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**CROSSLINGUISTIC INTERFACE BETWEEN ENGLISH AND
SELECTED ZIMBABWEAN INDIGENOUS LANGUAGES**

BY



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**A thesis submitted for requirements for the award of Doctor of
Philosophy in Applied Linguistics in the Faculty of Social
Sciences and Humanities at the University of Fort Hare**

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Alice, December 2014

DEDICATION

I dedicate this thesis to my amazing husband Chief, and our lovely children, who are proof that miracles do happen in our lives. *Zithandwa*, you have made this world a truly beautiful place for me. And you are the greatest reward I could ever have for my toil.



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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My foremost gratitude goes to my Creator and Lover of my soul, Jehovah God who did not spare His Son Jesus Christ for my salvation. To Him I say thank you Father for the opportunity to learn. Next I wish to thank my Supervisor, Dr BP Tshotsho for her ambition and drive, patient attention to detail, inspiration and wise mentorship that saw me completing my thesis. I am grateful for Dr Tshotsho's assistance in the process of accessing the GMRDC Fund that partly financed my study. My appreciation also goes to Dr M Cekiso, Co-supervisor, for the valuable insights and guidance.

My love and honour go to my awesome husband Dr Nhlanhla Landa Masuku, who supported my grand adventure of doctoral research. To him I say, Chief, you are simply the best and I am simply blessed. I also thank our adorable and energetic children, Isabella, Christabella, Lebohang, Lewatle, Reed and Nkosi for their humour, patience and simply wonderful nature. To them I say, Pumpkins, your million dollar smiles, interminable questions, comments, tantrums and infectious laughter were the most needed background accompaniments to this academic masterpiece. To my Mom and Dad, my superheroes, the greatest parents who ever lived, I am forever grateful for their love, prayers and support. I honour them for teaching me to worship the Almighty and for inculcating the culture of hard work within me. *Ngizolibonga ngani na?*

I extend my gratitude to all my respondents for their input. I also appreciate the contribution of all my colleagues particularly Dr RV Mangizvo, for his encouragement and assistance, my comrades, particularly staff in the Department of Languages and Communication Skills at Bindura University of Science Education, thank you so much. To Professor Charles Pfukwa, I say thank you for the constant inquiries on how far I had gone with my thesis; that was all the encouragement I needed.

Thank you, *ngiyabonga, ndatenda, kgialebokga!* God bless you all!

KEY WORDS

Crosslinguistic Influence

Language Contact

Multilingualism

Standard British English

Ndebele

Shona

Writing

Deviations

Discourse

Functional

Cohesion

Coherence

New Englishes

Zimbabwean English



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ABSTRACT

This study investigated the crosslinguistic interface between English and selected indigenous languages in Zimbabwe particularly Shona and Ndebele. The major thrust of the study was to critically examine how Zimbabwean indigenous languages, particularly Shona and Ndebele, have influenced non-native English written production through analysing written discourses for evidence of crosslinguistic influence in all linguistic domains. The thesis employed a qualitative case study approach to analyse excerpts from four literary texts written by Zimbabwean authors and 40 essays written by university final year undergraduate students. Questionnaires and interviews were also used to gather data from lecturers and students.

The research findings indicated that all domains were vulnerable to crosslinguistic influence to varying degrees. While deviating from Standard British English norms, the findings indicated that the English that has resulted from an interface of Shona and Ndebele with English is in itself a functional variety even as it demonstrates phonological, lexical, morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic deviations from Standard English and resemblance to Shona and Ndebele. While illustrating the presence of crosslinguistic influences across all linguistic domains to varying degrees, Zimbabwean English remained comprehensible and communicative. The existence of a Zimbabwean variety of English and its functionality in communication was a reflection of language evolution and change indicating that Zimbabwean English demonstrated the capacity to stand out as one of the New Englishes. The findings further demonstrated that incorporation of indigenous features into English indicated language users' need to affirm indigenous identity and pride of ownership of Zimbabwean English.

Given that Zimbabwean English is developing independently, and is increasingly incorporating linguistic material from its own indigenous languages, it would benefit Zimbabweans if this process can be harnessed through policy planning for reversing the marginalisation and extinction of indigenous languages in the classroom and in the public sphere.

ABBREVIATIONS

BUSE	Bindura University of Science Education
CLI	Crosslinguistic Influence
DA	Discourse Analysis
ESL	English as a Second Language
GA	Genre Analysis
FLA	First Language Acquisition
L1	First/native language
L2	Second/subsequent language
SLA	Second Language Acquisition
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
SBE/SE	Standard British English/Standard English
ZE	Zimbabwean English
ZIMSEC	Zimbabwe School Examinations Council



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LIST OF TABLES

Table 3.1 Approaches of doing Discourse Analysis

Table 5.1 Overview of Period and Context of Writing

Table 5.2 Formality and Informality

Table 5.3 Adaptations of English to local Usage

Table 5.4 Indigenous Terminology

Table 5.5 Summary of Students Scores by Score Groupings

Table 5.6 Presentation of students' scores in percentage terms

Table 5.7 Discourse Markers Used

Table 6.1 Language Diversity within the Student Sample- Ndebele L1

Table 6.2 Language Diversity within the Student Sample- Shona L1

Table 6.3 Level and Quality of Passes in English for the Student Sample

Table 6.4 Mother Tongue Influence on Pronunciation

Table 6.5 Zimbabwe's Status as an Independent Variety of English

Table 6.6a Respondents' Examples of Direct Translations

Table 6.6b Respondents' Examples of Direct Translations

Table 6.6c Respondents' Examples of Direct Translations

Table 6.6d Respondents' Examples of Direct Translations

Table 6.7 Unusual Vocabulary

Table 6.8 Borrowed Words

Table 6.9 Pragmatic Transfer

Table 6.10 Kinship Terms used During Code Switching and Code mixing

Table 6.11 Gender Neutrality in Indigenous Pronouns and Possessives

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1 Language Map of Africa

Figure 2.2 Language Map of Zimbabwe

Figure 3.1 Ideational, Interpersonal, and Textual Metafunction

Figure 3.2 SFL Model of Language as a Semiotic System

Figure 3.3 The Speaking Grid

Figure 6.1: Language Diversity in Ndebele L1 speakers in the sample

Figure 6.2 Language Diversity in the Student Sample- Shona L1

Figure 7.1 Continuum of Crosslinguistic Development of Zimbabwean English

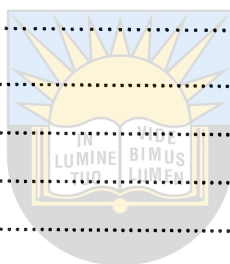
Figure 7.2 Crosslinguistic Model of Communication in Language Contact Settings



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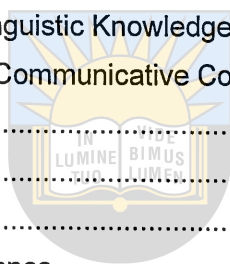
Table of Contents

Declaration.....	i
Dedication.....	ii
Acknowledgement.....	iii
Abstract.....	iv
Keywords.....	v
Abbreviations.....	vi
List of Tables.....	vii
List of Figures.....	viii
1.0 Introduction	1
1.1 Background to the study.....	3
1.2 Statement of the problem	7
1.3 Research aims	8
1.3.1 Research objectives	9
1.3.2 Research Questions	9
1.4 Research Design and Methodology.....	10
1.5 Justification of the study	11
1.6 Scope and Limits.....	14
1.7 Ethics Statement.....	14
1.8 Envisaged structure of the thesis.....	15
CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW.....	17
2.0 Introduction	17
2.1 Conceptualizing Language Contact.....	19
2.1.1 The Sociolinguistic Situation in Africa.....	22
2.1.2 Language Contact in Zimbabwe	26
2.2 Communication in a Language Contact Situation.....	29
2.3 Issues in Crosslinguistic Interaction.....	33
2.3.1 Defining Crosslinguistic Influence.....	36
2.3.2 Identifying Crosslinguistic Influence	37
2.3.3 Conditions for Crosslinguistic Influence.....	38
2.4 Language Transfer.....	40
2.5 Borrowing.....	43
2.6 Bilingual Language Processing	47

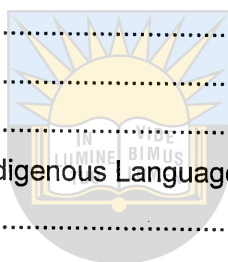


University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

2.7 Code Selection and Written Production.....	48
2.7.1 Code Switching.....	49
2.8 Negative Impact of Crosslinguistic Influence.....	50
2.8.1 Sound Perception and Sound Production.....	51
2.8.2 Morpho-syntax.....	51
2.8.3 Syntactic Variation.....	53
2.8.4 Positioning of Adjectival Phrases.....	53
2.9 Positive Crosslinguistic Influence.....	54
2.10 First and Second Language Acquisition.....	54
2.11 Constituents of Linguistic Knowledge.....	56
2.12 Describing Explicit and Implicit Linguistic Knowledge.....	59
2.13 Second Language Proficiency and Communicative Competence.....	61
2.14 Second Language Proficiency.....	62
2.15 Language Learning.....	63
2.16 Language Instruction.....	64
2.17 Bilingualism and Language Dominance.....	67
2.18 The Power of English as an International Language.....	69
2.19 The World Englishes Framework.....	70
2.19.1 The Three Concentric Circles Model.....	72
2.19.2 Standard English under Threat.....	77
2.19.3 African Englishes.....	78
2.19.3. 1 Nigerian English.....	80
2.20 Orality and African Writing.....	82
2.21 Conclusion.....	84
CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	85
3.1 Introduction.....	85
3.2 Systemic Functional Linguistics.....	86
3.2.1 Principles of Systemic Functional Linguistics.....	87
3.2.2 Analysis of Language in SFL.....	90
3.2.3 The Metafunctions.....	91
3.2.3.1 The Ideational Metafunction.....	92
3.2.3.2 The Textual Metafunction.....	94
3.2.3.3 The Interpersonal Metafunction.....	94
3.3 Text as an Overarching Analytical Tool in Linguistics.....	96
3.4 Textuality.....	97

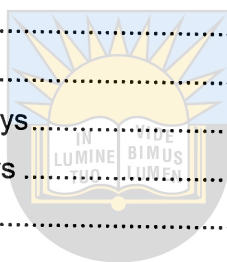


3.5 Cohesion and coherence in texts	98
3.6 Theme and Rheme in Texts	101
3.7 Transitivity in texts	102
3.8 Context in SFL	103
3.9 Language as a Semiotic System	103
3.10 Discourse Analysis	106
3.12 Discourse as a Process	111
3.12 Genre	115
3.13 Conclusion	118
CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	119
4.0 Introduction	119
4.1 Scope of Research	120
4.2 Research Design	121
4.3 Choice of Shona and Ndebele as Indigenous Languages of Focus	123
4.4 Sampling Procedure	124
4.5.1 Case Study Selection	125
4.5.2 Critical Reference Group	126
4.5.3 Sample of Student Participants	127
4.6 Dealing with Subjectivity	129
4.7 Research Instruments and Procedures	131
4.7.1 Interviews and Questionnaires	131
4.7.2 Textual Analysis	133
4.7.3 Analysis of Data	136
4.7.4 Reliability, Validity and Representativeness of Research Instruments	137
4.7.5 Pilot study	138
4.7.6 Results of the Pilot Study	141
4.8 Ethical Considerations	142
4.9 Limitations of the research	142
4.10 Conclusion	143
CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH RESULTS; TEXTUAL ANALYSIS	144
5.0 Introduction	144
5.1 Textual Analysis of Literary Texts	144
5.2 Emerging Patterns in Introductory Chapters	147
5.3 Vertical Progression of Linguistic Innovation in Literary Works	152
5.4 Register	153



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

5.5 Use of Metaphor	156
5.6 Unusual Syntactic and Lexical Items.....	160
5.7 Specialized Lexical Features.....	163
5.8 Phonological Adaptations.....	164
5.9 Generalizations.....	165
5.10 Syntactic Deviation	166
5.11 Indigenous Terminology.....	171
5.12 Selection of Linguistic Repertoire.....	172
5.13 Transliteration.....	173
5.14 Indigenous Influence on Names.....	177
5.15 Code Switching and Code Mixing.....	179
5.16 Lexical innovations.....	182
5.17 Textual Analysis of Students' Essays.....	184
5.17.2 Students' Performance on Essays.....	186
5.17.3 Topic Analysis.....	187
5.18 Colloquialism	188
5.19 Examples of Indigenous Lexical Influences.....	189
5.20 Lexical Generalization.....	190
5.21 Discourse Markers for Cohesion and Coherence.....	199
5.22 Conclusion.....	202
CHAPTER 6: RESEARCH RESULTS; ANALYSIS QUESTIONNAIRES AND INTERVIEWS.....	203
6.0 Introduction	203
6.1 Students' Questionnaires.....	204
6.2 Multilingualism in Zimbabwe; the Ndebele/Shona divide.....	205
6.3 Age of Exposure to English.....	213
6.4 Standard of English used in Zimbabwe.....	216
6.5 Influence of Indigenous Languages on English.....	220
6.5.1 Phonological Influence.....	223
6.5.2 Lexical and Morphological Influence	226
6.5.3 Syntactic Influence.....	231
6.7 Language Change and New Englishes	232
6.6 Language Change: Semantic Shifts and Extensions.....	234
6.7 Expansion of the Lexical Inventory.....	238
6.8 Interviewees Demonstration of Language Diversity among the Academic Elite.....	242
6.9 Features transferred from Indigenous languages to English	243



University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

6.10 Characteristics of English written by Students in Assignments.....	245
6.11 Pragmatic Aspects Evident in Writing.....	248
6.12 Code Mixing and code switching.....	255
6.13 Comprehensibility of English written by Students.....	261
6.14 Gender Neutrality and Distinction.....	263
6.14 Transfer of Syntactic Properties from L1 to L2.....	268
6.15 Conclusion.....	269
CHAPTER 7: SUMMARY OF RESULTS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS.....	271
7.0 Introduction.....	271
7.1 Summary of Findings.....	272
7.1.1 Multilingualism and Language Diversity in Zimbabwe.....	272
7.1.2 Age of Exposure to English Quality of Passes in English.....	273
7.1.3 Influence of Indigenous Languages on English.....	274
7.1.3.1 Phonological influence.....	274
7.1.3.2 Lexical and Morphological Influence.....	277
7.1.3.3 Syntactic Influence.....	278
7.1.3.4 Semantic and Pragmatic Influence.....	279
7.1.3.5 Comprehensibility of English written by Students.....	281
7.1.3.6 Creativity and Innovation.....	281
7.1.3.7 Language Change and New Englishes.....	282
7.1.3.8 Awareness of Indigenous Identity within Zimbabwean English.....	283
7.1 The Crosslinguistic structure of a new variety of English.....	284
7.2.1 The Crosslinguistic Model of Communication.....	288
7.3 Recommendations.....	292
7.3.1 Proficiency Levels and Legitimacy of Ownership of English.....	292
7.3.2 Language Planning and Curriculum Development.....	294
7.4 Conclusion.....	296
REFERENCES.....	299
APPENDICES.....	323

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

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1.0 Introduction

This chapter introduces the study by offering a brief outline of the area of study, a convincing background, the statement of the problem as well as the aims and objectives of the thesis. Also included in this introductory chapter are the research questions, justification of the study, scope and limits, a brief outline of the methodology informing the study, the ethics statement and the chapter layout.

This study focused on the crosslinguistic interface between English and indigenous languages in Zimbabwe. Crosslinguistics is a widely researched discipline in Applied Linguistics in general and in second language acquisition, particularly in language contact settings. The term crosslinguistic influence is sometimes used interchangeably with language transfer (Odlin, 2005). The flexibility of use of the two terms seems to assume that influence is necessary in the process of transfer, further assuming that there could be a two-way movement of elements between the domains of languages that are in a contact situation. The linguistic domains that were investigated for crosslinguistic influence are the phonological, lexical, morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic system of English in Zimbabwe after its contact with Shona and Ndebele. This understanding led to the adoption of the term 'crosslinguistic interface' in which the languages in question were viewed as potentially powerful players that influenced each other in the interaction process. Attempting to strike a power balance through terminology use here is important since the research focused on indigenous languages

(largely marginalized) and their supposed binding power working on a language of supremacy and international acclaim such as English (Whorf, 1956).

The objective of the study was to critically examine how Zimbabwean indigenous languages, particularly Shona and Ndebele, have influenced non-native English written production. The crucial question was how English reacted and responded within the context of indigenous languages? In simpler terms, the thesis interrogated how the structure of Standard English was affected by the Zimbabwean linguistic environment, if at all?



While embracing the New Englishes paradigm, this thesis does not challenge the supremacy and legitimacy of English as the global lingua franca because this seems to be an established reality as far as English's globalising forces, socio-economic value and distinction, social networking and international travel as well as educational, economic and political merits are concerned (Mauranen, 2009; Ranta, 2009; Mazrui, 2004). The challenge that this thesis grappled with, which coincidentally is also the challenge in the world today is that of acknowledging that English is fundamental as a world language, and yet still finding space for, and affirming the role and importance of indigenous languages in the day to day interactions as well as the personal and economic development of speakers, their communities and nations (Mazrui, 2004; Schneider, 2002). The thesis therefore, diverts from conventional research that emphasizes the influence of English as a prestigious superstrate on indigenous substrates by examining the other side of the equation whereby indigenous languages'

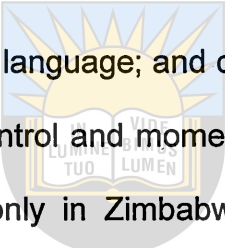
grammatical and rhetorical structures also exert significant influence on English. It is against this view that this thesis proposes the Crosslinguistic Model of Communication in language contact settings that is discussed in Chapter 7. The model presents a picture of the influence of Zimbabwean indigenous languages, namely Shona and Ndebele on English.

1.1 Background to the study

The linguistic situation prevailing in Zimbabwe today is a result of developments emanating from the colonial expansion of the British Empire from the late sixteenth to the twentieth century (Lloyd, 1984; Rubal-Lopez, 1996; Schneider, 2002). The political contact between the British settlers and the inhabitants of the pre-colonial state of what is now independent Zimbabwe resulted in the interaction of cultures and languages in a diatopic linguistic environment. As discussed by Schneider (2002), the nature and circumstances inherent in any contact setting largely determine how languages react and/or develop, and consequently determine their continuity, attrition or extinction. In the case of Zimbabwe, power belonged to the settlers therefore it followed naturally that their language dominated the linguistic space, in the process overshadowing indigenous languages (Phillipson, 1992).

Zimbabwe currently has several dormant, derelict or partially inactive indigenous languages. Of these, only Shona and Ndebele were elevated to national language status at independence in 1980. The majority of Zimbabweans have as their mother tongue Shona or Ndebele; with Tonga, Nambya and Venda holding minority positions.

English has achieved a two-pronged purpose in Zimbabwe and elsewhere in the world due to its political authority and linguistic instrumentality. As a direct result of colonialism, indigenous people of Zimbabwe in the colonial and post-colonial state were exposed to the English language and forced to acquire and learn it for survival, civility and continuity (Marechera, 1983). Through religion and education, English was ushered in as a superior medium and a language of choice, rebirth and civilisation for the colonised (Phillipson, 1992).



Since the imposition of English as a language; and consequently as a culture; by British settlers, it has continued to gain control and momentum as the first choice medium of international communications not only in Zimbabwe but in most parts of the world (Schneider, 2002). This explains why English has a higher status than the indigenous languages in bilingual and multilingual contact settings. Commenting on the status of English as a language, Nettle and Romaine (2000) estimate that up to 90% of the world's languages are now considered to be endangered; due to the introduction of English into their linguistic spaces. On the other hand, Maja (2008) argues that there are approximately 6 000 languages in the world yet only 55% of the entire population speaks just 15 of these languages. While it would seem almost obvious that international currency is why speakers of indigenous languages abandon their mother tongues in favour of internationally recognized languages like English, Spanish and Chinese; the practical objective and way forward adopted by this thesis was to examine what the effect of host languages such as Shona and Ndebele in the Zimbabwe case, was on international languages such as English.

With the advent of independence from British rule, the popularity and growth of English as a language of wider communication in Zimbabwe, and a lingua franca in the world economy has become linked to industrialization and globalization. A direct consequence of the demand for English for instrumental purposes was that indigenous people elevated English and strove to learn it and ensure that their children acquired it as a symbol of intellectual superiority and social sophistication. This is the predominant perception as regards English as a second language in present day Zimbabwe where the majority of people have bilingual or multilingual proficiency with English holding a superior status (Ranta, 2009).



The prevailing situation in Zimbabwe is that English claims the monopoly of being the medium of instruction from Grade 3 through tertiary education. It was established that English enjoyed a higher status than any of the indigenous languages (Chiwome & Thondlana, 1992; Mashiri, 2009; Kadenge & Mabugu, 2009.) However, although indigenous languages were relegated to the periphery in Zimbabwe, they continued to influence writers who wrote in English. Particularly, crosslinguistic phenomena present in discourses written in English by Zimbabwean native Shona and/or Ndebele speakers were a direct consequence of processes of second language acquisition (SLA) and language transfer at play (Odlin, 2005).

The main focus of this study was how the transfer of the first language (L1) to the second language (L2) affected the L2. With knowledge of the growing popularity of New Englishes at hand, it must be borne in mind that the crosslinguistic influences under analysis were perceived as adding value to the meaning making process. 'New Englishes' or 'World Englishes' can be described as unique and distinct varieties of English that owe their emergence to colonial rule. As a result, they are shaped by individual historical conditions and they are found in postcolonial settings around the world (Shneider, 2007). New Englishes also represent a growing subject in Sociolinguistics. The subject focuses on extra-national varieties of English that include immigrant varieties and what are known as English-lexified contact languages; they do not include the English spoken as indigenous varieties in North America, New Zealand and Australia (Meshthrie and Bhatt, 2008). This study was inspired by the research on the worldwide emergence and acknowledgement of 'new Englishes' (Deyuan and David, 2009) and their subtype known as 'African Englishes' (Mutonya, 2008).

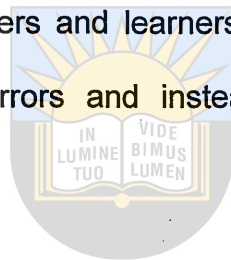
On the issue of African Englishes; Kadenge (2009) claims that the variety of English spoken in Zimbabwe is a distinct variation of African Englishes. English written by Shona and Ndebele native speakers is therefore viewed as a deviation from Standard English, with structural influence from the indigenous languages. This study discussed the various factors that could have influenced the crosslinguistic processes for instance; language dominance (Grossjean, 1992; Dopke, 1992; Sorace, 2005; De Houwer, 1995) similarities in linguistic domains and differences in the processing strategies (Clahsen and Felser, 2006), and need for identity affirmation.

1.2 Statement of the problem

According to Kachru (1982, 1983) a close reading of Zimbabwean written discourses seemed to suggest that these discourses have some lexical, morphologic, syntactic and semantic similarities with indigenous languages spoken by the writers. The English that resulted from interfacing indigenous languages and Standard English was a de-anglicized version that had been indigenized considerably for functionality. The processes of indigenization, de-Anglicization and nativisation of a language occur when a localized linguistic identity of an English variety is created, for example, Indian English or Scottish English. In this case Standard English is acculturated, that is, it is given a distinct local cultural identity that reflects the existing underlying sociolinguistic and cultural context (Kachru, 1995). In other words, indigenization or nativisation is the process of accommodating a language and adapting it to suit speakers' circumstances. With the rise in literacy levels in Zimbabwe, there has been a significant increase in the quantity of written discourses that are significantly indigenized in and out of the classroom (Kachru, 1995).

The central problematic issue with Zimbabwean written discourses, as with Nigerian or South African discourses written in English, according to Kachru (1982), is that many critics of language view them as either sub-standard, weak, ungrammatical and even unacceptable. Kachru (1982, 1983) rejects the characterization of non-native Englishes as approximate systems, idiosyncratic variations or transitional competences. These terms tend to come out as derogatory in light of the view that language is dynamic.

Halliday (1978, 1985) argues that, language is indeed a social semiotic and a resource to be exploited, then it would seem acceptable that if some syntactic and morphological concepts are transported into the L2 (fairly grammatically). This could be more of a functional choice unconsciously employed to enhance meaning than a weakness in proficiency. This perspective can be acceptable if a consideration of the available options and linguistic choices at the writer's disposal when making decisions about what to convey, to whom, when and how is made. In view of the above stated situation, this study therefore sought to examine the linguistic characteristics of the English that was written by second language speakers and learners. The analysis attempted to move away from the obsession with errors and instead embraced the New Englishes paradigm.



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1.3 Research aims

The central aim of this study was to critically examine the crosslinguistic interface between English and indigenous languages in Zimbabwe. This study sought to look beyond error analysis and instead it focused on linguistic inquiry such as language contact, language evolution and the emergence of New Englishes. This research was informed by the fact that language is neither static nor rigid, but is dynamic and flexible (Matthiesen, 2005). As a consequence of this underlying knowledge, it is then expected that where there is contact between two or more languages, they are bound to influence each other. Analysis of written production of academic and literary discourses was done in the study in two broad ways as follows;

- (i) Examining Zimbabwean written discourses for evidence of crosslinguistic influence in all linguistic domains.
- (ii) Critiquing the impact and contribution, if any, that crosslinguistic influences make to English as a language.

1.3.1 Research objectives

The research objectives were;

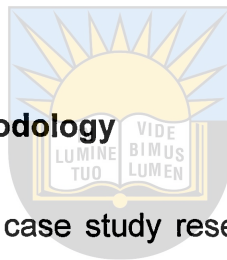
- (i) To examine which lexical, morphological, syntactic and/or semantic elements are transferred from the indigenous language(s) to the English language as a way of conveying meaning.
- (ii) To analyse the impact of crosslinguistic interface phenomena where there is contact between indigenous languages (L1), and English (L2).
- (iii) To establish whether the Zimbabwean authored discourses, through interfacing Shona and/or Ndebele with English, sufficiently demonstrate that the English language used by Zimbabweans is one of the African Englishes.
- (iv) To illustrate if the crosslinguistic phenomena exhibited are indicative of language evolution/change.

1.3.2 Research Questions

The study endeavoured to answer the following questions:

- (i) Which aspects of L1 are transferred to the L2 and how do these affect the L2?

- (ii) How does interfacing the L1 and L2 structural domains impact on Standard English?
- (iii) Does this encounter between the L1 and L2 transform Standard English sufficiently for it to be classified as one of the African Englishes?
- (iv) To what extent does the crosslinguistic phenomena exhibited indicate language evolution/change?
- (v) Has evolution enriched the English language?



1.4 Research Design and Methodology

The study made use of qualitative case study research which is an intensive and all round description and analysis of a phenomenon occurring in a particular place (Merriam, 1998). A case study investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident. Such a research relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data converging in a triangulating fashion (Yin, 2003).

The case study focused on Zimbabwean authored discourses and teachers of advanced adult speakers of ESL. Data from 40 undergraduate essays written by speakers of English as a second language, excerpts from three Zimbabwean authored literary works namely *Nehanda* by Vera (1993); *Waiting for the Rain* by Mungoshi (1975) and *Nervous Conditions* by Dangarembga (1988) (an additional text titled *The*

Uncertainty of Hope by Tagwira (2006), was used from recommendations in the pilot study), and interviews of ten lecturers were analysed.

The researcher used stratified sampling which is a probability sampling method in which a subset of the research population that shares at least one common characteristic will be identified (Stake, 1995). The researcher first identified the lecturers who taught ESL at undergraduate level, and the students they taught. After identifying the population, Shona L1 and Ndebele L1 speakers were identified through a process of preliminary counter checking to rule out mixed background occurrences. It was from this population that the researcher randomly selected 40 students, 20 from each group. The data analysed was expected to determine the extent of the interface between the L1 and the L2 as well as any contribution to the African Englishes perspective.

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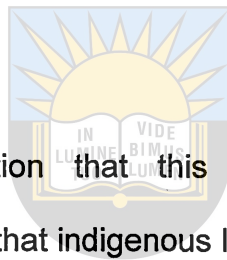
1.5 Justification of the study

The prevailing trend in linguistic analysis is to critique written production from L2 speakers of any language with scepticism. Given that the discourse that indigenous Zimbabweans grapple with embodies a culture and literary style quite alien to that of English; it is therefore to be expected that some aspects of L1 will tend to manifest in the L2 written and spoken language (Kachru, 1982, 1983). This study examined crosslinguistic influences in written discourses, an aspect which has not received any attention in Zimbabwe to date.

While studies have been carried out on the spoken language, none have focused on written texts as contributing to the new Englishes perspective as intended in this study (Kadenge and Mabugu, 2009). This study sought to view indigenized English not as a failure of expression but as a functional choice on the part of writers writing in English in an attempt to express Zimbabwean sensibilities. The present research is therefore expected to offer important insights for language research in Applied Linguistics and Educational Linguistics not only in the Zimbabwean context but in Africa as a whole.

This study focused on the positive influence of indigenous languages in Zimbabwe on English. To date, researchers have focused on the impact of English on indigenous languages (Odlin, 2005). However, what was argued in this study is that crosslinguistics is predominantly a phenomenon resulting from language contact; and that language contact has been observed as manifesting on both sides of the language-pair involved (for instance on L1 and L2) although it manifests to different extents. Contrary to some form of traditional linguistic orthodoxy that articulates the impact of the dominant language on the less dominant; this thesis conceptualized crosslinguistics as a mutual and bi-directional process. This prompted a critical examination of what indigenous languages namely Shona and Ndebele have done (structurally) to the English language, and how their impact has transformed English. Since research on the structural effects of English on Shona, Tonga and Ndebele has been done (Zivenge, 2005; Kadenge and Mabugu, 2009); this current study offers some contemporary yet relevant input into the significant transformation of Standard English as a result of contact with, and crosslinguistic influence from indigenous languages.

Whereas Torrijos' (2009), exploratory research makes a relevant contribution in as far as it elicits the fact that language transfer is an important aspect in the process of second language acquisition, the emphasis is on negative transfer and its (negative) effect on the process of writing in a second language. This is predominantly the field of error analysis (Corder, 1987). However, the present thesis departs from analysing the negative influences and seeks positive or facilitative transfer that can potentially lead to a firm background of the emergence of World Englishes and their sub-type of African Englishes.



The most fundamental contribution that this study can potentially make to crosslinguistics literature is eliciting that indigenous languages positively affect Standard English in the case of Zimbabwe. The study has the potential to overturn pro-British perspectives and biases in as much as the role of English is concerned. There has been little scholarship in the area of crosslinguistics with regards to English- Shona, English-Ndebele influence where English is more prestigious but still undergoes change as a result of influence from Shona and Ndebele. This study is meant to bridge the gap by focusing on indigenous languages having a positive effect on English. A critical analysis of the actual points of interface between English and indigenous languages could bring out the communicative potential and systematicity of the new varieties that develop as a result of the crosslinguistic interface (Rajadurai, 2005). The thesis, therefore, is a stimulating addition to the crosslinguistic debates between English and Zimbabwean

indigenous languages that elevates indigenous languages from the margin to the centre.

1.6 Scope and Limits

The study was carried out at Bindura University of Science Education, Mashonaland Central Province in Zimbabwe. It focused on essays by advanced adult speakers of ESL, excerpts from four literary works and interviews of lecturers of advanced students with the aim of investigating crosslinguistic influence (CLI) in the written texts. To ensure authenticity, students were assigned topics to work on in class for analysis. This study did not focus on other indigenous languages spoken in Zimbabwe like Nambya, Tonga, Venda, Kalanga, Bemba, and Chewa. Two indigenous languages, namely Ndebele and Shona were selected.



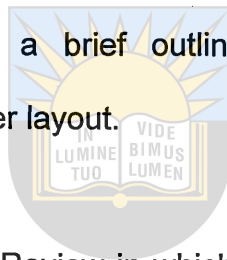
1.7 Ethics Statement

The following steps were followed in order to ensure the reliability and validity of the findings. Firstly, clearance from the University of Fort Hare Faculty Ethics Committee and University Ethics Committee was sought before embarking on the research. Permission from the Bindura University of Science Education Research Board was sought before any interactions with students and lecturers commenced. Secondly, this study involved the processes of textual analysis in which citations and sources were used. All academic regulations were adhered to in ensuring that all sources used are acknowledged. Students' and lecturers' informed consent was sought before essays were written and analysed, and before interviews were conducted. The participants'

right to details concerning the thesis was respected and confidentiality was observed throughout the data collection and data analysis processes. Participants were not forced to participate in the research against their will and they were also free to pull out if they wished to do so at any stage.

1.8 Envisaged structure of the thesis

Chapter 1 of the thesis was introductory in nature. It defined the study by giving a general overview of the area of study, providing a convincing background to the study, justifying the study and offering a brief outline of the research methodology. Furthermore, it discussed the chapter layout.



Chapter 2 presented the Literature Review in which the present study finds contextual reference and thus fits in the continuum of Applied Linguistics research. The chapter was a comprehensive survey of the crucial issues in crosslinguistics namely language contact, second language acquisition, bilingualism, language transfer, English as a lingua franca, World Englishes and their sub-type of African Englishes. The aim of the detailed review of literature in this chapter was to seek gaps while contextualizing and situating the ongoing study in the current of existing literature as well as using existing research as a point of departure for the study.

Chapter 3 discussed the theoretical framework as regards SFL and DA in relation to the current study. Chapter 4 was the research methodology and Chapter 5 focused on the analysis of data from texts and Chapter 6 focused on the analysis of data from

interviews and questionnaires. Chapter 7 reflected on the findings, offered recommendations that were informed by the data analysis and findings as well as concluding the thesis.

The next chapter reviewed literature related to the study thus providing contextual reference to the current thesis.



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CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter reviewed literature related to the area of crosslinguistic influence in relation to the aims of the study. The overarching aims of the thesis were to examine Zimbabwean written discourses for evidence of crosslinguistic influence in all linguistic domains and to critique the impact and contribution, if any, that crosslinguistic influences make to English as a language.



The chapter engaged in a review that concentrated on crosslinguistic influence, language contact, second language acquisition, language transfer, bilingualism and bilingual language processing. The issues of English as a lingua franca, World Englishes/New Englishes and African Englishes were discussed with the intention of seeking possible existence of the same in the Zimbabwean linguistic situation in which an analysis of the crosslinguistic interface between English and Indigenous languages was carried out. The sociolinguistic situation in Africa was discussed as a point of departure and a trigger of crosslinguistic processes. On bilingualism, aspects such as language dominance, code selection, switching and mixing were critiqued in relation to written and spoken output.

Existing research on L1 transfer makes reference to crosslinguistic interference, and interdiscursive hybridity (Weinrich, 1953; Fairclough, 2006), implying development of a

new type of hybrid language wherever there is Crosslinguistic Influence (CLI). These processes were problematized and examined in an attempt to elicit their contribution or lack thereof to the World Englishes, particularly the Zimbabwean English discourse as an exemplar of African Englishes.

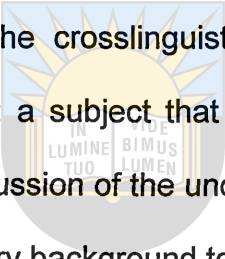
While a number of research studies conducted by Corder (1987); Erdogan (2005) and Torrijos (2009) concentrate on error analysis frameworks thus examining errors made by second language speakers and writers; this study aimed at the positive influence of L1 on L2 that does not render written discourses unintelligible, but simply gives them a distinct characteristic. Second, with the exception of Kachru (1982, 1985, 1986); Platt, Weber and Ho (1984); Chisanga and Kamangwalu (1997); Kortmann and Schneider (2004); Rajadurai (2005); Anchimbe (2006) Kadenge (2009); and Ngefac (2008, 2010), most researches tend to focus on the negative structural defects wherever there is language contact and consequently crosslinguistic influence due to language transfer (Corder, 1987; Ellis, 2005). Missing from the above mentioned research studies on the positive input of indigenous languages is the place of the Zimbabwean case study and its contribution to the World Englishes component.

The concept of how the Zimbabwean indigenous language forms and systems have impacted on the structure of English as a result of contact is handled with considerable depth in this study. The thesis therefore uses existing literature as a point of departure from theoretical stereotypes and biases towards a novel orientation in which indigenous languages are powerful players in the linguistic field with the ability to influence and

shape English, forcing it to adapt and adopt the Zimbabwean linguistic and cultural context. Existing stereotypes and biases with regards to English in the world in general, and in Africa in particular view indigenous languages as ill-equipped as a means of communication in education, media or religion. Further, when discussing language influence, it is English that is perceived as the norm provider due to the hegemonic influence carried over from colonialism (Awonusi, 2004; Bambgose, 2003).

2.1 Conceptualizing Language Contact

The focus of this thesis was on the crosslinguistic interface between English and Zimbabwean indigenous languages; a subject that emanates and is an end-result of language contact. Therefore, a discussion of the underlying issues in contact linguistics was necessary for setting a necessary background to the literature review.

The logo of the University of Fort Hare, featuring a shield with a sunburst at the top and the Latin motto 'IN QUAE LUMINE BIMUS TUO LUMEN' on a banner below. The shield is flanked by two columns.

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Byron (1977) simplifies language contact to refer to the existence of more than one language in a given setting. Some research into the subject of adoption of a language by another, specifically English by Shona, and English by Tonga, has been done with significant depth by Chimhundu (2002), Zivenge (2005) respectively with reference to the Zimbabwean context showing a general appreciation of multilingual spaces and their implications in Zimbabwe.

Substantial research on adoption and adaptation in the Shona language has been carried out by Chimhundu (2002). Zivenge (2005) also raised some questions and made noteworthy observations on the effects of Shona language change on

monolingual lexicography. Both scholars observe that the Shona language continues to develop through borrowing of various lexical items as a strategy of covering the inevitable gaps that arise in interaction (Chimhundu, 2002; Zivenge, 2005). These particular studies tend to focus on how Shona has evolved, developed and changed as a result of its contact and interaction with other languages especially English. The findings show that borrowing and transfer of elements from one language to the other ultimately lead to sound, thus phonological changes. Furthermore, Shona has clearly lost some of its inherent properties through losing some of its sounds and morphemes while enriching its lexical inventory with lexical items and sounds from other languages in contact with it, of which English is one (Chimhundu, 2002; Zivenge; 2005). Such a revelation raises questions as to whether English has not undergone the same changes after continuous contact with Ndebele and Shona, questions that this research seeks to address through careful analysis.

The logo of the University of Fort Hare, featuring a sun rising over an open book with the motto 'IN VIDE VERITAS'.
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A general consensus among linguists and language practitioners such as (Finegan, 1994; Koopman, 1994; Madiba, 2000; Chapanga and Makamani, 2007) is that language change is usually a result of language contact where languages adjust to the linguistic environment in which they are in active existence. In line with this claim, Chimhundu (2002) observes that the lexical inventory of Shona has continued to grow from the moment it came into contact with other languages, and most notably, the English language. A most relevant observation with regards to this subject as put forward by Chimhundu (2002) is that Shona is continuously assimilating linguistic features from English. As a result, it manifests linguistic characteristics that are foreign to its traditional

domain. Loan words and discourse shifts from English have found their way into the Shona lexicon. Examples are *motokari* referring to *motorcar* and *shuga* referring to *sugar*. This came about because of the invasion and subsequent colonization of Zimbabwe in the 1890s which provided a favourable linguistic setting and platform for diffusion of lexical items between English, Shona, Tonga, Ndebele and other indigenous languages (Chimhundu, 2002; Zivenge 2005). It is important to note that the research studies discussed so far do acknowledge that language contact necessitates crosslinguistic influence as a result of the interplay of several factors of a cultural, political, social, and economic nature (Zivenge, 2005). Where these previous researches seem to fall short is when they limit themselves to one side of the process of the diffusion in CLI. This endeavour to acknowledge the bi-directional nature of crosslinguistic influence (O'Neill, Bennet, and Vanier, 2010) and to explore the other side (effects on English) is the focus of the current thesis. Bi-directionality in crosslinguistic influence entails both languages' forms, norms and systems influencing each other as opposed to one language being the recipient of forms and norms (O'Neill, Bennet, and Vanier, 2010). The study focused on how some forms and systems from Shona and Ndebele have been assimilated into the English language. The study further examined the effects of the assimilation of the said forms and structures on English.

