyo. Iyi inotova *netoilet neone room*. Tione mamwe *mapicture* acho okufront.

P8: Ndikoka uku?

P7: Saka *garage* iri. *Then* apa *pashade* apa. *Ndoshade*.

P8: Horaiti.

P7: *Toilet* ndeiyi, *bathroom*. Iyi *ibedroom* inofanira kuva iyi. Iyi *it's another bedroom* iyi.

P8: Horaiti.

P7: *Another bedroom* iyi, *library* iyi.

P8: *Ok.*

P7: Mm *lounge* iyi, *dining*.

P8: *Ok.*

P7: Aaa ichi hanzi chinonzi *scu scullery*.

P8: *Scullery*. {LG}

P7: Ichi chiri pakona ichi.

P8: Horaiti. Saka unobva mukicheni?

P7: Mm, *then* kicheni iyi. *So it's like* aa pane *entrance* apa kauchibva ku, uku ndokufront uku.

P8: Ndokuf*front*.

P7: *Parking* iyi.

P8: *Then entrance?*

P7: Wopinda mulounge *then* pane *exit* apa inotopinda mudining. *Then chiscullery chacho. Then another exit* uku kana uchida kuinda kubedroom.

P8: Horaiti. Hoo kuseri uku?

P7: Ndokuseri. Mabedroom {CG} *one two three four*. Saka apa hapana mapicture *ethis one but* ndoo *the biggest*.

P8: Ndo *the main bedroom?*

P7: Yaa. {NS} *But* ine toilet ne**athroom**. *This, this part* iyi inongova toilet ne**athroom** *but its big*, inotori- {LG} Yaa, *so* kuf*ront* uku ndoo, *so* hwindo iri ndorokupinda mulounge.

P8: *Ok*.

P7: Aya mahwindo two awa.

P8: Ndoaya?

P7: Yaa. Hazvisi *to scale* because *this lounge is actually bigger* than these two.

P8: Horaiti. {LG}

P7: *Drawing* yacho haina kuitwa.

P8: Ma *it's just rough*.

P7: Mm. *So its* mm. *I don't know* kana uchiri kuremember patanga tichiuya. (inaudible) Paripo patapfuura pane *curve* so.

P8: Mhm.

P7: Ndobva tazoti *straight*. Paa pane papane-

P8: Chihump?

P7: Mm, *like about four kilometres from here* uchidzoka kuno.

P8: Horaiti.

P7: *Then* aa *from here* kusvika kuYupi *it's ten*.

P8: *Ten*.

P7: Saka unenge wabvisa *four*.

P8: *Four kilometres?* {LG} *Yaa but yakanaka.*

(child talking)

P7: (()) *Pathis one.*

P8: *Library?*

P7: *Library. So muri, current owner anga ari lawyer.*

P8: *Hoo ok.*

P7: *Saka ndosaka mabhuku akawanda.*

P8: *Mabhuku.* {LG}

P7: *So masherefu hanzi ndiri kusiya aripo. (.) So ndoiyi of which I think maybe kudhara rariri garage, garage.*

P7: *Ndobva avhura garage kwakuisa library.*

P8: *Ndokuisa library. Yaa zvogona kudaro.*

P7: (. . .) *And also ndofunga akaiita office because ukanyatsotarisa, ine door. Apa pane svigreen apa idoor.*

P8: *Horaiti.*

P7: *So you can have door rinobva kunze uchitopinda mudining.*

P8: *Hoo horaiti. Kugadzira gadzirawo hapana anokubvunza.*

P7: *Yaa pane idzi it's like whatever you want. Hapana anokubvunza.*

P8: *Yaa* {LG}

P7: *Saka ukada kuti tamover apa tobva ta taisa garage futi.* {LG}

P8: *Zvinongoita.*

P7: *Zvinongoita but aa hapana need because-*

P8: *Yaa.*

P7: *Icovered parking, then iyi ndoo lockup.*

P8: *Yaa iyi ine space manje.*

P7: *Mm because stand its one thousand square metres.*

P8: *One thousand?*

P7: *Mm.*

P8: Horaiti.

P7: *I don't know* yanamai -- kuda ma. Uchikombeya neyana mai -- yokuMt Pleasant. (talks to another person) Zvakangoda kufanana handiti?