The preoccupation with how English has modified Shona, Tonga, (in Zimbabwe) Afrikaans, Zulu (in South Africa) tends to assume that English itself is the norm provider and is not prone to crosslinguistic influence (Chimhundu, 2002; Zivenge; 2005; Finlayson and Madiba, 2002). By way of filling this gap, this thesis goes a step further

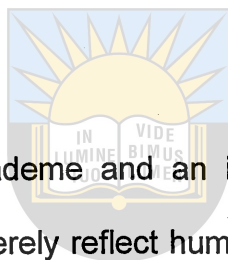
by investigating the nature of the diffusion from the other side; that is from the Standard English language dimension. Questions of an epistemological and ontological nature naturally arise when the issue of how much linguistic knowledge from one language can positively cross-fertilize another language. The uni-directionality of crosslinguistic effects is explored as an important element of language contact. This allows for exploration of what English has become after meeting and experiencing Shona and Ndebele syntax.

While it has been observed and sufficiently documented that indigenous languages in Zimbabwe and most notably Shona, have assimilated segmental and suprasegmental features from English (Zivenge, 2005), this thesis further questions how English has been influenced by these indigenous languages. While research acknowledges that English continues to demonstrate more power therefore is the dominant language internationally (Tshotsho, 2006), there is need to examine closely the role that is played by the so-called weaker languages in influencing the dominant language. What is viewed as insignificant is not the influence that indigenous languages have had on English in Zimbabwe or Africa; but rather, the implications that this influence has on the superiority of English on the international scene.

2.1. 1 The Sociolinguistic Situation in Africa

Schmied (1991) contends that among the world's continents, Africa is the most complex and highly diverse linguistically. This is because of the large number of indigenous languages on the African continent and the resultant cultural diversity. However, despite

the numerous indigenous languages, English is the most used language in Africa. It has a multiplicity of roles. These numerous and critical roles of English in Africa include education, administration, industry and commerce, legislation and policy making. People with no other language in common tend to use English as a common language in Africa (Schmied, 1991). As the popularity of English grew it continued to be used in a wide variety of contexts throughout the countries where British influence was present; while indigenous languages began to be used less often and in less significant contexts thereby naturally presenting English as the dominant language, and language of choice (Dopke, 1992).



As a medium of instruction in academe and an international language, (Tshotsho, 2006), English in Africa does not merely reflect human experience but it is a means of creating social events. Social speech events such as conversations, speeches, sermons, funerals, traditional ceremonies and rituals are created by the special language used in these specific social contexts. Actually, what second language speakers say and how they say it is directly related to their personal standpoints and ideology (Fowler, 1991). Speakers' perceptions of the importance of their indigenous languages can be illustrated by the type of English they speak. With respect to the different speech styles in specific speech events, Fowler (1991) points out that speakers who value their indigenous cultures and knowledge systems tend to incorporate their ideologies in speech forms or writing styles. This view could imply that English in Africa cannot easily create meaning on its own but is making use of the African experience

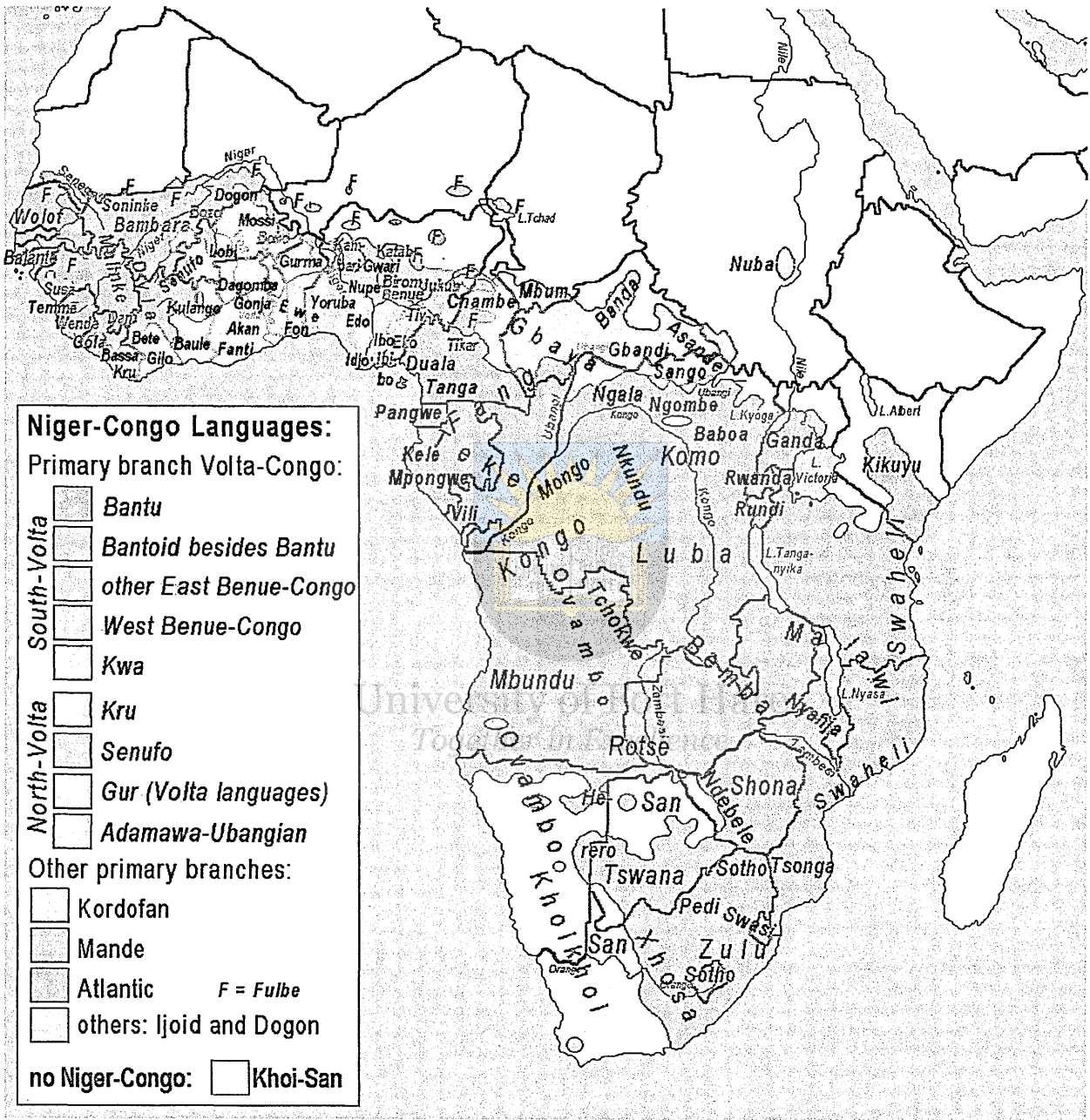
and African languages in meaning making; an issue that this study explores and seeks to validate.

According to Zivenge (2005) the languages in Africa are approximated to be between 1500 and 2000. The linguistic structure in Africa can be divided into four main groupings. The groupings are Afro-Asiatic, covering North Africa with about 200 languages; Nilo-Saharan, with about 140 languages; and the Niger-Saharan group that constitutes two-thirds of Africa. It consists of approximately 1000 languages. The Bantu languages of Central, Southern and Eastern Africa form a sub-group of the Niger Congo branch. Finally, there is the Khoisan group consisting of about 30 languages (Ethnologue, 2012). The map below illustrates the linguistic diversity in Africa.



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Figure 2.1 Language Map of Africa



Adopted from Ethnologue (2012)

The map is important as it illustrates linguistic diversity in Africa. Evidence of linguistic diversity in Africa provides a relevant background to the subject of language contact and crosslinguistic influence which is key in this research. The Niger-Congo group that represents Bantu languages has a considerable geographical spread from South Africa through Zimbabwe to Tanzania and Democratic Republic of Congo.

The languages indicated on countries, for example, Shona and Chewa for Zimbabwe, Sotho and Xhosa for South Africa and Lingala for the Democratic Republic of Congo are not reflective of all the languages spoken in the stated countries but are simply some of the numerous examples of the actual languages spoken on the ground (Ethnologue, 2012). The linguistic map of Africa is important as it shows the different groupings of countries that share roughly similar indigenous languages. This is a critical factor when it comes to analysing the nature of Englishes spoken and written by speakers from one group, for instance, the Niger-Congo (Bantu) group. Such similarities are useful for analysing the African Englishes phenomena.

2.1.2 Language Contact in Zimbabwe

Geographically, Zimbabwe lies amid the Limpopo and Zambezi Rivers. In the Zimbabwean context, the local population mostly came into contact with English in the white owned farms and factories as labourers and in the missionary schools as students where the priests had a low tolerance for indigenous languages (Chikanza, 1986; Schmied, 1991; Zivenge, 2005; Zivenge, 2009). It is here that the point of contact was established. Through coercion, negotiation, practical need and sometimes trial and

error, the local people found themselves embracing the English language in one way or the other (Mazrui, 1966; Zivenge, 2005).

Zimbabwe's linguistic profile classified the languages in existence into five categories namely; official, national, indigenous, migrant and minority languages prior to the 2013 New Constitution (Hachipola, 1998). English was the official language while the national languages were Ndebele and Shona, with Shona in its various dialects of Karanga, Ndau, Zezuru, and Manyika. The five officially recognized indigenous languages were Shangani, Venda, Kalanga, Nambya and Tonga. Kunda, Sotho, Sena, Chewa, Lozi, Xhosa, Tsoa/Hietshwane, Tonga (as spoken in Mudzi), Nyanja, Nsenga, Tshwawo, Barwe and Hwesa were the several minority languages spoken in different parts of Zimbabwe (Hachipola, 1998; Mheta, 2005; Ethnologue, 2012). Minority languages are those languages that are spoken by a small population and are do not exert much influence in the linguistic environment (John, 1984; Zivenge, 2005).

The language map below illustrates the distribution and spread of indigenous languages in Zimbabwe.

also includes Zimbabwe's neighbours which are South Africa, Mozambique, Botswana, Namibia and Zambia. Some of the indigenous languages spoken in Zimbabwe are either dialects of languages spoken in these neighbouring countries or the actual languages as they are (Zivenge, 2005). Examples are Nambya spoken in Zambia, and Kalanga in Botswana. Since Zimbabwe is a bilingual and multilingual nation where people speak at least two languages, knowledge of speakers' first language may explain the nature of L2 output (Jarvis and Pavlenko, 2008). For English to be spoken in a country with a linguistic background as illustrated on the map indicates a great deal of influence from the different mother tongues to the target language and vice-versa.

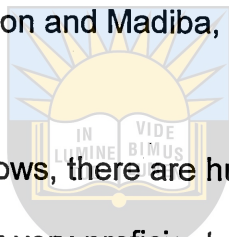


2.2 Communication in a Language Contact Situation

Communication in language contact situations such as the African and Zimbabwean cases illustrated above is quite complex. The speaker is called upon to exploit the syntactic structures, morphological formulae, lexicon and pragmatic rules of more than one language (Matras, 2009). For a bilingual or multilingual speaker, communication involves sociolinguistic considerations and psycholinguistic processes (Schmied, 1991; Matras, 2009).

The mental faculty responsible for language in a bilingual or multilingual speaker is always on multitasking alert when it comes to syntactic, lexical or morphological referencing (Matras, 2009). This is due to the notion that there will be two or even three languages known to the speaker. As a result, the speaker has to select the appropriate

code to be used for particular contexts. Context is of critical importance as it determines the choices that the speaker makes from a vast linguistic repertoire. Whether a situation is formal or informal affects how the speaker chooses grammatical structures, morpho-syntactic modes of word, phrase and sentence formation; and even lexical items during usage (Matras, 2009). This affects even written output since the SLA speaker/writer is versatile in selecting which repertoire to use for which audience. In some instances, the multiple linguistic repertoires at the speaker's disposal are evident in code mixing and code switching where speakers use both or all the languages either interchangeably or at once in particular contexts (Finlayson and Madiba, 2002; Matras, 2009).



However, as the illustration below shows, there are hurdles that need to be overcome in the form of negative interference. For very proficient speakers, whatever is borrowed or carried over from L1 to L2 tends to enrich rather than deplete meaning. Following Matras' (2009) illustration of the interplay of factors in communication in language contact settings; there is a growing tendency for speakers to use expressions usually reserved for say Context A during interaction in Context B. This case raises the question of what constitutes negative or positive interference. Similarly, which type of crosslinguistic influence should be viewed as erratic or positive is a question that continues to haunt researchers as they seek more clarity on the World Englishes project (Kachru, 1985, 1990, 1997; Quirk, 1990). Such questions are imperative because researchers do not simply stamp seemingly ungrammatical English spoken outside the native English countries as 'new' English (Jenkins, 2006) without considerable evidence

of acceptability and communication. In these instances, communication is deemed more important than grammatical accuracy (Madiba, 2001; Finlayson and Madiba, 2002).

Communication in a language contact setting involves the interplay of two primary factors as illustrated in Figure 3.below.

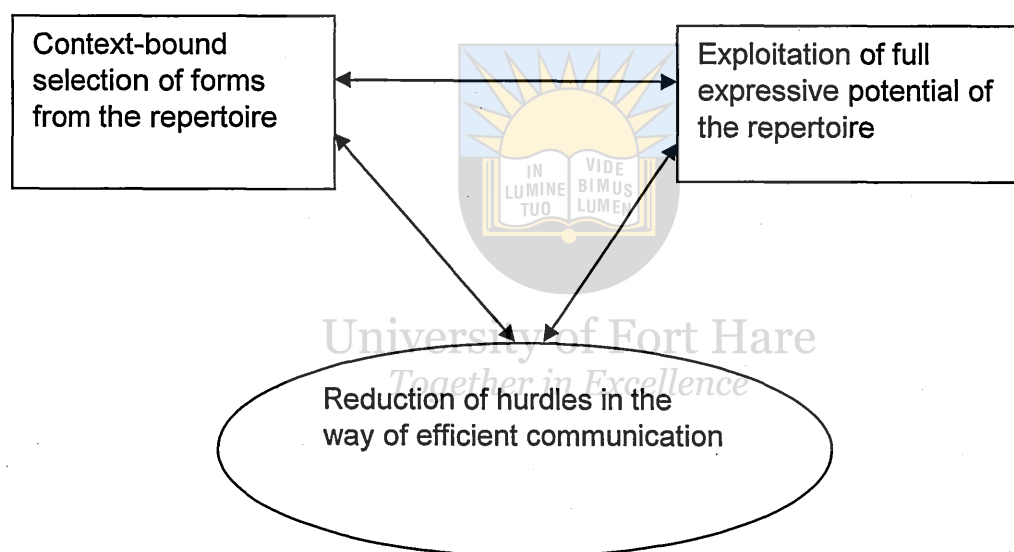


Figure 2.3 The interplay of factors in communication in language contact settings
Adopted from Matras (2009; 05)

The illustration above sets a clear background for the main challenges of crosslinguistic interaction that bilingual and multilinguals struggle with constantly. The illustration is

important as it helps in the understanding of the choice of language on the one hand and the desire to use all known language structures on the other hand (Matras; 2009). These two variables are regulated by the presence of stumbling blocks that need to be overcome in order for the communication process to be complete and effective. The possible stumbling blocks that would manifest as barriers to communication are semantic deviations and crosslinguistic interference. The other important aspect highlighted by Matras' (2009) is that of context. Context seems by far to be the most important dynamic that determines whether crosslinguistic influence is positive (or negative) where English and other languages in the Outer Circle (Kachru 1985, 1995) are concerned. Bhatt (2005) forwards examples of how Indian English cannot be critiqued as deviant or deficient due to its structure that has been moulded by the sociocultural context in India which is different from that in America or Britain. For example, tag questions in Indian English are governed by politeness principles of non-imposition as follows;

- a) *You have taken my book, isn't it?*
- b) *You are soon going home, isn't it?*

These tag questions (*isn't it?*) in Indian English have social meanings as opposed to the meaning of the main proposition. In this instance, Bhatt (2005) argues that the linguistic form is not ungrammatical but it is constrained by the existing cultural constraints in Indian community interaction. In contrast, Standard British or American English forms

tag questions by inserting a copy of the pronominal subject after an appropriate modal auxiliary. Therefore the same tag questions would read as follows;

- a) *You have taken my book, haven't you?*
- b) *You are are going home, aren't you?*

The American and British tag questions denote direct confrontation and lack the politeness and avoidance of conflict that Indian English wishes to elicit at all speech events. The examples presented by Bhatt (2005) emphasize culture as a key constituent in context and by extension as a determinant of crosslinguistic influence. Such thinking helps in understanding the differences in Standard English and Shona, Ndebele or Tonga in Zimbabwe. Bhatt (2005) is opposed to viewing a language from an almost clinical, purely phonological, morphological and syntactic lens but advocates a pragmatic approach that acknowledges that language and a people's culture are inseparable. This is the thread that the current study endeavours to follow; focussing on what Zimbabwean indigenous culture has contributed to the lexical, syntactic and morphologic patterns of English; yet retaining meaning and communicative effect (Finlayson and Madiba, 2002).

2.3 Issues in Crosslinguistic Interaction

The subject of crosslinguistic influence arises from the notion that additional language acquisition is usually affected by interaction with learners' previous languages (O'Neill,

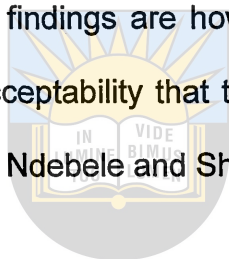
Bennet, and Vanier, 2010). Influence of a previously learned language on a language learned later may be demonstrated in Crosslinguistic influence and described as the interaction of languages in a bilingual or multilingual setup. Crosslinguistic influence is closely linked to language transfer. O'Neill, Bennet, and Vanier, (2010) define language transfer as the process through which speakers of a second language use forms and systems from the first language while interpreting or producing forms of the second language.

Existing surveys of crosslinguistic phenomena have tended to focus on such phenomena from the viewpoint of error analysis frameworks (Corder, 1987; Erdogan, 2005). However, even as these research findings will be reviewed for purposes of conceptualization and contextualization of the present study, it is important to point out that the study assessed whether crosslinguistic influence enhances meaning potential or not.

According to Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) errors are not the only outcome of crosslinguistic influence. Consequences of crosslinguistic influence may also be positive in some instances for example when CLI leads to conventional language use as well as accelerated language acquisition (Ard & Hamburg in Pavlenko, 2008). Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) assert that similarities between source language and recipient language do not always lead to errors but may lead to broad underproduction or overproduction of structures in the recipient language. For the latter process, an

example would be overproduction of sentences beginning with *It is* or *There is* (Schacter & Rutherford, 1979)

Odlin's (2005) views on the intersection of language transfer and SLA will be used as a point of departure in this study. Odlin (2005) claims that proficient L2 speakers never forget their L1 and Luna's (2010) research into interlanguage in undergraduates' academic English focusing on script analysis, confirms this assertion. Luna's preliminary findings indicate that learners use rules from both L1 and L2 linguistic systems in order to produce sentences in L2. These findings are however inconclusive with regards to the questions of intelligibility and acceptability that this research seeks to explore with reference to the positive influence of Ndebele and Shona on English.



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In tandem with the issue of adopting L1 rules for L2 expression, Matras (2009) argues that it is language contact that encourages speakers to bypass existing restrictions and engage in linguistic processes like code switching and code mixing during actual conversations. This argument suggests that sometimes monolinguals' speech may be enriched and reshaped through constant interaction with bilinguals. This assertion may be used to understand the linguistic situation in Zimbabwe and to interrogate the individual processes that affect crosslinguistic influence. What could be interesting to explore as well following Matras' (2009) argument is the effect of code switching and code mixing during the process of writing. Given that writing engages the mental faculty of language; it is possible that even in writing the bilingual or multilingual engages in code selection. Such a process would affect the written output by showing traces of the

codes that have been employed (Finlayson and Madiba 2002; Matras, 2009). The current study seeks to establish whether the English language has been reshaped and enriched in any way by its contact with Shona and Ndebele and whether the same can be said about indigenous languages in Zimbabwe.

Authorities in contact linguistics focussing on crosslinguistic influence like Weinreich (1953), Haugen (1953), Wijnford (2003), Clyne (2003), Myers-Scotton (2005), Matras (2009) and Thomason (2011) concur that language contact may be found in; language acquisition, language processing and production, conversation and discourse, social functions of language, language policy, typology as well as language change. While interest in language contact and the processes that emanate from it is growing among language typologists, specific analysis of contact-induced changes in the African situation for purposes of identifying an African prototype and mapping an African crosslinguistic framework is missing. The main focus of this thesis is to fill the gap by assessing contact-induced changes in the English language specifically in the Zimbabwean situation. Changes particularly induced by crosslinguistic influences from Shona and Ndebele.

2.3.1 Defining Crosslinguistic Influence

Different languages have different ways of expression. It is in expressing thoughts, desires, needs and day to day experiences that speakers can transfer forms of one language to another. It is this interaction between languages that is termed crosslinguistic influence. Crosslinguistic influence is closely linked to language transfer

thus pointing to the notion that crosslinguistic influence leads to transfer (Odlin, 2005; O'Neill, Bennet and Vanier, 2010).

Language transfer is the process by which speakers use linguistic forms and systems from one language in the interpretation and even production of another language (Yip and Mathews, 2000). Knowledge of another language may either facilitate or inhibit the acquisition and learning of an additional language. Where the influence is facilitative, we talk of positive influence and where the influence is inhibitive, we talk of negative influence (O'Neill, Bennet, and Vanier, 2010).



2.3.2 Identifying Crosslinguistic Influence

Knowledge of how to identify crosslinguistic influence is important for isolating the CLI process and examining whether the influence is negative or positive. According to Jarvis (1998, 2000a) identification of CLI should rest on three types of evidence; intragroup homogeneity, intergroup homogeneity and crosslinguistic performance congruity.

To start with, intragroup homogeneity refers to same behaviour within specific groups. In this instance there should be evidence that the behaviour in question is not an isolated incident, but is actually a common tendency of individuals who have knowledge of the same combination of language. Secondly, intergroup homogeneity, which is the evidence that the behaviour in question is not something that all language users do regardless of the combinations of L1s and L2s that they know, is also important. Finally, evidence that a language user's behaviour in one language is really motivated by her

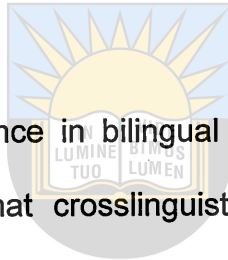
use of another language (crosslinguistic performance congruity) is an important determinant of crosslinguistic influence (Jarvis, 1998, 2000a).

2.3.3 Conditions for Crosslinguistic Influence

Some researches into second language acquisition and bilingualism have claimed that dominance of a language is the major determinant of the direction of crosslinguistic influence, thus, from the dominant to the weaker language (Schlyter, 1993; De Houwer, 1995). However, while investigating crosslinguistic influence in bilingual first language acquisition Efrosini (2003) argues that language dominance does not always sufficiently account for crosslinguistic influence. Instead, it has been claimed that there exists various internal factors; for instance similarity of morphological and syntactic structures; that determine crosslinguistic influence. This means that similarity of language systems is a condition that should prevail in order for any crosslinguistic influence to occur (Paradis and Genessee, 1996). The study at hand seeks to further explore crosslinguistic influence phenomena particularly how a weaker language may also influence a dominant language as in the case of Shona, Ndebele and English in Zimbabwe.

The concept that languages cross-fertilize and cross-pollinate each other thus creating a possible surface of interface is one of the tenets of this thesis. To validate this view, Muller (1998) asserts that linguistic systems of two languages may seem different and separate but they are non-autonomous. This shows that the issue of language

dominance does not always explain crosslinguistic effects. In addition, language transfer theory suggests that if languages are similar there is positive transfer while negative transfer occurs in a situation whereby the two languages are different. The non-autonomous nature of language systems in the mind of a bilingual can then be used as a reference point in this thesis where the major premise is to seek positive influence between Bantu and Indo-European languages; languages whose paternity is worlds apart; languages that find themselves sharing the same space as a consequence of the hegemonic expansion of the British Empire.



In a survey of crosslinguistic influence in bilingual first language acquisition, Muller (1998) and Efrosini (2003) note that crosslinguistic influence is a controlled and systematic phenomenon therefore it does not occur randomly. As a process, crosslinguistic influence may be attributed to externally controlled mechanisms or internal psychological processes that depend on the nature of the learner's mind.

Hulk and Muller (2000) and Muller and Hulk (2001) proposed two conditions necessary for crosslinguistic influence to take place. Firstly, the grammatical structure involved should belong to the syntax/pragmatics interface, which is the most likely locus for crosslinguistic effects. Secondly, a certain syntactic construction in language A allows for more than one syntactic analysis from the perspective of child grammar and language B provides evidence for one of the two analyses. In their research, Muller and Hulk found that the phenomenon of object drop, which belongs to the syntax-pragmatics

interface was susceptible to crosslinguistic influence in the French and Italian grammar of some bilingual children acquiring pairs of Romance and Germanic languages (German- French, Dutch- French and German-Italian).

An analysis of the above stated cases showed that language dominance failed to sufficiently explain the bulk of the linguistic data since the target of the CLI was the dominant language (Romance languages) and not the weaker language (Germanic language). Other syntactic components observed as likely to be exploited in CLI in the same study were overt and null subjects, the overuse of overt pronouns and the syntax-discourse interface. Hulk and Muller's (2000) research is relevant in as much as it introduces the important dimension of weaker languages being capable of influencing stronger and more dominant languages. The research also provides a relevant lead when it points to the vulnerability of the syntax-pragmatics interface in CLI, a concept that this thesis grapples with considerably.

2.4 Language Transfer

The most essential process in crosslinguistics is language transfer. Researchers seem to agree that the dominant language/superstrate is usually the one that benefits from the weaker language and in fewer instances do we find the reverse (Huang, 2010; Singleton, 2004; Odlin, 2005, Jiang, 2002; Kellerman, 1983). This presupposes transfer of patterns from L1 to L2 or vice versa in the language acquisition process. This study focuses on the crosslinguistic interface of English, a language of power and influence in

Zimbabwe, and the less powerful local languages of Shona and Ndebele. The indigenous languages in this instance are forced to the periphery, inevitably, by the potency of English as a language of sophistication and academic advancement. The element of interface in crosslinguistics affects the power dynamic of languages (Huang, 2010; Jiang, 2002; Jarvis, 2000; Jarvis and Odlin, 2000). In the earlier stated studies, the structures of the dominated language tend to yield to crosslinguistic effects from the dominant language as they are vulnerable (Chimhundu, 2002; Zivenge, 2005). This thesis seeks to examine any possible structural ability of indigenous/weaker languages to affect the lexical, syntactic, semantic and/or pragmatic domains of the dominant language.



Language transfer, whether it is negative or positive, may occur at the level of lexis, syntax and/or semantics (Odlin, 1989; Qiao, 2007). Gass (1983, 1984), views language transfer conceptually as the superposition of native language patterns of form and function onto L2 patterns. While Corder, (1983); Krashen, (1983); and Schacter, (1983) share the belief that mother tongue influence is not necessarily a process that drives second language acquisition; Gass (1983, 1984) whose definition forms much of the framework on language transfer, considers it to be a necessary process in second language acquisition. From the above, it seems that language transfer can be described as what the learners carry over or generalize in their knowledge about their native language (NL) to help them learn to use a target language (TL). This draws attention to words, sentences and meaning in a particular discourse or text.

Following Gass' (1983, 1984) emphasis on language transfer as essential in the second language acquisition process; it is important to trace the nature and pattern of transfer phenomena. To start with, the question of why certain structures are transferred and to where transferred structures go has to be addressed (Anderson, 1983). Anderson's Transfer to Somewhere Principle proposes that a grammatical form will occur consistently in the learner's speech (interlanguage) if and only if there is prior existence in the L2 of some potential for (mis-)generalisation from the input to produce the same form (1983;178). Anderson further explains that typological similarity is a precondition for transfer, thus crosslinguistic interaction. Typological similarity here presupposes that the L1 structure must be consistent with acquisition principles and the forms should be invariant, free, and functionally simple. The morphemes should also be frequently occurring.



Anderson's (1983) principles only focused on syntactic features of the L1. As a result, Kellerman (1995) put forward the Transfer to Nowhere Principle to complement the Transfer to Somewhere Principle addressing conceptual organization. The argument here is that if language is a determinant of how speakers conceptualize their life experiences, it then follows that a move to a new language affects the conceptual framework. This means that the worldview of a second language speaker undergoes some transformation that is more complex than syntactic restructuring (Kellerman, 1995). To defend the position of the Transfer to Nowhere Principle, Kellerman argues that speakers are likely to find it easy to consciously identify congruent and non-congruent structures between their mother tongue and second language as well as

judging the degree of markedness of their L1 syntactic and lexical items (Kellerman, 1995). However, the same speakers are less likely to perceive conceptual differences thus they will continue to hold onto unconscious beliefs that the way they speak or write about their experiences is not different. Therefore, L2 speakers are likely to look for L2 structures that will allow them to maintain their L1 perspective, thus leading to L2 output that may be grammatically acceptable yet not exactly target-like or standard (Kellerman, 1995; Odlin, 2005). Analysis of both principles helps in shedding light on the critical issues of grammaticality and acceptability of second language speakers' output that are important in this study. Further, the question of choice of repertoire can be explained as a key aspect of the framework informing L2 output based on L1 perspectives.

Prior research literature on language transfer directs its attention toward negative transfer (Odlin, 2005; Wang et al, 2005). However, the preoccupation with learner errors took a new twist in the 1960s when Chomsky's cognitivist conception of language acquisition viewed errors as part of the creative language learning process. Negative transfer describes the process in which the learner generalizes rules and carries over structures from L1 to L2, where mother tongue and target language are different thus resulting in grammatical errors (Odlin, 2005). This study diverges from this conventional lens of viewing languages in contact and seeks the positive aspects of crosslinguistic influence of indigenous languages on English.

2.5 Borrowing

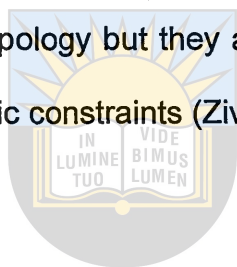
It is an inevitable outcome that languages suffer structural change when they come into contact (Haugen, 1970). Structural change may happen when there is import of

structures from one language system to another, a process termed borrowing (Haugen, 1970). In the process of borrowing, there is an attempt at reproducing the patterns of L1 in the L2. Items in a language's lexical inventory that are affected by this process are usually called borrowings, loans and transfers (Haugen, 1970). While most literature on borrowing is biased towards the lexicon and syntactic domains (Matras, 2009); this research attempts a holistic view where meaning is the focus.

Weinrich (1953) is responsible for labelling languages that are involved in the process of borrowing as donor and recipient depending on their specific roles with regard to any particular element. This is influenced by Matras' (2009) argument that borrowing is a metaphor. Matras (2009) questions the accuracy of the term in describing the process. In studying what happens with borrowed words and phrases, linguists have agreed that borrowing usually leads to the long term incorporation of elements into the receiving language. This shows that borrowed words, phrases, meanings, have their history embedded in the donor language (Matras, 2009).

Still on issues related to borrowing of words across linguistic boundaries, there arise the processes of nativisation or adaptation (Hock, 1991; Chimhundu, 2002). Nativisation may be described as the integration of foreign words into one's lexical inventory or mother tongue structure and may be viewed as synonymous with adaptation in which lexical items and structures are adapted to suit foreign uses (Hock, 1991; Chimhundu, 2002).

In Zimbabwe, Zivenge (2009) has worked on the phonological and morphological changes that occur to English words once they are assimilated and adapted into the Tonga language. Zivenge's (2005) research, which is basically premised on phonological and morphological nativisation of English, elicited some important factors that deserve mention in this thesis. Firstly, that English has different phonological and morphological inventories from Zimbabwean indigenous languages. Secondly, this research is understood as providing a point of departure into examining the behaviour of English sounds and Tonga sounds at the interface given that English words are characterized by a unique syllable typology but they are moulded to conform to Tonga syllable configurations and phonotactic constraints (Zivenge, 2009).



Mathangwane (1999) worked on a similar project focusing on lexical borrowing at the level of phonology and morphology in the Kalanga language. The research examines phonotactic constraints that cause pre-nasalised English words with voiceless sounds such as /rent/ and /kempjute/ to change to /lendi/ and /kombijuta/ in the Tonga language (Mathangwane, 1999). Both research studies offer backgrounds and findings that are important as they feed directly into the current thesis where the interface is examined at the level of written output as opposed to spoken output focusing on active indigenous languages employed extensively and more functional in daily exchanges than minority languages such as Tonga.

As has been stated earlier in this chapter, there is extensive research already on crosslinguistics phenomena and the bulk of this research views it as interference, thus biased towards error analysis (Corder, 1983, 1987); phonetics and phonology (Hancin-

Bhatt, 2000; McAllister, Flege and Fiske, 2002;). However, this study goes beyond the existing prejudices as regards the contact of languages. Politically, and linguistically, inferior languages are expected to live up to the standard of the superior target language (Grossjean, 1989; Finlayson and Madiba, 2002; Tshotsho, 2006; Matras, 2009). However, research on language contact suggests possibilities for two-way effects when it comes to the outcomes of the contact of languages (Jarvis and Pavlenko, 2008). This study seeks to analyse the effects of the contact between English and Zimbabwean indigenous languages. The thesis endeavours to examine the characteristics of the languages after the contact.



Torrijos (2009) endorses language transfer as an unavoidable and important determinant of the outcome in the process of second language acquisition through exploratory research on language transfer. However, Torrijos (2009) emphasizes on negative transfer and its effect on the process of second language acquisition. The results of the exploratory study here elicit significant insights into the areas that this researcher considers as near-interface and non-interface, thus causing the speakers to make generalisations that end up interfering with the grammatical structure of the target language (Torrijos, 2009). What seems to be missing in the above mentioned research is the positive impact of the negotiated and contrived structures that arise from interfacing two different languages.

Further, most applied linguistics research into crosslinguistics lacks an anthropological and sociological perspective (Cook, 2003; Kaplan, 2010). While transfer seems to concern itself with structures and the relationship between signifiers; there is as link

between language transfer, semantics and pragmatics; thus pointing at socio-cultural and socio-historical dimensions embedded in the transfer process. The key concept in this instance is that meanings or systems of categories are not objectively removed from people's day to day existence, but they are rooted in people's everyday experiences (Cook, 2003; Kaplan, 2010).

2.6 Bilingual Language Processing

Authorities on bilingual language processing such as Grosjean (1998), Green (1998), and Paradis (2004) concur with Matras (2009;) that speakers' communicative discourse strategies and the nature of their language processing capacities are at the core of any speech production and of any structural innovations that can possibly constitute the starting point of language change. Bilingual speakers have different personal preferences and patterns of dominance of language depending on setting or context. This means that apart from them speaking certain languages with monolingual proficiency they also have an ability and choice to employ more than one language in thinking about concepts, in speaking and in writing. These insights have an important bearing on this study as they formulate and present a background from which the bilingual speaker's writing can be analysed.

Researchers in language development and cognitive development generally agree that the relationship between language and learning is not fully understood (Mhundwa 1999). Most research on language learning and crosslinguistics considers language as

a specialised domain of cognitive functions (Odlin, 2001, 2002, 2003). The assumption is that similar but distinct processes are involved in learning languages. The cognitive system which makes language learning operational can be considered as having several features and processes such as short-term memory, working and long-term memory, repetition and practice (Dockerell and McShane, 1993). Existing research seems to suggest that there are differences in the activity and flexibility of the language faculties of monolinguals and bilinguals. Both the short-term and long-term memories work actively and multi-task whenever the SLA speaker is speaking or writing. Structures are remembered, replicated, created for contingency and then uttered or written (Clahsen and Felser, 2002; Matras, 2009). It is this activity in the bilingual speaker's mind that provides the output that exhibits crosslinguistic influences that are then examined for purposes of checking meaning, grammaticality and acceptability as in this study.



2.7 Code Selection and Written Production

One of the concepts that bilingual speakers contend with is code selection. With code selection come code mixing and code switching. Bilinguals, as Matras (2009) Grosjean (1989) state, are expected to select the most appropriate language to use at a particular context. Their linguistic repertoire is not only complex but is flexible such that it allows for complex switching and mixing in a spontaneous manner. This means that the bilingual's competence is not equal to the competence and proficiency of a monolingual but involves the ability to spontaneously select a code (Grosjean, 1989; Matras, 2009).

The issue of code selection raises socio-linguistic and socio-cultural questions of identity. Katamba (1994) argues that the use of foreign elements in speech by bilinguals is usually a desire to make a statement about speakers' own self-perceptions. While prestige is also an important aspect that is linked to self-perception, it would seem that many scholars refer to prestige in relation to dominant languages and seldom to weaker languages like African indigenous languages (Grosjean, 1989; Matras, 2009). In this vein, this thesis departs from the prevailing paradigm and evaluates the identity and prestige perceptions inherent in indigenous language speakers whose L2 is English.



Code selection is linked to language transfer and borrowing; processes that, in the long run, can lead to nativisation (Zivenge, 2005, 2009) and Anglicisation and intellectualisation in which indigenous languages are made to perform the same functions as English is performing as an international language (Finlayson and Madiba, 2002; Zivenge, 2005, 2009). The latter processes are key in the World Englishes debate since the starting point is recognition of the functionality of languages. The World Englishes paradigm rests on the argument that if an indigenous language is acceptable and if it communicates social meaning successfully although it is not target-like, it should be possible to make it official that is, the language performs the same functions as English. Of course such a paradigm shift has resource implications and is likely to be a long term project if it is to be successfully implemented (Finlayson and Madiba, 2002).

2.7.1 Code Switching

Code switching and code mixing are crosslinguistic phenomena that are expected in bilingual and multilingual settings. Both processes are elements of code selection. Code

switching is alternation of language at inter-sentential level while code mixing can be viewed as intra-sentential alternation that necessitates the interaction of grammatical rules of the language-pair that is involved in the speech event or discourse interaction (Bokamba, 1989). Researchers tend to use the terms interchangeably due to the complexity of marking boundaries as to where one stops and the other begins (Matras, 2009).

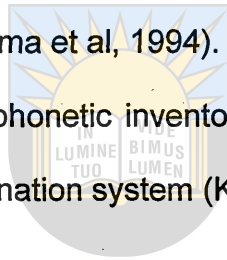
When there is incongruity in the parameters of language use, for example topic, context, and interlocutors, they may be communication failure, hence the need for swift intervention through activation and reference to the bilingual lexicon and linguistic repertoire by way of code switching or code mixing (Matras, 2009; Schmied, 1991; Bokamba, 1989). Code switching is therefore facilitative of communication in complex diglossic and polyglossic linguistic settings in which there are two or more languages in contact and active use. In the Zimbabwe case, code switching revolves around three main languages which are the focus of this study namely Shona, Ndebele and English.

2.8 Negative Impact of Crosslinguistic Influence

Crosslinguistic influence can manifest negatively by hindering meaning through sound perception and sound production, morpho-syntactic encoding, and positioning of adjectival phrases (Heifring and Theil, 2005).

2.8.1 Sound Perception and Sound Production

Exposure to sound output (spoken language) is important in second language acquisition (Liberman et al, 1957; Werker and Tees, 1984). Sound distinction is universal in babies, making them capable of distinguishing phonemes from their mother tongue as well as phonemes from foreign languages. However, babies lose this distinct capacity around the age of twelve months when they become categorical listeners, that is, they now begin to categorize the sounds they hear according to the sounds that are present in their mother tongue (Liberman et al, 1957; Werker and Tees, 1984; McRoberts and Sithole, 1988; Tsushima et al, 1994). All that the stated research studies illustrate is that the mother tongue phonetic inventory has an enduring impact on the sound perception or auditory discrimination system (Kuhl, 2000).



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When learners of an additional language hear sounds of the target language, they firstly associate them with their first language and they understand them and produce them as similar sounds from their mother tongue. This tendency is responsible for foreign accents (O'neil, Bennet and Vanier, 2010). Research has also discovered that speakers could easily produce comprehensible English vowels if similar vowels existed in their native vowel inventory (Flege et al, 1997).

2.8.2 Morpho-syntax

According to Heifring and Theil (2005) languages encode grammatical and lexical information in different ways. Firstly, a language may be isolating whereby one word

corresponds to one morpheme. Secondly, a language may be inflectional where one word corresponds to one lexeme and various grammatical affixes. Thirdly a language may be agglutinating in which several lexemes may add up to one phrase and grammatical affixes. Fourth, some languages are polysynthetic whereby one word corresponds to multiple lexemes up to one sentence and all grammatical morphemes.

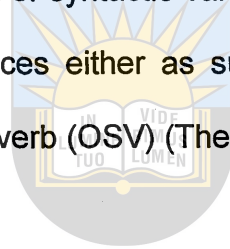
Heifring and Theil's (2005) research suggests that languages that have similar encoding systems make it easier for learners in their efforts to learn the target language since there will be positive transfer while differences in encoding gives rise to errors as a result of negative interference. For instance, Juffs (1998) in his study of Japanese, Chinese and Romance language learners of English observed that Japanese and Chinese speakers encode causation in verbal events overtly thereby having difficulty with regards to ambiguous English sentences that involve causative verbs than do speakers of Romance languages such as French, Italian and Spanish which have a similar encoding structure.

Juffs (1998) findings have a large bearing on the research on crosslinguistic interface in Zimbabwe for two reasons. Firstly, it implies that bilingual speakers in a linguistic environment with languages whose morphological patterns differ could experience unusual forms of language production. Secondly, as speakers attempt to incorporate the target language, they assimilate the latest target structures to the old existing

mother tongue structures thus producing forms that may be viewed as interference (Sanchez, 2006).

2.8.3 Syntactic Variation

Word order and other purely syntactic processes can complicate the acquisition process. Argument and predicate ordering, the manner in which phrases are ordered in sentences such as the manner in which the subject, verb object and indirect object are organized is important in the subject of syntactic variation. This knowledge is essential as languages may organize sentences either as subject-verb-object (SVO), subject-object-verb (SOV), or object-subject-verb (OSV) (Theil, 2005).



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2.8.4 Positioning of Adjectival Phrases

Adjectives are a considerably small class in the inventory of any language as compared to nouns and verbs. Similar to noun behavior, adjectives are inclined to adopt the morphology of the receiving language (Matras, 2009). French tends to place adjectival structures after the noun. English places adjectives before the noun but adjectival phrases like *that* or *which* are placed after the noun (Huang 2010). The concept of adjectives raises the problem of loans versus code-switches. This is a situation where for example the use of an adjective within an English sentence cannot be clearly categorized as a loan word or a code-switched lexical item, for instance, commonly used adjectives such as *bad*, *nice*, *worse*, *tight*, *good*. It would seem that a significant amount of reverse borrowing (for instance from English to Shona/Ndebele, then back to

English bearing Shona/Ndebele semantic and pragmatic force) takes place in the use of comparative and superlative markers in language contact situations.

2.9 Positive Crosslinguistic Influence

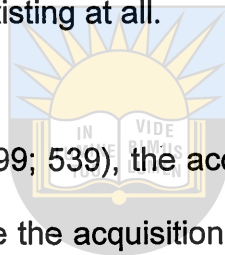
There is scanty research on the potentially positive effects of crosslinguistic interaction to date. However, research findings by O'neil, Bennet and Vanier (2010) reveal some important factors that may aid acquisition and deserve consideration as they have a bearing on this thesis. Situations where the mother tongue and the target language share linguistic roots tend to facilitate the acquisition of an additional language. For instance, words that are the same or similar between two languages, also known as cognates, such as *night*- English, *nuit*- French, *nacht*- German, *natt*- Swedish and Norwegian, *nott*- Icelandic and *appel*- Dutch make it less difficult for learners to acquire them (O'neil, Bennet and Vanier 2010). While the lexicon and morpho-syntactic domains indicate vulnerability to crosslinguistic influence, it would seem that the semantic-pragmatic frame has greater influence in first and second language acquisition.

2.10 First and Second Language Acquisition

First language acquisition (FLA) is described as how children develop ability to speak their mother tongue, while second language acquisition (SLA) is the development of ability in a language other than the mother tongue which is not associated with any particular age group as the need to acquire a second language is not the same for

everyone (Krashen 1987). According to Panse (2010), the first language is learned at childhood in an environment where there is complete immersion. This study seeks to link the various processes of first and second language acquisition to the aspect of language transfer that seems responsible for crosslinguistic interfaces.

Existing research discussions of language acquisition and bilingualism are largely informed by findings from cases in Western monolingual environments (Dopke 1992, Koppe 1996, Lanza 1997). Research on language acquisition and related subjects from an African perspective is sparse if existing at all.



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According to Bhatia and Ritchie (1999; 539), the acquisition process is one of linguistic socialisation. It does not only involve the acquisition of separate language systems, but it also embraces and encompasses rules that spell out to the speaker what to say, how to say it and when to say it. Therefore setting, context and language structure work hand in hand. While research in discourse analysis strongly suggests the existence of a link between successful linguistic interactions and similar socio-cultural norms and conventions; SLA studies seem not to take notice of this aspect of language acquisition. Instead, much of SLA research dwells on error analysis, contrastive analysis, similarity between first and second language acquisition and the attendant factors.

What is missing in most SLA research is the recognition that second language learners, in as much as they aspire to have native-like competence, do not share the standards of competence and proficiency that the mother tongue speakers of the target L2 have. As

a result, the final product of acquisition is largely affected by existing socio-cultural conditions and does not produce Standard English.

2.11 Constituents of Linguistic Knowledge

Knowing what constitutes linguistic knowledge is important in determining how such knowledge can be transferred across languages as crosslinguistic phenomena. The fundamental problem arising in attempts to define, describe and delimit linguistic knowledge is the presence of divergent viewpoints which cannot be simply dismissed as they offer reasonably convincing descriptive and explanatory power (Ellis R. 2005). Firstly, there lies the Chomskyan (1965, 1980) conception of linguistic knowledge which has a mentalist bias to it as it emphasizes the contribution of a complex and highly specified language module in the mind of the learner (Ellis R. 2005). A clear understanding of the cognitive aspects of language offers an important background in the analysis of interaction of two or more languages in the learner's mind prior to the production of output (that is speech or writing).

Chomsky (1980) advances some plausible claims that linguistic knowledge consists of an internal capacity for the acquisition of languages, commonly referred to as Universal Grammar. In *Cartesian Linguistics* and subsequent works, Chomsky maintains that most of the important properties of language and mind are innate, called Universal Grammar (UG), and that the acquisition and development of a language is a consequence of the unfolding of innate propensities triggered by the input of the outside

environment (1966). Drawing from Chomsky's position, Ellis (2005) proposes that linguistic knowledge consists of the features of a specific language that are derived from impoverished input (positive evidence) with the help of Universal Grammar and learning principles. This view reinforces the earlier discussed notion that second language speakers will not easily forget and erase the lexicon and internal grammar of their first language but rather that the prior knowledge will make its way in various ways into the second language set of rules (Finlayson and Madiba, 2002). While concurring with the concept of internal grammar, the current thesis sought to establish how much and how far the rules and the lexicon of the first language infiltrated the second language grammar with regards to Shona and Ndebele in contact with English in Zimbabwe.



Ellis' (2005) view of linguistic knowledge is somewhat reminiscent of Horrocks' (1987) definition of the same concept when he points out that linguistic knowledge includes the speaker's internalized grammar of their language, their tacit or unconscious knowledge of the system of rules and principles which underlies their capacity to speak and understand the language of their speech community. From this definition, it is evident that linguistic knowledge is essentially internal to the speaker. However, it should be noted that the major challenge of the SLA researcher's dilemma is that what is performed henceforth by the speaker is not a true picture of the internal, tacit and unconscious knowledge due to a plethora of environmental and attitudinal factors that invariably prejudice the language user in any given speech act/learning situation (Krashen 1987).

The second viewpoint pertaining to the nature of linguistic knowledge is that posited by cognitive psychologists such as Rumelhart and McClelland (1986). In their connectionist theories of language, these mentalists do not view language learning as cognitively different from other forms of learning. They observe that linguistic knowledge emerges gradually as learners acquire new sequences, negotiate their understanding of old sequences and extract meaning from underlying patterns that resemble rules to them.

It is interesting to note that these two accounts of what possibly constitutes linguistic knowledge have received varied responses from SLA theorists. While Gregg (2003) dismisses connectionist theories for their lack of rationality and accountability; Major (1996), and Loup (1996) responding to N. Ellis' (1996) connectionist account of L2 learning suggest that both empirical evidence and innate grammatical resources are involved in language learning and that the differences between their views and that of Ellis rest largely on the relative importance they attach to each (Ellis, 2005). Ellis observes that innatist and connectionist accounts of L2 knowledge learning are in agreement in as much as they acknowledge that linguistic competence comprises implicit knowledge. They view explicit linguistic knowledge, (which may be viewed as performance) as the end product of acquisition, not its cause which is implicit linguistic knowledge (which may be viewed as competence). In relation to the thrust of the crosslinguistic interface in the Zimbabwean situation, performance would be analysed in the written production in which proof of the success or lack thereof, of language acquisition would be evident.

Having stated that the constituents of linguistic knowledge are implicit and explicit knowledge; it is imperative to describe the constituents so that their nature is open to examination as to what makes linguistic knowledge prone to crossing into the lexical inventory of other languages. The knowledge of the nature of linguistic knowledge is important in this thesis because one of the major objectives involves isolating and underpinning those aspects of Shona and Ndebele linguistic knowledge that have found their way into the linguistic domains of English as a language.

2.12 Describing Explicit and Implicit Linguistic Knowledge

In an attempt to ascertain the constraints that result in production or output whether written or spoken, it is important to discuss the two constructs that constitute linguistic knowledge namely explicit and implicit knowledge. Hulstijn (2005) describes the thematic issues of explicit and implicit knowledge by the way they differ in the extent to which one has or lacks an awareness of the regularities underlying the information one has knowledge of, and to what extent one can or cannot verbalize these regularities. Explicit and implicit knowledge are usually associated with effortful and automatic processing of data respectively as expressed by Hasher and Zacks (1979). The presence of effort on the part of the learner means that the learner can declare or verbalize their knowledge. Second language research indicates that effort is imperative in the learner/speaker as it determines levels of proficiency and competence, key determinants of linguistic excellence in second language settings such as Zimbabwe.

One form of explicit knowledge is episodic knowledge which Hulstijn (2005) views as episodic memory, the behavioural manifestation of episodic knowledge. It is a form of autobiographical memory as it contains both old and newly encountered L2 material in the form of words and expressions.

Various aspects of vocabulary knowledge are stored as explicit, declarative facts in the mind of the L2 learner as opposed to implicit procedural facts. This explains the readiness with which language users tap into the L1 lexicon during L2 expression. This type of knowledge is known to reside in various areas of the neocortex in the brain especially the frontal and temporal lobes. On the contrary, implicit knowledge resides in different areas of the neocortex especially the basal forebrain and cerebellum but is clearly not subserved by the hippocampus the way explicit knowledge is, hence the difference in their nature (Byrnes, Paradis cited in (Ellis, 2005). Implicit as opposed to explicit knowledge, is difficult to express, as the one having it is largely unaware that they are in possession of such knowledge until they can put it to use. This is in line with Cleermans, Destrebecqz and Boyer's (1998) summary of implicit knowledge as simply unconscious and incidental knowledge that is difficult to express.

From the definitions visited above, it seems possible to draw a list of characteristics that constitute implicit knowledge, with the view that the opposite of these characteristics would invariably point to explicit knowledge. Ellis (1994) cited in Ivady (2007), describes implicit knowledge as being easily accessible through automatic processing,

unanalyzed, (memory-based rather than rule based, abstract and structure, can be consciously analyzed thus become explicit rules of the language). It also occurs closely adhering to natural language behaviour. This description helps in understanding the issue of what constrains written output in a second language learner which is key in the current thesis in which the written output of second language speakers/learners is analysed for crosslinguistic interface between the mother tongue of the speaker/learner and the target language, which is English in this case.

2.13 Second Language Proficiency and Communicative Competence

Language proficiency can be broadly referred to as the ability to make use of the target language effectively in all situations. Boyle and Peregoy (1997) summarise language proficiency to include competence in four key language skills that are listening, speaking, reading and writing. The four skills encompass the language subsystems of phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics and pragmatics. Canale and Swain (1980) emphasize the notion that language proficiency extends beyond mere grammar but branches into functions and social conventions of language with the objective of achieving communication. The view of proficiency as communicative competence provides a paradigm shift where narrow and rigid perspectives of considering a written discourse as unacceptable due to grammatical correctness are replaced by the question of communicativeness of a particular discourse, which is one of the research questions of this thesis.

2.14 Second Language Proficiency

The question of second language proficiency involves second language speakers' oral and written production as evidence of mastery of the target language. According to Tshotsho (2006), English language proficiency can be described as competence in spoken and written English. Competence in this case involves the ability to produce grammatically correct spoken and written discourses in the English language. Tshotsho (2006) argues that proficiency is context-dependent on variables such as the four macro-skills of language namely listening, speaking, reading and writing. This suggests the existence of different levels of proficiency in the different modes of production depending on the learner's ability. Proficiency in writing, in this case is also affected by, and dependent on the learners' exposure to various genres of writing where learners' awareness of structures, and general textual organization in the target language are heightened and improved through continuous interaction with a variety of texts written in English (Swales, 1990; Raines, 1991, 1998).

In connection with the issue of proficiency, Tshotsho (2006) raises the question of academic literacy, which is a determinant of English language proficiency as well as being a critical component of the current thesis. The inclusion of academic literacy in the subject of proficiency calls to attention the contribution of the school system in raising the awareness of learners to various materials written in English as earlier alluded to by Swales (1990) and Raines, (1991, 1998). Literacy may be defined as a range of skills that directly contribute to a person's functionality in society (Vanesky, Kaestle and Sum, 1987). These skills are acquired in and out of school making learning a lifelong process.

According to Tshotsho (2006), the relationship between reading and writing is emphasized in literacy.

It would seem that the reading material that learners are exposed to influences their written output and it is emphasized that proficiency in reading is a great help in writing grammatically correct language. Since reading and writing are inseparable components of literacy, the question of how much reading material written in the mother tongue second language speakers of English in the Zimbabwean context are exposed to as well as how far it influences their written output will be examined in this thesis. However, there seems to be no doubt that the connection between reading and writing of learners helps in the understanding of the nature of learners' written output.



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2.15 Language Learning

Knowing how language rules are learnt can help in explaining deviations from rules, selection of rules to follow, as well as understanding the process of transferring rules from one language to the other.

Different domains of knowledge converge in consensus on the fact that learning is a dynamic activity not without complexity. Language learning can be either implicit or explicit. The substantive nature of learning lies in the manner in which learning is negotiated and how communication is constructed. The argument is that constructions

are conventionalised in the speech community and henceforth internalised as language knowledge in the L2 learner's mind (DeKeyser, 1995; Hulstijn, 2005).

In contrast, explicit learning results in metalinguistic knowledge. Metalinguistic behaviour can be deduced when a learner has conscious learning of why an utterance is ungrammatical and can go ahead and demonstrate this understanding with a convincing explanation (DeKeyser, 1995; Hulstijn, 2005). This seems in tandem with the view that explicit knowledge can be verbalised after working out the regularities of ideas and then figuring out concepts and rules which characterise these regularities.

2.16 Language Instruction

A background knowledge of how language is learned is important in understanding what precipitates the transfer of some features of L1 into L2, and not others. The question of language instruction/teaching has a titanic bearing on levels of knowledge as well as the methodology adopted for particular structures. The thematic constructs are distinguished by the issue of rules underlying input. In implicit instruction, learners do not receive information concerning rules underlying input (Hulstijn 2005; MacWhinney 1997), while in explicit instruction they do. Closely linked to the aspect of explicit instruction is inductive and deductive learning. Following DeKeyser's (1995) conception of these two aspects; Hulstijn states that the two terms are used in an instructional context. Deductive learning occurs when rules are presented before examples are provided; inductive learning takes place when examples are given before rules are presented (2005).

In a commentary on implicit and explicit linguistic processes MacWhinney (1997) argues that explicit instruction does not necessarily lead to explicit learning of language rules. If the instruction is confused and the rules are complex, the student may get little out of explicit instruction and may fall back on exhaustive learning of individual exemplar words and sentences (1997;278). Furthermore, it is suggested that even without authoritarian, explicit and teacher-driven instruction a learner might attempt to extract rules to categorise or characterise and make sense of a set of input data (Macwhinney, 1997). MacWhinney seriously questions whether formal teaching leads to explicit rule formation in L2 learners. He further points out the need to be cocksure whether rule formation in the language learner leads to higher levels of achievement in the learner. One tends to understand MacWhinney's stance given the results of DeKeyser's and de Graaf's experiments which are a matter of contention for SLA researchers. In these experiments it emerged that learning is facilitated by formal instruction, a view that psychologists have confirmed by way of showing that concept learning cannot occur without cues. However, it is the concepts of rule extraction and categorisation that are important in as far as understanding the L1 inclination to fall back on mother tongue rules in the expression of L2 knowledge.

The emerging pattern in the experiments mentioned earlier and in Green and Hecht's (1992) studies is that formal instruction is only successful when clear simple structures are involved and is counter-productive when seriously complex rules are taught. This implies that the curriculum designer and the language teacher have a serious task at

hand with far reaching implications in as far as structuring and selection of teaching and learning material is concerned. This is because competence and I-language are tacit, unconscious, internalised and institutionalised systems, (respectively), of principles while the reverse is true for performance and E-language, which correspond with explicit knowledge.

It is important to keep in mind that it is generally taken for granted that formal classroom instruction has a beneficial influence on SLA. According to studies undertaken by Sharwood-Smith (1981) and Stevick (1980), formal instruction facilitates acquisition, be it immediately or at some future point in time. This is the interface position interpreted by Hickey (1987) as pointing to a cross-over between conscious learning and internalisation of L2 rules and features for spontaneous use. Hickey's conception of the interface as a cross-over is supported by Selinger (1977), who, through research discovered that learners who strove for more input through formal instruction, that is explicit, achieved better acquisition. He also gathered that the more practice a learner received from formal instruction, the greater likelihood for that learner to progress successfully. This could explain why Zimbabweans who have had an opportunity to attend primary and secondary schooling and are currently in tertiary institutions generally have higher literacy levels with regards to English.

The existence of variation in L2 learner's knowledge, skills and input processing styles is possibly one of the reasons for the interaction between explicit and implicit. Hulstijn

(2005) uses the term 'contaminate' when explaining how the process and object of learning can cross over into the other's territory. The way learners of a second process their input data, categorising it in order to elicit underlying regularities and abstractions, or their absence is, very different hence the possibility of cross contamination of the two forms of learning and knowledge. This is not an isolated view of the interface, as Bialystok, in Ivady (2007) proposes the presence of interaction through her two-dimensional model in which she advocates for movement from meta-linguistic knowledge (explicit) to linguistic knowledge which is implicit. This suggests what may be termed an explicit-implicit continuum where at one extreme we have explicit knowledge and on the other we have implicit knowledge and somewhere in between, the two become irretrievably subsumed in each other (Ivady, 2007). This is helpful in understanding the aspects that influence a speaker's output whether spoken or written.

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2. 17 Bilingualism and Language Dominance

Bilingualism is a common concept in linguistics particularly in studies focusing on language acquisition. It may be described as a situation in which an individual speaks two languages (De Houwer, 1998; Romaine, 1995). In instances like Zimbabwe, English is the dominant language in the education, business and legal fora and has continued to gain favour as the language of social mobility (Grosjean, 1992). In effect, what is more appropriate is to describe Zimbabwe as a multilingual nation although the basic progression of these linguistic phenomena demand the description of bilingualism as central.

In South Africa, Tshotsho (2006) states that the functional value of English as a medium of instruction is endorsed as evidenced by the fact that it is the language of choice for parents and students alike. This is an example of dominance that automatically leads to polarisation where there is the majority language and the minority language(s). The major reason for language dominance is that the learner may have had greater exposure to one language and is in need of it to communicate with people in the immediate environment (Grosjean, 1992) as is the case in Zimbabwe.

On bilingualism, Matras (2009) exemplifies using the controversial subject of dreams. By questioning which language bilinguals dream in, Matras (2009) exposes the issue of using the entire linguistic repertoire freely, which is what bilinguals do in their dreams. They also do this in their speech and writing as long as they feel that there are no constraints and that they will not be perceived as incompetent speakers or their discourses judged as substandard. The entire linguistic repertoire in this case refers to word forms, phonological rules and constructions. It would seem that Matras' (2009) analysis does give allowance for some of the structures that cross into, and infiltrate language domains to be of a positive nature.

2.18 The Power of English as an International Language

It is important to discuss the subject of English as an international language and a lingua franca and to review existing literature on it for purposes of providing an appropriate background to the use of English in Zimbabwe, an African nation that has its own indigenous languages. English is the most common language of communication

in the world presently. Originally, English language spread from the British Isles in the 17th century (Schmied, 1991). Research indicates that English later progressed into a lingua franca between the late nineteenth century and the twentieth century and quickly earned itself a position as the official language of more than sixty countries (Alcaraz & Navarro; 2006). Mauranen and Ranta (2009; 07) concur when they point out that English has established its position as the global lingua franca. The superior status of English is one of the symbols of the 21st century, together with globalisation, the internet and social media networking.

Kachru (1988) describes English as a language with international currency and this assertion proves increasingly relevant in view of the insistent desire of second language speakers to express themselves in English for the international audience. In this instance, English is both for expression and impression. Not only do speakers use it for expressing thought and intention, but also as an indicator of an elitist mindset, high social status, and sophistication (Schmied, 1991; Tshotsho, 2006) in order to impress fellow interlocutors. The existence and nature of Zimbabwean authored texts affirms that the common aspiration for second language learners is to achieve native-like and functional proficiency but still retain fragments of Zimbabwean identity (Zivenge, 2005). The role and status of English as a global or international language (Crystal 2003b; Graddol 1997; 2006; McKay 2002; Sharifian 2009a; Smith 1976) will be further illustrated in a later discussion of Kachru's Three Concentric Circles Model in 2.16.2.

2.19 The World Englishes Framework

In an attempt to define World Englishes, Mauranen (2009) and Ranta (2009) say in other cases, English was adopted as a second language in mainly Africa and Asia and the resulting varieties are often spoken as 'outer circle' varieties, New Englishes or World Englishes. Outer circle varieties are the opposite of inner circle varieties or what are known as core varieties; new native varieties developed and spoken in North America and Australia. These enjoy prestige with Standard British English.

The question of whether the World Englishes construct constitutes a theory is one that requires an explanation so that the subject of World Englishes is viewed in the correct light. According to Matras (2009:03), a theory may be construed as a formal, self-contained, finite set of rules and principles that label, and pretend to be able to predict each and every outcome of a particular phenomenon. While we cannot exactly speak of the existence of a World Englishes/New Englishes theory; because at the present moment no such formal principles have been set down as standard; it is still necessary to attempt a functional description of the World Englishes/New Englishes phenomena.

The expression 'Englishes' indicates the existence of distinct identities of the English language and Literature in English. World Englishes symbolize variation from Standard British English in form and function, use in linguistically and culturally distinct contexts and a range of variety in literary creativity. However, it should be borne in mind from the outset that the significantly unique nature of World Englishes has some inherent problems. Ajan (2007) cites the problems of definition, identification, classification, norm

provision and intelligibility as some of the problematics of World Englishes. In essence, what is the standard description for a deviation to qualify as new English? How is intelligibility measured, according to the local ESL speakers or native speakers of English? Whose standard measures what is known as Standard British English? Ultimately, whose English is it (in language contact contexts)? These are some of the questions that inform this study.

Weinrich (1953, 1968), a pioneering scholar in the field of modern day contact linguistics, presents a systematic framework that helps in the categorization of an English language variation as a New English. This framework rests on distinctiveness and intelligibility. Distinctiveness implies that the language must be unique and very different from Standard English. However, it should be intelligible, meaning that it should be comprehensible and capable of being understood. These two issues are significantly elusive and problematic. Against whose yardstick will distinctiveness and intelligibility be measured? Should comprehensibility include native speakers or it is enough if ESL speakers themselves understand each other (Kachru, 1985, 1995). These problems will be explored throughout the thesis in order to reach a position concerning the Zimbabwean linguistic situation.

The term 'Englishes' has been understood to stress the WE-ness among the users of English, as opposed to 'US versus THEM' implied in the discourses of native and non-native, centre and margin (Kachru 1996; 135). However, the issue of community togetherness, or WE-ness, which reflects the *unhu/ubuntu* philosophy of the peoples of

Africa, is actually a foreign concept in the Western world where the English language originates. And this could count as one of the reasons native speakers of English will not be quick to embrace the New Englishes paradigm. The New Englishes paradigm is clear in its objective to localize the character of English and to consequently dismiss the notion of it being the sole property of native speakers resident in the Inner circle (Said, 1994; Lok, 2012).

World Englishes differ from native varieties because of the earlier stated reasons of differences in linguistic norms and conventions of speakers. They are determined by geopolitical boundaries and socio-historical backgrounds of host countries and they are used by individuals with an intense cultural consciousness (Kachru, 1985; Said, 1994). Any discussion of the possible existence of Englishes (as in the exploration of this thesis) is in line with Kachru's pluricentric approach to English as a language, as opposed to the views of linguistic purists who are adamant in maintaining a rigid gap between 'native' and 'non-native'.

2.19.1 The Three Concentric Circles Model

In an attempt to counter the views of native English speakers, Kachru proposed the Three Concentric Circles Model (1985, 1996, and 2005). This model emphasizes that English is an exponent of local cultures in the Outer Circle (1988). Kachru conceptualizes the English speaking world in terms of three concentric circles; the Inner Circle (IC), Outer Circle (OC), and Expanding Circle (EC).

The Three Circles conceptualisation is based on patterns of second language acquisition, nature of geographical spread of the language and the functional domains where English is used beyond cultural and linguistic backgrounds (Kachru, 1985). English is used as the primary language in the Inner Circle as it is the mother tongue. Examples of such countries are the United Kingdom, the United States and Australia. In these countries, English is understood as spoken in its seemingly pure, unadulterated form that is popularly referred to as Standard English in linguistic circles. The Outer Circle is representative of countries where English has been institutionalized thereby carrying out the functions of official and national language. India, Singapore, Zimbabwe, Nigeria and most of Africa would fall into this circle. The Expanding Circle constitutes countries in which English is used when local people come into contact with foreigners such as in Vietnam, Thailand and Indonesia (Kachru, 1985).

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The three circles model illustrates the language situation in the whole world. The framework presented by the model is relevant in this thesis in the way it shows the interconnectedness of the 'boundaries' between the circles. However, many questions are raised as to the extent of permeability of these 'boundaries'. Are there any clear margins that may categorize Zimbabwean English as a 'dialect'? In addition to this question, the study problematized the processes that take place where there is contact and critically examined the product of these processes.

The illustration below explains the position of the three circles in relation to one another.

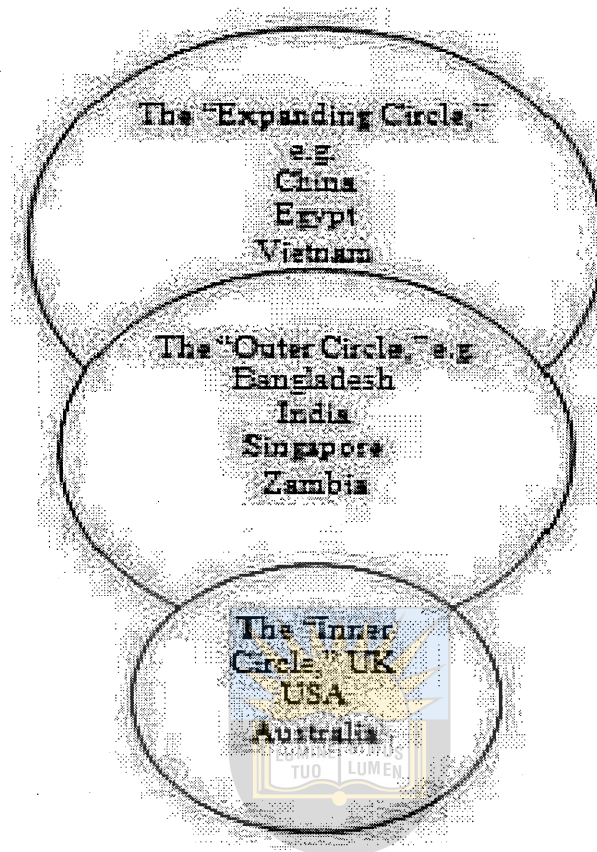


Figure 4 Adopted from Kachru (1996a; b)

The three circles have one thing in common; that is, the use of English in social and business transactions. The importance of the illustration lies in that it reflects the popularity and spread of English in the world; and the possibility for the existence of robust varieties of new Englishes (Kachru, 1996). A similar yet different representation of the English situation was given in *The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of the English Language* by Crystal (1995; 107). In this model, concentricity and the spread of English are emphasized as shown in the figure below.

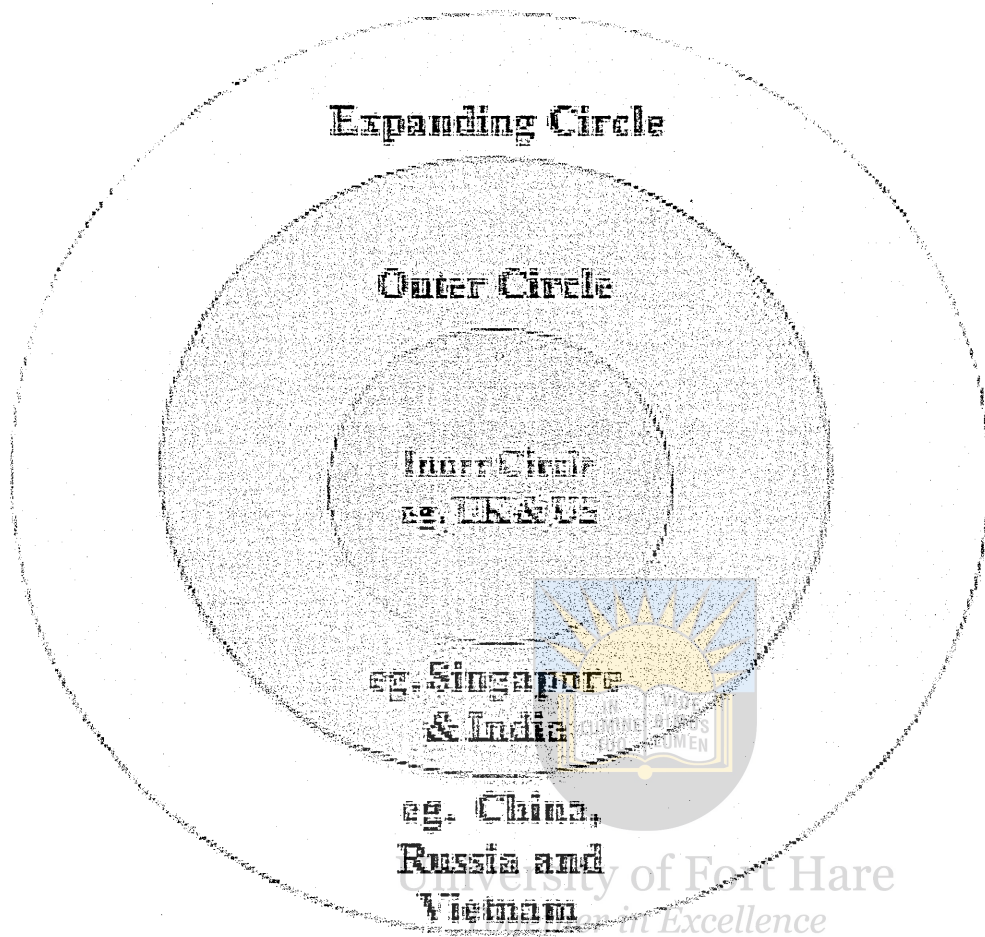


Figure 5 Circles of English, (after Crystal 1995; 107)

The problem that arises from Crystal's representation according to Graddol (1997) is the misleading notion that the Inner Circle Englishes are the models of correct English and other Englishes are not pure and not correct. The implications of the circles are that the Inner Circle is the norm providing circle while the Outer and Expanding Circles represent the norm developing and norm dependent circles respectively (Kachru 1982, 1988). Norm providing circles are those places where Standard English rules emanate

from as the native speakers of English reside there. In addition, norm developing circles are intermediate as they develop the forms and systems of Standard English, while the norm dependent circles are dependent on existing forms from the inner and outer circles. Analysis of Crystal (1995) and Graddol's (1997) views points at the politics of the periphery. Just as indigenous languages in former colonies have been marginalized, the New Englishes in these geographical areas are also being marginalized as mere products of the Inner Circle.

The notions of creativity and language development are not recognized and emphasized yet they are central in crosslinguistics debates. One important aspect of the Three Concentric Circles Model is that it highlights the power of English as a language, and its role in the different contexts in which it is used. What remains unequivocal is what Kachru calls the WE-ness of English varieties (Kachru 2000; Kachru and Smith 1985; Kirkpatrick 2007); in which varieties share the common characteristics of distinctiveness (at all levels of linguistic description, such as pronunciation, grammar, vocabulary, meaning and discourse) and intelligibility that have been alluded to earlier in this study.

2.19.2 Standard English under Threat

As discussed in the earlier chapters the growth of English in Africa emanated from its instrumental role in the discourses of colonialism (Schmied, 1991). However, as colonies gained independence from the empire, and the internationalisation of English became not only obvious but irreversible; English continued to infiltrate and dominate

the linguistic field in Africa. The result of the geographical spread of English has been the exposure to various languages and cultures. Interfacing different languages and cultures with English has been seen as a threat to local languages and cultures, and alternatively, the global uses of English can be perceived as a threat to Standard British English itself (Mauranen and Ranta, 2009; Burchfield, 1985; Brysn, 1990).

Research studies into the dynamics of English as a language estimate that speakers of English from the Outer Circle and the Expanding Circle outnumber those from the Inner Circle by three times (Crystal, 2003a; Graddol, 1997). This situation indicates the growing need for English use among traditionally non-native speakers for everyday use due to the fact that English is an official language and a medium of instruction (Tshotsho, 2006). The prevailing situation in Zimbabwe currently is that many primary school going children (aged 5-11 years) are able to speak English fluently whether they are learning in English medium schools or in ordinary government schools in townships or well-to-do suburbs (Tshotsho, 2006). This is in line with Graddol's (2006) observation and prediction that English proficiency will widen among bilingual and multilingual speakers of English. The implication for the future as stated by Kachru (1998); Kachru and Nelson (2001) and Graddol (2006) is that bilingual and multilingual speakers of English are increasingly becoming instrumental in the development of English in the world. Development in this case includes the accommodation of new varieties/forms of the English language such as the case for Zimbabwean English posited in this thesis.

2.19.3 African Englishes

Since the present study sought to examine possibilities of viewing crosslinguistic phenomena in Zimbabwe as viable grounds for embracing the African Englishes perspective; it is therefore important to review literature on African Englishes (Wade, 1997) and Nigerian English (Igboanusi, 2006; Adesanoye, 1973; Bamgbose in Kachru, 1982) a further subtype thus prototype of World Englishes. Ferdinand de Saussure as quoted by Atchison (1981:18) remark that it would be strange if language alone remains unaltered in a world where everything from food, animals to human beings changes at some point in time. This explains the changes that English has undergone due to contact with African indigenous languages just like with Hindi in India (Bhatt, 2005).

According to Schmied (1991, 1992), most deliberations about accepting a national Standard African English have focused on Nigeria. The argument to be examined in this research is that which advocates the recognition of those deviations from English that have become so firmly established as to constitute distinct varieties in the nations where they exist.

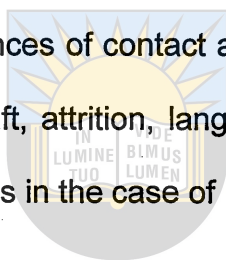
The variations between Standard English and forms of English used in Africa and elsewhere outside Europe and America (Inner Circle) are a result of sociolinguistic environments in which English is learnt and used. It should be quickly noted that African English does not exist on a homogenous plane as the label 'English' used across the world may suggest. Actually, Schmied (1991) maintains that homogeneity is still quite far in the African English situation.

There are several parameters regarding the type of English spoken by Africans. At individual level, the type of English spoken by Africans largely depends on (among other personal differences) two factors. The first factor is the speakers' education specifically the length and degree of formal education in English; secondly, their occupation particularly the necessity for English used on a daily basis (Schmied 1991).

Linguists such as Schmied (1991) and Kachru (1985, 1995, and 1996) generally agree that English is not homogenous. Schmied (1991) insists that when English is spoken it does not necessarily mirror Received Pronunciation. This view suggests that it is ambitious to expect Standard English competence in second language learners. Instead, speakers' competences vary depending on their socio-linguistic situation. Levels of English are the basilect (less prestigious variety of a language), mesolect (intermediate variety) and acrolect (high variety) (Schmied, 1991). The focus group for this study was the acrolect which normally constitutes of people who work as lawyers, newspaper editors, academics, medical doctors, and business managers who speak the most elevated level of English. Speakers in this category have experienced more than fourteen years of English education. Research has pointed out that even the acrolect differs from Standard English in phonetics, semantics, discourse and content and is similar in phonology, grammar and lexis (Schmied, 1991).

2.19.3. 1 Nigerian English

The birth of African Englishes, and that of Nigerian English in particular, is not an out of place occurrence given the linguistic processes that take place in environments of mobility and language and culture contact. This will be discussed as an example of new Englishes in Africa. Ajani (2007) documents similar experiences namely Latin which gave birth to Romance languages some of which are French, Italian and Spanish during the Renaissance. Arabic is also noted as the mother of various regional dialects in North Africa and the Middle East, for example Egyptian Arabic, Algerian Arabic and Tunisian Arabic. While in some instances of contact a diaglossic situation may arise, in others there may result language shift, attrition, language death, formation of pidgins, creole or a new language altogether as in the case of Nigerian English (Sebba, 1997).



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Nigerian English differs from Indian or Ghanaian English because of the theoretical and methodological considerations outlined by Weinreich (1953, 1968). Nigerian English has distinct characteristics. Its linguistic and cultural identity is directly reflective of the historical, geographical, political and socio-cultural situation elements that gave rise to it (Ajani, 2007). However, the term Nigerian English is somewhat deceptive in that it assumes homogeneity which is not realistic in language especially in World Englishes even in a case in which they are from one geographical location. Ajani (2007) and Odumuh (1987) ask similar questions on whether a Hausa speaker speaks the same English as an Igbo or Yoruba speaker? The question is the same as to whether Ndaou, Manyika and Ndebele speakers speak English in the same way in Zimbabwe. This implies that outside of a single super-ordinate variety that exists theoretically in the

Inner Circle, there is a continuum of New Englishes in the nations where the New Englishes phenomenon is in existence. On the question of standardization of New Englishes, Odumuh (1987), postulates that Nigeria has so far passed local acceptability and international intelligibility. This raises the background question of why there should be a problem in communication if the message is in grammatical English and meaning is understood by interlocutors.

Nigerian English is sub-divided into three dialects because there are three regional/national languages in Nigeria namely Hausa, Igbo and Yoruba. The three dialects serve to feed into the Nigerian super-ordinate variety of English. Akere (1982), Jibril (1982) and Bamgbose concur that Nigerian English is a collective of several different grammatical structures that have become common in Nigerian usage. These have resulted in peculiar pronunciation and socially constrained lexical and semantic items. Bamgbose (1982) however expresses concern about where to draw the line between genuine Nigerian usage and outright errors of usage.

While Bamgbose and other applied linguists such as Adedimeji (2007) raise serious methodological and sociolinguistic questions about usage of African Englishes; it would seem that they do not reach a position as to which usage is genuine, and if it is that from an educated Nigerian how educated should one be in order for them to speak/write genuine Nigerian English. In other words, the question here is at what stage we can say a speaker/writer has stopped making errors and is now expressing genuine

crosslinguistic effects from their mother tongue. Anyway, is it possible to reach such a point at all in second language acquisition? Otherwise, despite these critical questions, Nigerian English does exhibit similarities with Nigeria's three national languages at the level of the lexicon, morpho-syntactic and discourse levels. The same aspects are examined in this study through analysis of written texts authored by ESL speakers in Zimbabwe.

2.20 Orality and African Writing

The notion of orality has been discussed as one of the qualities of literary works written by Africans (Cloete, and Madadzhe, 2004; Ong, 2002; Vuiningoma, 1987). Literature on orality is therefore discussed as a characteristic of African Englishes that has a significant and determining factor on the structure and quality of written discourses by Zimbabwean English L2 speakers. The immediacy of the spoken word has been observed as unmistakable in writing as it is the main contributor to the beauty of the written language. Writers such as Yvonne Vera, Bessie Head, and Chenjerai Hove among others are writing from a culture of storytelling and oral tradition as opposed to written history (Cloete and Madadzhe, 2004). Writing in Africa, in general, and Zimbabwe in particular, is therefore intimately linked to speaking.