P8: Zvakada kufanana?

P7: Yaa.

P8: Haa *so it's big*. {LG}

P7: Yaa *because like* kuseri uku *it's open space*.

P8: Yaa.

P7: Imba imba yakaiswa pakati. *So there is a lot of space kufront, a lot of space kuback*.

P8: Aa kutoita gadheni, *a big one*. (talks to another person)

P7: Yaa imba iri pakati pedzimwe.

(child playing)

P8: Yaa pane dzimwe.

P7: Hamheno pano apa tikakwanisa kunhingikira. Aaam *probably* hazviiti. So patiri ndepano apa. (()) Saka iyo iri pakanzi (())

P8: Hoo, ndopairi?

P7: Ndopairi. Mira tione.

P8: *Road* yatabva nayo nhasi ndeipi?

P7: Iyi. Saka hatina kuzosvika *kuroundabout*. Tasvika *somewhere* pane *malights* ndobva takona ndokutenderera.

P8: *Ok*, hoo iyi?

P7: Mm *but* tabva takadai.

P8: Horaiti.

P7: *Then city centre*. *So city centre* iri *somewhere* apa. Saka tapinda muna Sikhumani.

P8: *So* iri *somewhere*?

P7: Yaaa *somewhere*. Mira tione. *It's one, one two two four Yazeni street*. (child playing) Kune, kune *mafacility* okuti *you can see* nhingikiri. Mira tione. (. . .) {NS} Ndakaibvisa kani?

(Children talking)

P7: *I don't know wherever* kwayainda. Ndokupiko ikoko? (()) So patiri *it's somewhere*. So patiri kuinda paT.

P8: Hoo, *ok*.

P7: *But* ndopane imba idzi. (child talking) {NS} *It should be this*, iyi.

P8: Horaiti, *this one*.

P7: *So* chishade chiya chachichionekwa ndeichi. *Then* pane chimwe chiimba chiri *somewhere*. (children talking)

P8: *Ok*. Saka apa *it's like* panokwi pano.

P7: Yaa pane *train I think*. Ndofunga ibhazi, ibhazi haisi *train*.

P8: *But still?*

P7: *But* pane *station, train station* iyi. Hoo yaa iyi ndo*train*. Awa mabhazi aya.

P8: Mabhazi.

P7: *Patrain station* ndeapa. *But* mabhazi akaita serawakambokwira ndoaya.

P8: Ee, *pabus stop*.

P7: *But also* umu, munopfuura makombi.

P8: Hoo.

P7: *Plus* ipo tione nde, *somewhere* aa *it should be somewhere here*. (children talking)
Uku kune makombi.

P8: Horaiti.

P7: *You could walk*.

P8: {LG}

P7: *But* ipapa aripo makombi. Kombi yakachipisa.

P8:{LG} (child talking)

P7: *There should be a way of* yokuti unopinda *into the street*. Handichazivi kuti zvoitwa sei. Yokuti unopinda *into the street* uchitoona.

P8: Hoo *ok*.

P7: *So* ndozvichatsikirira *shop*.

P8: {LG} Aa.

P7: *I don't know.*

P8: {CG} Tombomira mbijana.

P7: *But aaam parizvino panodiwa iyoyo mapiping yemagetsi then veranda. (children talking)*

P8: Yaa.

P7: *Saka veranda if we are not plastering rokwanisa kuitwa or vanoda kuplaster nechepamusoro peveranda?*

P8: Yaa *because* vaiti zvinozonetsa kuti uzofamba pamusoro pemazen'e.

P7: Hoo uchiplaster nhingikiri, *ok. (children talking) I think* vakatanga nearc iyo vaigadzire. *Then from there they can go outside.*

P8: Kutu votanga neoutside?

P7: *Because* ndandichifunga kunhingikira. Kune basa here kumasides kuplaster?

P8: Kumasides hakuna.

P7: *Like* uku nouku.

P8: Hakuna.

P7: *Because* ukainda maGutu muya umuka, mune mamwe mashop asina kutomboplastwa masides.

P8: Ehe, so kumbokusiya kwakadaro.