One relevant link between writing and orality is demonstrated when the Setswana oral tradition reveals itself clearly in Bessie Head's texts despite her use of the English language as illustrated in *Tales of Tenderness and Power* (Head, 1990; 42-45), in the

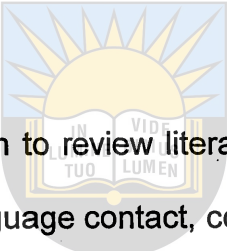
story titled "The Old Woman". Head uses repetition '*Tell them*' for emphasis and to illustrate Setswana speech style that is consequently writing style. What is revealed by these observations is that oral tradition affects African narratives and this is illustrated clearly by Ngugi wa Thiongo who interweaves history, myth and legend in *The River Between*. Ngugi describes how people were given the land by *Murungu* – God (1965:20). This indicates that using the indigenous language or adaptations of it is a natural process of linguistic processing for a second language speaker who desires to express African identity and sensibility. Therefore, the predominant stylistic trope in English L2, French L2 or Portuguese L2 settings, which are former colonies of Britain, France and Portugal respectively; is that writers consciously or unconsciously create an oral universe within a written text.



Of note and relevance to this study is the intertextuality that arises from the use of English to communicate that which is not European. There are intertextual links between writers' works of art and the oral traditions in their communities (Cloete, and Madadzhe, 2004). By blending elements of indigenous life with English, writers demonstrate Ong's (2002) ten key aspects of the psychodynamics of orality which could help in the analysis of English texts written by Zimbabwean English L2 speakers writing from a background of orality. The key aspects are; firstly formulaic styling which is characterised by memorable and dramatic expressions and repetitions for easy recall. Next there is the use of additive rather than subordinative clauses that are winding as well as characterised by the use of *and* in unusual positions. Aggregative rather than analytic words and phrases are also used. Ong (2002) also mentions redundancy,

conservative expression, closeness to human life world, and the use of an empathetic tone. Finally, literary texts that evolve from orality have been observed to be situational as opposed to abstract. This means they are context-dependent and the writer/speaker has the power over the creation of the discourse. This is relevant in this study as the analysis seeks to investigate what English has become in the context of an oral based setting.

2.21 Conclusion

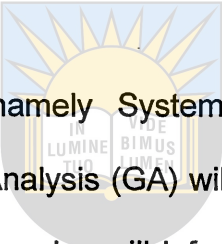


The purpose of this chapter has been to review literature in the area of crosslinguistic influence. The review focused on language contact, communication in language contact situations, first and second language acquisition, language transfer, bilingualism and bilingual language processing. The subject of English as an international language was discussed. The World Englishes/New Englishes and African Englishes phenomena and the problems that arise from these constructs were also discussed with the intention of seeking possible existence of the same in the Zimbabwean linguistic situation. The sociolinguistic situation in Africa was discussed as a point of departure that influences crosslinguistic processes. On bilingualism, aspects such as language dominance, code selection, switching and mixing were critiqued in relation to written and spoken output. The next chapter will discuss the theoretical framework as regards Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) and Discourse Analysis (DA) in relation to the present study.

CHAPTER 3: THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.1 Introduction

The present study seeks to examine possibilities of viewing crosslinguistic phenomena in Zimbabwe as viable grounds for embracing the African Englishes perspective through analysis of crosslinguistic influences in written discourses. The chapter is a discussion of the theoretical framework that guides the researcher in the interpretation of findings for this study.



A combination of three theories namely Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL), Discourse Analysis (DA) and Genre Analysis (GA) will be used to analyse authors' and students' written texts. These three theories will inform the analysis of data. Halliday's (2004, 1994, 1985, and 1978) overarching propositions in Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) theory offer some critical insights into linguistic and literary criticism hence their relevance and application to this research.

Further description of SFL theory will be drawn from Eggins (2004); Halliday & Mathiessen (2004; 1994) and Martin & Rose (2003). However SFL alone is inadequate when in-depth examination of texts is involved. Therefore, aspects of discourse analysis and genre analysis are used for in-depth analysis of important aspects of text such as coherence, cohesion and deixis (Widdowson, 2004; Hatch, 1992; Halliday & Hasan, 1976; Foucault, 1969; Harris, 1952). The term deixis denotes identification by pointing (Hatch, 1992). The implication is that deictic terms cannot be interpreted without an

immediate context. Deictic terms are used to refer to people, and to objects in the environment as well as to social relationships. Deixis is therefore concerned with ties and markers that help in showing connections between various parts of discourse (Hatch, 1992).

The three meta-functions in SFL are discussed as analytical tools in the present study. The ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunction are relevant in textual analysis as they can be used to single out which structures have been transferred from L1 to L2 and to what effect the transfer is working.



Coherence, cohesion and purpose are important constructs in the analysis of texts in this study in that the texts' writer and context together with the language used have to be analysed as a system of interrelated responses that have specific functions as outlined in Halliday's meta-functions (Eggins, 2004; Halliday, 1985). SFL, DA, and GA are complementary and form a practical framework in examining the crosslinguistic interface phenomena in the Zimbabwean context. The three theories will guide a triangulated analysis of linguistic data that will be both logical and orderly (Brown 2004).

3.2 Systemic Functional Linguistics

The present study engages SFL as an analytical tool in the textual analysis of written texts in the endeavour to isolate areas of crosslinguistic interface between English and Zimbabwean Indigenous languages. The study integrated SFL into the theoretical framework purposefully owing to the fact that SFL employs a socially oriented approach

in analysing language. As an approach to linguistic analysis, SFL is explicitly functionalist in perspective and therefore positions the study of all texts in their individual social contexts. The discussion that follows will concentrate on the functional-semantic approach, the three metafunctions (SFL), text, and context (in SFL, DA and GA).

3.2.1 Principles of Systemic Functional Linguistics

SFL is a meaning biased linguistics theory with a socially oriented approach. As a theory, SFL views language as an important resource for making meaning. It investigates how all the elements of language function to convey speakers' intended meaning. SFL describes the relationship of language, text and social life. SFL mainly focuses on language as a social semiotic and as meaning potential, as well as the relationship between language and meaning potential in the social context (Eggins, 2004; Chapelle, 1998).

The major concerns of SFL are the participants, the actions and speeches or discourses of participants as well as the circumstances surrounding the texts created (Halliday 2004). As a theory SFL is mainly concerned with describing the relationship between language, text and social life. The basic premise of systemic linguistics is that language use is purposeful behaviour (Eggins, 2004). Language users always have goals that need to be achieved in mind. Use of language is therefore always motivated by a purpose that is either pragmatic or abstract and in its nature. This helps the understanding of peculiar style and structure in the speech or writing of language users,

who come from different backgrounds, are of different age groups and even cultural grouping (Eggins, 2004).

The term systemic refers to the perception of language as a network of systems that represent sets of options for the creation of meaning. The notion systemic implies systematic and systematicity where language is multifaceted and there is significant input from different options that are interrelated. This is the situation with second language speakers of English in Zimbabwe and elsewhere; their L2 is a result of a several interrelated systems that come into play from acquisition, cultural/social context, and socialisation through to L2 instruction (Halliday, 1978; Eggins, 2004).

According to Eggins (2004) systemic linguists generally make four main theoretical claims about language. To start with language use is described as functional, and the broad function of language is deduced as that of making meaning. Furthermore, meanings made by language are perceived as being actively and continuously influenced by the social and cultural contexts in which the speakers find themselves in during the linguistic exchanges. Finally, the whole process of using language for social exchange of meaning is viewed as a semiotic process in which meanings are made through choice. In summation, the SFL approach claims that language use is functional, semantic, contextual and semiotic thereby presenting itself as a functional-semantic approach (Eggins, 2004).

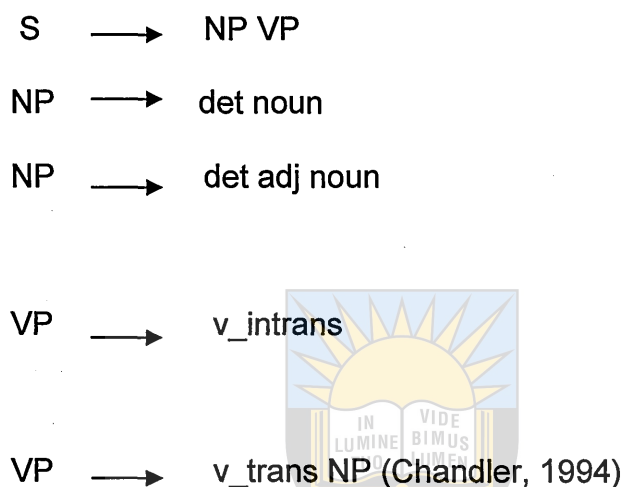
The concept functional is indicative of the view that SFL as an approach is concerned with the contextualised as well as practical uses of language as opposed to Chomsky's

(1985) generative grammar that focuses on theoretical concepts such as compositional semantics, syntax and word classes. SFL primarily concerns itself with the choices that a language makes available to speakers and writers in a particular context. The choices are directly linked with speakers' and writers' intentions and the use of concrete forms of language. Furthermore, the choices are considered in terms of the content or structure of the particular language used (Halliday 2004).

Propositions in Systemic Functional Linguistics imply that meaning exists in three modes called metafunctions. The term metafunction is defined as the function of the function of language. Halliday differentiates between language functions and metafunctions. Language functions are the purposes and ways of using language. Functionality is considered as intrinsic to language itself. On the other hand, the adoption of the term metafunction was meant to imply that the aspect of function itself is an integral component of the SFL theory and the present study (Halliday, 1978; 1985; 2004; Tshotsho, 2006).

There are two important types of relationships that need to be addressed when describing language. Syntagmatic relations refer to the ordering of linguistic elements within a larger unit such as a phrase or sentence while paradigmatic relations are concerned with which language elements can be substituted for each other in a particular context (Chandler, 2011). The two terms are usually generalized as chain and choice respectively. In this mode, the difference between Chomskian and Systemic grammar is highlighted.

Chomskian grammar focuses on the syntagmatic axis that shows that a sentence constitutes a noun phrase and a verb phrase for instance;



While the syntactic rules show clearly what the syntagmatic axis is composed of; the paradigmatic relations are hidden by the rules. On the other hand, systemic grammar focuses on the paradigm thereby setting out choices available in a particular language context (Chandler, 2011).

3.2.2 Analysis of Language in SFL

According to Halliday (1985; 2004) language is analysed in three different ways that represent three layers or strata of language use namely; semantics, phonology and lexicogrammar; this refers to the combined approach of words and structure.

3.2.3 The Metafunctions

According to Eggins (2004) and Halliday & Hassan (1989); SFL theory states that grammatical options within language are clustered around different kinds of meaning which are simultaneously reflected in the structure of every clause. SFL identifies functional bases of grammatical phenomena and divides the bases into three broad areas known as metafunctions. The three metafunctions work concurrently in all speech acts or utterances that occur within the same space and same time. The metafunctions are; first the ideational, second the textual and third, the interpersonal metafunction.



The co-existence of the three metafunctions indicates that all utterances are equipped and influenced by ideational, textual and interpersonal linguistic variables hence the three metafunctions need not be separated in the process of analysing texts or utterances. The analysis of data in the present study took into consideration all the three metafunctions by investigating the nature of the texts produced by proficient second language speakers of English through analysis of experience-linked, interpersonal and text-linked variables that influenced language structure and style. The argument for non-separation of the metafunctions in the analysis of text/register or utterances regards clauses as units of experience. When further explored such a viewpoint would then regard grammar itself as a theory of experience (Eggins 2004; Halliday and Hassan 1989).

The inter-dependence of the three metafunctions, as will be discussed further in the chapter, is a particularly relevant and functional characteristic of the SFL theory that

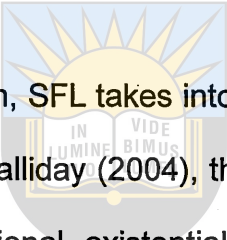
renders it practical in the current thesis where text is analysed for meaning using context as a starting point. Of interest in the current study are the individual processes involved in each of the metafunctions as this will lead to isolation of texts and utterances that will exhibit interface phenomena with regards to English and Zimbabwean indigenous languages in question.

3.2.3.1 The Ideational Metafunction

The ideational metafunction focuses on the processes and the action represented in the text (Halliday, 1994; Eggins, 2004; Tshotsho, 2006). It is also concerned with what the interlocutors or participants are involved in and the circumstances governing the events and processes in question. Ideational meanings are concerned with the representation of social, practices and ideas. Ideational meaning may be viewed as the set of grammatical resources for representing the various entities (including people, things, events and mental phenomena) with which a text is concerned.

The Ideational metafunction is divided into the experiential and logical metafunctions. The experiential metafunction is the functional area that organises speakers' and writers' experience, interpretation and understanding of the world around them. The logical metafunction works at a higher level than the experiential by organizing speakers' and writers' reasoning on the basis of their experience. It presents the potential of language to construe logical linkages within itself and its elements. Furthermore, it relates to the field aspect of a text as well as the context of use (Halliday, 1994; Christie, 2002).

The content of a text is analysed through organising nominal groups, lexical verbs, adjectives and adverbs. The units of analysis in SFL are words that carry lexical meaning in a given context. Constructs such as cohesion and coherence that are illustrated by the existence and use in text of discourse markers, cohesion ties and deictic markers are indicative of the logical metafunction as they give a text logical progression and continuity as well as build connectedness between the meaning of clauses (Tshotsho, 2006).



To analyse the ideational metafunction, SFL takes into consideration the process that is presented in the text. According to Halliday (2004), there are six categories of process namely material, mental, verbal, relational, existential and behavioural processes. The material process refers to the actual, physical processes that happen outside the human body as presented by verbs such as *run, laugh, paint and swim*. In describing the mental process, SFL turns to the psychological developments that take place in the human mind as illustrated by verbs such as *love, dislike, desire and think*. The verbal process involves the act of giving information verbally as in the verbs *speak, instruct, tell and say*. Relational denotes the process of being that is represented by *is, become, symbolizes, stands for* and so on. On the other hand, existential process is the process of existing, of being a human being as represented by *am, is*, and other forms of the verb *be*. Last, there is the behavioural process that includes both mental and material activities such as *cry, envision, laugh and dream*.

3.2.3.2 The Textual Metafunction

SFL identifies the textual metafunction as illustrating how language functions as a medium for organizing the message (Eggins, 2004; Halliday, 1994, Tshotsho, 2006). It is principally concerned with how speakers encode their messages into texts therefore illustrates the coordination of texts both internally and with respect to their contexts of production and reception. The textual metafunction also determines the flow of messages and relates existing messages with previous ones in an attempt to maintain coherence among the messages. The textual metafunction can be analyzed by examining the theme and rheme parts of clauses. In addition, the nature of themes and the markedness or unmarkedness of the theme are also put into consideration in the analysis. The textual metafunction is a practical resource in the analysis of texts in this study as it provides a wide range of options for focus (Eggins, 2004; Halliday, 1994, Tshotsho, 2006).

3.2.3.3 The Interpersonal Metafunction

The interpersonal metafunction expresses speakers' social roles and attitudes, feelings, perceptions, ideologies and judgements. Mood and modality are important elements of the interpersonal metafunction. Mood constitutes two constructs of a clause that determine the form of a clause namely subject and finite. These two constructs determine whether a clause is interrogative, imperative or declarative. On the other

hand, modality is concerned with words that mark necessity, possibility or impossibility for instance *should*, *could*, *likely*, and so on.

The interrelationship that exists with regards to the three metafunctions can be illustrated as in the figure below;

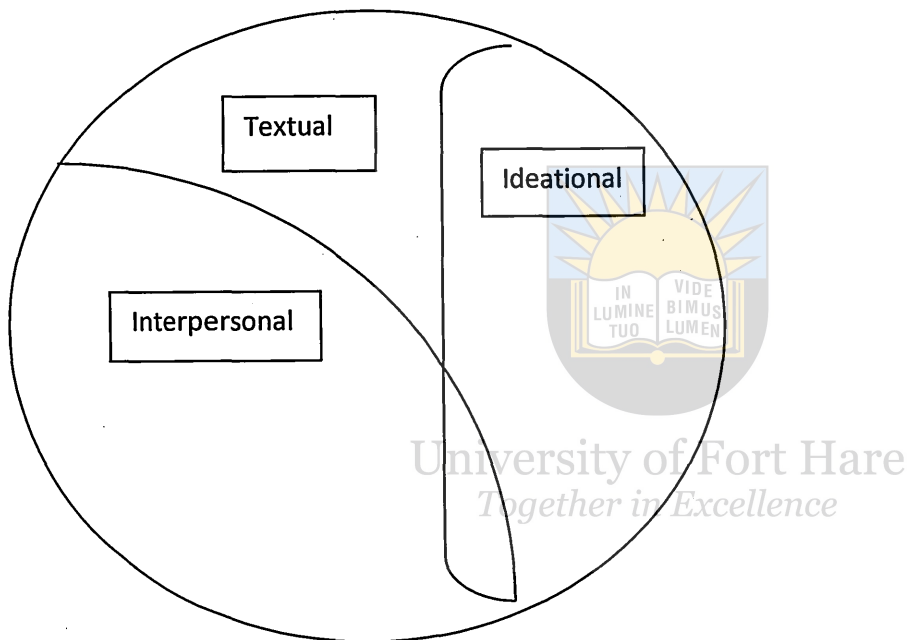


Figure 3.1 Ideational, Interpersonal, and Textual Metafunction (Martin & White, 2005:8)

Figure 3.1 illustrates the interrelationships that exist between the ideational and the interpersonal metafunctions are responsible for the structure of texts as indicated in the textual analysis carried out in this study.

3.3 Text as an Overarching Analytical Tool in Linguistics

A discussion of the foundations of 'text' is important in this chapter as the notion of text is one of the critical threads that connects and unifies the three theories of SFL, DA and GA that form the theoretical framework of the current study. An in-depth description of the constituents of text is important as it serves in delineating and isolating key issues to be focused on during analysis of data in the present study.

Text can be characterized as spoken or written product of a speech event. According to Tshotsho (2006), language users are constantly required to react to social situations and generate bits of language that are sensible, and these rational expressions are referred to as texts. The idea of sense and rationale in texts was pioneered by Halliday and Hassan (1976) when they described text as any written or spoken passage of any length that forms a unified whole. On the question of unity and unification, the concept of texture is raised. Texture is that quality of texts that holds them together to give them unity of purpose.

Texture as analysed by Halliday and Hasan (1989), involves the interplay of two important constructs namely cohesion and coherence in a text (discussed in Section 3; later). Text is both a product and a raw material in the process of communication. It is produced by interactants/participants/interlocutors in the process of making discourse as well as being consumed by linguistic analysts during conversation analysis, text analysis or discourse analysis (Hasan, 1985b; Halliday & Hasan, 1976).

3.4 Textuality

According to de Beaugrande's (2000) functional approach to language users are regarded as authors and recipients of texts. Text is viewed as a complex system made up of several interrelated units. The seven standards of textuality which are;

- i) Cohesion
- ii) coherence
- iii) intentionality
- iv) acceptability
- v) informativity
- vi) situationality
- vii) intertextuality;



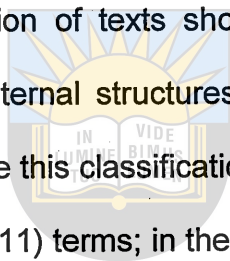
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The standards reflect the strong connection that exists between texts and knowledge about the society in which language users find themselves in (de Beaugrande & Dressler 2000). These standards of textuality were used during text analysis in order to isolate the lexical, morphological, syntactic and semantic interfaces between English and Zimbabwean indigenous languages. Cohesion and coherence are discussed in the section ahead as determinant aspects of the acceptability of texts as successful in their communicative intention and function.

Hoey's (2001) structural patterns are used in the characterization of text types. Hoey (2001) defines text as that observable and visible evidence of purposeful interaction

between the reader and the writer. He argues that writers usually adopt strategies expressed in patterns that are meant to make the reader's task of text interpretation easy. Authors' writing patterns are based on the author's rhetorical strategies (Hoey 2001). Conversely, authors' and language users' rhetorical strategies are a reflection of learned behaviours in the discourse communities they belong to.

Language users' behaviours are a consequence of the ideologies that shape individuals' perceptions of reality, and reality is constantly changing. This interpretation of authors' rhetorical strategies brings to mind Chandler's argument of the mutation of genres and the recommendation that classification of texts should not be rigid (1998). Just as Schmitt (2002) mentions different internal structures in text-types that have different social goals. This thesis sought to use this classification of text, text that has a tendency to mutate over time in Chandler's (2011) terms; in the analysis of English texts authored by second language speakers of English in Zimbabwe.



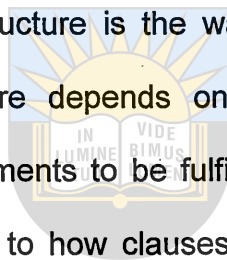
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3.5 Cohesion and coherence in texts

The qualities that give a text its texture are cohesion and coherence. Cohesion indicates the way elements in a text are joined together (Halliday and Hassan, 1985, 1989). As earlier stated, text is a technical term in linguistics that refers to both spoken or written language that exhibits properties of texture. There are a number of cohesive devices that are used by speakers and writers alike to achieve cohesion for instance using conjunctions, references, repetitions, ellipses, and substitution. Lexical cohesion is also used in which similar kinds of words are repeated. Halliday and Hasan (1976) describe the texture of a text as being either tight or loose. Tight refers to a text situation where

many cohesive devices have been used while loose refers to use of few cohesive devices.

Cohesion in a text is interwoven with coherence. Cohesion in a text is an internal property that reflects internal organization while coherence is basically concerned with contextual properties of a text. Even in the presence of both grammatical and lexical cohesion, if a sentence lacks coherence, it cannot be considered as a text (Halliday & Hasan 1976, 1989). Cohesion also becomes interlinked with coherence because of information structure. Information structure is the way given and new information is ordered in texts. Cohesion therefore depends on logical ordering of information (coherence) in order for text requirements to be fulfilled. This expectation follows the understanding that coherence refers to how clauses or sentences are related in any given context (Halliday & Hasan 1985, 1989).



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From clauses and sentences, coherence further refers to the manner in which the overall structure of the text helps it to hold and hang together from introduction, body and conclusion (Halliday & Hassan 1985, 1989). While cohesion is found in the text itself, coherence is not limited to the text but is also in the minds of the reader/listener whichever the case may be. Coherence depends on the expectations that language users have concerning their expectations of what a text should contain. Some of the expectations that language users may have are about people, events, places, logic, reasoning, morality, and ethics, what is considered as normal and abnormal (Halliday & Hassan, 1989; Christie, 2002; Tshotsho, 2006).

The important concept in cohesion and coherence with regards to the current study is perhaps the reflection of semantic ties in a text. Semantic ties would then create semantic dependency whereby correct decoding of meanings is done without the problem of ambiguity (Halliday & Hassan 1989).

The important element with regards to coherence is that expectations differ in cultures and communities such that what seems to be standard and coherent to one person in a particular culture may be particularly incoherent to someone from a different social background (Halliday & Hassan, 1989). This aspect is helpful in putting into perspective the problems that native speakers of English in Europe have with the level and structure of English spoken and written by educated and advanced speakers in Africa.



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There seems to be a conflict where questions of coherence are raised. The present study examines such problems in depth keeping in mind the background that expectations of language users are bound to differ in cultural groupings giving rise to stereotyping of language users from other groups as uneducated, illogical, or even rude (Halliday & Hassan 1989). Issues of coherence therefore interface with ideology and usually result in the exclusion of those labelled as misfits in terms of non-standard texts (Halliday & Hassan 1989).

3.6 Theme and Rheme in Texts

In a bid to explain how information is structured in texts, Halliday (1994) uses the clause as unit of analysis. Clauses can be divided into two distinct parts. There has to be logical progression of the information in the first part of the clause (topic/theme) and the rest of the clause (comment/rheme) in order for a sentence to be called coherent. The initial component of a clause is known as a topic or theme of the clause. The theme of a clause may be the subject of the clause. The remaining component of the clause is what is called the rheme. An example that demonstrates both theme and rheme is;

The students in my class (topic/theme) are full of enthusiasm
(comment/rheme).



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The theme is the central, core idea on which the clause depends for sense. Theme contains given information. It is usually linked to previous clauses or sentences. The rheme holds the commentary aspect of the clause or sentence. It contains new information about the topic/theme. However, sometimes language users organize information in such a way that the theme of a clause or sentence is the same as the rheme of the previous clause or sentence (Halliday & Hassan 1976). What the above stated thematic organization implies is that there are choices involved in deciding the thematic structure in English, such as subject as theme. Subject as theme as in the example above is the most common, default thematic structure in English also referred to as marked themes. In this context marked means unusual. What is important is that

choices are made depending on context and in turn the choices create effects that impact on the context (Halliday & Mathiessen, 2004).

3.7 Transitivity in texts

Human beings and events are represented through the use of transitivity in texts (Christie, 2002; Haig, 2010). Transitivity is an essential semantic concept in SFL. It is more comprehensive and complex when compared with the traditional grammatical distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs. Transitivity in SFL is concerned with the entire structure of representational resources made available by a particular language at the clause level (Haig, 2010). Technically the transitivity system is the component of lexicogrammar which realises the experiential metafunction which is concerned with the representation of experience. This metafunction, together with the logical metafunction that is concerned with the ways in which clauses are linked into sentences and paragraphs, constitutes the ideational metafunction of language. In short, the ideational metafunction is the summation of all the linguistic resources through which our experience of physical, fictional and mental reality represented in language. The components of transitivity can be deduced as processes in a text and the categories of participants and circumstances typically associated with them (Haig 2010).

For example, in the sentence;

John rode his bicycle through the park.

The process is encoded by the verb '*rode*', the participants by the nominal groups '*John*' and '*his bicycle*' and the circumstance by the prepositional phrase in the park.

3.8 Context in SFL

The focus of linguistic study, as perceived by Halliday (1994) should be text in context. This claim assumes that users of a language have the ability to deduce the context from the linguistic patterns and structure of a given text and conversely, to identify the language style variations as dependent on a particular context. Relevant to the present study is the concept that SFL is a theory of context. Context constitutes the elements of register and genre. Register refers to the different ways in which language use is affected by the context of situation. On the other hand, genre refers to the way text is structured with regards to the function and social purpose of a particular text (Egins, 2004).



3.9 Language as a Semiotic System

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Common in systemic linguistics is an interest in language as a social semiotic system (Halliday, 1978; Egins, 2004). Semiotics is concerned with signs that signify meaning as proposed by the forerunner of the theory of semiotic systems Ferdinand de Saussure (1966; 1959). The signified and signifier paradigm is paralleled with content and expression in SFL (Egins, 2004). Considering language as a semiotic system therefore opens up a multiplicity of possibilities of interpretation. Even before commencing a discussion on DA and GA, Figure 2 in the next section already highlights elements of interface between SFL, DA and GA namely text, tenor, meanings, grammatical considerations through the metafunctions.

Introducing a semiotic dimension to language has the effect of strengthening the idea of relationship between sign, signifier and signified; that is content, expression and realization. Behaviours (nature and structure of texts/discourses) of language users are therefore closely linked with who the individuals are, where they are, and what choices they have in their physical and linguistic repository (Eggins, 2004).

Reference to a linguistic repository simply questions the competence of the language user by asking the question that given the choice of using one lexical item over another or one syntactic structure over another, how wide is the base to choose from? This is an important question with regards to second language speakers of English. Do they possess a vocabulary as wide as that exemplified by Eggins (2004; 16);

[*progeny, kid, child, brat, darling, son, boy...*].

If so, does their culture allow for a wider choice in the appropriate situations? It would seem that the aspect of choice and flexibility helps in understanding second language speakers dilemma and also allows for exploration of issues such as the African Englishes paradigm given that when we talk about linguistic choices 'right' and 'wrong' are not used as was the case in formal prescriptive linguistics; but choices are discussed as 'appropriate' or 'inappropriate' (Eggins, 2004).

Figure 3.2 illustrates language as a semiotic system through highlighting the important aspects of choice, encoding, expression and realization in the social meaning making

process. As a result of the unavoidable interactions between personal and contextual elements, textual analysis used in the study sought to isolate the minute structural choices that affected the expression of the speakers.

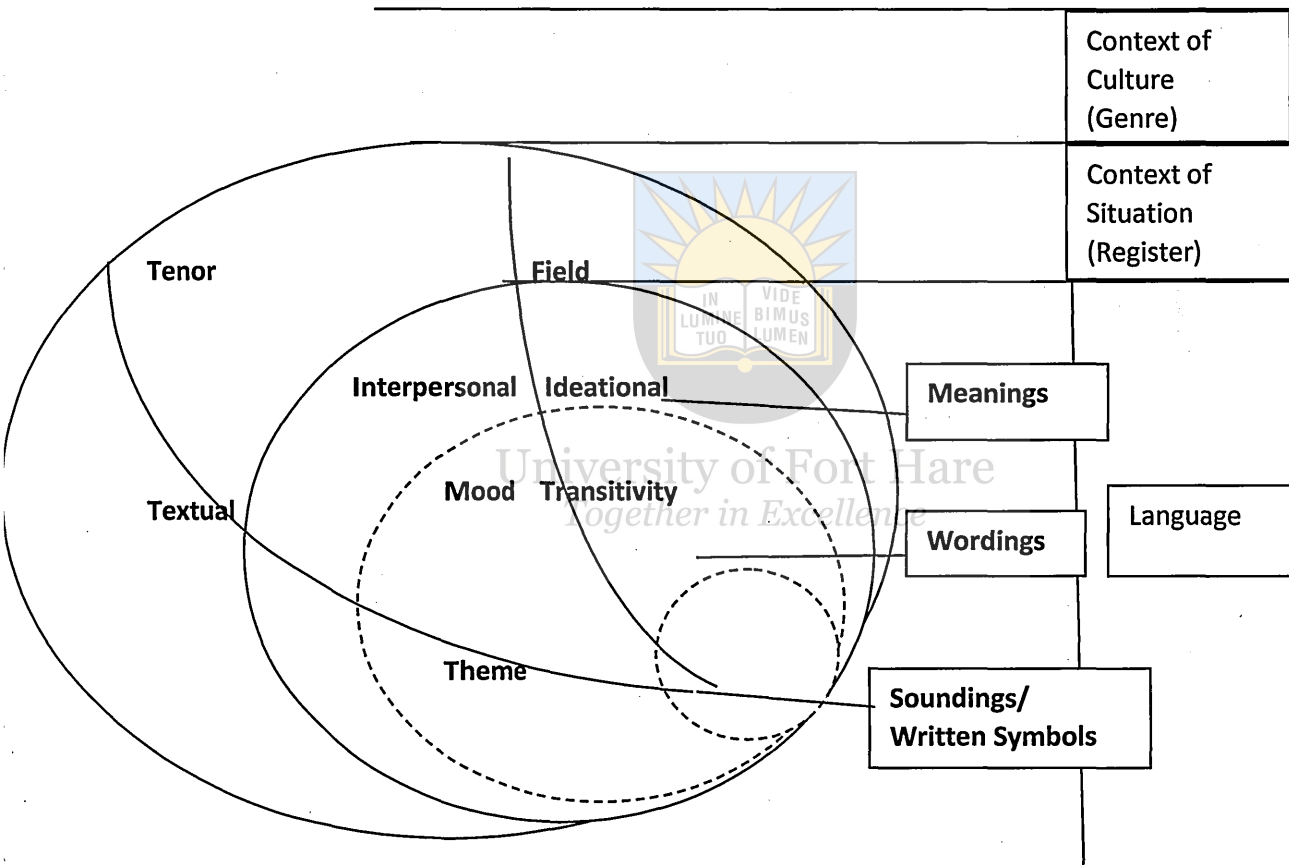


Figure 3.2 SFL Model of Language as a Semiotic System
 (Adopted from Jordens, 2002)

Figure illustrates the various options that exist as constituents of a language. SFL presents a detailed model which demonstrates that the options are responsible for shaping on one hand, and being shaped on the other by users of a language (Martin et al. 1997). The model demonstrates that there are three levels of language strata. First there is the discourse-semantics level generally referred to as the meaning level. Next there is the lexico-grammar where we find wordings (words and structures). Third there is the phonology or graphology stratum that is concerned with sounds and letters. Eggins simplifies the connections within the language strata by stating that technically, semantics is realized through the lexico-grammar and the lexico-grammar gets realized through the phonological system (2004). In the present study, connections between first language and second language morphology, syntax and semantics are examined for evidence of crosslinguistic influence.

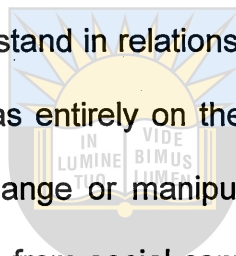


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3.10 Discourse Analysis

Discourse Analysis and Systemic Functional Linguistics both offer suitable theoretical frameworks for this particular study as they seek to explore and highlight the complex and delicate relationship that exists between texts and the cultural as well as social contexts within which they are produced and interpreted. Halliday (1994: xvii) emphasizes the importance of rigorous grammatical analysis in text analysis. He argues that discourse analysis that is not based on grammar cannot be relied on as a plausible analysis. Following these propositions, this study makes use of a combination of approaches in order to come up with a framework that offers credible linguistic description that has linguistic rigour.

It is important to discuss the paradigmatic shifts that have occurred in the manner in which language was viewed over the past century as opposed to current views as these shifts essentially laid the foundation to the flexibility of language that is illustrated in SFL. There has been a shift from the structural and formal approach of language that dominated the field of Linguistics in the first half of the century, to the social view of language in the latter half of the twentieth century (Halliday, 1994). The structural approach of language presents language as a system of arbitrary signs that have meaning only due to the fact that they stand in relationship to other signs in the system. The focus during the structural era was entirely on the system of language which the speakers could use as is, but not change or manipulate. Such a focus implies that language is autonomous and separate from social contexts; therefore speakers do not have the power to change it (Kress 2001).



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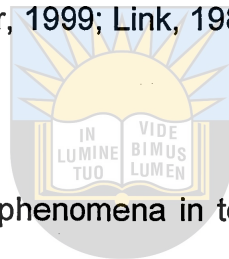
The shift to language as a social phenomenon foregrounds the relationships that exist between language and the social conditions in which it is used. For instance, the relationship that language has with social contexts has been identified under three distinct constructs that can be aligned to SFL, DA and GA namely correlation, choice and critique (Kress 2001). Correlation explains how specific forms of linguistic behaviour for instance pronunciation and code-switching, correlate with particular social contexts. An example would be bilingual students at university or multilingual families who often use more than one language in speech.

The language as a choice construct is exemplified by Halliday (1994) in SFL. As a choice, language is a socially shaped resource that is organised as a system of meaning making choices from which speakers make selections as a direct response to the demands of their social contexts. Choices available at the disposal of language users range from lexical to grammatical choice. SFL is therefore important in this thesis in as far as it posits that the shape of a linguistic system is a direct result of its social functions (Eggins, 2004). The language as critique paradigm is preoccupied with the power relations of interlocutors in any given discourse event; therefore it is the power dynamic that influences the choices that speakers make (Kress, 2001).

Several discourse analysts consider Discourse Analysis (DA) as a broad term that covers several approaches in a number of disciplines (Cameron, 2001; Blommaert, 2005; Schiffrin, 1996). It is this overarching and multidisciplinary capacity of DA that makes it relevant in the present study.

As a method of inquiry, Discourse Analysis can be described as an approach that involves the analysis of authentic forms of communication. Authentic forms of communication here refer to spoken, written and visual texts which have real communicative purposes in real life situations DA involves analysis of texts in context. Context presupposes relationship of words and sentences with the environment within which speakers are found. Furthermore, the context paradigm is opposed to the analysis of decontextualised sentences as done in formal approaches of linguistic inquiry (Cameron, 2001).

Discourse can be considered as an institutionally consolidated concept of text. It also demonstrates the flow of societal knowledge over time. Discourse and society therefore share a two directional relationship in which the ideology, culture and structure of a given society is directly and intricately revealed by the discourses or texts created in that society. DA can be characterized as a way of approaching and thinking about a problem. It is neither a wholly qualitative nor a quantitative research method but a manner of questioning the basic assumptions of quantitative and qualitative research methods thus being interpretive (Jager, 1999; Link, 1983).



Discourse Analysis aims to interpret phenomena in terms of the meanings individuals bring to them (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). While DA does not provide tangible answers to problems based on scientific research, it enables access to the ontological and epistemological assumptions behind a project, a statement, a method of research (Foucault, 1972). From a sociological perspective, Foucault views discourse broadly as the various social practices that translate to discourse situations which are actually our way of seeing and understanding the world thus encoding and decoding the world around us and its unfolding activity. As a result, language users talk, listen, read and write as they exchange information in various forms of interaction that they choose to participate in (Foucault, 1972).

As an analytic framework, Discourse Analysis reveals the hidden motivations behind a text or behind the choice of a particular method of research to interpret that text. DA is nothing more than a deconstructive reading and interpretation of a problem or text-

while keeping in mind that post-modern theories conceive of every interpretation of reality and therefore of reality itself as a text. Every text is conditioned and inscribes itself within a given discourse. Discourse research predominantly describes some identified kind of language-in-use phenomenon, as is the case in the current study; understood principally from the language users' point of view. DA provides the discourse analyst with the text as a record (Brown & Yule, 1983).

Table 3.1 below illustrates the various approaches that can be employed in the practice of discourse analysis.



Table 3.1 Approaches of doing Discourse Analysis

Rules and principles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • pragmatics (including speech act theory and politeness theory) • conversation analysis
Contexts and cultures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • ethnography of communication • interactional sociolinguistics
Functions and structures	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • systemic-functional linguistics (SFL) • Birmingham school discourse analysis • text-linguistics
Power and politics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • pragmatic and sociolinguistic approaches to power in language • critical discourse analysis

Adopted from Brown & Yule (1983)

From the table above it is clear that DA is a multi-disciplinary approach that makes use of various theories therefore it is integrative by nature. It is also an aspect of SFL.

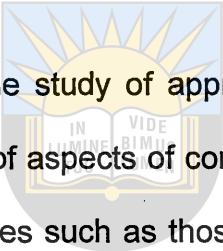
3.12 Discourse as a Process

The present study views discourse as a process not as a product (Clark, 1996). This is fitting with the claims that are made in this thesis in which written discourses are not simply products but continue to evolve like processes even as they are texts on pages waiting to be read. This concept of discourse as interaction is present in the current approaches of doing discourse analysis. Meaning is seen as a dynamic process that involves the negotiation of sense between language users, the physical, social and linguistic context of utterances as well as the meaning potential of utterances (Thomas, 1995; Widdowson, 1998).



Micro-processes of text such as intonational and contextual hints; macro-world of social structures and cultural prepositions are taken into consideration in the negotiation of meaning. Interaction of language users, whether in written or spoken text involve dynamic processes between speakers, readers, writers and listeners. Text in this case is therefore considered as that visible manifestation of planned interaction between one or more writers and readers in which the writer controls the interaction and the language (Hoey, 2001). Writers and readers therefore do not consume texts unthinkingly but continuously negotiate meaning and process texts in pragmatic ways such as inferring meanings and finding the connotations and denotations of texts/discourses at hand (Widdowson, 2000).

Context is important in the present research in as much as it illustrates that when speakers speak or write, they use the language resource to project, enact and reflect a certain person depending on circumstances. What is most interesting and relevant to this study is the understanding that, on one hand context presents a set of circumstances that constrain what language users say and write as they communicate while on the other hand context itself is what language users do and say in terms of the socially situated activities they engage in (Gee, 1999).



Context is variously interpreted in the study of applied linguistics. In this discussion, mention and reference will be made of aspects of context that are particularly helpful in the understanding of written discourses such as those in a second language situation like Zimbabwe. To start with, Hymes' ethnographic framework proposes what is known as the "SPEAKING Grid" (Hymes, 1972b, 1974).

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The SPEAKING Grid argues for context as a psychological and dynamic phenomenon that exists in the minds of language users as an integral component of the discourse process (Hymes, 1972b). The framework takes an anthropological and sociolinguistic dimension to language in which concern is not on the isolated sentence but on how language creates effective communication in the contexts of everyday life. While ethnographic approaches tend to be directed at conversation/speaking (Hymes 1972a, b, 1974; Saville-Troike, 1981); Hymes' model is referred to in this thesis for its utility as a schema for analysing contexts in which language occurs as its prime unit of analysis.

The Speaking Grid consists of;

S	Setting and scene	Temporal and physical properties
P	Participants	Speaker/sender/addressor
E	Ends	Purposes/goals/outcomes
A	Act sequence	Message Form and Context
K	Key	Tone/manner
I	Instrumentalities	Forms/community repertoires
N	Norms of Interaction	Interpretation of norms
G	Genre	Textual Categories



Figure 3.3 The Speaking Grid (Adapted from Hymes, 1972b)

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Reference to the ethnography of speaking as illustrated in the grid provides a reminder of the contextual dimensions that determine speakers/writers' daily use of language. The close relationship that exists between spoken or written discourses and their social and cultural contexts as propounded by Hymes (1974, 1972b) is clearly illustrated by analysis of data in the present study where social and cultural constraints surrounding speakers of Shona, IsiNdebele, Tonga, Venda and other indigenous languages in Zimbabwe constrain speakers to use specific structures of English in a remotely similar manner with their L1.