P7: Kungosiya kwakadaro *because* kuri kuti vanhu vazovaka mashop avo *next to each other.*

P8: Ee. Handiti ndovakatiudza kuti, vaiti chii, *thirty.*

P7: Mm. *So* vanongoita kuf*front*, maybe nokuback. *Even* kuback kwacho. {LG} *Maybe* kuf*front* then voinda mukati. Kuf*front* kuitira kuti vaise *veranda.*

P8: Yaa. Aam ko ko *floor* kuisa *matiles*? Handizivi.

P7: Yaa, ndozvandaifunga.

P8: Ndisingazivi kuti zvinozo. Hoo?

P7: Aa but haungaisi *matiles* akaita seayaka.

P8: Yaa. {LG} Haa. (children talking)

P7: Kune *dust* rokuti munhu aka aka akapinda *mushop* abva panze you *check see* kuti atsika akadai. {LG}

P8: *Plus its easy ku because kungokorobha chete.*

P7: Yaa. (talks to children) *I don't know kuti anoita maprize akadii ku--.*

P8: Ndandisina kumbochecker.

P7: (talks to someone else) (children talking) Ndisingazivi kuti kana kuri kuti watora *from here*, angavigika here kana kuti? (someone talking) Anenge ari, anenge ari *packed in, because* kuno uku akachipa.

P8: Hoo? *So it maybe cheaper* kuisa.

P7: *Like aa like atooda ayo. They could be even fifty rand per square metre.*

P8: Horaiti, *fifty rand*. {LG} Aa.

P7: *Per square metre, of which iyo shop ichii? About nine, ten times aa nine, maybe nine metres.*

P8: *Nine metres?*

P7: *So that's nine times eight, so times fifty rand. Three hundred rands.*

P8: *Three hundred rands. Thirty dollars*. {LG} (children talking)

P7: Akachipa zvisingamboiti.

P8: Aa *so it's cheaper than* kuisa *floor*.

P7: Yaa *zvotori cheaper*.

P8: Yaa.

P7: *Maybe you can check kuti ikoko anoita marii. Or we can, we can go kuma, kuhardware. We see around, we write down maprizes. Paunoina uko wozonokombeya.*

P8: Ee.

P7: Kuona kuti zvakamira sei. Uchitarisawo *type* kuti akasimba. Nokuti kune amwe anenge ari *thin*. Okuti akangokanganiswa kutsveta, munhu aka *even* ukadonhedza bhodhoro kudai *rinotocracker so*.

P8: Hoo. Ndisingazivi kuti vanoisa *matiles?*

P7: Zvimwe zvunhu *I guess* *zviri easy*. Hauna kuudzwa namai kuti takatsvaka *muface* wa-- tikati atigadzirire *ceiling* akapushira pushira.

P8: {LG}

P7: Ndobva ndazopenda inini ndakapenda *bathroom reupstairs*.

P8: *Perfect.*

P7: Ini ndotori *professional*. {LG}

P8: Ini *I think* ukangoisa, ukangova *like serious* nezvauri kuita zvinonyatsobuda.

P7: Yaa zvinobuda, *exactly*.

{BC}

P7: Yaa *paproperty* iyo inoda kupendwa.

P8: Horaiti.

P7: *So I don't know. Maybe* kunana, tiri muna ani *June*?

P8: *June*.

P7: *Around end of July or August, early August.*

P8: *Early August*. (talks to someone) {LG}

P7: Haungambopeyi for nhingirikiri.

P8: *For-*

P7: *Because* vanhu vaunenge uchipayer vachoka, anenge achiitira kuti apedze ainde kune *next*.

P8: Ehe.

P7: Awane mari yake. *Whilst* iwe ukazviitira *you can say I take my time*.

P8: Wotora *time* yako zvishoma nezvishoma uchinyatsoona kuti zvabuda here. (talks to someone else)

P7: *It can be done*. (children talking) Ndakapenda iyi ndokupenda iri *upstairs*.

P8: Hoo?

P7: Saka ya kumwe ndiri kunzwira usimbe. (talks to someone else) (children talking) *But* vanoita vacho havamboisi *mask*.

P8: Hoo?

P7: Vacho vaunotsvaka ukati huyai mundipendere. Vanongouya vachi- {BR} (talks to someone else) (children talking) Mmm so maybe ukadiiko? *Oh you have to pay* nhingirikiri. Inonzi chii? *Council fees*.

P8: *Council fees*?

P7: Ehe, mutero.