Halliday and Hassan (1985) fittingly describe context as the institutional and ideological background that provide value to the text and constrain its interpretation (1985). The present study problematizes issues of language contact contexts in terms of the nature and quality of the discourse process/product. Context is also intertwined with the notion of genre which we find both in SFL and in GA as instrumental in determining the structure of texts.

There is an exciting opportunity for interface between discourse, genre and SFL where discourse is deduced to be equal to individual engagement. Discourse is purported to constitute individuals interacting with each other. These individuals are constrained by existing and established conventions, traditions, and regulations. The interaction endeavour is fraught with restrictions. However, the interesting point to note is that they are not totally controlled by these restrictions and regulations. Actually, there is room to manoeuvre, be innovative and adaptive, and navigate one's way around existing situations (Widdowson, 1996).

Discourse analysis works well within a functional model of language where the resources of the language system are organized to meet the needs of language users in authentic communication situations. Essentially discourse analysts deal with meanings. They are interested only in forms as transmitters of meaning. The attraction to discourse analysts of a systemic model of language is precisely that its approach to grammatical analysis is in terms of the meaning potential of forms as used in texts. Some of the constructs that discourse analysts work with in analyzing texts are

function, texture, information structure, macro-structure, cohesion, coherence, and text itself. All these are meaning constructs (Widdowson, 1996).

3.12 Genre

Genre is discussed in this study as one of the methodologies adopted in shaping the overall framework of the present research. The term genre has negated consensus despite significant scholarship on the subject over the years (Bawarshi and Reiff 2010). The definition of genre varies considerably depending on the discipline for instance, linguistics, media studies, literary studies or rhetorical studies.

The etymology of the word genre indicates Latin origin from the word *genus* that generally means kind, class or category. As a result of this root meaning, genres may be simply referred to as categories of discourse. Bawarshi and Reiff (2010) further link genre to the Latin term *generare* which means to create. Genre can therefore be described as a powerful dynamic tool that generates, organizes and shapes texts, meanings as well as social actions. This linkage places genre in a new perspective and allows for reconceptualization of discourses as is the objective of the present study that black authored discourses in English be reviewed and reconsidered as correct and representative of a distinct African variety of English.

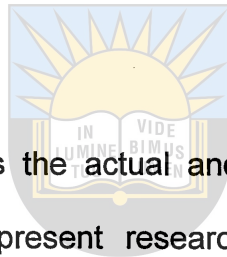
Genre analysis examines how texts are structured to fulfil communicative aims. It analyses how members of discourse communities use genres to assign and declare community membership. Traditionally, genre has been applied in literary works of art in

which works are analyzed and classified in accordance with their textual patterns and regularities. Such an approach constitutes the conventionalized use of linguistic, stylistic and discursal characteristics (Swales, 1990).

The discussion of genre in this thesis draws from three different traditions of genre studies in the field of applied linguistics. First, Swales (1990) and later, Bhatia (1993) view genre from an English for Specific Purposes (ESP) as a category of communicative events that share a set of communicative purposes. This view implies that members of a professional community are in a position to recognize the purpose of communication at any given point, and to perpetuate it according to the objectives of their community. However, while this approach is to be applauded for its prominent description of genre through functionally steps called moves; it is rather biased to pedagogy in general and the teaching of English for academic purposes in particular (Bhatia, 1993; Swales, 1990).

Second there is the new rhetoric genre studies perception of genre as a rhetorical action based on repeated situations. In this view, genre classification is left open and is based on rhetorical practice. This is opposed to the closed classification mode that relies entirely on the structure, content and focus or objectives of the genre. While less linguistic, the new rhetoric approach is preoccupied with text with a notable focus on context and culture (Bhatia, 1993).

A zone of interface with regards to the three approaches is arrived at through taking into practical cognizance Widdowson's (1996) claim that genres are historical outcomes that can change at any given time given contestation from the members. It would seem that contestation reflects some kind of resistance and lack of cooperation. This discord can be extended in another way to reflect adaptation and creativity as in the Zimbabwean situation where second language speakers of English have had to adapt to the structural difference of English and be creative with regards to using English as the official language and the medium of exchange in virtually all spheres of life (Widdowson, 1996).



Genre is discussed in this thesis as the actual and specific manifestation of texts (Swales 1990, Bhatia 1993). The present research is interested in the specific dimension of genre research that reveals the rhetorical structure as well as the lexicogrammatical features of texts because this is the dimension most likely to demonstrate crosslinguistic interface between English and Zimbabwean indigenous languages.

3.13 Conclusion

This chapter set out to outline an overview of the three approaches that form the theoretical framework of this thesis namely SFL, DA and GA. In summary, SFL is a text-friendly model of language which has a grammar-friendly approach to text (Halliday, 1978; Halliday & Hasan, 1985; Martin, 1992). SFL views language as constrained by socio-cultural contexts. It is not an autonomous system but rather one that depends on the social processes for analysis of linguistic patterns.

The chapter discussed SFL as the overarching analytical and theoretical framework. SFL was described as a relevant and practical resource due to the observation that it addresses the need for a wide range of factors to be included in language processing systems. The semantic, pragmatic and discourse factors are included in SFL as functional systems in the ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunctions. SFL, DA and GA are described as approaches to language and as analytical methodologies which can be used to systematically describe language patterns in detail.

The chapter that follows outlines the research methodology that was used in the data collection process of this study.

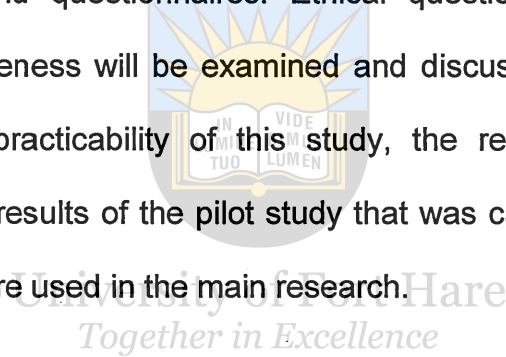


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CHAPTER 4: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.0 Introduction

This chapter will define the research methods on the basis of the research questions. The chapter will elaborate and review the methods used for data collection and justify the choice. This will be done through a discussion of the following aspects; scope of the research, research design, quantitative analysis, and selection of sample; collection of textual data, interviews and questionnaires. Ethical questions to do with validity, reliability and representativeness will be examined and discussed as well. In order to verify the feasibility and practicability of this study, the researcher discusses the procedure and preliminary results of the pilot study that was carried out to pre-test the research instruments that are used in the main research.



It is important to note that the nature of research methodology and approach used in any research is founded on the researcher's ontological and epistemological position (Marsh and Furlong, 2002). Ontology is the theory of being while epistemology is the theory of knowledge. The former is therefore concerned with questions to do with the nature of the world as well as reality, while the latter reflects our knowledge of the world and how we construct that knowledge. The researcher's standpoint may not be explicitly spelt out, but it is implicitly stated in the research methodology adopted in the research process (Marsh and Furlong, 2002).

4.1 Scope of Research

As highlighted earlier, the present research seeks to;

- (i) Examine which lexical, morphological, syntactic and/or semantic elements are transferred from the indigenous language(s) to the English language as a way of conveying meaning.
- (ii) Analyse the impact of crosslinguistic interface phenomena where there is contact between indigenous languages (L1), and English (L2).
- (iii) Establish whether the Zimbabwean authored discourses, through interfacing Shona and/or Ndebele with English, sufficiently demonstrate that the English language used by Zimbabweans is one of the African Englishes.
- (iv) Illustrate if the crosslinguistic phenomena exhibited are indicative of language evolution/change due to underlying desires of identity confirmation and preservation.

The data collection process through use of data collection instruments to be discussed in this chapter will endeavour to answer the following questions;

- (i) Which aspects of L1 are transferred to the L2 and to what extent are they transferred?
- (ii) How does interfacing the L1 and L2 structural domains impact on Standard English?
- (iii) Does this encounter between the L1 and L2 transform Standard English sufficiently for it to be classified as one of the African Englishes?

- (iv) To what extent does the crosslinguistic phenomena exhibited indicate language evolution/change?

The study was informed by observations and proclamations made by Kachru, (1982, 1983, 1986) concerning the status of English in Africa. The central problematic issue with black authored discourses is that many critics of language view them as either sub-standard, weak, interlanguages, ungrammatical and even unacceptable. Keeping in mind Kachru's (1982, 1983) upfront rejection of the characterization of non-native Englishes as approximate systems, idiosyncratic variations and transitional competences; this thesis analyses English texts written by second language speakers of English in Zimbabwe focusing on grammaticality, intelligibility, comprehensibility and acceptability. In view of the above, this study therefore seeks to examine the linguistic characteristics of the English that is written by second language speakers and learners. The analysis attempts to move away from the fixation with errors towards the New Englishes paradigm.

4.2 Research Design

The study made use of a qualitative case study research design. The study relied on a case study approach to investigate crosslinguistic influence between English and Zimbabwean indigenous languages such as Shona and Ndebele. The choice of a most suitable data collection methodology in this case depended largely on the kind of information sought (Kumar, 1999). A qualitative case study is an intensive, holistic description and analysis of a bounded phenomenon (Yin, 2003). It is an inquiry that

investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident (Kumar, 1999). Since the theories of Systemic Functional Linguistics, Discourse Analysis and Genre Analysis which formulate the theoretical framework in the study emphasize the analysis of socially occurring phenomena; a qualitative research design which uses the naturalist and constructivist approaches was employed as it was appropriate for the analyses of the approaches in question.

Constructivist approaches believe in multiple realities (Crotty, 1998). They are holistic and interactive in approach; emphasizing the interdependency of researcher and subject. Such a research relies on multiple sources of evidence, with data needing to converge in a triangulating fashion (Yin, 2003; Merriam, 1998). Qualitative case study research is therefore an intensive and all round description and analysis of a phenomenon occurring in a particular place (Kumar, 1999) as was the case in the study under discussion.

The purpose of the study was to examine and describe the crosslinguistic phenomena without necessarily quantifying it. Such a research allowed for a richer set of data from the observation of multiple sources of information from the students essays, lecturers perceptions and comments, as well as those literary texts that were subjected to analysis. Following Hofstede's (2001) guidelines on qualitative and quantitative research, it can be noted that this research is best described as qualitative as its major purpose was to establish the existence of crosslinguistic influence and interface

between English and Zimbabwean indigenous languages, as well as establishing the impact of Crosslinguistic Influence (CLI) on Standard English.

The case study in the present research focused on Zimbabwean authored discourses and teachers of advanced adult speakers of English. Data from 40 essays written by undergraduates who are speakers of English as a second language, excerpts from three Zimbabwean authored literary works namely *Nehanda* by Vera (1993); *Waiting for the Rain* by Mungoshi (1975) and *Nervous Conditions* by Dangarembga (1988), and interviews of 20 teachers were analyzed. The study relied on the written essays of students at Bindura University of Science Education, excerpts from literary works written in English by second language speakers, and interviews with lecturers who are also second language speakers of English teaching ESL.



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4.3 Choice of Shona and Ndebele as Indigenous Languages of Focus

Zimbabwe is a multilingual state that has fourteen recognized indigenous languages, the fifteenth being English, a foreign language imposed on the local people during the colonial era, and Zimbabwean sign language as the sixteenth language (Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (No.20) Act 2013 (Chapter 1, Article 6, Sub-sections (1) and (4); page 17). The New Constitution of Zimbabwe (2013) is the first legal instrument to recognize and elevate indigenous languages since Zimbabwe's independence from British colonial rule in 1980.

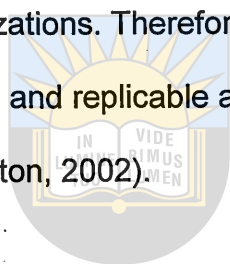
Owing to the existence of several languages on the linguascape, the researcher chose Shona and Ndebele for two reasons. First they are languages that the researcher is familiar with as she was socialized in a trilingual setup in which Ndebele, English and Shona competed fiercely for recognition on a daily basis. The second reason was that of the fourteen recognized languages, Shona and Ndebele have been the national languages of Zimbabwe until the promulgation of the New Constitution prior to the 2013 democratic elections. Both languages have enjoyed national status and were and are still being taught in primary schools as well as most secondary schools therefore most Zimbabweans can speak either Shona or Ndebele or both apart from having Tonga, Venda, Nambya or other language as their first language or home language. In-keeping with second language acquisition theory that indicates the impact of exposure to a language as key in shaping nature of output/production (Unsworth, Hulk and Marinis 2011; Krashen, 1987); Shona and Ndebele are expected to have significant impact in the structure of the English spoken and written by those who have gone through an education system in which Shona and Ndebele were used side by side with English.

4.4 Sampling Procedure

The researcher used purposive sampling which is a dominant strategy in qualitative research. Purposive sampling seeks cases that are potentially rich in information thereby lending themselves to in-depth study (Patton, 1990). The researcher first identified the two strata as follows: the teachers who teach at undergraduate level, and the students they teach. After identifying the population, two further strata of Shona L1 and Ndebele L1 speakers were purposively identified and then from these the

researcher selected 40 students, 20 from each stratum. The data was expected to illustrate the incidence and prevalence of interface phenomena between the L1 and the L2 as well as any contribution to the African Englishes perspective.

Qualitative research methods are designed to deal with the complexities of meaning in social context. As a result, the qualitative methods used to elicit information, patterns and perspectives in this study are naturalistic as opposed to controlled, observational and not experimental, and more focused on problems of validity than on those of reliability and ability to make generalizations. Therefore data collected in this research is realistic and in-depth rather than hard and replicable as in studies carried out in the pure sciences field (Holliday, 2002; Lazaraton, 2002).



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4.5.1 Case Study Selection

Three case study sites that provided three different sources of information were selected as key in bringing out the appropriate profile of the English language written by proficient second language speakers.

The first site was that of literary texts authored by Yvonne Vera, Charles Mungoshi, and Tsitsi Dangarembga. All three authors are university graduates from the renowned University of Zimbabwe, formerly University of Rhodesia. The University of Zimbabwe is viewed as a premier university that boasts of excellence especially in the English language as it inherited a colonial legacy of emphasizing the importance of English as a language of access, academia, and international transaction.

All three authors are culturally conscious, multilingual and highly proficient speakers of English as a second language. One of the authors whose texts was subjected to textual analysis in this research is the late Yvonne Vera (1971-2005). Vera grew up in Bulawayo, Zimbabwe and earned a doctorate in Literature at York University in Downsview, Ontario, Canada. It was therefore expected that her level of proficiency in both spoken and written production was relatively good owing to the known demands of tertiary education, specifically doctoral studies the world over.

The second site was that of final year students' essays. To start with, entry requirements into Zimbabwean Institutions of Higher Learning stipulate that a pass in English language is a prerequisite. Final year Bindura University of Science Education students were selected owing to their perceived proficiency in the English language.

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The third case study site comprised lecturers who are professionals in the area of teaching English as a second language. The students and lecturers from Bindura University of Science Education were selected to allow for convenience and affordable access for the researcher.

4.5.2 Critical Reference Group

Prior to the data collection stages of the study, the researcher established a circle of individuals that she called a Critical Reference Group. This was a group of six individuals representing special interest areas in the language debate issues in Zimbabwe, especially against the background of transformation of indigenous

languages from minority status to official status in the Constitution of Zimbabwe Amendment (No.20) Act 2013 (Chapter 1, Article 6, Sub-sections (1) and (4); page 17), the first legal instrument to recognize and elevate indigenous languages since Zimbabwe's independence from British colonial rule in 1980.

The Critical Reference Group members provided perspective on the topical issues in the relationship of English and indigenous languages owing to their experience as educationists, novelists, journalists and editors. Insights from preliminary discussions with the group were used in crafting of a relevant interview guide for lecturers and questionnaire for the students.



4.5.3 Sample of Student Participants

The student sample was purposively identified and divided into students whose mother tongue was Ndebele and those whose mother tongue was Shona. The sub-division was made in order to enable the isolation of structures and features peculiar to Ndebele and Shona speakers as manifested when they were writing in English.

An essay was assigned to the selected group of students. All students were finalists at Bindura University of Science Education (BUSE) under the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities, Department of Social Sciences, doing an Honours Degree in Social Work. All students at the university do Communication Skills as a university wide course therefore in addition to university regulations that stipulate that a pass in English is a

prerequisite for enrolment; students' language skills are further developed and competence and proficiency are further improved.

Students were given an essay titled "Challenges faced by University Students in Zimbabwe". The essay topic was phrased in a manner that ignited in-depth thinking and discussion of the myriad challenges that the average Zimbabwean student grapples with at the poorly funded tertiary institutions; without recourse to the internet for research and possibly plagiarism. The essay was therefore aimed at engaging the student and eliciting fresh ideas and arguments that lend themselves to analysis for crosslinguistic structures such as lexical features, idiomatic expressions, discourse features, phonological and grammatical influences.



In order to isolate the points of interface or co-existence of indigenous languages and English, the three SFL metafunctions namely ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunctions were used as analytic tools for textual analysis (Eggins, 2004; Halliday, 1994). Firstly, the ideational metafunction focuses on the action and processes represented in the text. It is concerned with what the speakers/participants are involved in, the circumstances governing events and processes in question and representation of social practices and ideas. Ideational meaning may be viewed as the set of grammatical resources for representing the people, things, events and mental phenomena within a text. Furthermore, it relates to the field aspect of a text as well as the context of use (Halliday, 1994). Secondly, the textual metafunction deals with how speakers encode their messages into texts. It determines the flow of messages and relates existing

messages with previous ones in an attempt to maintain cohesion among the messages. The textual metafunction can be analysed by examining the theme and rheme parts of clauses and it is a practical resource in the analysis of texts in this study as it provides a wide range of options for focus. Finally, the interpersonal metafunction expresses speakers' social roles and attitudes, feelings, perceptions, ideologies and judgements. Mood and modality are important elements of the interpersonal metafunction (Eggins, 2004).

4.6 Dealing with Subjectivity

This thesis had to deal with the common dilemmas that discourse analysts face in determining what is or is not to be considered as data during the data collection process. Questions about how to deal with subjectivity, how to relate to human subjects ethically, and how to be methodical and principled in the approach to data collection and analysis were also at the forefront of the researcher's concerns (Pennington, 2002; Cameron et al., 1992; Milroy, 1987).

One way that the researcher put in place as a measure to deal with subjectivity was through adopting a multiple oriented framework usually referred to as triangulation and especially characteristic of ethnographic approaches. Triangulation is generally understood to refer to the use of different types and sources of data. For instance in the present study, several data collection tools such as the students' essays, the authors' texts and the lecturers' viewpoints from the interviews in addition to the researcher's account were used as a means of cross-checking the validity of findings. Triangulation

may also refer to multiple investigators, multiple theories, or multiple methods such as the three theories that were used to constitute a framework namely SFL, DA and GA (Denzin, 1978).

The case study employed was delimited by several contexts; that of English as a Second language learners and teachers on one hand; and that of writers of English as a Second language on the other hand. In addition, the experiences of all participants as learners of English as a second language were taken into consideration as they may offer explanatory notes on actual second language processes. The study was positioned within these interconnected frameworks of language users who are lecturers/teachers, writers, publishers and learners. Through qualitative research techniques specifically interviews, questionnaires discussions with the Critical Reference Group members, and textual analysis; the relationships and resulting interactions between English and Zimbabwean indigenous languages will be exposed.

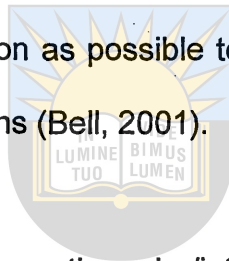
The results of the case study were presented in narrative form. The results were primarily concerned with providing the reader with insight and understanding of the unique circumstances of participants and data sources. According to Stake (1995), qualitative research aims at establishing an empathetic understanding for the reader, through comprehensive description of experiences of interest to the researcher. However, the outcome of the case study in the present case depended heavily on systematic data collection and analysis.

4.7 Research Instruments and Procedures

4.7.1 Interviews and Questionnaires

Interview questions were clear and gave guidance to allow the interviewees to talk about what was of importance to them regarding the given language contact context.

According to Veal (1997), questionnaire surveys usually involve only a proportion of the population in which the researcher is interested. As a result, other sources of CLI information were explored. Although a limited number of questionnaires were distributed and administered, the underpinning aim was to acquire a range of responses that was as representative of the total population as possible to achieve objectives of the study and to present answers to key questions (Bell, 2001).



A cover letter was attached to the questionnaire/interview questions explaining the purpose of this research. This was sent out to each respondent. The researcher's contact information was provided in case respondents had the need to ask any questions pertaining to the study. The questions set for respondents were designed in such a way that they responded to the objectives and research questions set out at the beginning of the study. The data was collected between January 2014 and June 2014. The participants in the Critical Reference Group received a summary of the research results at the end of the research.

The questionnaires constituted several categories that represented dimensions of the crosslinguistic phenomena. The first category consisted of questions of general language issues. Next were questions specific to the Shona-Ndebele-English contact.

The interview questions consisted mostly of close-ended questions whose formulation aimed at ensuring more in-depth responses. The questions were formulated following the objectives and the research questions. Furthermore, the questions followed a logical progression from simple to complex concepts related to language contact and crosslinguistic influence. Effort was made to craft questions that had the ability to stimulate and sustain the interest of respondents in the subject.

Questions focused on eliciting the form and function of the Zimbabwean variety of English as illustrated in proficient L2 speakers' written discourses. Despite existing deviations from Standard English, some questions seeking to demonstrate means by which communicative competence is demonstrated in English by Shona L1 and Ndebele L2 writers were also crafted. All questions generally sought points of interface between English and Zimbabwean indigenous languages, namely Shona and Ndebele. They also sought responses that outline the structures and features that characterize indigenous varieties of English in this case, Zimbabwean English.

Questions to do with the most vulnerable features of English that are infiltrated and influenced by Shona and/or Ndebele were also included. The rationale for inclusion of these questions was to provide an interpretation of language transfer in relation to key issues in crosslinguistic interaction such as intelligibility, comprehensibility and acceptability (Smith, 1992, 1988) and (Nelson, 2001, 1984).

Following De Beaugrande's (2004); and Platt, Weber and Ho's (1984) contributions on aspects of interest in crosslinguistic interaction, questions focusing on lexical features, idiomatic expressions, discourse features as well as phonological manifestations of CLI that can be deduced in written discourses were crafted. The final question focused on the distinct nature of the Zimbabwean variety of English and the reasons for the uniqueness as perceived by the speakers themselves drawing from their personal experiences with the language.

4.7.2 Textual Analysis

Apart from interviews and questionnaires, the researcher used text analysis to extract phenomena that was significantly relevant to the issue of crosslinguistic interaction between English and Zimbabwean indigenous languages such as IsiNdebele and Shona among other languages. The ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunctions in SFL were used to analyse texts for CLI phenomena (Halliday, 1994).

Excerpts from the three texts were identified. The texts are *Nervous Conditions* by Tsitsi Dangarembga, *Nehanda* by Yvonne Vera and *Waiting for the Rain* by Charles Mungoshi. From each text, the researcher purposively selected the first two chapters, and the last two chapters making a total of four (4) chapters for each text and a total of twelve (12) chapters for all the texts. Choice of the first two chapters was intended to elicit the writers writing style and language at entry point into the narrative while a relationship with the reader is still being initiated and instituted. The last two chapters

were also selected as they represent the final and conclusive note at which the writer departs and closes this speech event.

Lexical features were analysed for;

- evidence of borrowing,
- lexical overlaps,
- loan words,
- hybrid items in the lexicon,
- new coinages
- code-switches
- new semantic adaptations as indicating CLI (De Beaugrande's 2004; Schmied, 1991; Platt, Weber & Ho's, 1984).



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Using such a criteria in textual analysis would assist the researcher in isolating the deviations from standard usage of English thus identifying the point of interface and the L2 features that lend themselves to influence by L1 features.

Textual analysis also took into cognizance questions to do with;

- Context of setting
- Register
- Context of culture,
- Cohesion and
- Coherence.

Several dimensions that can be represented by the following elements were considered during analysis of excerpts;

- (a) The text writer.
- (b) The text's major objective.
- (c) The role of language in the text. (Eggins, 2004)

In linewith the pronouncements made in the statement of the problem concerning discourses written in English by L2 speakers; textual analysis as a tool for collecting data focused on the syntax of the texts. The key question was if the syntax resembled, in any way however minute, that of the English which is the speakers' second language in the case study (Ngam, 2004). In order to search for any evidence of what Kachru (1986) termed 'nativisation' while describing the linguistic innovations that L2 speakers made while trying to communicate their experiences effectively in English; the researcher sought to isolate the following;

- (d) Lexis- vocabulary of existing and evolving words used

Lexis was considered as the collection of all the words, expressions and terminologies of a given language.

- (e) Morphology- how words are formed

Morphology refers to the process of word structure and formation. Morphology involves all the processes that account for a language's lexicon. The nature of a language's lexical/open class words (nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, and new

words) or function/closed class words (conjunctions, prepositions, articles and pronouns) is determined by the morphology of that particular language.

(f) Syntax- the unique stringing of words

This includes parts of speech, phrase structure and word order in individual utterances.

(g) Semantics- evolution of new ways of creating meaning

Semantics is chiefly concerned with inferential and literal meanings as well as semantic properties of texts.

(h) Images reminiscent of African life, society and culture

These take into account use of African metaphor, proverbs, idioms and colloquialisms as well as popular culture and street language.

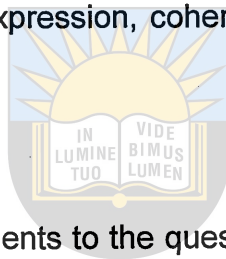


4.7.3 Analysis of Data

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The case of Zimbabwe where English functions as a second language demonstrates a lexicon that is enhanced by the consistent integration of lexical innovations from several languages. Lexical creativity in this case is the result of language contact. Therefore, to analyse crosslinguistic influences that result from language contact in the Zimbabwean case; questionnaires, interviews, and textual analyses of essays and excerpts from literary works were employed to search for lexical innovations, morphological processes such as compounding, affixation, functional shifts, clipping, and borrowing, syntactic and semantic variations in written discourses.

Forty (40) essays were analyzed. Two analyses were done. Firstly, the essays were subjected to a textual analysis in which frequency of CLI phenomena pertaining to the lexicon, morphology, syntax, and semantics and pragmatics were noted and recorded. Secondly, the essays were scored. Essay scores, in line with Tshotsho's propositions (2006) were deemed to be valuable in making inferences about the students' writing skills as well as making informed value judgments about learners' language competence, a dimension that was important in the present study. The scoring guide conformed to Tshotsho's (2006) recommendations that stipulate that while marking an essay, the marker should consider expression, coherence, accuracy in communicating ideas fluently and creatively.

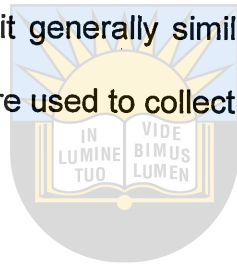


For ease of analysis of data, respondents to the questionnaire were grouped according to similarity of responses. Questionnaires and interviews were essentially a follow-up on the essays and the textual analysis.

4.7.4 Reliability, Validity and Representativeness of Research Instruments

To ensure credibility of research results, each research method should be assessed to check its reliability, validity and representativeness (Finn et al, 2000). To start with, the reliability of a method has to do with the consistency of the results attained from it. For instance, in the case of a questionnaire, the questions should be simple and clearly worded such that the results are the same every time the same question is asked.

Furthermore, validity of a research instrument demonstrates if the tool is successful in measuring what it is supposed to measure as articulated in the objectives and research questions. Third and last, representativeness demonstrates the extent to which the results can be generalized with reference to the phenomenon that is being studied (Finn et al. 2000; Bell, 2001; Veal, 1997). The implication is that the conclusions drawn from the data analysis in the present study should lend themselves to broader application than the available sample of respondents studied. This means that other respondents other than those in the case study, and texts other than those in the textual analysis sample should be in a position to elicit generally similar results as the present study when the same research instruments are used to collect data.



4.7. 5 Pilot study

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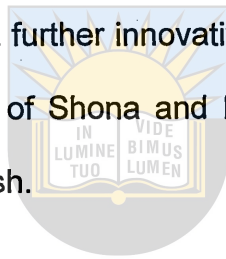
The selected research instruments namely the questionnaire, interview guide, and textual analysis needed to be tested in order to ensure the integrity of the research. There are a number of issues that could potentially damage the integrity of any given research for example faulty questionnaires or ambiguous interview questions. To guard against such erroneous mishaps, the researcher carried out a pilot study to pretest the feasibility of the selected research instruments. The pre-test group comprised of a random sample of 10 students selected from the population of the study. The pre-test of the interview questions and the questionnaire was carried out over a period of one month. The process of pretesting the questionnaire helped in identifying ambiguities and confusions in the questioning technique especially the student questionnaire in which technical phrases had to be simplified. The pilot study was therefore useful in indicating

faulty questions that needed rephrasing in order to maximise accuracy of responses. The questionnaire was administered to 10 student respondents and two lecturers in January 2014. All the questionnaires were completed.

For preliminary textual analysis, short excerpts from *Nehanda* by Vera were used. However, an additional text by a Zimbabwean medical doctor Valerie Tagwira who wrote *The Uncertainty of Hope* was also used. This additional text was integrated into the preliminary test for several reasons. First, it was written by an educated and elite Zimbabwean who belongs to the medical field as opposed to the other three texts whose authors belong to the arts thereby making it seem almost obvious that they would be proficient in the English language and that they would have significantly stronger ties with culture. The textual analysis followed the framework proposed by de Beaugrande in conjunction with Eggins' (2004) SFL and Tshotsho's (2006) recommendations on academic essay writing. Secondly, while testing the textual analysis framework following de Beaugrande and Tshotsho's (2006) recommendations, on excerpts from *Nehanda*, the researcher noted that the language seemed to be conservatively striving towards the norm, likely due to the time factor, setting and subject matter dealt with. Interestingly, crosslinguistic instances were noted. It was also observed that the three earlier selected texts from where excerpts will be drawn were written a decade or more ago, and as stated earlier, are set in mostly colonial or just a few years into independent Zimbabwe. While this may not pose an immediate problem to the research; the researcher was keen on sampling the language style of more contemporary texts focusing on Zimbabwe's contemporary problems well into the 21st century. The researcher observed a need for inquiry into crosslinguistic interface

between English and indigenous languages in Zimbabwe to cover past and contemporary trends so that mappings and predictions of future direction of Zimbabwean English written discourses may be sketched.

It also emerged from the pilot study that more contemporary issues in second language acquisition and bilingualism such as code switching, code mixing and integration of slang or youth-popular culture influenced dialects that are not a common phenomenon in older Zimbabwean texts, are actually commonplace in contemporary texts be they prose or poetry. This therefore adds a further innovative resource and dimension to the New Englishes discourse the impact of Shona and Ndebele slang and what may be referred to as colloquialisms, on English.



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The pilot study demonstrated that while textual analysis was the major tool of data collection; it needed a supporting instrument to evaluate and validate the performance of the L2 students (although the end-score was not the key determinant of CLI per se) it would provide additional assessment criteria for the essays to be graded or scored. The scoring guide conformed to Tshotsho's (2006) recommendations that stipulate that while marking an essay, the marker should consider expression, coherence, accuracy in communicating ideas fluently and creatively. These same considerations appear on the list of markers of crosslinguistic interaction where we were checking if the text remained effective in communicating its message after it had been allegedly influenced by the style of another language which was an L1 such as Shona or Ndebele in this case.

4.7.6 Results of the Pilot Study

The preliminary results that emerged from the pilot study indicated that the English spoken in Zimbabwe (which we propose to officially refer to as Zimbabwean English) is a descendant of Rhodesian English spoken by the settler white community, which itself was an offshoot from Standard British English. Zimbabwean English is influenced not only by Shona and Ndebele, but by several expressions from local Bantu languages and Afrikaans from neighboring South Africa that have found their way into Shona and Ndebele lexicon and syntax. The characteristic repetition of theme (subject) that was found in *Nehanda* and *The Uncertainty of Hope* illustrated that languages are tools for human communication and speakers/writers tended to find the most economic ways to express themselves and they used these ways to speak efficiently and communicate their messages effectively. Both Shona and Ndebele L1 speakers used similar resources when expressing themselves; these appeared as winding and wordy syntactic constructions as compared to Standard English which is straight to the point.

Another indication from student essays as well as textual analysis of two of the texts is that Zimbabwean English tended to be overly explanatory, thus the structural appearance and content of the sentences varied from abrupt to lengthy complex sentences. Code-mixing and code-switching done in spoken discourse affects the written output in which efforts at translation are made. According to the analysis of excerpts from the selected texts and whole student essays, it seemed that the semantic intent was conveyed since the constructions were grammatical despite the obvious deviation from Standard English.

4.8 Ethical Considerations

This study was guided by the ethical principles on research with human participants set out by University of Fort Hare (2012). Participants were informed about the study in substantial detail before asking for their consent to participate. Furthermore, participants were assured of anonymity and confidentiality and they were informed that the interview would be recorded for transcription. All interviews were recorded using a digital voice recorder and the files transferred to a PC for transcription.

The topic, aims and objectives of the thesis and details about the data collection process were explained to the participants prior to the interview sessions. All the participants were informed that they could withdraw from the study at any time without questions being asked as to their decision to discontinue participation in the study. All data collected was treated as anonymous and participants' names kept confidential. A letter of consent seeking definitive agreement to take part in the study was sent to all participants.

4.9 Limitations of the Research

While accepting that the common consequence of language contact is mutual influence (Kamwangamalu & Moyo, 2003), this study does not attempt to establish a conclusive analysis of the crosslinguistic interface phenomena between English and Zimbabwean indigenous languages manifested in English discourses authored by proficient speakers of English as a Second language. The crosslinguistic interface phenomena are

analyzed and the researcher attempts to establish a causal link. However, no evidence is tested statistically.

The study is based on a qualitative and participatory design as opposed to an experimental design. As a qualitative study, the thesis attempts to systematically explore the incidence and prevalence of indigenous language lexical, syntactic, morphologic and semantic structures in the English written by second language speakers of English in Zimbabwe. The case study has a participatory dimension to it in that it consciously incorporates the speaker-learners and speaker-teachers of English as well as champions in the elite English circles such as editors and novelists in order to focus the research questions on relevant issues. In addition, a limited number of participants could be incorporated into the data collection process. This resulted in a limited number of questionnaires being completed, 40 in total. The challenges were largely cost-related and time-related.

4.10 Conclusion

This chapter exposed the research methodology underlying this study and expounded on the instruments used in collecting data in the field as well as stating how the data would be collated, triangulated and analyzed for presentation in the next chapter.

Chapter 5 presented data from textual analysis of essays and literary works.

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH RESULTS; TEXTUAL ANALYSIS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the presentation and analysis of research results collected through textual analysis. The textual analysis is divided into two sections; first, analysis of excerpts from literary works and second, analysis of student essays.

Analysis of data was guided by Kachru's (1985,1997) pronouncements that English spoken and written by second language speakers tends to exhibit productive linguistic innovations which are influenced by the localised functions of the existing variety of the second language. Systemic Functional Linguistics, Discourse Analysis and Genre Analysis were used as a combined framework to analyse data in light of the observations made in literature that in the non-native Englishes the basic grammatical system of Standard British English was usually retained but there were peculiar additions, omissions, and modifications that were made in a fairly logical manner that did not hinder communication or the meaning making process (Kachru, 1985, 1997; Schmied's, 1991).

5.1 Textual Analysis of Literary Texts

The texts whose excerpts were subjected to textual analysis were *WaitingfortheRain* written by Mungoshi (1975), *NervousConditions* by Dangarembga (1988), *Nehanda* authored by Vera (1993), and *TheUncertaintyoffHope* written by Tagwira (2006). Of the four novelists, Mungoshi is the only male writer, and Vera is the only writer with a

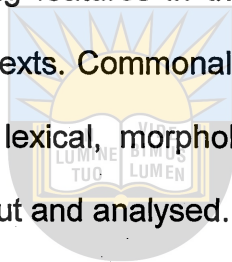
Ndebele background. The others have Shona backgrounds; however, as citizens of a multilingual nation such as Zimbabwe, and as well travelled scholars of high repute, it may not be ruled out that they may be proficient in more than one indigenous language as evidenced by their writings that hint at knowledge of other Zimbabwean indigenous languages.

The assumption that the authors may be proficient in Ndebele and Shona is particularly helpful in this research where the underlying factor is that Shona and Ndebele are both Bantu languages. As belonging to the same family, they are likely to share similar linguistic features, causing their speakers to follow a roughly similar pattern in the acquisition of a second language such as English. This is similar to the situation put forward by Mashiyane (2002) when he observed that Nguni languages share the same syntax thereby having sentences that follow a generally single and similar pattern. In Zimbabwe, Shona and Ndebele demonstrate inherent concord and congruency; meaning that their sentences show similarity of structure and agreement (Poulos, 1986).

As languages belonging to the same family, Shona and Ndebele share cognates. These are words that may be the same or similar in sound, spelling or meaning in both languages for instance *ubaba/baba/* for *father*; *dare/dale/* for *gathering for a meeting*; *mari/mali/* for *money*; *chikoro/sikolo/* for *school*. Some of these cognates are loans from English such as *bhazi/ibhasi* for *bus*. On the issue of similarity, it should be noted that some cognates are not synonymous in any two given languages therefore over

extension of analogies in such cases would result in negative results (Prator, 1967); however, this research is only here referring to those cognates that aid, rather than impede the acquisition and learning of an additional language such as those exemplified in the discussion above. Existence of a common background was therefore imperative in explaining the patterns that emerged in the deviations that authors and students alike engage in during the process of producing their written discourses.

The data analysis grouped outstanding features in the texts and went on to discuss them as demonstrated in each of the texts. Commonality, frequency of occurrence and impact on Standard English, of any lexical, morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic features were also singled out and analysed.



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Table 5.1 Overview of Period and Context of Writing

Year	2006	1993	1988	1975
Socio-political Environment	Zimbabwe's decade of crisis Political and Economic Meltdown	Independent Zimbabwe Crisis looming ahead	Independent Zimbabwe	Pre-independent Zimbabwe
Status of English and Indigenous Languages	Indigenous languages now heard in contemporary discourses English still superior	Zimbabweans begin to affirm indigenous languages but English still superior	English superior to indigenous languages	English superior to indigenous languages

An analysis of Zimbabwean literary texts written from pre-independent Zimbabwe to the period spanning the decade of economic and political crisis, presented a kind of continuum in which deviation from, and dilution of English by indigenous languages seems to have rose in an incremental and interesting manner that demonstrates long-time innovations and mature adopted structures that later became part of English as an everyday functional language (Matras, 2009).

5.2 Emerging Patterns in Introductory Chapters

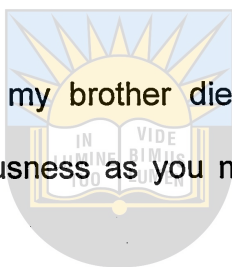
Following the dictates of Discourse Analysis and Genre Analysis as outlined in the theoretical framework in Chapter 3 of this research; writers of Zimbabwean literary texts under analysis may be considered as belonging to one category or what Swales (1990) prefers to call a socio-rhetorical grouping or discourse community. It is in this generic category that we find them following particular conventions and stylistic preferences in their writing, including the way they manipulate language to present their individual realities as Zimbabweans.

The introductory chapter of *Nehanda* commences in story telling mode (Vera, 1993). The introduction defies the rules of sense and reference that are the pillars of Standard English Grammar as can be seen in the following extract.