P8: Horaiti, yaa *council fees*.

P7: Paipayer mudhara it was *fifty*. Ndoreceipt yatakakusiira imwe so.

P8: Horaiti.

P7: Ndakaiona mufolder rako *somewhere*.

P8: Ehe.

P7: *So maybe you just take that receipt* woinda for.

P8: Horaiti ndono, *fifty* pagore?

P7: *I think so. So you can pay fees idzodzo. Then aa yaa aam maybe uyo anoita mapiping akaita piping yake akapedza, then uyo otanga kuplaster.*

P8: Handiti? Mr --.

P7: *Maybe taikwanisa kutsvaka yokuti akaplaster pafrent nokuisa veranda.*

P8: *Plaster kufrent?*

P7: Mm.

P8: Aa *but* mati topendaka handiti?

P7: Ya *I think so*.

P8: Hoo saka *it's like* toregedza kupenda *the whole?*

P7: Ya *just leave the outside*.

P8: Vongopenda kumberi.

P7: Mm.

P8: Pane, ya pane pandakamboona pakapendwa. *It was nice.* (children talking) (. . .)

P7: Mmm *because I think it should be ok. I don't remember* kapane-

P8: Saka panenge poda kungoplastwa *I think*.

P7: Yaa, kutop uku.

P8: Yaa.

P7: *I don't know* kuti veranda ropinda papi. *Probably just above air vents* handiti?

P8: Yaa *it's just above air vents*.

P7: *Because* maair vents anenge ari muzasi kana kuti anenge ari, *oh maair vents* ari pamusoro.

P8: Ari pamusoro.

P7: *So veranda should be just, just above door* kudai.

P8: Haa *but* iye aa.

P7: {LG}

P8: Iye aiti hanzi *above maair vents* so akatoita.

P7: *But* anofana kuva pamusoro *because purpose* yawo ndeyekuti mhelo ipfuure. Saka akainda muzasi *meveranda then* mhelo inodii? {LG}

P8: *Because* apa aiti hanzi ndaka, *because* anenge ari muzasi me meuyu.

P7: Mm.

P8: Akainda pamusoro anenge ava pa, anenge ava museri umu.

P7: Mhm. *Well but* zvebasa here kuti *veranda* radii. *Because* ukatarisa *kaspace* aka, ndopanenge pane *maair vents*.

P8: Hoo.

P7: Chidiki ichochi ichi. (children talking) Asainda apa. Anofana kuuya apa. *So I don't know* kuti matanda e *eroof* aiva pamusoro *pemaair vents* handiti?

P8: Ee anga ari pamusoro.

P7: *So, then* yobva yangoinda neche *just above*. *But* *kaspace* kacho kadikisa.

P8: Ee kadikisa. (children playing) Aa haisi nyaya yokuti takazoita uyuyu hatina kuzoita *according to plan* *parooof*?

P7: Aa *I don't think so*.

P8: Kutu ndozvaka *affecta* here kana kuti?

P7: Handiti ndospace yataitaura yaiva iyi here iyi? Kubva pane *ceiling* apa ndospace yataitaura.

P8: Ehe.

P7: So inganyanyo *affecta* chii?

P8: *It was supposed to be two-point*.

P7: *No, one point, one point*.

P8: Aa yanga iri *three metres*.

P7: *One point two iyi*.

P8: Aiwa.

P7: Mm.

P8: *It was supposed to be three, three metres* isu tikaita-

P7: Hoo kusvika apa? (phone rings)

P8: *Two point six*, ehe.

P7: Hoo *ok*. *So it's two point six* apa. Hoo *ok*.

P8: Saka. (children talking)

P7: Hoo kuti *that's why*.

P8: Ndisingazivi kuti-

P7: Yaa but *maair vents* haafani kuinda muzasi *meverandaka*.

P8: Yaa.

P7: *Because* akauya apa haa. {LG} Aiwa. (children talking) Hoo hatina kuzosvika *kuthree metres* uku?

P8: Mm.

P7: *Two point six*.

P8: Yaa but dziri *right*, dziri *right*.

P7: *Because looking at, I don't know* pawaifamba mukati waikwanisa kubata apa?

P8: Aa *no*.

P7: Hazviiti *because even if you look* apa. {NS} Uyu akanyora *north*, ndiyo *north* here iyi?