“Ants pull carcasses into a hole, and **she** is not surprised.” (p1)

The anaphoric reference **she** comes as a surprise. Anaphora is a grammatical term that refers to the use of a pronoun in order to avoid repetition of a word (Eggins, 2004). In the case exemplified, it is not clear to whom the pronoun **she** refers to. Is it one of the *Ants* or is it an outsider, a character outside the precincts of this statement, or another party other than the *Ants*? Similarly, in *Nervous Conditions* (Danagarembga, 1988) the story's introduction is informal and conversational;

“I was not sorry when my brother died. Nor am I apologising for my callousness as you may define it, my lack of feeling.” (p1)



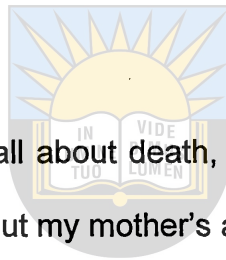
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Use of **Nor** at sentence initial position is unusual for written texts and common in spoken discourses. **Nor** can be loosely translated to *kana kuti/ chero* in Shona; *loballoma ukuthi* in Ndebele. The use of **Nor** at sentence initial position is characteristic of Shona or Ndebele syntactic structure in which it is a common occurrence to find sentences that begin with *Chero/Kana kuti* in Shona or *Loba/Loma ukuthi* in Ndebele. The introductory paragraph goes on in this way;

“Therefore I shall not apologise but begin by recalling the facts as I remember *them that led up* to my

brother's death, the events that put me in a position to write this account." (p1)

The discourse marker, *Therefore*, placed at sentence-initial position is a defensive marker and together with its theme, ring more like a dialogue between the writer and the reader than a standard narrative, hence its engaging nature that is reminiscent of the African story telling/oral tradition (Vambe, 2001). On the whole, *Nervous Conditions* adopts the indigenous *paivapo/kwakukhona/once upon a time* kind of story mode from its opening chapter as illustrated by the extract;



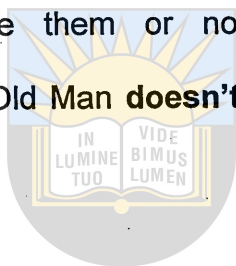
...my story is not after all about death, but about my escape and Lucia's; about my mother's and Maiguru's entrapment; and about Nyasha's rebellion - Nyasha, farminded and isolated, my uncle's daughter, whose rebellion may not in the end have been successful (*Nervous Conditions*, 1988; p1).

The last chapter of the novel also closes on a conversational and formulaic ending as follows;

...but the story I have told here, is my own story, the story of four women whom I loved and our men, this story is how it all began.

Furthermore, the unexpected introduction in *Waiting for the Rain* follows an informal writing style;

“Things are happening *here and there* and whether **you** see them or not **you can’t** certainly say the Old Man **doesn’t** see them.”
(Mungoshi, 1975)



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The statement itself uses lexical items such as *apo nepapo/lapho lalaphaya* which is Shona and Ndebele for *here and there* considered as common in Zimbabwean spoken discourse. The word **things** is loosely used to refer to any and every object or event that a speaker wishes to refer to without stating its real identification in conversation. This tendency is accepted even in writing where there is overuse of **thing** to cover a vast range of concepts that are identifiable in Standard English (Adegjiba, 1989; Bamiro, 1991). All the words highlighted in bold or italics emphasize the informal nature of the opening statement. **You** is a direct reference to the reader, seeking to narrow the communicative distance between the reader and the writer at this very early stage in the text. Below is another example from *Nervous Conditions*;

And these days it is worse, with the poverty of blackness on one side and the weight of womanhood on the other. ***Aiwa!*** What will help you, ***my child***, is to learn to carry your burdens with strength. (Ma Shingayi Chapter 2, *Nervous Conditions*, 1988)

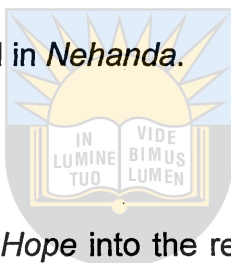
The sentence above is initiated in the formulaic styling that reflects primarily oral societies in which ideas are communicated in a memorable manner (Ong, 2002). The sentence reads like a Shona or Ndebele text due to evident direct translations and it calls for a peculiarly Zimbabwean understanding from the reader. It appeals to the reader to understand it from the perspective of the vulnerable yet resilient rural woman who has suffered the ravages of poverty for a long time. The instance of code switching and the direct translations illustrated below work together to enhance meaning that can only be understood in the context of a Zimbabwean setting.

Aiwa!

And these days it is worse- *Uye mazuva ano
zvanyanya/ Njalo kulezinsuku sokweza ngamandla;*
My child- *mwanangul mtanami;*

5.3 Vertical Progression of Linguistic Innovation in Literary Works

The titling of the texts itself presents a pattern. *Waiting for the Rain* was written in 1975. The title is a simple yet subtle and symbolic English statement that does not readily betray the writer's scepticism about the education and religion of the colonial times. Later in 1988, *Nervous Conditions* is a bolder title that betrays the not-so-rosy state of affairs in independent Zimbabwe. *Nehanda*, written in 1993, is a Shona title derived from the heroine of the Zimbabwean Liberation Struggle, Ambuya Nehanda, an iconic woman of great courage. The lexical and syntactic innovations demonstrated in the earlier novels are taken to another level in *Nehanda*.



The factoring in of *The Uncertainty of Hope* into the research, a text considered to be the most recent in the analysis group, has the effect of bringing to light the diachronic progression of linguistic innovations over the years since the first contact through independence till the present dispensation of 21st century Zimbabwe. It is in this text that contemporary language change is demonstrated through the employment of slang, as well as code mixing and code switching, as Zimbabweans are emboldened and made more daring by the volatile social, economic and political situation of their time; for instance, while Tagwira's (2006) English demonstrates its rootedness in Shona, the author does not hesitate to mix Shona and English in some cases when there is need to stress a point; for example; *Chiichitsva?* /what is new? This is the simplistic yet bitter question that the authorial voice and characters continue to ask throughout the text.

5.4 Register

The analysis of excerpts from literary texts using Halliday's (1975, 1994, 2004) the SFL framework of metafunctions highlighted that a significant amount of CLI can be identified by analysing textual interactivity and communicative distance implied by text structure as well as speech style or register under the textual metafunction. Register refers to appropriateness of language depending on situation or context (Eggins, 2004). Register and speech style can be used interchangeably as they generally refer to the same aspects of language. The textual metafunction actually highlighted the vast range of registers that speakers and writers can choose from when they are engaged in communication of any type (Halliday, 1978; Eggins, 2004). The register choices made by speakers/writers ultimately reveal identity affirmation.

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In *Waiting for the Rain*, these of contracted forms in Chapter One unveils a seemingly casual register that builds a conversational tone and draws the reader to "listen". The contracted forms used are; can't, don't, doesn't, its, won't. These forms are expected in speech as opposed to formal writing in which their corresponding forms are used as cannot, do not, does not, it is, will not. Below is an extract that illustrates the use of contractions in *Waiting for the Rain*;

"Things are happening *here and there* and
whether you see them or not you **can't**

certainly say the Old Man **doesn't** see them.”

(Mungoshi, 1975)

The use of contracted forms is further facilitated by the fact that in Shona and Ndebele, the distinction between formal and informal is not marked. There are no provisions for the two generic categories. The example below demonstrates this point;

Table 5.2 Formality and Informality

English		Ndebele		Shona	
Formal	Informal	Formal	Informal	Formal	Informal
Cannot	Can't	-ngeke-	-ngeke-	Haunga-	Haunga-
Does not	Doesn't	-ngeke-	-ngeke-	Haasi-/ha-	Haasi-/ha-

The examples above demonstrates the absence of/limited alternatives offered by indigenous languages. This results in more than one lexical feature in English being represented in the same manner lexically in indigenous languages as indicated in the examples.

Due to the oral culture of Zimbabweans who are second language speakers of English, deviations such as those in the table above are acceptable. This has the effect of bringing researchers to the interlanguage or Zimbabwean English debate (Kadenge, 2009). The use of informal register in most parts of the texts in question is a deviation

common across all the texts, indicating an inherent inclination for writers to write in the manner that they speak for maximum communicative effect. In line with the use of informal register, genre studies indicate that speech events are different in structure and content, and that people do not talk in the same way as they write, (Eggins, 2004). This implies that every time speakers and writers engage in discourse, they are consciously or unconsciously employing a register of one kind or another. The variations in register would naturally be determined by varying social contexts as registers are usually selected based on conventions that favour a particular type of language as appropriate to particular usage (Halliday, 1964).



The intricate linkages and interconnections between L1 and L2 that were selected from the literary texts serve to demonstrate what Malinowski (1946) proposed as the critical role played by context of both situation and culture on the meaning of any text;

The study of any language spoken by a people, who live under conditions different from our own and possess a different culture, must be carried out in conjunction with the study of their culture and their environment (Malinowski, 1946; 306).

It therefore follows that the environment from where the author is writing is a fundamental contributor in the final product which is the text, and that the Zimbabwean context cannot be ignored. The analysis of linguistic phenomena within the text is

ultimately done with the understanding that language features demonstrate deeper meaning when analysed within the broader context of social behaviour in a specific context.

5.5 Use of Metaphor

Use of metaphor and symbols in English texts written by Zimbabwean ESL speakers is different from Standard British English authored texts. The boundaries between metaphor and plain language are very fluid, almost non-existent. They are arbitrary and difficult to detect. This is caused by the observation that indigenous languages such as Shona and Ndebele that belong to the Bantu languages family are expressive by nature (Matshiyane, 2002); employing and integrating nature symbols and the physical environment into their speech patterns. The sentence below is an example drawn from *Nehanda* (1993);

“Rivers and trees cover her palms: the trees are lifeless
and the rivers dry”

The structure of this sentence, both the surface and deep structure are in-keeping with the African story telling tradition which relied on the creation of visual images through use of metaphors.

The description of a whirlwind in *Nehanda* on p2-3 is a larger than life description. It is dramatic and filled with local innuendos of spirits, rituals and superstition that would make readers outside the Zimbabwean context struggle to negotiate its complete meaning.

*"Mother saw and heard the towering cone of swelling dust speeding toward them like an **hallucination**. It was nodding like a **spirit**, and its widening skirts turned **madly** in the **frenzy** of its own dance. It **swirled** in **spiralling** circles conscious of **destruction**. Through its **passionate** energy, the **thing** looked **frightening** and **unnatural**. Always, it held the sign that it had been newly **created**, that it was among the **newborn**: it raged therefore with an **innocence**. Arrogant in its own **conception**, it challenged the familiar categories of **birth** and **death**. It removed at once in opposite directions, with **time** and against time, **collapsing** all time within its **perturbed** interior."* (p2)

The extract demonstrates the development of African symbolism. Through the use of lexical chains; words that share a common string such as the words in bold in the example, a semantic field can be traced thereby demonstrating how meaning is innovatively created. Lexical chains come together to create a semantic field that gives text its coherent and cohesive nature as outlined in the three metafunctions in Systemic Functional Linguistics (Eggins, 2004; Halliday, 1974).

The lexical chains identified below illustrate African symbolism.

Lexical Chain 1: Denoting life

- created, conception, birth, newborn, life

Lexical Chain 2: Denoting death

- collapsing, death, destruction

Lexical Chain 3: Denoting time and space

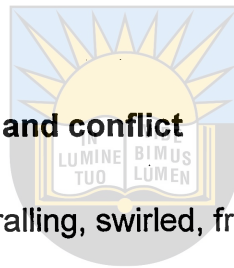
- direction, time, interior

Lexical Chain 4: Denoting confusion and conflict

- opposite, against, perturbed, spiralling, swirled, frenzy, passionate

Lexical Chain 5: Denoting the spiritual

- spirit, unnatural, hallucination



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The lexical chains in the examples trace the development of indigenous symbols and metaphor by using a wide range of lexical items to highlight the key dimensions of existence namely life, death, time, space, conflict and the spiritual. The example demonstrates that meanings cannot be perceived as being out in the world, but rather as a construct that is rooted in people's experience, people's context and personal circumstances (Cruse, 1986).

The description of a whirlwind in a rural savannah country such as Zimbabwe placed side by side with issues to do with *birth* and *death* sounds far-fetched and mysterious if read out of context. However, in Zimbabwean rural folklore, signs are valued as vital in communicating the spirits, pleasure or displeasure regarding events. Therefore, the sighting of the whirlwind would be a mode of communication in itself appraising people of events to come, in this case, the birth of a heroine who would liberate her people although in pain.

The dream motif is developed from the deeply spiritual Zimbabwean beliefs and roots. Dreams are an integral aspect of African belief system where a dream is viewed as signifying portentous events (Cloete and Madadzhe, 2004; Vuiningoma, 1987). The incorporation of superstition brings an element of indigenisation of the English language where we see that it is English on the surface level but the constituents and the internal structure seem to be bearing the characteristics that are common in indigenous languages (Kadenge, 2009).

These are unusual linkages such as merging of *birth* and *death*. At this point the text then seems to lack cohesion and coherence at surface. This is the reason that Vera's texts are said to be difficult. She writes from a futuristic perspective where she merges the English and indigenous languages as well as merging the different genres in an attempt to be realistic because in the real bilingual and multilingual world of speech; languages converge through code switching (McSwan, 2000). Therefore, we speak of

languages converging and interfacing because bilinguals have two separate lexicons with different grammatical principles and diverse vocabularies, phonologies and morphological systems that begin to interact due to language contact. Languages evolve and change, in the process they take on the characteristics of the languages that they share space with. Languages are vulnerable but they are also pliant and elastic; they can accept and accommodate foreign features in order to make meaning (Whorf, 1956; Cruse 1986). Furthermore, their elasticity gives room for the development of new varieties, a process that is expected given that what we call Standard English is itself one variety of modern English that evolved from earlier versions in the British empire (Kerwill, 2007; Trudgill, 1999).



5.6 Unusual Syntactic and Lexical Items

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The use of unusual lexical features and sentence structure was a signal of the incorporation of indigenous languages in the creation of the literary texts under analysis.

Below are some unique lexical strings and syntactic constructions;

No one is allowed to **make** a journey alone.

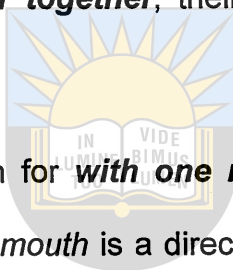
(Nehanda, p2)

The word **make** is derived from Shona *kuita rwendo*, which in Standard English would mean undertaking or engaging on a journey.

She was the most important of the human *presences* in the room (Nehanda, p3).

The unusual plural is explained by the ideational metafunction where it describes the field aspects of a text, the subject matter and the context of use (Egins, 2004). The specialised diction in this case echoes the subject of spirits that are involved in the birthing process.

With one mouth, the first two women questioned the trader, and moved *closer together*, their shoulders touching (Nehanda, p2).



The Standard British English selection for *with one mouth* would be *in unison* or *simultaneously*. The phrase *with one mouth* is a direct translation from Shona and/or Ndebele that means *nemuromomumwechetelngazwilinye*. The author's choice is supported by the Zimbabwean emphasis on the mouth, words and the process of talking as key in social processes.

Even an ant-eater, which is the rarest of wild animals, is one day seen crossing the clearing which surrounds a homestead, *before the sun has gone to its mother*.

In Zimbabwe, the setting of the sun is affectionately described as *zuva raenda kuna mai varo* in Shona meaning ***the sun has gone to its mother***. One can say *zuva ravira/ilanga selitshonile*; Shona and Ndebele for the sun has set. However, the traditional concept of time and its cyclic nature is emphasized by the phrase that describes the setting of the sun as ***the sun going to its mother***. The phrase carries urgency and agency within it. The sentence structure is in-keeping with the African setting. As argued by Nkwain (2004), such an expression as the one exemplified above can be traced back to Africa, and English from an African perspective is vastly different from English that is written or spoken from a European perspective.



For the whole day, the women ***refused*** to see the sun

(*Nehanda*, p9).

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The phrase means that the women did not go out. The choice of lexical item *refuse* is meant to reinforce the women's commitment to keeping vigil and waiting for the birth of the baby without tiring as was expected of them by tradition. Any other expression could have watered down or trivialised their mission. The selection of this linguistic feature does not compromise meaning although it is not a Standard English expression; in essence, it enhances meaning. The choice of language is therefore influenced by power dynamics in which the writer is according power to the participants so that they control the concept of time. The reader is also drawn into the critical discourses at play through being made to be part of the characters by way of emotions created by narrowing social distance between reader and writer.

5.7 Specialized Lexical Features

Reference to specialized lexical items in *Nehanda* resulted in lexical density of features that are of a Shona/ Ndebele origin or features that are derived from Zimbabwean indigenous traditions such as;

- Ants
- Whirlwind
- Pouch
- Calabash
- Fresh cow dung
- Spirits/ the departed
- Ancestors
- Vatete
- Dare
- Drums
- Snuff.



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The lexical features used in all the texts particularly *Nehanda* and *Waiting for the Rain* are reminiscent of Zimbabwean society and the subsequent activities carried out in the same society (Vambe, 2001). There is talk of drums, ancestors, snuff and spirits because in this society, there are rituals performed at intervals to achieve different ends as prescribed by the elders in the clan. The choice of discourse and its full comprehension may therefore seem improper and deviant to one not familiar with the context.

A lexical count performed during textual analysis illustrated that the lexical items that can be considered as foreign to Standard English and present in an average sentence were large in percentage against the sentence proportion thus rendering sentences reading largely like their Shona and Ndebele equivalents with the familiar cultural artefacts being described in close lexical references.

5.8 Phonological Adaptations

These are hybrid exclamations that borrow both from English and indigenous languages for example;

1. Ya!
2. Ha!
3. I-i-h!
4. Ha-a-a!



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'If had your brains,' my father used to say to Nhamo by way of encouragement during my brother's early school years, his formative years, ' I would have been a teacher by now. Or maybe a doctor. **Ya!** Maybe even a doctor...But he used to read. **Ha!** Mukoma used to read. Whatever he touched he pushed, that's the way he was. **I-i-h!** Mukoma used to read...The missionaries looked after him so well, you know, that the books, **ha-**

a-a, the books came naturally.' (*Nervous Conditions*,
p5)

The exclamations exemplified have an indigenous phonology and therefore they modify the tone of the text to the effect that the text reads like hybrid English or English mixed with Shona and Ndebele, a type of English that is caught between two worlds (Platt, Weber and Ho, 1984; De Beaugrande, 2004).

5.9 Generalizations



Discourse or text cannot be described simply on the basis of single instances analysed qualitatively. Sufficient samples of representative data are needed, and many different features of these samples, and associations between the features (for example between tense usage and stage of discourse), need to be subjected to scrutiny.

Example

Nice is an overused colloquial reference that is deeply entrenched in the vocabulary of Africans in general and Zimbabweans in particular. According to the Oxford Dictionary the term is used to refer to anything ranging from good, delicious, wonderful, fantastic, handsome, beautiful, polite, cultured, kind, fine and so on.

The discourse strategy used by second language speakers in this case is to simplify and generalise meaning in order to avoid what can be viewed as lexical overload of items that the learner/speaker is not in a position to assimilate all at once (Matras, 2009; Krashen, 1987). However, with time, even when the speaker's proficiency levels have soared to acceptable levels; some of these discourse strategies will have matured into acceptable communicative structures in the speaker's society (what can be negatively termed fossilization in the field of error analysis (Ellis, 1997). As a result, these and other structures end up asserting themselves both in conversation and writing.



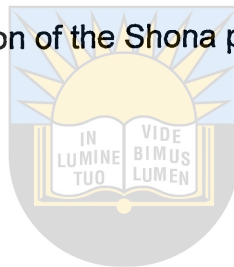
5.10 Syntactic Deviation

There is syntactic deviation from Standard English syntax without causing a complete breakdown in communication in the texts analysed. The table below lists the lexical items and phrases as they are used in the texts by Zimbabwean writers whose mother tongue is either Shona or Ndebele. The table goes on to provide what may be viewed as the most appropriate lexical selection in Standard English according to existing context.

Table 5.3 Adaptations of English to local Usage

Zimbabwean English Usage	Appropriate Standard English Selection
Led up (<i>Nervous Conditions</i> , p1)	Led
Come away (p1)	Leave
Define (p1)	Describe
Far-minded (p1)	Absent-minded

The phrase far-minded is a transliteration of the Shona phrase *pfungwa dziri kure* or the Ndebele phrase *ingqondo zikhatshana*.



My brother went to school at the mission where my uncle was headmaster and which was some twenty miles away from the village, to the west, in the direction of Umtali town (*Nervous Conditions*, p1).

The above sentence is a complex sentence whose structure is more aligned with the indigenous language syntactic structure. The complex sentences in this and other texts written by Zimbabwean English L2 speakers and writers occur as long winding sentences that are fractured at unusual points to accommodate the abundance of ideas and the expected flux and fluidity of the same ideas in order to achieve cohesion and

coherence. These complex ideas are typical of Shona and Ndebele storytelling and conversation techniques.

The repetition of 'with' in *Nervous Conditions* on p1, which is the prefix [ne-] in Shona, also [le-] in Ndebele causes redundancy in the structure of the sentence. In Zimbabwean indigenous languages it is grammatically correct to repeat the prefix [ne-] which is *with* before every other item being described in a conversation. However, in Standard English, it is an awkward structural element, although meaning is retained.

In *The Uncertainty of Hope*, a contemporary text, there are a number of deviations that indicate the time that the author is writing. The work of art is written in a time of crisis, reflecting a crisis therefore the writing style is very close if not a replica of the realistic linguistic reflections of interlocutors in the given setting;

She cried about her miserable life with Gari. ***She cried about*** the food shortages. ***She cried about*** the market that had been closed, leaving her without livelihood. Out of the corner of an eye, she glimpsed Sheila's hunched figure and wept for all the people who had suddenly become homeless. ***She cried about*** the poverty that had left her crushed and hopeless, ***about*** everything that rendered her

powerless, everything that held her bound in chains...

(*The Uncertainty of Hope*, 2006, p143)

The text creates rhythm through repetition in what Ong would call a mnemonic style (Ong, 2002). The replacement of the pronoun '*her*' with the article '*an*' indicates flexibility of choice and does not lose the reader on the meaning. Finally, the phrase ***held her bound*** is quite redundant given the meanings of held, bound, chains. However, the meaning is not hindered at all, instead, the repetition and redundancy serve to reflect the passion within the expression and message.



Code mixing is indicated through the use of words that are both Shona and English such as ***magrosa*** (*Nervous Conditions*, p2, p4) in which [ma-] is a Shona prefix that denotes plural referencing, and [-grosa] is a nativised stem loan from English ***grocery*** therefore ***magrosa*** then means 'at the grocer's'/ 'at the [grocery] shops'. In this case, ***magrosa*** is a loan word that was originally borrowed from English to Shona and Ndebele but has now become incorporated into English vocabulary of Zimbabwean speakers of L2 English.

Magrosa in this case is an example of reverse borrowing as all three languages are tapping from the other's linguistic resources to build a word whose meaning the speakers can identify with. This is in-keeping with Wilhem von Humboldt's (1988) and Benjamin Lee Whorf's (1956) propositions that when analysed in context bound

situations, crosslinguistic influence becomes a practical manifestation of the binding power of language on thought since the way one thinks is the exact way that they would want to express themselves to those around them.

Below are further examples of code mixing at intra-sentential level.

The children play beneath the *hozi* which is now empty of provisions, when they climb over the walls of the empty *hozi* and play inside, no one reminds them of the taboos that accompany such a transgression. (Nehanda, 1993, p94)



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[...] hills that are filled with silence. The silence echoes the wisdom of the ancestors, and the presence of *Mwari*, who has put the strange rocks on the earth” (84). *Nehanda* herself testifies to this significance of the hills when she says: “Our people have fled to the hills. This is where we shall fight our enemies. In the hills we shall protect ourselves from the stranger. [---] In the hills, the wisdom of the departed will guide you. The past is in the hills” (*Nehanda, 1993, p80*)

The examples above are actually more than simply instances of code mixing. They are also reflecting cultural and religious aspects that have English equivalents, however, the translations are not as expressive as the speakers would want therefore these are set aside for more appropriate indigenous lexical items. The incorporation of these culturally specific terms is a deliberate discourse strategy employed by speakers when they want to fit into their speech communities.

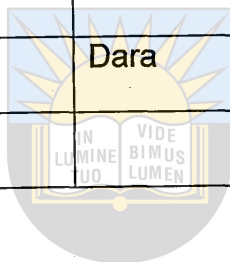


5.11 Indigenous Terminology

Use of indigenous names of characters, trees, games, and other reference names is also an aspect of the written manifestation of code mixing and code switching that is frequent in language contact situations. Names such as *Babamukuru*/uncle, *Maiguru*/aunt have a diluted meaning in their Standard English equivalent. However, when used in their indigenous form, they mean elder father and elder mother thus endowing more honour to the elder father and mother as these are considered as parents themselves worthy of a higher measure of honour as they are bigger or older. The table below illustrates some of the examples drawn from *Nervous Conditions* from p1- 12;

Table 5.4 Indigenous Terminology

Character Names	Fruit and Tree Names	Other Reference Lexical Items	Loans
Babamukuru	Matamba	Nhodo	Magrosa
Maiguru	Mopani	Mukoma	Sisi
Nhamo	Msasa	Derere	Sadza
Tambudzai	Matunduru	Mhunga	Rooro/lobola
Rambanai		Rukweza	
Netsai		Dara	
Nyasha			



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From the examples above therefore, it can be deduced that the referential value of names tends to be reduced depending on the language used and the naming patterns; the more indigenous the name is, the more emphatic the message is to the intended audience.

5.12 Selection of Linguistic Repertoire

In Zimbabwe, words such as *roora/lobola/bride price* have been Anglicized, that is to say they are used in English linguistic settings alongside English words. *Rooro* (Nervous Conditions, 1988) and its Ndebele counterpart *lobola* meaning *bride price* have become incorporated in the indigenous speakers' English lexical inventory. However, the phrase *bride price* does not convey the cultural reverence and pride that

is associated with issues to do with marriage in the traditional African society. If anything, the translation is loose and for the average African, takes away the essence of the marriage institution leaving women equated to items on a shop shelf that have a 'price'. This is the reason that most Zimbabweans prefer to use the term *roora* even if they are aware of the English translation equivalent.

5.13 Transliteration

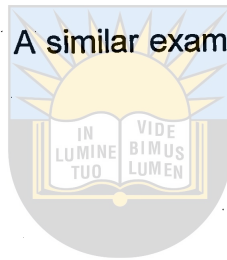
The selection of simple lexical items usually results in transliteration. In L2 acquisition, simple structures are acquired first and complex structures are moved to the bottom of the list or completely ignored in other cases (Krashen, 1987). The simpler structures are then overused and there is a tendency for overgeneralisation of rules in many cases (Krashen, 1987). This would explain the blanket references, ambiguous statements and transfer of overgeneralized L1 rules to L2 settings in this case Shona/Ndebele rules are forced to apply and work in English structures which may not always result in smooth flow of language, especially to the trained native English Speaker of Standard British English.

One example would be the use of the lexical item '*enter*' in the excerpt;

It had been my uncle's idea that Nhamo should go to school at the mission. Nhamo, if given a chance, my uncle said, would distinguish himself academically, at

least sufficiently to **enter** a decent profession
(Nervous Conditions, p4).

Enter literally means *(ku)pinda* in Shona and *(uku)ngena* in Ndebele. Usually, transliteration compromises on meaning, however, in this case it does not render the statement unclear, ambiguous or incoherent. Instead, the meaning of **enter** is broadened to mean, acquire a job, to be hired in. In Standard English the most appropriate selection of a lexical item would be *to qualify for*, or *be suitable for*. Using the lexical item **enter** in this case is unusual in Standard English yet for Zimbabwean speakers it is an acceptable structure. A similar example of transliteration is the use of 'lift' in the following sentence;



Nhamo would **lift** our branch of the family out of the squalor in which we were living.

Lift is a literal translation therefore it is an instance of transliteration. It would seem to be an inappropriate selection in Standard English but it emphasizes the action being denoted; that of upward mobility from a state of dire poverty to that of wealth as envisaged by the teenage authorial voice of Tambudzai in the narrative. As Duranti puts it, "...everyday language is tinged with cultural bits and pieces-a fact most people seem to ignore..." and that "... to be part of a culture means to share the propositional knowledge and the rules of inference necessary to understand whether certain propositions are true." (1997:28-29).

The most appropriate lexical item as per Standard English expectation would be **raise**. Zimbabwean English has the tendency to use superlatives. These are intense and extreme adjectival references where a mild and less intense word or phrase could be used. For example;

1. The use of the adjectives **squalor** and **squalid** (*Nervous Conditions* p6)
2. The use of the adjective **oceanic** in the statement;

My uncle's gesture was **oceanic**.



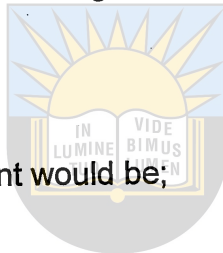
Evidence in the text indicates the narrator's family was indeed poor but the description of their home life does not necessarily warrant the use of the terms squalor and squalid. Their home was neither filthy nor nasty. They actually had the luxury of slaughtering a hen once in a while and they ate fresh vegetables every day. They also had the privilege of harvesting something from their fields. This is hardly a picture of **squalor**. Instead, there is an inclination to be hyperbolic in describing events, conditions, and people.

Although the uncle's gesture was a genuine show of kindness, oceanic is an exaggerated description of his actions. Such exaggerations are dotted throughout this text and other texts under analysis as well as the students essays. African indigenous languages are expressive by nature, and it has always been said that no one tells a

story like an African. Emphasis and choice of the extreme adjectives is meant to show beyond reasonable doubt how utterly poor and needy, thus grateful for uncle's kindness Nhamo's father was. These are discursive strategies that the second language learner engages in to avoid being misunderstood. It is more of the L2 learner putting too much effort to be understood.

Another example is that of indigenous sentence structure influencing English sentence formation for example;

The year of my uncle's return from England.



The Standard British English equivalent would be,

The year my uncle returned from England.

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The Shona and Ndebele equivalents would be;

Shona: *Gore rokudzoka kwasekuru vangu kubva kuHingirandi.*

Ndebele: *Umnyaka wokuphenduka kukamalumami evela eNgilandi.*

The overuse of the comma in the English written by Zimbabweans is a writing strategy that is borrowed from spoken indigenous languages and transferred to spoken English and consequently written English. There are numerous fragments to sentences and a

number of subjects and objects contribute to sentences thus the use of commas to break and connect the ideas in order to achieve cohesion and coherence.

Ya is an instance of reverse borrowing. **Yeah** is Standard English colloquial for **Yes**.

It was then nativised to **Ya** which is slang or street language in Zimbabwe that has gradually evolved into formal use in Shona, Ndebele and English to mean **Yes**.

5.14 Indigenous Influence on Names

The concept of names contributes significantly to the crosslinguistic interface debate in this research. Writers like Chenjerai Hove (1987) nativised foreign names such as Martha which he called Marita, Jennifer which called Janifa by simply changing the spelling and consequently the pronunciation of the names in the novel *Bones*. In essence, he sought the African version of names that he perceived as European. In the literary works analysed there was an emerging pattern where names were concerned.

Below are some of the names used in the literary works analysed;

Table 5.5 Influence on Naming Patterns

Waiting for the Rain	Nehanda	Nervous Conditions	The Uncertainty of Hope
Old man	Nehanda	Babamukuru	Ruva
Old Mandisa	Vatete	Maiguru	Rita
Garabha	Mother	Nhamo	Gari
Matandangoma	Ibwe	Nyasha	Fari
Tongoona	Moses	Tambudzai	Onai moyo
Old Japi	Mr Browning	Lucia	Maiguru mai Faith
Raina	Mashoko	Mother	Mawaya
Betty	The n'anga	Rambanai	Dr Emily Sibanda
Lucifer	Mr Smith	Chido	Sister Mashava

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The table shows some of the names used in the texts. The names in bold indicate indigenous discourse strategies where a person named Laina is called Raina as an indicator that the name is being used in a non-European community.

Short forms of Shona names such as *Fari* for *Farai*, *Gari* for *Garikai*, *Ruva* for *Ruvarashe*, indicate the dominant tradition in Ndebele and Shona names in which long names (and even short ones) are shortened as an indicator of familial affection. In verbal interactions, phonological inflections make these Indigenous names 'sound English' when integrated in English discourse. Some of the names are actually kinship references that are used in Zimbabwean society. Even when you know the name of an

individual, one is inclined to use a more respectful way of address thus the use of kinship addresses such as *Mukoma*/brother, *Sekuru*, Sister, Mother, *Babamukuru*, *Maiguru*, Granny and so on.

5.15 Code Switching and Code Mixing

The texts under analysis had significant evidence of code switching, that is inter-sentential alternation of languages, and code mixing, which refers to intra-sentential alternation (Bokamba, 1989). Below are some examples;

You gave my TV to your boyfriends. You whore! **Uri hure!** (*The Uncertainty of Hope*, p9)

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The Shona expression **Uri hure/you are a prostitute** is an emphatic proclamation of the accusation that Gari is hurling at his wife that she is a woman of loose morals. The use of Shona enhances the shame associated with prostitution.

Cheer up Silas. **Tiri varume**, we are men! (*The Uncertainty of Hope*, p36)

The code switching illustrated in the example above is once again a discourse strategy used for emphasis and self-affirmation as Gari later repeats 'we are men!' As discussed

earlier in the literature in Chapter 2, code switching therefore, does not only serve the linguistic purpose of bridging the gap in communication in multilingual settings, but is also an unconscious fulfilment of the need for identity and solidarity with that which is familiar and natural to the speaker as illustrated in the example below (Schmied, 1991; Bokamba, 1989).

Faith is at Melody's room listening to Chioniso's '**Wandirasa**'- the words are such a poignant expression of a woman's anguish (*The Uncertainty of Hope*, p77)

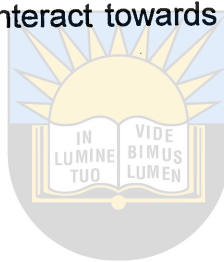


Wandirasa/you have betrayed me/ literally, you have thrown me away, is rendered in Shona in an English sentence in order to retain the expression of grief associated with the broken heart of a jilted woman. Below is a further example of code switching

Munya zvawo, munya! (*Waiting for the Rain*, p20)

The statement above is referring to left over *sadza* from the previous night. The sentences before and after *Munya zvawo, munya!* are in English therefore this is an example of inter-sentential code mixing (McSwan, 2000). The impact the sentence has would be lost were it expressed in English. *Munya* can be an insult, as it is considered as food partaken by poor people who cannot afford a fresh meal.

The discourse strategy of code mixing and code switching was quite widespread in all the literary texts. This could be attributed to the notion that there seems to be difficulty in finding English equivalents that can carry meaning in the same manner as the indigenous terminology. Differences in lexical and semantic fields pose problems hence writers end up taking the lexical items as they are from Shona or Ndebele. The separate lexicons that the speaker has to deal with at the level of the language faculty precipitate the employment of creative discourse strategies meant to deal with challenges of expression, consequently communication is successful because the linguistic systems are non-autonomous therefore they interact towards the same goal of communication (McSwan, 2000; Muller, 1998).



Below are some terms that were used as a result of lack of an English equivalent that could carry the same weight and meaning. Actually, some of these words are incorporated into English discourses in everyday interactions very well and communication carries on normally.

1. *Ngoma* (traditional drum), (*Nehanda*, p33)
2. *Mbira* (traditional musical instrument made out of flattened metal prongs), (*Nehanda*, p39)
3. *Mwari* (the Universal God) *Nehanda*, p33, 39, 50)

4. Hakata/amathambo in Ndebele (paraphernalia used by traditional healers that is thrown to the ground to determine the fate of the individual in consultation, sometimes referred to as *bones*) (*Nehanda*, p33, 39, 50)
5. Aika, Tongoona! (What/wow, Tongoona!), (*Waiting for the Rain* p57)
6. **Sadza** is commonly used in all the texts, meaning thick porridge. Sadza is a culture specific food in Africa. In Zimbabwe it can be common sadza (made from maize-meal), or special traditional *sadza remhunga* or *sadza remapfunde* (thick porridge made from sorghum or millet).
7. **Maheu** (a traditional energy drink made from fermented maize meal, water and sorghum) (*Nehanda*, p25)

While the words listed above do have their English equivalents, respondents indicated that the English equivalents were not appropriate therefore indigenous words are used.

5.16 Lexical innovations

Due to continuous contact and interaction with Shona and Ndebele, English is gaining lexical features that betray Zimbabwean indigenous language structure (Kadenge,

2009). Speakers become increasingly creative when required to use English to express their Zimbabwean realities, which are far removed from the European perception of life (Kadenge, 2009).

Below are some of the creative features borrowed from Shona and Ndebele as extracted from the texts during textual analysis;

1. Gloria is referred to as the new **missis**, the small house (*The Uncertainty of Hope*, Tagwira, 2007).

The small house is a woman with whom a married man is cheating on his wife with. *Smallhouse* is derived from Ndebele- *indlu yakhe encane/umfazi omcane* and Shona- *imba yake diki/mukadzin'ina*.

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These are references to a man's second wife in a polygamous relationship. The transliterated version has found its way into English terminology and is in common usage in Zimbabwe.

The lexical item *missis* is a loose derivation from the English term *mistress*.

2. *Chitsva chii?*

(*The Uncertainty of Hope*, p61)

This is a common reference used variously in the text whose general meaning is; '*what is new?*' It is used in the text to index the despair that the suffering women endure in the face of a collapsing economy, disease and poverty. It is also a rhetoric question that has been integrated into the written narrative from Shona

speech framing the despondency of both men and women facing a futile future resulting from an eco-political crisis.

The analysis of texts highlighted in several different ways that second language speakers of English employ discourse strategies and writing styles that essentially violate the expectations of native speakers of that language, despite successful communication being achieved (Kaplan, 2010). The analysis only selected a few extracts to demonstrate the distinct vocabulary, different principles of word formation and sentence structure as well as meaning derivation from the literary works. However, the examples could not possibly be exhaustive due to the observation that these being Zimbabwean literary works written by second language speakers from a distinctly Zimbabwean background; their expression, register and style largely demonstrates their indigenous language context and context of culture.

5.17 Textual Analysis of Students' Essays

Using the Systemic Function Linguistics, Discourse Analysis and Genre Analysis integrated framework, students essays were analysed in order to elicit their surface and deep structure through isolation of lexical, morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic features of the language used. In the discussion that follows, analysis indicated that the essays written by undergraduate students demonstrated a significant degree of interconnectedness of the L1 and L2 of students which in this case are Shona, Ndebele and English.

Table 5.5 Summary of Students Scores by Score Groupings

Score	Essay Number	Total Essays	Comment	
			Language Proficiency	Relevance of Content and Context
Excellent (25-30)	E1, E11, E12, E13, E17, E19, E21, E28, E31, E34, E35	11	Proficiency is excellent. The text almost reads like a native script if it were not for the evident deviations. Deviations from Standard English do not interfere with meaning.	Quite conversant with the subject matter Aware of academic writing expectations
Good (20-24)	E2, E3, E8, E9, E10, E14, E16, E18, E26, E27, E36, E37, E39	13	Expression is good with no errors interfering with meaning.	Essays exhibit awareness of relevant content and context of the subject
Average (15-19)	E4, E5, E6, E7, E15, E20, E24, E25, E29, E30, E32, E33, E38, E40	13	Proficiency is average and expression is clear.	Content and context are relevant.
Below Expected Standard (0-14)	E22, E31, E37	3	No sufficient text to judge proficiency. Student hurriedly responded in point form.	Relevance is evident. Points are listed, and they are inadequate. Essay format is not adhered to.

5.17.2 Students' Performance on Essays

Prior to discussing the essay results, it must be pointed out that the thrust of the research was not to merely assess the performance of students in English. Actually, performance was used as a guide to analyse how much crosslinguistic phenomena can be found in the four groups of performers namely the excellent, good, average and below expected standard performers. Incidentally, the topic assigned for the essay; ***Challenges faced by university students in Zimbabwe;*** was viewed as a topical issue within the students' field of experience. In addition, the student participant sample was composed of undergraduate students who have almost completed university, meaning that their English is fairly passable as they have passed the Zimbabwe School Examinations Council (ZIMSEC) Ordinary Level English; a benchmark for university entry in Zimbabwe. Therefore the scores are used in as much as they facilitate the question of whether crosslinguistic phenomena are found in all proficient writers work or they only appear in low graded essays.

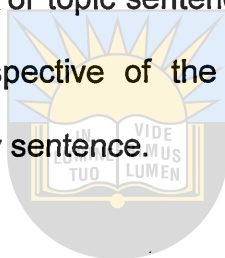
Table 5.6 Presentation of Students' Scores in Percentage Terms

Score Range	Percentage
25-30	27,5%
20-24	32,5%
15-19	35%
0-14	5%

The table highlights the situation alluded to earlier, that the majority of students were fairly conversant with English essay writing. It was the structure of their writing that spoke directly to the question of CLI once the essays were subjected to analysis.

5.17.3 Topic Analysis

All essays analysed had relevant content and the context was correctly interpreted. This observation is inclusive of those students who responded in point form as opposed to essay format. The opening sentence or topic sentence of most of the essays indicated that students had the correct perspective of the topic. Key terms were correctly identified and used in the introductory sentence.



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Examples were;

E1, E7- University students

E11- Challenges

E20, E6- Accommodation

E2- University life

E3- Many students

E4- There are many Challenges

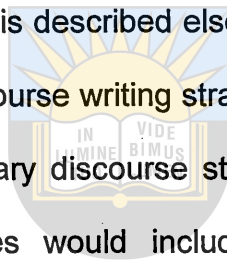
E19- Zimbabwe

E21- In Zimbabwe

The topic sentence/opening lines generally indicate a high appreciation of the subject matter to be grappled with.