P8: (children talking) *North*, aaa haisiyo.

P7: *Because it's*, ukatarisa mamiriro akaita *shop at the moment*, east uku.

P8: Mhm.

P7: *West*, well *it's almost* though.

P8: *It's almost*.

P7: *Almost* {LG} *It's not exactly* but.

P8: *But*.

P7: Aa regai tigare uko.

P8: Yaa.

(Child talking)

Transcription 5: Participant 9 and 10

P9: Uri *right* here mwanangu?

P10: Haa ndiri *right* zvangu, makadii baba?

P9: Kurisei kuuniversity kwako uko?

P10: Aa kuribhoo. Aa tiri *paholiday*.

P9: Hoo aa. {LG} zviya munovhura riini? Unenge wava mugore ripi pamunovhura imi?

P10: Aa *third year but* aa, ndenge ndiri *kuattachment* patinovhura.

P9: *Attachment for how long?*

P10: {LG} Aa tiri kuinda gore rese *kuattachment*.

P9: Gore rese? Haa aaa, wadzidza mufana.

P10: Aa, yaa. {LG} Ya ya ya.

P9: Saka unenge uchipeyiwa here iwe? Toda marika isu. Toda kumbomwawo doro isu.

P10: Aa *right now* kwandakawana havabhadhari avo.

P9: (. . .) Ko wakadii kutsvaga kunobhadharwa iwe? Ungangoshandira mahara here. Mukore uno hausi wekushandira maharaka uno uyu.

P10: Aa Zimbabwe yacho munongoiziva. Ndotongotenda Mwari kuti ndakawana basa ini. Zvonetsa.

P9: Haa mabasa anonetsa. Mabasa ari kunetsa mwanangu. Ari kunetsa chaizvo. *At least* wakawana basa. Ndozvakatokosha izvozvo.

P10: Aa zvinotoda uchiziva someone. Kana uchiziva *someone* hazvimbonetsi. Unotowana *attachment* kwaunenge uchitobhadharwa *the whole year*.

P10: Shuwa here? Aa aa *sorry* hako. Asi haa chikuru *ieducation*. Handiti uri kuzowana *degree* rako, wozozviwanira mari yako. Saka hapana chakamboipa. {NS}

P9: Aa shuwa shuwa. Regai tingoshingirira tippedze. Ini ndakatoita *lucky*. Vamwe takasvika pakuvhara vasina kuwana *attachment* yacho ikoko kusingabhadharwi ikoko.

P9: Hezvo, hezvo, hezvo, inga zvakaoma.

P10: Aa *plus* pane vamwe vakatopedza gore vachishaiwa *attachment*. Zvunhu zvacho zvakaoma. Makambani mazhinji ari kuvharaka muno umu.

P9: Hezvo, hezvo. Aa *at least* wakaita *lucky* iwe. Gara zviya wakati unoita *how many years?*

P10: Aa *four years. Degree* racho rinopera *in four years.*

P9: Ok. Ko mabasa arisei *edegree* rauri kuita?

P10: Aa ku*health sector* kuri *right* hako. Pondinongopedza *it's easy* kuti uwane basa. Saka ii, zvotombori nani.

P9: Haa *at least* zvirini nani. *Most people* vanongopedza *madegree* vari kutambudzika zvisingatomboiti. Iwe kana uri *guaranteed* basa zvotova nani.

P10: Yaa haa mabasa acho ari kunetsa asi isu kwedu uum. Ku*health sector* kuchiri nani.

P9: Ndine munin'ina, mwana wemunin'ina wangu uyu akapedza ku N U S T *last year* nazvino ari kungotsvaga basa. Haa zvinhu zvacho zvakatooma zvisingaiti, aa. (claps hands) Unoshaya kuti vana vari kumboindirei kuchikoro mazuvano kana mabasa acho achinetsa kudai.

P10: Akaiteiko munin'ina, mwana wemunin'ina wenyu?

P9: Mmm, haa ndichamboziva here. Akaita mm, hanzi chiiko? *Financial management, financial intelligence* here, hamheno ikoko uko.

P10: Haa uko kunonetsa asi anenge awana basa anenge agara mumari.

P9: Hoo, haa *ok*. Hamheno zvazvo.

P10: Haa vazhinji vaka, unenge wagara mumari, haiwa. {LG} Saka makawana anokubatsirai here nhai baba?

P9: Yaa *but* vapfana vacho vanenge vane, anenge matsotsi ayo. Handisi kutombovaona zvakana ini.

P10: Hindava?

P9: Ndakavati tisangane tironge kuti totanga kuchera *foundation* riini *but* vanongondipa *maexcuses*.

P10: Hamugoni kutsvaga vamwe here?

P9: Haa, haa. (clears throat) ndozvandanga ndichitofunga kuita izvozvi izvi nokuti ii basa racho riri kusara mumashure zvisingamboiti.

P10: Aa kana muchida ndokwanisa kukutsvagirai *two* vokuti mushande navo. Zvirini kwamuri.

P9: *Ok*. Vakura zvakadii nokuti handidi ku zvokunetswa. Vapfanha vechidiki vanonetsaka ava.

P10: Umwe ari *twenty-two* umwe *twenty-five*.

P9: Haa ok. Vanonetsa kushanda navo vapfanha vacho ava. Hanzi ndingaite dhaka bhoyi *age* yangu ino iyi. {LG} Havatozivi kuti unenge watombowana kabasa asi vanonetsa zvisingamboiti.

P10: {LG}

P9: Manje havazivi kuti mazuvano ukatowana chero basa zvaro *you are better off than* kutongogara kumba uchishaya zvokuita.

P10: Aa shuwa. Ini pandakatanga *project* iyoyi ndakatoona sokuti zvakatondibatsira *especially* ndiri *paholiday* kudai.

P9: Haa *but bring them tomorrow then we will talk*. Handiti?

P10: *Ok*, horaiti. Aa *kucouncil* vanoda *building licence* yenyu. Saka toita sei?

P9: *Ok, ok*. Saka ndokupa here kana kuti toita sei?

P10: Haiwa, vanotoda kukuonai imi *face to face* saka tinotofana kuinda tose.

P9: Hoo aa *ok*. Wozondiudza kana wava *ready* tinoinda. Handina kana *problem*. *Licence* yangu *igenuine* saka hapana zvandombotya.

P10: Ndiri kufunga kuti tiinde *Monday*.

P9: Haa horaiti. Saka tosangana nguvai *pabus stop*?

P10: Aa ko nine irisei?

P9: Haa yakanaka. *Ok*. Ha ndendamuka. Mazuvano kuri kudziyaka uku. Saka ndokuona *pabus stop nanine* handiti? Tokwira *nanine* handiti?

P10: Ee aa *nanine*. Pane zvimwe here zvamuri kuda kana kuti tongozoonana ipapo?

P9: Yaa, saka tozoronga *zvepegging* riini? Zviri kwamuri. Ini ndinongova *available*.

P10: Aa ndozokuudzai patinoinda *kucouncil* *but it's most probably on Monday*.

P9: Haa horaiti horaiti. Pakanaka, pakanaka. Tongozoona.

P10: Handiti *matools* enyu ese akakwana?

P9: Yaa haa ndinazvo. Ndinazvo zvunhu zvangu zvakakwana. Hapana chandisina. Ndakavaka kakawanda, kwakawandisa. Saka haa ndongotoziva kuti ndofanirwa kushanda nezvunhu zvangu saka zvakakwana zvese.

P10: Aa, *then* ndokuonai *Monday* kana zvakadaro.

P9: Horaiti mwanangu. Rega ndimboona ndimborova hwani ndisati ndadzokera.

P10: Aa horaiti, paribhoo.

P9: Ufarise mudhara, handiti?

P10: Kahwani. Aa hoo ndandatokanganwa. Dzokai, dzokai, dzokai. Uum mofanirwa kumboonaka. Tofanirwa kumbovhura muone.

P9: Haa horaiti. Muchiimba chedu icho? Haa *ok*. Vhura tipinde mukati.

P10: *Ok*. {NS}

P9: Haa hoo, haa *ok*. Mmm *ok*. Mmm haa horaiti. *Mabricks how far?*

P10: Aa takatenga *four thousand* ari kudeliveriwa nhasi manheru zvese *necement* yacho.

P9: Haa horaiti, horaiti. *I think cement itai forty bags*.

P10: Aa ndakatenga *fifty bags* dziri kuuya manheru ano aya.