5.18 Colloquialism

Colloquialism is a common strategy used in informal speech and in writing; as described by Tshotsho, (2006); Richards, Platt and Platt, (1997). This feature of students' essays is also common in literary works and is described elsewhere in this research as orality. Orality is perceived as a primary discourse writing strategy by Tshotsho who goes on to propose that competence in secondary discourse strategies is the ideal in academic writing. Secondary writing strategies would include, among other writing styles, formality, tentative language and academic writing rhetoric (Tshotsho, 2006).



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The aspects of students' essays that are discussed in this chapter reflect students' tendency to write in an informal, colloquial style even when they should be following the conventions of the academic writing genre. The above stated inclination to be oral while engaged in writing is a frequent attribute of written Zimbabwean English discourse. Primary orality, or the inclination to the spoken as opposed to written aspect of communication, is an active component in language contact situations (Ong, Vambe, 2001).

5.19 Examples of Indigenous Lexical Influences

1. From E1, the student wrote the following sentence in paragraph 1;

“University students in Zimbabwe face **a lot** of challenges during their learning course.”

2. On E3, in paragraph 1, another student wrote;

“Many students in Zimbabwe face **a lot** of challenges economically and socially.”



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3. Paragraph 2 of E16 reads; *in Excellence*

“**A lot** of university students attain their education far away from their homes.”

4. In paragraph 6 of E19, one student wrote;

“Government still has **a lot** to do to alleviate the challenges faced by university students in Zimbabwe, a few of which were brought to light in this discussion.”

The phrase **a lot** is considered as an informal structure in Standard English whose formal alternative could be; **many, countless, a multiplicity, endless, numerous, infinite** and so on. Actually the same student uses **plethora** in the same paragraph indicating above average knowledge of the English corpus. This implies that for this particular student, use of a lot could be a fossilized habit/simplification expression rather than a deficiency. However, L2 learners habitually generalize in the direction of simpler lexical items as opposed to those lexical items perceived as difficult or cumbersome to internalize (Matras, 2009; Krashen, 1987). As a result, the phrase **a lot** has been assigned 'a lot of'/numerous references ranging from countable "a lot of money"; to uncountable "a lot of corruption" references. The indigenous translation of **lot** is **zvakananyanya/kanengi/kakhulu** in Shona and Ndebele respectively. Due to similarity of context, readers are well aware of the varied meanings and therefore the usage is acceptable.



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5.20 Lexical Generalization

Second language speakers may have an extensive lexicon acquired and learned in their L2 during the language acquisition and learning processes. However, they tend to compartmentalise their vocabulary according to their culture and context of socialisation. This cognitive process manifests outwardly as the selection and preference of certain lexical items over others that are in the speaker/ learner's linguistic repertoire (Matras, 2009). It is therefore not encouraged to quickly draw the conclusion that a student, especially, a proficient one with a high level of education such as a

qualification in tertiary education; has a shallow vocabulary simply because they have used one seemingly simplistic term over a more appropriate and expected term according to Standard English dictates. Examples drawn from the students' essays elaborate this point and further demonstrate Halliday's (1994) context of use as elucidated in the Ideational metafunction under the experiential aspect.

The selection and use of the lexical item **school** can be analysed variously under register, context and field of discourse following SFL and DA frameworks. Students used the term in many instances in their essays. The term school means **isikolo/chikoro** in Ndebele and Shona respectively. The Ndebele and Shona lexicon does not differentiate between primary, secondary, high school, college, technical college and university. Wherever one goes to learn, that is referred to as a school. The term also has value tradition attached to it as a result of the emphasis missionaries placed on education and particularly, the school as an instrument of enlightenment and emancipation during the colonial period (Philipson, 1992). This explains the common Zimbabwean reference of colleges and universities as schools, something of a misnomer in Standard English. Below are some excerpts from selected students' essays that demonstrate these observations;

1. E1, paragraph 4

Transport facilities are also a problem for students.

When they knock off from **school**, they may not be able to access transport back to the hostels.

2. E9, paragraph 3

Moreover, students face challenges of pressure. The pressure will be that of coping with the new environment, pressure from friends, as well as the pressure of **schoolwork**. A student may face the challenge of coping with the new environment because students come from different regions. Students also face pressure of **schoolwork** which may result in them trying to manage the stress through drug or alcohol abuse.



The above examples demonstrate the lexical chains that allow **school** to fit in the discourse effortlessly. In example 1, words such as transport, students, school, hostels and example 2 students, pressure, friends, schoolwork, stress, drug, alcohol, abuse together form lexical chains that indicate cohesion and coherence of the text through context. The group of similar words also indicates specialised vocabulary.

3. E4, paragraph 1

Some of the challenges involve capacity constraints that are beyond the control of the students. These include transport problems to and from different campuses, expensive food stuffs, especially at **school**.

In example 3, the student demonstrates knowledge of a vast linguistic repertoire through the use of lexical items such as capacity, constraints, and campuses. **School** is used here as a lexical choice that echoes the student's context of socialisation and communicative intention. Such crosslinguistic influence on the lexicon is acceptable in Zimbabwean discourse and it is evident in conversations around the topic of colleges and universities.

4. E11, paragraph 2

University students are often challenged in terms of accessing cheaper accommodation or housing that is located near **schools**.



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In example 4, the term **schools** is referring to **campuses**. Most universities in Zimbabwe have several campuses dotted around towns. The examples below illustrate the selection of school to mean university in the students' essays;

5. E12, paragraph 2

Most students, especially at Bindura University of Science Education live in high density suburbs which are beyond the **school's threshold**.

6. E17, paragraph 1

Due to the fact that money is now difficult to get, university students are now facing challenges in paying their **school** fees especially those that have civil servants as parents.

Paragraph 5

This leads to many students dropping out of **school** due to failure in many courses.



7. E18, paragraph 5

In order for them to get attached at paying companies they would resort to having sex with the company leaders. Thus sexual abuse in **school and out of school** is a great challenge faced by university students.

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8. E15, paragraph 2

The required school buses are less than the number of students.

The use of **space** in **E28**, with reference to a vacancy indicates the influence of the Shona **nzvimbo** and Ndebele **indawo** that mean the same as job vacancy in the same

context. The same selection is used for *pay* to mean *salary*. *Pay* in this case is actually a code switch from Shona and Ndebele where it is a loan from English that has secured its place firmly resulting in its transportation into English with its indigenous semantic/pragmatic force.

Semantic innovation was demonstrated through lexical and morphological adaptations that forced meanings upon words due to continuous use or overuse in particular contexts leading to facilitative fossilization for instance; in E15 and E28, the use of *extend* in place of *extent*; and in E35 the use of *temporal* in place of *temporary*. It is commonplace to hear a Zimbabwean speaking of a post as a *temporal* teacher (temporary teacher); the decoder in such a discourse event knows that the post in question is that of 'temporary' teacher.

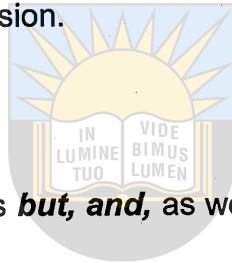
The outstanding structural aspects drawn from Essay 21 include the use of oral/colloquial terminology as follows; "I will *mention* a number of these in the essay." When the student uses the lexical item *mention*, there is an indication of either failure to think of an alternative (which is unlikely given the surrounding high order lexicon in the same essay such as; *perennial, ambitious, poverty datum line, devastating*) or perhaps demonstration of a deeply ingrained tendency to treat written texts as oral discourses. This leads to generalizing of *ku-doma* in Shona to mean all discursive tasks ranging from mere mention to deep discussion of issues, everything in-between included. To a native English speaker, the lexical item *mention* would mean trivial stating of points or facts, yet, to a Zimbabwean it covers the process of serious *discussion* and engagement in a subject. The essential point to note in this case is that

Shona is a syllabic language whereby each syllable usually carries a meaning which is conveyed by a separate word in English (Horcajo, 2000) for example;

Va-e-nda is a sentence that means *They (he/she) is gone.*

Students' essays demonstrate several cases of assumptions that manifest as either omissions or incomplete sentences to one outside that discourse community. Omission of 'aspects' after **these** in the sentence; "I will mention a number of **these** in the essay."

Is also a deliberate technique practised in oral discourses to avoid repetition, yet when used in writing, it seems to be an omission.



The use of discourse markers such as **but, and,** as well as **because** at sentence initial position also indicates the students' indigenous language inclination of writing in the same manner that they speak. This is because the student is predominantly thinking in their mother tongue. In Shona and Ndebele syntactic structure, it is permissible to start a sentence with;

**Asi; pamwe; pamwechete, nokuti; kodwa; kumbe;
ndawonye meaning but; maybe; altogether;
because**

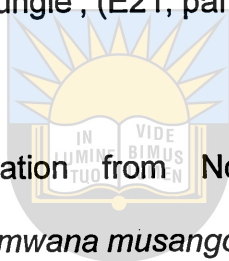
This observation is in line with the assertion that approximately 10,000 hours are spent on the acquisition of the mother tongue up to the age of five years (Romaine, 1996). This presupposes that as the child grows into an adult, they have adequately assimilated a considerably deep sense of their cultural identity that is pervasive in all

cognitive processes including language production whether spoken or written (Romaine, 1996).

Vambe (2001) posits that orality in the Zimbabwean context accommodates genres such as idiomatic expressions, allegory, proverbs, myths and ritual among others.

References to idiomatic expressions such as;

'throw a child into the jungle'; (E21, paragraph 3)



This is an almost direct translation from Ndebele; *ukuphosela umntwana esilwenilegangeni* or Shona- *kurasira mwana musango*

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The syntactic structure itself is indigenous, the selection of lexical items **throw** and **child** are predominantly of Shona and Ndebele origin where an independent person such as a university student is still referred to as a *child*. There is no differentiation as done in Standard British English where we have a wide range of terms that state exactly what level a person is, for instance;

- Baby,
- Infant
- Toddler
- Pupil
- Student

All manner of students are simply and collectively called *vana vechikorolabantwana besikolo* in Shona and Ndebele respectively loosely meaning *school children* in English. This inclination in Zimbabwean English to use indigenous references in academic writing is indicative of the ever-present indigenous sensibilities that reside in the rich expressions of local indigenous languages. This is in agreement with Miller's (1998) proposition that crosslinguistic influence can be attributed to internal sources for instance unavoidable psycholinguistic processes that are internal to the linguistic directory of the learner's mind, what Whorf (1956) refers to as the binding power of the mother tongue on language learners as well as the impact of their cultural context on their output (Kaplan, 2010).



Following the SFL dimensions drawn from the metafunctions, students essays demonstrated a deliberate blurring of variables through interfacing mode, tenor and field such that there was no distinct mode, tenor and field variation. Essay 15 indicated absence of the singular/plural dichotomy. Essay 28 used short forms such as *varsity*, a common term for 'university'. The line between formal and informal are blurred in Zimbabwean English as meaning is prioritized over situational aspects thereby resulting in a code that sometimes lacks tenor variation and field variation.

5.21 Discourse Markers for Cohesion and Coherence

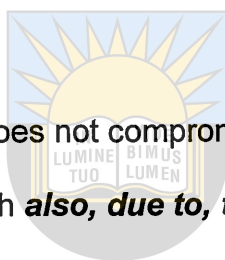
The primacy of English is threatened by several literary styles employed by both students and literary artists. Some of the examples of the above stated writing styles are

demonstrated by dislocation of Standard English syntax, linguistic inventions and innovations, Zimbabwean clichés, borrowings, loans. Standard English syntax is vulnerable to Shona and Ndebele discourse and pragmatic strategies such as the use of *but*, *because*, as well as *and*, at sentence initial position. The table below shows a selection of essays and describes the common discourse markers used in them.

Table 5.7 Discourse Markers Used

Discourse Marker	At Sentence-initial Position	At Mid-sentence Position
As	E19, E12	E16
But	E9	E21
Because	E21	
Or		All
And		All
Also	E1, E17	E3, E4
Moreso	E4	
Usually	E8, E9	
However	E9	
Moreover	E16	
To sum up	E14	
All in All	E12	
Furthermore	All	

In a bid to maintain cohesion and coherence in their essays; students employ several strategies that involve the use of discourse markers to indicate the logical sequence of the text, exemplification, emphasis, contrasting viewpoints as well as structure of the essay. Essays that do not employ the use of discourse markers end up beginning most of their sentences with **the**, **most**, and **there is**, as done in E6. The overuse of **also** in E17 indicates a fixation with Shona sentence beginners such as **uye (meaning also)**. The student's mother tongue is Shona therefore the repetition of **also** is understood from the viewpoint of Shona grammar.



It should be noted that student E17 does not compromise meaning as a result of a fixed style where most sentences begin with **also**, **due to**, **thus** or **moreso**. The overall result of such a practised writing style to one using a Standard British English lens is that it may seem rigid and shallow. However, in Zimbabwean English standards, these instances are not structurally since problematic meaning is clear and communication has been achieved through selecting lexical features that the learner/SLA speaker is used to and finds unproblematic, hence less likely to make errors in while using them.

Following Matras (2009) description of language as social activity and of communication as goal driven, the Systemic Functional Linguistics Approach to the analysis of language in context explains speakers and writers, discourse strategies as driven by their communicative goals as influenced by the three metafunctions namely the ideational, interpersonal and textual metafunctions.

In Zimbabwean English, the basic grammatical system/structural system of English is retained. However, several additions, omissions and innovative modifications are made in a logical manner that, as demonstrated above, does not endanger the meaning making process (Schmied 1991). At this stage it should be noted that modifications of English in Zimbabwe can hardly be perceived as modifying British English but rather the English that the British settlers spoke with the natives during the colonial era.

5.22 Conclusion

The chapter analysed and presented research results. The analysis divided the results into two sections namely; textual analysis of excerpts from literary works, and textual analysis of students' essays.



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The analysis of both literary texts and students' essays indicated that the English written from a Zimbabwean perspective was significantly different from English written from a European perspective. The analysis highlighted lexical, syntactic and semantic deviations in the literary texts and essays analysed. The differences were attributed to differences in the field of experience and context of writers. The motivations and intent underlying the writings also demonstrated significant differences. The culture within which writers have been immersed since the time of contact with their second language, as well as the period of contact and intensity of exposure and participation are

considerably different from that of native speakers of English hence the differences in linguistic output.

The next chapter is the second and last part of the data analysis and presentation of research results. The chapter will focus on data collected through interviews and questionnaires.



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CHAPTER 6: RESEARCH RESULTS; ANALYSIS OF QUESTIONNAIRES AND INTERVIEWS

6.0 Introduction

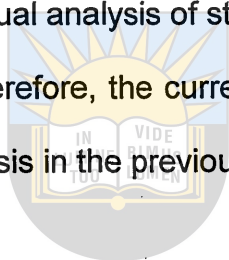
This chapter focuses on the presentation and analysis of research results collected in two major ways namely interviews and questionnaires. The aim of this chapter is to describe the occurrence, nature and structure of the crosslinguistic interface between English and Zimbabwean indigenous languages, namely Shona and Ndebele, with particular reference to written discourses through interpreting data that was provided by students and lecturer respondents through questionnaires and interviews.



The questionnaires administered and the interviews carried out were useful in confirming the existence of, and giving a starting point in the understanding of the crosslinguistic interface between English and Zimbabwean indigenous languages. Questionnaires and interviews helped in clarifying the existence of differences between traditional British English, referred to as Standard English in this thesis, and English used in Zimbabwe by Ndebele L1 and Shona L1 speakers particularly in the writing process. Both interviews and questionnaires proved to be useful instruments in demonstrating the manifestation and extent of crosslinguistic existence, as well as the nature of the characteristics of the English spoken and thus written in Zimbabwe.

At this point, it is important to state that surface responses from questionnaires and interviews pointed to the existence of crosslinguistic influence. Furthermore, they were helpful in singling out the underlying issues in crosslinguistic interaction. Confirmation of

the existence of crosslinguistic phenomena by actual speakers, learners and writers of English as a Second Language was an important aspect that led to the understanding of the examples that were extracted from written students' essays and literary works. While the previous chapter focused on students' essays as well as excerpts from literary works, the current chapter is dependent on interviews and questionnaires for information pertaining to perceptions, value judgements and attitudinal views regarding the question of crosslinguistic phenomena in the linguistic Zimbabwean context. The questionnaires and interviews were used for triangulation, that is, to ascertain whether the information gathered from the textual analysis of students' essays and excerpts from literary works would be reflected. Therefore, the current chapter confirms the data that was established through textual analysis in the previous chapter.



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The first part of the current chapter will focus on presentation and analysis of data from students' questionnaires, and the last part will focus on presentation and analysis of data collected from lecturers' interviews.

6.1 Students' Questionnaires

Questionnaires were distributed to 40 students; 20 Shona L1 and 20 Ndebele L1 speakers. The questionnaires had 14 questions; each of the questions covered an aspect of the crosslinguistic interface between English and Zimbabwean indigenous languages namely Shona and Ndebele. The questions were designed in such a way that they fell into groups that would respond to the research questions, thus working

towards the realisation and fulfilment of the objectives of the study. Questions 1 to 5 mainly focused on the Student's personal profile with regards to language. Questions 6 to 9 were significantly technical by nature as they sought to establish if the student was aware of any existing crosslinguistic influence, and what the nature of that influence was as well as how it manifested in the various linguistic domains in both spoken and written discourses. Questions 10-12 further enquired on issues to do with language change/language evolution and the subject of New Englishes. Finally, Questions 13 and 14 required students to articulate their perceptions regarding the concepts of language and identity.



6.2 Multilingualism in Zimbabwe; the Ndebele/Shona divide

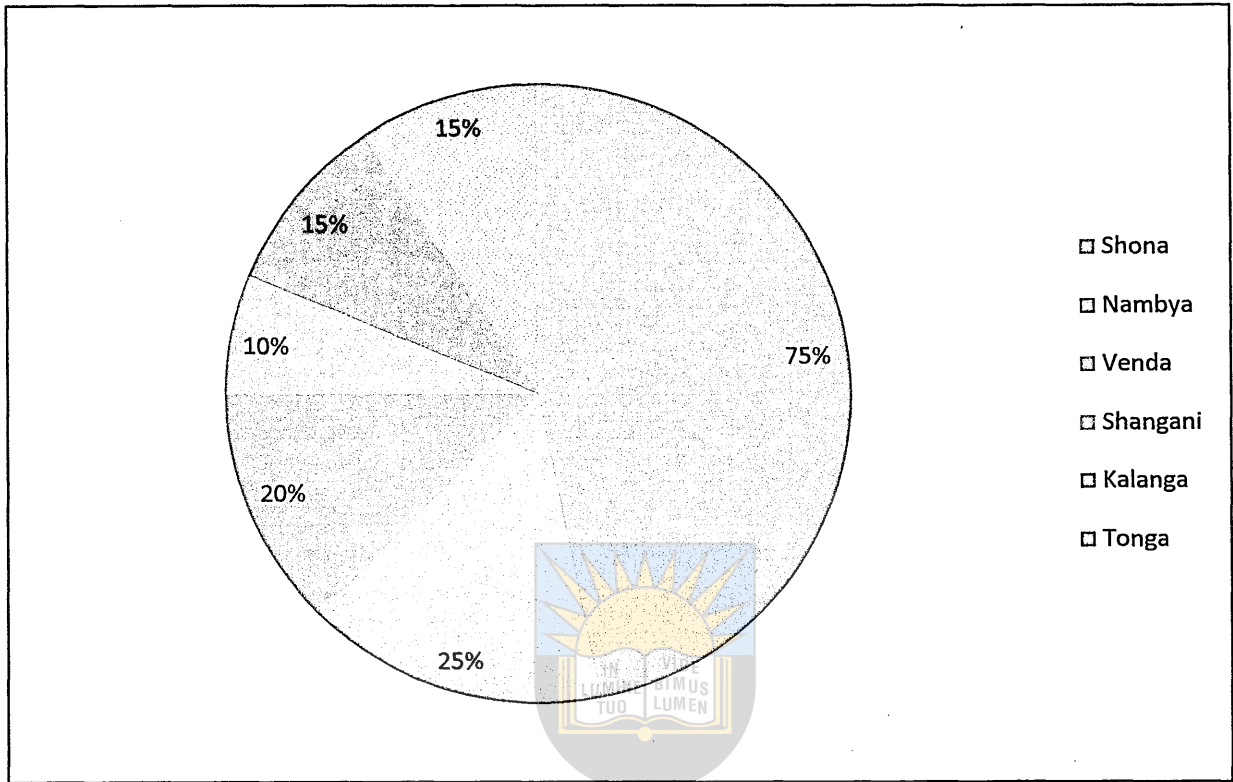
Question Number 1 on the students' questionnaire was, *What is your mother tongue?* Question Number 2 was, *Which other additional indigenous languages do you speak?* Both questions sought to establish the extent of multilingualism within the student population and in Zimbabwe by extension, thereby setting a relevant background to the language contact and crosslinguistic discourse that the thesis was focusing on. Such a background was necessary since the basis of the current thesis was mainly premised on language contact in multilingual contexts in general, and the crosslinguistic influences that result from the contact between English and indigenous languages such as Shona and Ndebele in particular, in a multilingual society such as Zimbabwe.

To demonstrate the extent of multilingualism in Zimbabwe, of the 40 students who completed questionnaires, 20 had Ndebele as their mother tongue while 20 had Shona as their mother tongue. Furthermore, all the respondents indicated that they could speak an additional indigenous language, in addition to their medium of instruction which was English. Below is a table of the indigenous languages listed as additional languages in which students were proficient and competent in, apart from English;

Table 6.1: Language Diversity within the Student Sample- Ndebele L1

NDEBELE L1	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Shona	15	75%
Nambya	5	25%
Venda	4	20%
Shangani	2	10%
Kalanga	3	15%
Tonga	3	15%

Figure 6.1: Language Diversity in the Student Sample- Ndebele L1



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Table 6.1 and Figure 6.1 both illustrate that Ndebele L1 speakers could speak several other indigenous languages with Shona having the largest number of speakers (75%) and Shangani the lowest (10%).

Table 6.2 Language Diversity in the Student Sample- Shona L1

SHONA L1	FREQUENCY	PERCENTAGE
Ndebele	7	35%
Venda	3	15%
Nambya	2	10%
Shangani	3	15%
Kalanga	3	15%
Tonga	2	10%

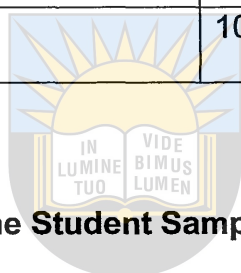


Figure 6.2: Language Diversity in the Student Sample- Shona L1

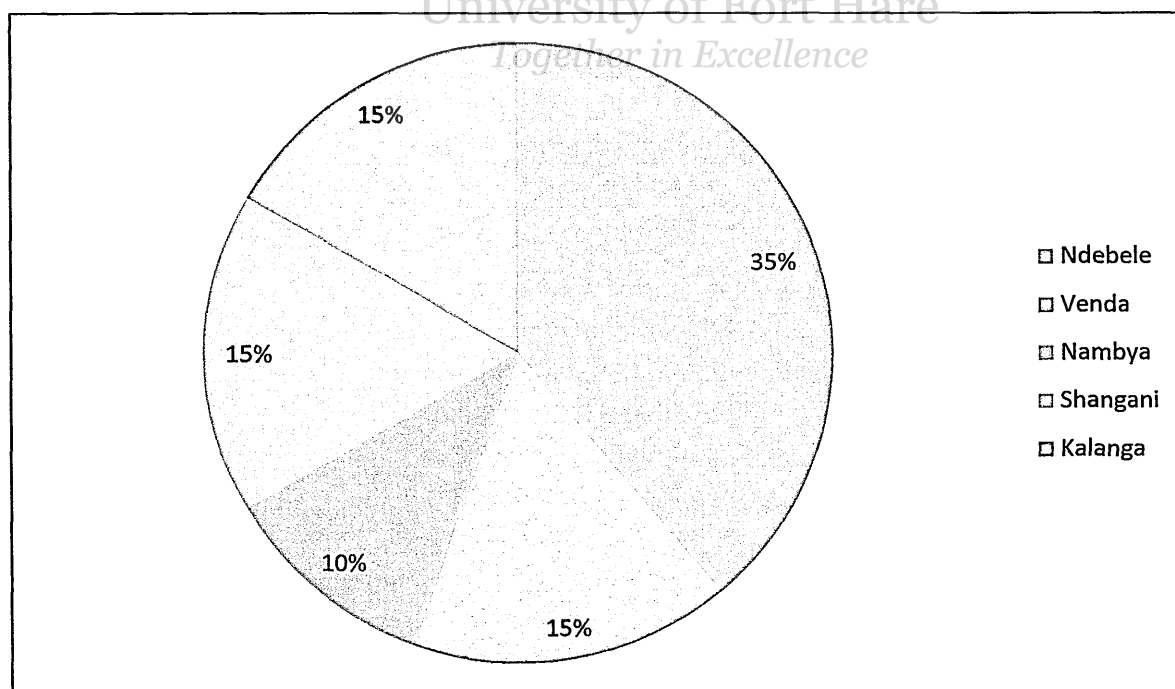


Table 6.1 and Table 6.2 demonstrate the language diversity that exists in Zimbabwe, specifically in a sample of university students whose mother tongues are Ndebele or Shona. The picture presented by the statistics indicates that Ndebele L1 speakers are more inclined to learn other languages as compared to their Shona counterparts. It is also evident that Ndebele speakers are also equipped with some functional knowledge of Shona since 15 out of 20 students (75%) are proficient in Shona. In contrast, only 7 out of 20 Shona L1 speakers are proficient in Ndebele (35%). Matabeleland Provinces, and their language Ndebele, have suffered from the politics of marginalisation since independence from colonial rule; hence the apparent outnumbering of Ndebele speakers by Shona speakers. This should not be taken to mean that Ndebele has a deficiency of speakers, rather the statistical imbalances are a reflection of language dominance associated with bilingual and multilingual settings (Dopke, 1992; Grosjean, 1982). This knowledge may not readily demonstrate cause and effect, but it is vital in facilitating understanding of the extent of multilingualism in Zimbabwe.

Literature indicates that crosslinguistic influences are common in multilingual situations. Such situations usually have the L1 and L2 surrounded by other additional indigenous languages that have the potential of influencing the learner/speaker's choice of language at any given time (Matras 2009; Schmieid 1991). It would therefore seem that given the interplay and interaction of more than one language in the learner's mind, the existence and occurrence of crosslinguistic influence becomes a reality worth investigating. The interaction of several indigenous languages in the university setting where students spend most of their time may also be used to explain similarities in the

English writing styles of Ndebele L1 and Shona L1 speakers when they engage in English essay writing in an academic setting within the university.

In discussing the Zimbabwe multilingual situation, it is important to note that Ndebele and Shona are from the same language family known as the Bantu languages (Khumalo, 2007; Nurse and Philippson, 2003; Hadebe, 2002). The Bantu language family is quite big as it consists of over 500 languages that are spoken by over 240 million people (Nurse and Philippson, 2003). In addition, a greater number of speakers in Zimbabwe are roughly competent in both Ndebele and Shona with Shona being spoken by over 85% of Zimbabweans as the dominant indigenous language (Magadzire, 2011). This scenario was precipitated by the linguistic profile enunciated in Hachipola (1998) and Khumalo (2007) that Shona and Ndebele were national languages used on national radio, television and taught from grade 4 in primary school through university implying that there is continuous cross-pollination of features between Ndebele and Shona resulting in some similarities in the English written by the two groups of speakers as exemplified by deviations such as direct translations, and use of 'Africanisms'. 'Africanisms', according to Schmied (1991), are unusual vocabulary items that are evident in African English in particular as a result of lexical borrowing from African languages.

Although there maybe linguistic differences in Ndebele and Shona L1 speakers' English written output, the structural similarities such as word order, handling of word classes

for instance verbs, prepositions, pronouns, complex tenses, plural markers as illustrated by data later in this chapter; is indicative of the notion that Shona and Ndebele share the same space in Zimbabwe, as a result, speakers' interpretation and conceptualisation of the rules of the English language is generally similar.

One other significant feature of multilingualism in Zimbabwe that can help us in understanding the interplay between English, Shona and Ndebele as indicated by one student respondent, is the issue of the Zimbabwe National Anthem. The National Anthem is a symbol of national pride and identity hence the government's decree that it be sung at all occasions of national significance. Schools, both primary and secondary, are therefore in the practice of singing the anthem at assemblies all the time. Of interest to this study is the manner in which the anthem is sung. The full anthem has three stanzas. These stanzas are sung as follows; the first stanza is sung in Shona, second stanza in Ndebele and third stanza in English. Below is an illustration of the lyrics of the complete national anthem as sung in present day Zimbabwe;

Shona

1. *Simudzai mureza wedu weZimbabwe*

Yakazvarwa nemoto weChimurenga;

Neropa zhinji ramagamba

Tiidzivirire kumhandu dzose;

Ngaikomborerwe nyika yeZimbabwe.

Ndebele

2. *Khangelan' iZimbabwe yon' ihlotshisiwe*

Ngezintaba lang'mful'ebukekayo,

Izulu kaline izilimo zande;

Iz'sebenzi zenam', abantu basuthe;

Kalibusiswe ilizwe leZimbabwe.



English

3. Oh God, we beseech Thee

To bless our native land;

The land of our fathers

Bestowed upon us all;

From Zambezi to Limpopo

May leaders be exemplary;

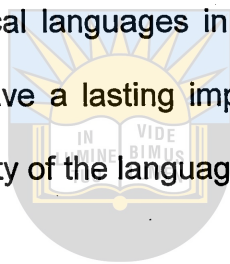
And may the Almighty protect

And bless our land

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Above is the complete Zimbabwe National Anthem as it is sung in present day Zimbabwe with Stanza 1 in Shona, Stanza 2 in Ndebele and Stanza 3 in English. The

interface of the three most prominent languages in Zimbabwe in the actual singing of the anthem is an acknowledgement and acceptance of an irreversible case of multilingualism. The three different languages are embraced and made to work together to communicate one critical message for all ethnicities to comprehend, and this is done repeatedly in an environment of young learners. The language diversity illustrated in the student sample therefore, is partly a result of the contact and continuous interaction of the three major languages thus the provision of comprehensible input for learners (Krashen, 1987). In such a linguistic environment, it is therefore expected that the continuous interplay of the three focal languages in this study; Shona, Ndebele, and English in the public spaces; will have a lasting impact on the number of languages spoken by the learners, and the quality of the languages themselves.



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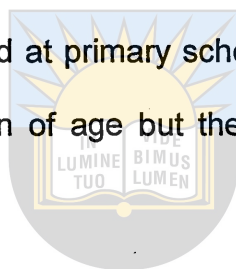
6.3 Age of Exposure to English

Question Number 3: At what level were you exposed to the English Language?

Responses from respondents to the question on age of exposure to the English language were ample evidence that English has been in Zimbabwe for a long while since the era of colonialism. It was established that student respondents were exposed to English mostly at kindergarten or pre-school age for some (70%) and at birth for others (30%). Age of exposure to English has been perceived as likely to cause significant disparities in competence and performance in English especially in spoken English (Krashen, 1987). The impact of age of exposure on written English was not readily evident due to the common state of affairs amongst second language speakers in which speakers are more confident in writing English as compared to speaking it

(Schmied, 1991). It is in speaking English that second language speakers are more conscious of making mistakes and falling short of Standard English expectations (Krashen, 1987), thus they either avoid speaking English whenever possible, code-switch or code-mix initially as a way of avoiding having to come up with, or recalling difficult structures, and later as a way of expressing themselves confidently (Matras, 2009).

Respondents who were in the Critical Reference Group that comprised editors and language specialists who ranged in age from 45- 60 years indicated that they were exposed to English at birth (10%); and at primary school (90%). None of the interview questions directly expected a mention of age but the interviewer could deduce from statements such as;



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*During our school days soon after independence,
students were expected to speak pure English that is
very different from the English written and spoken by
learners today.*

Responses to the question on age of exposure to English indicated some conflict between theory and practice of Zimbabwean language statutes that state that learners should be taught in their mother tongue until third grade (Zimbabwe Constitution, 2013). If 70% of learners first learnt English at preschool the indications are that not much about the mother tongue is learnt at these pre-schools. This brings into play the debate

on the currency of English as a language of international mobility as compared to African indigenous languages (Tshotsho, 2006). Given a choice, and resources permitting, it would seem that Zimbabwean parents would rather send their children to a private English medium preschool, primary school and secondary school, than to a public government school. In Zimbabwean private schools, using any indigenous language for communication outside of the subject lesson (Shona or Ndebele) is considered taboo as it is perceived to be the chief reason for learners' failure to master English properly and achieve native-like proficiency (Kilpatrick in McIlwraith, 2013). The target of these elite schools is to produce a learner with a native like accent of English thus well-equipped to compete in the international scene for corporate excellence. For these elite establishments, English is a symbol of sophistication standing out together with globalisation and the internet (British Council, 2013; Mauranen and Ranta, 2009). In contrast, in most government or public schools, indigenous languages are used without restraint in and out of the classroom. Subjects such as Science and Maths are even taught in a mixture of English and Indigenous languages in order to simplify the complex subject matter (Kilpatrick in McIlwraith, 2013).

The general perception with regards to English as a language is that a child stands a better chance in the world of work if they are proficient in the English language and they have certificates to prove their competence. For parents then, the only way to gain such competence would be for children to start learning English as early as possible in life (Kilpatrick in McIlwraith 2013). The findings therefore imply that if English is important for educational advancement among other critical roles, then speakers will learn it

against all odds, thereby incorporating creative strategies to make their communication effective at all costs. The integrative and instrumental needs that drive the desire to learn English early in this case are the same needs that facilitate innovation and creativity that are both results of crosslinguistic interaction.

6.4 Standard of English used in Zimbabwe

According to the Kachruan (1985) three concentric circles model where we have the Inner Circle, Outer Circle and Expanding Circle; also normatively labelled as the norm-producing, norm-developing and norm-dependent users respectively; Zimbabwe lies within the expanding circle of norm dependent users. While analysing the quality of English spoken and written in Zimbabwe therefore, we need to take into cognizance the background that what we call Standard British English in present day linguistics is itself an amalgam of three languages of the Jutes, Angles and Saxons (Adedimeji, 2007). As a second language therefore, and not a native language, English in Zimbabwe has since colonialism continued to absorb, acquire and assume the peculiarities of Zimbabwean indigenous culture and language (Adedimeji, 2007).

As stated earlier in this thesis, English belongs to the Indo- European family of languages and it is a subject-prominent language. Research into the structure of the English language shows that English has a readily identifiable and stable basic word order (Chomsky, 1957, 1965; Bach, 1974). It is a language that conforms to a syntactic organization in which sentences generally follow the structure below;

S V O

In the above structure (**Subject, Verb and Object**) the subject precedes the verb. The object comes after the verb. The verb and object make up what is known as the predicate (Bach, 1974). The function of the predicate is to specify what the subject is engaged in. Of interest in this study is that the order of words in the English sentence is constrained by several rules. A significant amount of the meaning in an English sentence is implied within the sentence itself. Therefore, in the Standard English sentence the subject cannot be missed and the predicate is considered as the centre of the sentence. The subject is mutually restrained by the predicate (Chomsky, 1957, 1965). However, of note in analyzing the crosslinguistic interface between English and Zimbabwean indigenous languages is that there are differences between the phonetic, phonological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic domains of Zimbabwean indigenous languages as compared to those of English. The difference between English and Zimbabwean indigenous languages, for instance Shona and Ndebele, is that the indigenous languages in question are syllabic languages, for example, in Shona, every syllable carries meaning which would be represented by a word in English (Horcajo, 2000).

Example;

A- -e- -nda.

U- -se- -hambile. / U- -hambile.

He/she has gone.

Aenda is a sentence in Shona yet it is represented by one word made up of three syllables, each of which has an independent meaning. In the same manner, **Usehambile/Uhambile** is a single worded sentence whose constituent syllables have meaning that is represented by full words in the English language. These fundamental differences in the internal structure of English and Zimbabwean Indigenous languages, in addition to the differences in culture, lay the foundation for the difference in structure between Standard British English and English used in Zimbabwe.

Linked to the standard of English used in Zimbabwe is the level of education as well as the quality of passes in the English language of student respondents. Naturally, the Lecturers' were not required to state their level of education and quality of passes owing to the notion that they are holders of higher degrees in English (Masters and/or Doctoral Degrees); therefore their knowledge of English is obviously of a higher and more refined nature than that of students. The table below illustrates students' quality of passes in English at Ordinary Level.

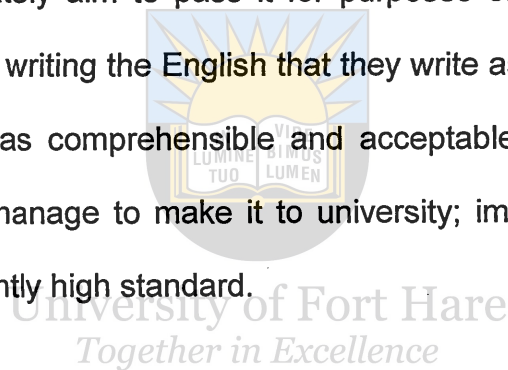
Table 6.3 Level and Quality of Passes in English for the Student Sample

	GRADE A	%	GRADE B	%	GRADE C	%
'O' LEVEL	19	47,5	15	37,5	6	15

Table 6.3 illustrates that the English written by university students in Zimbabwe; that which has been analysed as demonstrating aspects of Zimbabwean indigenous

languages; has gone through an official examining body and has been found to be comprehensible thus gradable.

The performance of students in English at Ordinary Level in Zimbabwe is the yardstick for entrance to University education. A student cannot gain entry into University unless they have a Credit or Better in English. English is a core subject and requirement. Such a situation implies that by the time students enter university they are already proficient in English as they deliberately aim to pass it for purposes of educational and social mobility. The fact that while writing the English that they write as illustrated by essays in Chapter 5, and assessed as comprehensible and acceptable by ZIMSEC standards (Table 6.3), students still manage to make it to university; implies that the English in Zimbabwe is of an significantly high standard.



However, even given the insistence of some pre-school administrators to teach in English as opposed to the mother tongue, responses to other questions on the questionnaire by students such as *Question Number 6: Can you say the way you speak and write English is influenced by your mother tongue? If yes, explain how?* / *Question Number 7: Are there any aspects of Shona/Ndebele that are transferred to English during your writing?*); still indicate the strength and influence of the mother tongue and its binding power on the mind of an individual (Odlin, 2005; Humboldt, 1836/1988; Whorf, 1956). Even while learners spend much of their time immersed in these learning environments where speaking in Shona or Ndebele is taboo and considered as a

punishable offence, learners continue to be influenced by the peculiar norms that they pick from their indigenous environment thus unconsciously, they begin to modify and customize English to suit their true identities as Zimbabweans (Siemund, 2004). It is the indigenous language that facilitates the creation of new ways of expression and the evolution of new metaphors in the English spoken and written in Zimbabwe as illustrated in latter sections.

6.5 Influence of Indigenous Languages on English

Questions *Number 6: Can you say the way you speak and write English is influenced by your mother tongue? If yes, explain how? and Question Number 7: Are there any aspects of Shona/Ndebele that are transferred to English during your writing?*); required students to state if the manner with which they spoke and wrote English was influenced by their mother tongue; furthermore they were asked to indicate any aspects that were transferred from their mother tongue to English. Responses indicated that all domains were influenced by the mother tongue to varying extents. Therefore, phonology, vocabulary, syntax, semantics and pragmatic were all influenced by their mother tongue to varying degrees. The vulnerability of the above-stated domains to crosslinguistic influence should be understood in the context of length and intensity of contact of the languages in question. Below are some of the responses;

Student No. 5:

Yes. Because my mother tongue is what I use most. My pronunciation and my sentences are affected by my Ndebele.

Student No. 7:

Yes. My first understanding of a matter (in my mind) is my mother tongue before I express it in English.



Student No. 9:

Yes. When it comes to translating certain words and phrases I find that I depend on my mother tongue quite often.

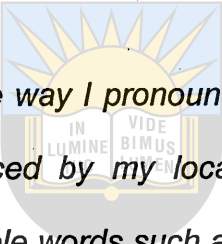
Student No. 20:

Yes the way I pronounce most words is inclined to my mother tongue.

Student No. 22:

Yes. Sometimes I think in Shona. In fact there are some topics, serious topics that I am comfortable to first think of in my mother tongue, and then I translate into English. I cannot avoid this. But I am not saying it is a problem for me, no.