P9: Haa *Ok ok*. *I will see* kuti mameasurements acho akamira sei. *Plan* yavo iri *different* pane zvese zvanda dzandakaita asi *don't worry* ndinogadzirisa. Tinogona kuverenga *plan* isu. Musatombondityira zvenyu, ndinogona sitereki.

P10: Haa munonyanyozvikudzawo imi. Tangai maita basa tozokukudzai tirisu kwete kuramba muchingozvikudza.

P9: Aaa uchaona hakoze mwanangu, uchaona.

P10: Asi kana pane zvamunenge musinganzwisisi *just let me know* handiti?

P9: *Ok, I will, I will but don't worry*. Tanga, tagara naro basa iri.

P10: Aa ndosaka ndakachuza imizve. Ndosaka ndakachuza imi. Pavanhu vese vandakapuwu *three* ndakatochuza imi ndichiziva zvandiri.

P9: Handiti *breakdown* yaka, yemapayments wakaiona handitika?

P10: Yaa ndakaiona *but* uum hamungatidzisiriwo here?

P9: Aa papi pacho muzuku, mwanangu? Papi pacho? Handiti ndakatokuitirai *special*. Ispecialka yandakatokuitirai.

P10: Iii, ko plastering, plastering?

P9: Hii hii, zvinebasa rakawanda. Ii chibvisai mm mm mm mm. {NS} mm mm mm mm. Chibvisai horaiti, *hundred dollars*.

P10: Ii, ko tikabvisa *one fifty instead* zvinodii?

P9: Mhm, mhm, mhm, *one twenty-five*. Chibvisai henyu *one twenty-five* chete.

P10: *One fifty* kani. Handiti *food tinoprovider* here?

P9: *Ok as long as* pane nyama *then* horaiti *one fifty* yacho. Asi munondipa nyama *every day*. {LG} Toda nyama, ndokuti tiwane simba racho rokushandaka.

P10: Aa *ok one fifty* asi munowana matemba chete.

P9: Hii munenge mandibaya. Ndingamwa doru racho sei kana ndikadya matemba? Horaiti chibvisa *one fifty* asi mondipa basa *reroofing* ne, yaa mondipa *roofing*.

P10: Aa *ok* inoita. Tozotaura nyaya *yeroofing* kana. Yaa tozotaura mumwe musi *roofing* yacho tinozotaura.

P9: Horaiti saka imi chirongai muunzwe zvese zvinofana, zvatnofanira kushandisa zvacho zvigarire kuno handiti.

P10: Aa *ok, ok*. Aa madhiramhu munoda mangani?

P9: Mune *malitres* mangani imi? Mune *malitres* mangani? Aaa aa.

P10: Tine *two hundred litres* maviri. *Matwo hundred litres* maviri.

P9: *Just bring* ese ari *two* because toda mvura yakawanda zvisingaiti *especially* pakutanga apa. *Pafoundation* panotoda mazimvura asingaiti. Hamheno kuti ndiyani achachera.

P9: Aa horaiti horaiti. Aa togadzirisa. Ndouyisa *two hundred, matwo hundred litres* maviri.

P9: Horaiti, ko anochera mvura yacho ndiyani? Makamuwana here?

P10: Ha ee ee.

P9: Inocherwepi mvura yacho? *Kuborehole* here kana kuti inobva ku kurwizi uko?

P10: Aa *that's the plan* kuti icherwe *kuborehole*. Kana yazoshaikwawo tozoinda kumugodhi.

P9: *Ok* asi kure hmmm. Ndomunzwira tsitsi. *Hope* munhu wacho haacomplain because uum , kuresa zvisingamboiti ku kwauri kuda kuti icherwe mvura iyi. Haisi kana *four hundred metres* here uchisunda bhara? Ii zvakaoma.

P10: Aa *we will see*. Kana akazvitadzawo totoita zvengoro.

P9: {LG} Ndine munhu anokwanisa kuita zvengoro kana wako aramba. *Let me know* chete.

P10: Aa horaiti. Hamheno kuda zvengoro zvingatoshanda. Asi anocherera anenge achingodikwa futi. Hamheno, tichangoona.

P9: Haa horaiti. *So aa I guess you are ready to start* handiti?

P10: Yaa *as long as* muchi, *as long as* muchishanda basa renyu haa to^x tongoona.

P9: Yaa haa *as long as* imi muchibhadhara *after every stage then* tinopedza nokukasira.

P10: *Ok aa we will try* asi kana zvangonetsawo tinongoitawo zvikwereti zvacho izvozvo.

P9: Saka iwe uri ku wati kusvika riini iwewe?

P10: Aam uum *two September* kana kuti *late August*.

P9: Haa muchiri vekuno. Tinenge tarova ndima *by the time* yaunodzokera iwe.

P10: Aa *hopefully*.

P9: Mm. Haa ini kana ndatanga *something* ndotozorora ndapedza. {LG} Ndozorora ndapedza ini. Handitomboiti zvokutamba. Tinorova basa zvisingatomboiti.

P10: Haa *but take your time*. Hatidi zvokuti muresve. *Take your time*. {LG}

P9: Haa *no, no, no*. Ndonyatsoita *graft* nemazvo *but* ndino ndino, ndine *speed* futi. *That's why* vanhu vaunoona kuto vanhu vazhinji vachiuya vachinditora pano apa *because* uum vanoziva kuti muface anorova basa rake. (clears throat)

P10: Uum *then* ndozowana rimwe basa kana, kana mukange maita zvakanaka. Haa ndowana rimwe basa *because* ndoda kuti, pane zvatiri kuda futi kuti mugadzirise saka tetichingozonzwa kwamuri handiti?

P9: Haa shuwa shuwa shuwa? Zvebasa ndozvatotoda kuti mari irambe ichingopida. Mabasa acho ari kunetsa zvisingaiti.

P10: Asi munoziva henyu kuti makanyorerana pasi kuti tobhadhara kana tanyatsogutsikana neeverything zvamunenge maita. Kwete kuti tongokupai mari takanyarara.

P9: Haa yaa yaa yaa ndozviziva muzukuru, mwanangu. Haa ndozviziva, ndozviziva haa. Kana magutsikana ini ndikagutsikanawo then haa tobva tabhadharana zvedu.

P10: Aa saka chiverengai *contract* iyi. Inotsanangura *everything* chatakawirirana. Bepa racho iri saka nerimwe racho iri. Saka imi renyu iri, rangu iri. Kana maverenga mosaina. Kana masaina *then* mozondidzosea.

P9: *Ok* haa rega ndigozonoverengera kumba. Haa wati ndinganyanyoverengera kuno here? Zvoda kuverengwa zvakawandisa. Handiti wanyora chaizvo chaizvo here iwe? Saka haa regai ndingonoverengera kumba.

P10: *But* musaine mugodzoka naro mangwana handiti?

P9: Haa horaiti ndodzoka naro, ndodzoka naro. Saka ndiyani anofana kutanga kusaina? Ndiri kuona pane panoda kuiswa *signature* yakoka apa. Saka ndiyani anofanirwa kusaina *first* apa?

P10: Uum ini ndinofanirwa kusaina asi kana imi masa, saka ini ndosaina. Regai ndisaine. Ndipei, ndipei ndisaine. Kana ndasaina *then*, ndipei oo. (pen scribbling) *Ok* ini ndasaina. *Nedate* regai nditsvete *date* ranhasi. Yaa, *then* imi mozonosaina kana maverenga magutsikana. Handiti?

P9: Haa horaiti muzuku, mwanangu. Ndongogara ndichingokuti muzukuru nokuti ukama hwacho hwakapindanaka. Vana baba vako vanonditi baba, iwe wakunditi baba futi saka haa ukama hwacho hwapindana. Ndokwanisa kuti muzukuruka handiti? {LG}

P10: *Ok* uum, horaiti uum. Chiregai ndibaye ini handiti. Asi asi kunze kwekuti kana mune zvamunoda henyu kuti titaure.

P9: Haa hapachina. Rega ndimbotenderera ndichiona hangu kuti pakamira sei *then* ndozo, tozotaura mangwana. (. . .) {NS} Haa ndaona haa pakanaka. *Level* yacho yakanaka. Isu tongo, tozotaura mangwana ndokuti zvinake. *Then from tomorrow* haa kurova basa. Usatombondityira zvako kana. Horaiti bhabhai. wonofarisa mudhara, horaiti.

P10: *Ok see you tomorrow.*