Student No. 31:



Yes. Because the way I pronounce some English words is influenced by my local language, i.e. Shona, for example words such as bus, boy, love, hat, are pronounced with extra stress on the final syllables. I also write words that have some Shona bearing to them, say after translating in order to make my point in an essay.

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Student No. 40:

Yes, I think the way I pronounce words is because of my Shona, or let me say my Manyika background. Even the Zezuru or Ndebele have their own different way of speaking. Examples are

pronouncing /s/ like /z/ as done in words like [answer]. Also pronouncing every letter in words, even letters that should be silent.

All respondents indicated that the way they spoke and wrote English was influenced by their mother tongue in one way or another. In some instances examples were not forthcoming. However, not having ready examples was viewed as different from not acknowledging the presence of crosslinguistic influence altogether.

6.5.1 Phonological Influence

As a starting point, phonological influences are discussed in the manner that they were referred to by respondents. It was observed that the issue of the spoken component of CLI was unavoidable and so not entirely separable from the written component. As a result, there are references throughout the data analysis of the spoken and written, with more emphasis being made on the written aspects. Table 6.4 illustrates the effects of mother tongue influence on pronunciation of English as experienced by Zimbabwean university students.

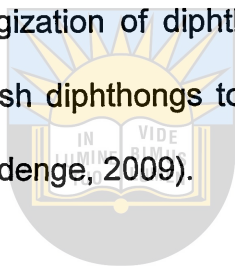
Table 6.4 Mother Tongue Influence on Pronunciation

Lexical Item	Standard English	Zimbabwean English
Bus	/bʌs/	/bʌsɪ/
Boy	/bɔɪ/	/boij/
Sure	/ʃʊə/	/ʃuwa/
Bed	/bæd/	/bɛdɪ/

The list above is not exhaustive, but serves to provide generic examples. The pronunciation of *bus*, *boy*, *sure*, and many other words is unique in Zimbabwe and mostly influenced by indigenous languages such as Ndebele and Shona. The stress towards the end of the last syllable which culminates in the penultimate vowel sound is directly transferred from indigenous phonology (Zivenge, 2005). The question of pronunciation of English words by Zimbabweans has been problematized by researchers such as Kadenge (2007, 2009); and Mashiri, (2009).

While pronunciation takes us to phonetic and phonological influences of indigenous languages on English and vice-versa; it is important to discuss the key issues in an attempt to isolate any issues that have a bearing on crosslinguistic influence in the written mode. Such reference to phonological aspects is relevant in that the spoken and

the written language cannot be separated as they both originate as internal cognitive processes in the learner's mind responding to the external environment (Krashen, 1987; Kellerman, Cook, 1991, Selinker, 1972). Research indicates that there are more differences between Shona and English vowels than between Shona and English consonants, and intonation is influenced by the tonal systems of Shona and Ndebele and other Zimbabwean indigenous languages (Kadenge, 2009); the same applies to Ndebele, a language that falls within the same family as Shona (Magadzire, 2011). In order to bridge the differences in vowel systems, simplification strategies are employed. Strategies ranging from monophthongization of diphthongs and glide epenthesis are utilized in an attempt to reduce English diphthongs to five simple monophthongs that directly correspond to [a, e, i, o, u] (Kadenge, 2009).



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The confusion of the sounds /s/ and /z/ stated by Respondent No. 40 produces the heavy accent that some Shona speakers retain while speaking English. This is similar to confusion of minimal pairs /t/, /d/; /k/, /g/; /p/, /b/; in both speech and writing of English L2 speakers in Zimbabwe, and the problem of distinguishing between // and /r/ especially for Ndebele speakers who do not have /r/ in their language.

Responses to *Question Number 7: Are there any aspects of Shona /Ndebele that are transferred to English during your writing;* indicated that students were aware of the way in which their mother tongue influenced the English that they currently spoke and wrote. It should be stated at this point that five questionnaires simply indicated a Yes without

elaborating further on their perceptions. However, the remaining questionnaires were quite informative, with a number giving examples. Question Number 7 was directly linked to *Question Number 9: Which English terminology do you think comes from Shona /Ndebele?* It could be deduced from the responses to both questions that students were not apologetic of the presence of traces of their mother tongue in their second language. Actually, students seemed to consider crosslinguistic influence as a natural aspect of their second language. They did not know any other manner of expression other than the one they had learnt and were using. This is in line with the view that social groups are defined by the language that they speak (Hudson, 1999). The above responses therefore, apart from confirming the presence of crosslinguistic influence, go further to illustrate that the influence manifests in all linguistic domains namely phonology, lexis, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics (Odlin, 2005, 1989) as shall be exemplified drawing from students' data.

6.5.2 Lexical and Morphological Influence

Responses from students indicated that Shona and Ndebele vocabulary had a significant influence on English in Zimbabwe. Examples cited by student respondents illustrated that the vocabulary reflected crosslinguistic influence ranging from local adaptations of meanings of words to local usage, direct translations and borrowing. From the examples drawn from the student questionnaires and lecturer interviews, borrowing manifested as loan words (purely borrowed from Shona or Ndebele), loan blends (a mixture of English and the indigenous languages) and loan shifts (direct translations), lexical extensions and semantic loans (adapted and expanded meaning)

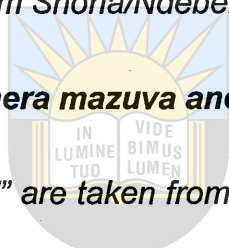
as well as coinages (Matras, 2009; Schmied, 1991). The examples below illustrate the various manifestations of lexical influence;

Student 7:

Vocabulary is drawn from Shona and Ndebele because that is the basis of speech. One may say in English when asked how they are doing; 'Things are hard for me these days.' This comes from Shona/Ndebele-

"Zvinhu zvakandiomera mazuva ano"/ "Impilo inzima"

Words such as "hard" are taken from Shona and Ndebele and directly translated into English then used to cover a broad range of meanings.



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Student 29:

The tendency to repeat words for emphasis e.g "again and again" is influenced by the mother tongue where emphasis is achieved by repetition.

Student 38:

Sometimes I personally use two similar words to emphasize meaning in the same sentence for example; 'My sister is working in the area of the

Accounting field.’ This repetition is common when speaking and writing. Besides showing meaning clearly, it shows that my vocabulary is wide as a university student. So I think it is in vocabulary that we choose words the same way we do in Shona.

Student 40:

There are some English words that have meanings that are linked to how I use them in Ndebele. For example;



- **school** for **university**,
- **teacher** for **lecturer**,
- **yes** for **hello** or as a greeting
- **okay** or **alright** to mean **goodbye**
- **okay** to mean **welcome**

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The examples given above illustrate expansion of the lexicon through creativity and innovation of the speakers. Lexical items such as **yes** and **okay** are accorded various meanings drawn from indigenous contexts as extensions or innovations. Second language speakers of English have been observed to be active players in shaping their language in various ways during every speech act (Eggins, 2004; Halliday, 1978), and

the examples drawn from responses from student respondents in this section serve as confirmation of this assertion.

Towards shaping the grammatical components of English in Zimbabwe, one respondent mentioned use of articles. It was pointed out that there was confusion of articles which manifested as non-recognition of the different articles */the/* and */a/* for example;

*As **the** student of a Bachelor of Social Work Degree, I have noticed that students are crippled by numerous challenges at university.*

Problems with articles can manifest as confusion, non-recognition or omission of articles. This is usually tolerated and accepted in speech and writing as it does not completely hinder comprehensibility despite it being ungrammatical as observed by Schmied (1991) in an exploration of West African English.

Student No. 31:

The words and phrases that we like to use as students show that we are Zimbabweans, like *ghettoyouths*, *mafans*, and *zero*. These words have meanings that **we** [*respondent's emphasis*] give but maybe I can say they have **our** meanings that other people outside Zimbabwe cannot understand.

The response above contributes to morphology and the lexicon in that words and phrases are created or used in the English language yet they have local adaptations of meaning. For instance the following words and phrases do exist in the Standard English vocabulary; *ghettoyouths* (pronounced with a final penultimate vowel sound), *fans* (pronounced as [*funds*]), and *zero*, however, their meanings have been stretched to cover the creativity and intentions of those using them in line with Wa Thiongo's (1987) observation that speakers' choice of language and manner of language use are the indicators of how the same people want to be defined and viewed as components of the wider world.



The respondent's emphasis on the speakers being responsible for attributing meanings to words and thus creating some form of internal context of usage indicates that when Zimbabweans extend meanings of words and convert street language into formal usage as exemplified by *fans* (supporters, followers, friends, colleagues); *zero* (as a noun or adjective, referring to a worthless person, a nonentity), they will actually be shaping their language. These examples illustrate the versatile nature of the Zimbabwean variety of English where the lexicon is broadened at the same time as the semantic field is extended as in the nature described in the metafunctions in SFL (Eggins, 2004).

6.5.3 Syntactic Influence

Linguistic domains such as syntax were not known or mentioned by students and this was expected given that these are technical linguistic terms not known by individuals outside the field of operation. However, students indicated knowledge of sentence structure by alluding to issues such as “*arrangement*”, “*order*” and “*style*”. The responses below illustrate these perceptions;

Student 7:

Yes, I think the **sentence style** and some of the words chosen indicate Shona style and Shona influence on my part.



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Student 26:

Yes, for example, **words are in a similar order** as in my mother tongue- which in this case is Shona.

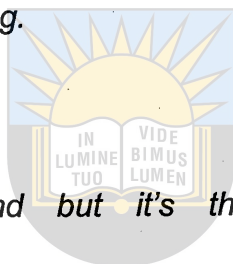
Student 29:

The way I arrange my words in a sentence is influenced by my mother tongue.

For both questions 7 and 8, Student 36 responded in a manner that indicated knowledge of the presence of crosslinguistic influence. Some examples were given as evidence drawn from the respondent's experience. Below are the documented responses;

Student 36:

Yes. Idioms, proverbs, sentence style and argument style say in academic writing.



I can't say offhand but it's there. Like spoken exclamations, and some combinations of phrases like return back, stand up, secret ballot etc

The documented responses indicate the vulnerability of all domains to crosslinguistic influence.

6.7 Language Change and New Englishes

Question 10: Do you think English has been transformed sufficiently for it to be classified as a distinct variety of English that can be called Zimbabwean English?
Responses to this question were either, *Yes, No, Not yet*; without further elaboration.³⁰

out of 40 students (75%), said *Yes*, 8 out of 40 students said *Not yet* (20%), and 2 out of 40 said *No* (5%). The 8 responses that answered *not yet* introduced an interesting dimension to the study. It would seem that apart from merely agreeing or disagreeing with the concept of language change and the New Englishes discourse, there was a fraction of respondents (20%) to be precise, who pictured English in Zimbabwe as evolving towards an independent variety that would at some point qualify to be known as a New English. This implies that there is language change taking place owing to the contact, but it is a long process for a language to change sufficiently, in this case, for it to be one of the African Englishes. Such a view is in line with the continuum presented in Chapter 7 of this thesis where there are several stages in the development of a new variety of a language.

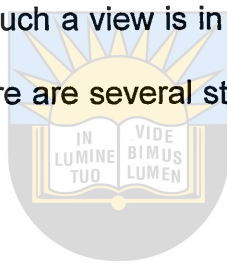


Table 6. 4 illustrates the responses to Question 10.

Table 6.5 Zimbabwe's Status as an Independent Variety of English

Can English be classified as Zimbabwean English	Response	No. of Respondents	Percentage
	Yes	30	75%
	No	2	5%
	Not yet	8	20%

6.6 Language Change: Semantic Shifts and Extensions

Question 11 on the students' questionnaire required respondents to say if the mother tongue influences on English were indicative of language change. All respondents indicated that their mother tongue had an altering effect on Standard English. For example direct translations from Ndebele or Shona into English have been transformed into day to day repertoire for many Zimbabweans as illustrated by both students and lecturers in the sample. English L2 speakers initially used direct translations firstly for ease of communication since their English inventory was limited and the speakers themselves had not mastered the appropriate Standard English equivalents. Secondly, after noticing that the direct translations were conveying meaning effectively speakers continued using the new expressions that are considered as functional and communicative. Students exemplified using some grammatical instances as illustrated below;

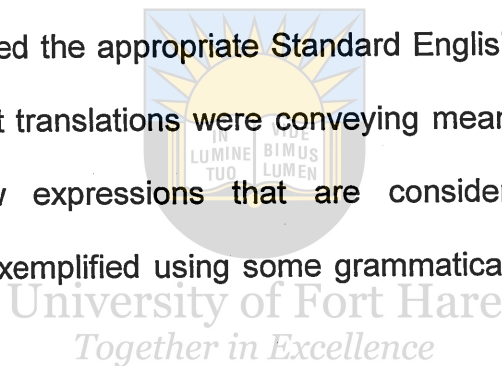


Table 6.6a Respondents' Examples of Direct Translations

Mother Tongue Influence	Direct Translation	Standard English Form
<p>Student 7: <i>Muchidzidzo changu chePC103 takawanda.</i></p>	<p><i>In my PC103 class we are many.</i></p>	<p><i>We are many in the PC103 class.</i></p>

Explanatory Note

In Shona and Ndebele word order is flexible. It can be used to show emphasis thereby sounding more like colloquial/spoken English than written English.

Table 6.5b Respondents' Examples of Direct Translations

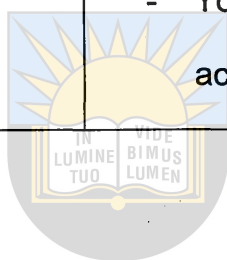
Mother Tongue Influence	Direct Translation	Standard English Form
<p><i>Student 10:</i></p> <p><i>Uyazi na ukuthi yisikhathi bani ibhasi iyosukuma?</i></p>	<p><i>Do you know what will be the time for the bus to leave?</i></p>	<p><i>Do you know the coach's departure time?</i></p>

Explanatory Note

In Zimbabwean indigenous languages such as Shona and Ndebele, retaining the strict subject-verb-object syntactic order is not always done. Therefore when asking questions as done above, there is a tendency to repeat the question as it is in order to simplify and avoid inversion that follows negative/inverted sentences.

Table 6.5c Respondents' Examples of Direct Translations

<p>Student 12:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I am feeling <u>pains</u> in my head. <p>Student 13:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The university is demanding <u>monies</u> before registration. - You will not pass with <u>stresses</u> about accommodation. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - I am feeling <u>pain</u> in my head. <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - The university is demanding <u>money</u> before registration. - You will not pass if you <u>stress</u> about accommodation.
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Explanatory Note

The use of the morpheme /-s/ as a plural marker is overdone by ESL learners both in speech and writing. In Standard English, /-s/ is not used to those nouns that are viewed as collective/mass/non-count nouns. This is a grammatical distinction that is usually ignored by Shona and Ndebele speakers who have the tendency to pluralize non-count nouns as done in the next column.

Table 6.5d Respondents' Examples of Direct Translations

Direct Translation	Standard English Form
<p>Student 21:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Students without money end up <u>returning back</u> home. 	<p>Students without money end up <u>returning</u> to their homes.</p>

Explanatory Note

Indigenous languages have the tendency to emphasize messages thereby saying the same thing in more than one way. This strategy may lead to semantic redundancy; a linguistic element that does not have to compromise meaning as its problem is of over-emphasis.

The above translations from the mother tongue to English are clearly different from the traditional British English equivalents. This therefore, indicates that a weakened word order, generalized pluralization strategies and semantic redundancy result from the direct influence of Shona and Ndebele on English. Therefore, the English that results after these strategies, which can well be considered as Second Language learner strategies of handling a new language with new rules and a new culture, can hardly be the same (Matras, 2009). It would therefore seem that there is significant language change resulting from a creative and robust linguistic repertoire created by the speaker who desires to communicate effectively in a second language (Matras, 2009).

When analyzing the various influences that indigenous languages have had on Standard English, and the various strategies that speakers employ in order to communicate effectively; it seems fitting to refer to these strategies as linguistic innovations (Meshthrie and Bhatt, 2008). Linguistic innovations in this case refer to the changes in a language that arise from the speech community's need to communicate effectively. As a result, the use of new word order/ negation of Standard British English

word order, the spread and generalization of the /-s/ plural as illustrated above are all aspects of innovations that indicate language change.

6.7 Expansion of the Lexical Inventory

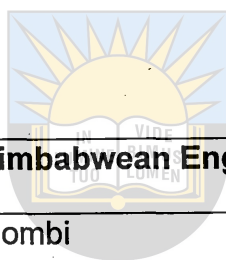
While discussing the lexicon/vocabulary items transferred from respondents' mother tongue, or other features for that matter, the terms indigenisation and nativisation may be alluded to. Indigenisation and nativisation are relevant terms in describing creative deviations such as the vocabulary items that were gathered from questionnaires and interviews following Ngefac (2008, 2010), Anchimbe (2006), Zivenge (2005), Mbangwana (1987) and Kachru (1985, 1986) who discuss the usage of English in post-colonial settings as rightfully aligned to the ecological, cultural and socio-linguistic realities of these contexts. It is the process of indigenous alignment therefore that is referenced as nativisation and indigenization (Ngefac, 2008, 2010; Anchimbe, 2006; Zivenge, 2005; Mbangwana, 1987; and Kachru, 1985, 1986).

The vocabulary examples that the respondents provided were therefore analysed in the context of a growing vocabulary of an emerging variety of English in Zimbabwe whose main intent is to express indigenous identity in an indigenous style as opposed to a purely foreign style that is represented by a native-like proficiency of English. This is in line with Brumfit's (2001:116) contention that one well-established sociolinguistic fact that should not be overlooked in the study of any language is that a language is shaped by its users. With regards to this study, it then becomes the prerogative of the language

researcher to identify the different ways in which Zimbabwean English speakers have shaped, and continue shaping English as their language. A point of note here is that English has increasingly become their language regardless of its origins. Its characteristics in this case as analysed in the various examples would serve as the indication of authentic Zimbabwean-ness.

The vocabulary items listed below are some of the examples that both student and lecturer respondents discussed as features transferred from a predominantly Shona and Ndebele background;

Table 6.7 Unusual Vocabulary



Standard English	Zimbabwean English
Commuter omnibus	Combi
Pair of Jeans	Jean or jean trousers
Ladies suit/dress	Outfit
Hundred	Wire
Mobile phone	Cell or Phone
High density suburb	Ghetto
Woman	Mother (sign of respect)
Man	Father (sign of respect)
Young man	Brother
Young lady	Sister
Attractive	Tight
Difficult	Tight/tricky

The lexical items above have their semantic and pragmatic roots in Zimbabwean indigenous languages. The thinking that informs coinage or usage of such words as *tight* to mean attractive has its roots in Shona and Ndebele culture of valuing the outward appearance of, especially women, as well as street discourses and conversational attitudes and responses of communities to certain phenomena such as beautiful women (*mukadzi akabatana/umfazi obambeneyo*). The word *kubatana/ukubambana*/being tight, is clearly more emphatic of physical attractiveness as opposed to *kunaka/ubuhle*/beauty which is a general term that does not exactly specify where the beauty resides. The Zimbabwean variety of English has created its own list of ambiguous words. The lexical item *tight* was listed as one word that has a variety of meanings that are slight variations from Standard English combined with adaptations from local usage.



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While Standard British would use the phrase *a pair of jeans* in describing one's attire, Zimbabwean English would simply use for example; *He was wearing a blue jean or a blue jean trouser[s]* as illustrated in Table 6.6 above. The tendency is to avoid pluralizing *jeans* and opting to either leave the plural form out or instead to assume that the plural form is covered in *trousers* that is if the morpheme [s] is not also deliberately avoided as it seems out of place since in Shona or Ndebele *mudhebhelibhulugwe* the equivalent for *trousers* does not observe the element of plurality. The same simplification and generalization strategy is used with the lexical item *outfit* that we find used in Zimbabwean English with reference to a variety of female (and male) pieces of clothing ranging from suits to anything that remotely matches in colour and style.

The tendency towards use of kinship terms when addressing strangers is a common communicative strategy used by the Shona and Ndebele in Zimbabwe. It has its roots in the unhu/ubuntu philosophy that emphasizes respect, oneness and humanity. It is therefore not anomalous to hear someone saying **sister**(*sisi/dadewethu/hanzvadzi*), **brother** (*mkoma/hanzvadzi/budhi*), **mother**(*amai/mama*) or **father**(*baba/baba*) to a complete stranger. These are commonplace references that have firmly established themselves in Zimbabwean English terminology and discourse interaction.

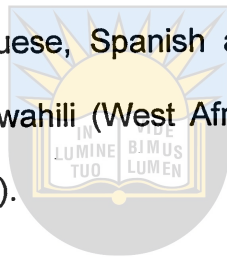
When used in speech and writing, a native speaker of English, who is not aware of the Shona and Ndebele contexts that influence the choice and usage of these lexical items may fail to understand the essence of the discourses underway. However, grammaticality remains uncompromised by such lexical items. Intelligibility and acceptability within the contexts of usage were observed as not posing a problem as people understood the communicative intentions motivating such usage. However, the implications on the interaction of tolerance of unconventional extensions of usage of these kinship terms in a broad range of formal settings was not established.

Table 6. 8 Borrowed Words

LEXICAL ITEM	BORROWED FROM	LOOSE TRANSLATION
Sadza	Shona	Thick porridge
Ubuntu	Ndebele	Humanness/humanity
Unhu	Shona	Humanness/humanity
Lobola	Ndebele	Bride price

6.8 Interviewees' Demonstration of Language Diversity among the Academic Elite

Language diversity was an important construct in the study as it laid the requisite background for language contact and crosslinguistic influence. The existence of many languages in the same space provides fertile ground for crosslinguistic phenomena as mentioned before (Odlin, 2005). The sample of Lecturers demonstrated significant language diversity in that they also spoke more than one mother tongue. However, of interest to this research was the issue of additional languages other than English as a second language. 80% of the lecturers indicated having had a brush with some foreign languages such as French, Portuguese, Spanish and Mandarin. Others mentioned regional mother tongues such as Swahili (West Africa), Zulu (South Africa), Nsenga (Zambia) and Afrikaans (South Africa).



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Of note were the attitudes attached to the knowledge of foreign languages and the existence of another world beyond that of English as a language of social mobility as demonstrated by Lecturer respondents. Despite having higher degrees in the study of the English Language, some of the Lecturers had knowledge of French, Spanish, and Portuguese (Lecturers 3, 6 and 8). The attitudes on foreign languages manifested in two major ways that contribute to the development of this thesis. Firstly, academics' responses tended to illustrate an elitist attitude that put English on a pedestal as an International language that demanded proficiency as well as speaking highly of their knowledge of other foreign languages. Secondly, Lecturers acknowledged the currency of English without necessarily undermining their mother tongues or elevating other

foreign languages that they had been in contact with at the expense of indigenous languages.

6.9 Features transferred from Indigenous languages to English

Interview Question Number 8: *Do students assignments reflect any crosslinguistic influences;* and Interview Question Number 11: *Which lexical, morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic aspects of language are mostly transferred from Ndebele/Shona to English without compromising its grammaticality.* The Interview Guide for Lecturers both required an in-depth analysis of students' work with a view to analyzing the individual crosslinguistic phenomenon identified. The responses to both questions generally indicated that Lecturers regard English as a language of mobility. It was evident from all responses that lecturers and members of the special reference group considered English to be a more superior language in the multilingual mix of languages in Zimbabwe as compared to the indigenous languages that share the same space with it in Zimbabwe. This is in line with literature that points out that English is the language of choice both in the private and public spaces in Africa (Tshotsho, 2006).

The features that caught the interest of lecturers were those that were clearly divergent from the norm/ standard. This confirmed the researcher's criterion for the analysis of textual data in Chapter 5 in which concentration was mainly on outstanding features that stood out as deviating from Standard British English. Features that were listed as demonstrating crosslinguistic influence by lecturers were those that seemed to be

divergent from the Standard English norms. These include rhetoric or argument style, for instance in academic writing as demonstrated in students essays as mentioned before. Pragmatic transfer was discussed and exemplified in line with cultural and contextual speech styles such as bereavement register, use of proverbial, metaphoric and idiomatic expressions and use of euphemisms as illustrated in Table 6.4.

Zimbabwean English (in this thesis, defined as the variety of English spoken and written in Zimbabwe) as analyzed in students writing was reported as exhibiting evidence of language transfer in several dimensions for instance; transfer of culture, transfer of meaning and transfer of context. These manifestations of transfer were illustrated as affecting the semantic and pragmatic domain of Zimbabwean English as compared to Standard British English. Examples gathered from interviews are tabulated below;

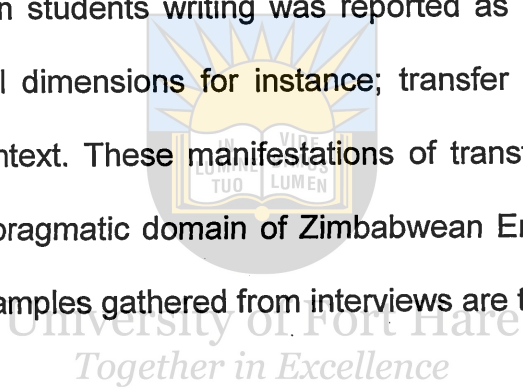


Table 6.9 Pragmatic Transfer

Feature	Example	Transferred from	Meaning
Transfer of Meaning	Small house	Shona and Ndebele <i>Barika- mukadzi mudiki/mainini/mamomcane</i>	Mistress, lover of a married man
	Moving together	Shona and Ndebele <i>Kufambidzana/ukuhambisana</i>	Having a love affair
Transfer of Culture	Bride price	Shona and Ndebele <i>Rooro/amalobolo</i>	The money paid to the bride's family during marriage negotiations
	Our children/husband /wife	Shona and Ndebele Mwana/murume/mukadzi <i>wedu Umntanethu/umkethu</i> Denoting the concept of collective community	Your children, husband or wife who is also mine because we are one family/community . Used as a show of affection and solidarity
Transfer of Context	Bereavement register Use of euphemisms	<i>Apfuura Udhlulile/ushonile</i> He has passed (away). /He has died.	To avoid raw expressions that are obvious and telling in meaning, less clear, less hurtful and obscure language is used.

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6.10 Characteristics of English Written by Students in Assignments

The responses from student respondents to the question on whether their mother tongue influenced the English that they spoke (Question 7) unveiled an emerging trend

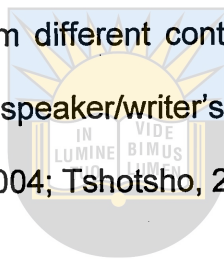
whereby students responded in the affirmative indicating that the students themselves were conscious of some form of influence that their mother tongue had on the acquisition and learning of English. This is in line with Swan's (1997) observation that the mother tongue can significantly support learners of a second language.

Lecturer respondents noted that students at university level were exposed to academic writing norms. Academic writing norms can be described as the exposure that university students get in academic writing as a genre as well as the training they acquire in Communication skills, English for specific purposes and other skills oriented courses. As a result of this exposure, undergraduates are naturally oriented towards Standard English as the goal in the manner that Schmied (1991) refers to the educated speech of university students, indirectly referring to their native-like proficiency in English. It should be noted however, that despite the ideal although misplaced goal of acquiring native-like proficiency and competence in English, there are several factors that militate against this noble goal. Most inevitable is the instructor/teacher factor that was indicated by two lecturer respondents as the absence of native ESL teachers;

Lecturer 3

The English that our students speak and write is not perfect according to British English standards but it communicates contextual meanings perfectly well in my view. Teachers of ESL in our country are not foreign, they are not from Britain but they are qualified to teach English.

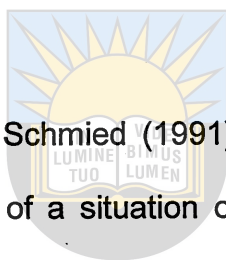
Analysis of the lecturer's response highlights two important dimensions that are key in the current study. Firstly, the response directly points to the existence of differences between what is normally referred to as Standard English, and what we want to call Zimbabwean English both spoken and written. Further, the response indirectly indicates the major site and source of the differences as the semantic and pragmatic domain through reference to *contextual meanings*. This view is in harmony with propositions in the Systemic Functional Linguistics model in which meanings are not isolated ends in themselves but they are derived from different contexts that exist in and outside the speaker/writer's mind as well as the speaker/writer's field of experience at a particular time (Halliday, 1978, 1985; Eggins, 2004; Tshotsho, 2006).



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In agreement with the importance of context as a construct that shapes the final linguistic output of learners, Meshthrie and Bhatt (2008) actually discuss the possible development of particular varieties of speech, and by extension, written discourses in specific social and historical contexts. This is because specific contexts give rise to speech communities that go on to perpetuate the use of certain register, expression and style thus over time a new variety of language is developed. A speech community can be described as a group of speakers who share the same norms with regard to languages. The speakers should also have the same set of social attitudes towards their language (Chandler, 1997).

An analysis of the role played by context therefore indicates that it would be extremely difficult to achieve Standard English proficiency for ESL learners in Zimbabwe who have been taught by ESL speakers of English and are themselves influenced by a robust indigenous culture and linguistic background of Shona and Ndebele, among other indigenous languages. Schmied (1991) presents a situation in which there is a continuum of non-native teachers of English in most parts of Africa such as East, West and Southern Africa in countries like South Africa, Ghana, Kenya, Nigeria and Zimbabwe.



In his analysis of English in Africa, Schmied (1991) makes a significant contribution towards explaining the ramifications of a situation of the absence of native speaker-teachers in Africa during and after colonialism. While pointing at several problematic influences on English, Schmied (1991) does admit that some influences carried over from generation to generation from indigenous languages into the English language are not exactly inhibitive when it comes to effective communication and meaning making. This implies that in the absence of native English teachers, and the presence of English grammar books being interpreted by Second Language teachers who are still learners themselves, successful communication still takes place (Schmied, 1991).

6.11 Pragmatic Aspects Evident in Writing

In Shona culture and language, there is an inherent existence of the honorific 'we' that denotes respect and a non-individualistic, group centered and collective community

spirit. As stated by interviewees, the honorific 'we' prompts speakers to use the plural in instances where the singular would be the most appropriate choice according to Standard English expectations, for instance in greetings. Examples from Lecturer respondents are outlined as follows;

Lecturer 7:

Shona

Speaker A: *Mamuka sei?* /How did **you** wake up?

Speaker B: *Tamuka mamukawo.* /**We** woke up well, if **you** are well too.

The Standard English translation of the above stated conversation would be;

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Speaker A: Good morning?

Speaker B: Morning, how are you?

In the Shona example, the prefix /ma-/ denotes the plural for the singular /wa-/ which refers to **you** in English. However, use of /Ta-/ denotes plurality as well, even though it is commonly used to refer to one person, thus expressing the notion of honour and respect (Adedimeji, 2007).

The respondent explained that the expression of self-honor as a speech style that is evident in Shona is absent in English and only used in royal discourse where we encounter the royal 'we'. An analysis of this observation means that, 'you' would refer both to a singular and plural audience. Therefore, the tendency to use plural forms in this case fulfills the need to be polite and show deference by Africans whether it is to the self or the next person (Adedimeji, 2007).

The expression of politeness in the English used in Zimbabwe leads to grammatically deviant forms when compared to Standard British English. The major reason for such a deviation is that the propensity for, and the socio-cultural inclination towards politeness greatly differs amongst Africans and the British. As a result, when using a foreign language such as English, Zimbabwean speakers have to force English to adapt to the socio-cultural constraints of Zimbabwean culture. Otherwise, failure to modify English to suit individual contexts would result in the flouting of politeness principles and rules of conversation (Grice, 1965). There is a pragmatic paradox that exists in this situation in that what traditional British English considers as a problematic and unacceptable deviation would actually constitute an unacceptable flouting of conversational principles if ignored in the Zimbabwean context.

Below is an example from one Lecturer respondent who pointed out that aspects of 'indigenous rhetoric' found their way not only into speech but also into academic writing.

Conversation and Pragmatic Effect

Speaker A: How are **you** this morning? /How did you start
your morning?

Speaker B: **We** are well this morning, if **you** are well.

The example shows how Zimbabweans express themselves in everyday conversation. As one involved in assessing students' work regularly, this particular lecturer made a link between indigenous language speech style and students writing in an academic setting. The explanation was that the use of 'we' as in the above instance manifests in academic writing as an aspect of students rhetoric in which students prefer to use 'we' as opposed to discourse markers such as, 'one', oneself, 'an individual', and 'the researcher'. When referring to themselves, students were said to have a tendency of carrying over the inclination to use the honorific 'we' as done in their mother tongue (particularly Shona), to English. The above stated linguistic characteristics are similar to the use of the negative No in Zimbabwean English. **No** is used to mean **Yes** in a large number of utterances. This is borrowed from Shona and Ndebele politeness principles where a speaker responds **Aiwa taswera/Hayi sitshonile/No, I had a good afternoon.** The positive use of negatives finds its way into writing through the use of *nothing*, *something* and *anything* that are used interchangeably (E28).

Still on characteristics of the English written by students, the response below introduces a new dynamic in the nature of crosslinguistic influence through highlighting the relationship of Shona and Ndebele first, their influence on each other and then further showing how they impact on English afterwards;

Lecturer 3:

While I can surely say indigenous languages do affect students writing style, I have noticed that the manner that Ndebeles now speak is affected by Shona and the speech of the Shona is also affected by the Ndebele (although I think it's to a lesser extent). This then ends up influencing the writing style as well. Like, to say **lina** is taken from Shona **imi** to avoid saying **wena** which is **iwe** in Shona and therefore disrespectful according to Shona discourse rules.

The above is an example of the spread of discourse strategies due to contact and crosslinguistic influence between Shona and Ndebele (Khumalo, 2007). Otherwise, Ndebele speakers; despite being group-centered, did not originally use **lina**. For instance Ndebele students indicated that the Ndebele people whose Nguni roots can be directly traced into South Africa (Poulos, 1986), originally used the singular **wenato** mean **you**. However, the Ndebele in Zimbabwe, despite knowing that grammatically it is wrong to say **lina** when referring to one person, they have since adopted this manner of

expression which is a pluralized version that should be used with reference to many people just like the Shona who distinguish between *iwe/imi; wena/lina* distinctive expressions that do not exist in English grammar in which the pronoun is simply *you*.

As explained by Lecturer 3, to say *WenaMama/WenaBaba/You Mother/You Father* is grammatically correct in Ndebele, but sounds disrespectful due to the contact with Shona that would translate it to *Iwe Mai/Iwe Baba/You Mother/You Father*. The accepted, expression, taking Shona grammatical structure into cognizance would be *Lina Mama/Lina Baba* which the Shona would translate to *Imi Amai/Imi Baba*. This particular example illustrates crosslinguistic influence between Shona and Ndebele that in turn influences English as a language which is in direct contact with the two indigenous languages.



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In this case, it has emerged that there is divergence and growth in the lexicon and vocabulary of Ndebele, and consequently that of the English that is used in Zimbabwe. What 'you' and 'we' mean in Standard British English is different from what they mean in Zimbabwean English where they may denote a single referent or plurality depending on a particular speech event and communicative purpose.

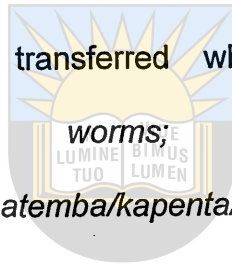
Therefore while the English language has indeed become a valuable tool in Zimbabwe, where it reflects the depth of the culture and reality of the Zimbabwean experience, it can also be considered to be an empowering and liberating tool of expression in which

speakers freely incorporate pragmatic aspects of their language wherever they feel the necessity to do so.

On the question of which lexical items find their way into the English language, Lecturer respondents gave examples which were later grouped for analysis purposes as follows;

Culture specific aspects;

- Foods were said to be transferred wholesale into English (*sadza, madora/amacimbi/mopane worms; mazondo/cow heels; matumbu/amathumbu/offals; matemba/kapenta/small dried fish*).



Culture specific activities; University of Fort Hare *Together in Excellence*

- rituals, rain ceremonies, marriage rites (*mukwerera, kurova guva, kusungira*)

Religion specific activities;

- Night vigils, Prayer Mountains/sacred places of worship (*masowe*); have to be used in their indigenous form so that the weight of their meaning is not lost through translation.

Culture specific instruments:

- Mbira (an instrument made out of flattened metal prongs), ngoma (the drum)

The above are the examples of some of the elements that were listed by lecturer respondents as commonly finding their way into Zimbabwean English from indigenous languages and cultural contexts, thus making the English used in Zimbabwe a unique language that reflects its context, and sociolinguistic environment.

6.12 Code Mixing and code Switching

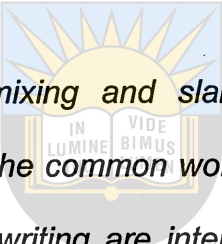
The question on the existence of instances of code mixing, code switching and slang received a uniform affirmative response from all the lecturers and critical reference group members. The overall observation was that students do use code mixing and code switching, as well as slang in speech and in writing. To explain the abundant instances of code switching we can refer to the observation that students who participated in the research indicated that they were exposed to the English language either at pre-school (3-4 years old); or at primary school where they were taught in their mother tongue up to Grade 3 (7-8 years old) in ordinary government schools as mentioned before.

The age of exposure in this case implies that mother tongue education will have been going on informally as home socialization through caregiver and family comprehensible input well before exposure to English (Krashen, 1987). As a result, by the time learners are exposed to English, they are significantly aware of the myths and symbols of their society. By the time they begin to learn English, learners will have developed a keen awareness of their immediate environment as well as a significant attachment to their

mother tongue such that their mother tongue will form a natural basis of the second language. Therefore, since the mother tongue is essentially ineradicable, it follows that it would manifest in processes such as code-switching and code mixing during speech and/or writing (Matras, 2009).

Lecturer's responses to the incidence of code-switching, code mixing and slang are as follows;

Lecturer 1:



Students use code mixing and slang as an inter-linguistic strategy. So the common words that find their way into speech and writing are inter-linguistic terms. This strategy is actually a safety net for students of English as a Second Language. There is reluctance, or maybe failure to completely do away with the mother tongue if I may say. For example, you hear students saying;

- Assignment **yangu iri** due next week **saka rega ndipinde mulibrary** to google a bit.

This is an example of code mixing in which the English equivalent would be; *My assignmet is due next week so let me get into the library to google a bit.* Another example of a code mixing is;

- Semester break hatina this time because takatanga maclasses late.

The English equivalent is; *We do not have a semester break because we started classes late this time.*

Lecturer 6:

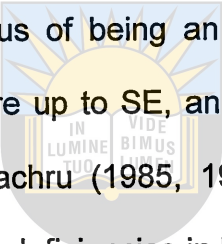
I generally notice code switching, code mixing and slang in speech that is informal communication. I cannot really think of it in a formal set up such as writing. Students are trained not to use slang and not to mix languages when they write.

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Lecturer 8:

Yes. Definitely. Students obviously use English in their writing but they constantly translate slang words and phrases into their writing. They also code switch and code mix in their thought processes then translate to English. For someone who knows the slang and language used in Zimbabwe it is easy to read an assignment written in English and tell that some of the expressions used are being borrowed from indigenous languages.

The extract from Lecturer 1 poses a problem with regards to questions of grammaticality, comprehensibility and acceptability. It would seem that the quality of students' writing is generally comprehensible; but despite it passing as comprehensible to ESL teachers; there is an observation that L1 is still used as an inter-linguistic crutch before students find an appropriate alternative that they can grasp with ease or that is used in Standard British English (SBE) (Matras, 2009). Such a dimension implies that the variations between Standard British English and the English written in Zimbabwe indicate the latter as still in the status of being an interlanguage that seeks further development in order for it to measure up to SE, an argument that has been strongly disputed by researchers such as Kachru (1985, 1995) who view the variations as consequences of creativity rather than deficiencies in knowledge.

The logo of the University of Fort Hare, featuring a shield with a sunburst at the top and the Latin motto 'IN LUMINE VIDE BONUS' on a banner below. The shield is flanked by two columns.

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The problem with viewing the English currently being used as an interlanguage leads to the question, are there expectations of it ever reaching the SE level of proficiency? The answer is negative according to Malinowski, (1946) Halliday, (1978) because of the different social and cultural contexts that lie between Zimbabwe and Britain, it is not linguistically possible to achieve 100% native like proficiency. In the absence of native instructors of ESL, how can the concept of interlanguage be explained without reference to a final, expected, destination and standard of competence and proficiency in a linguistic setting resembling Zimbabwe? It therefore becomes problematic to use the term interlanguage in this instance without causing confusion.

Another dimension that emerges from Lecturer 1's response would be that students switch between English and Shona or Ndebele as an affirmation of who they are in terms of identity and roots that is why there is reluctance to conform totally to Standard English norms, given that language and culture are inseparable (Kaplan, 2010). Given that by the age of five, children are likely to have acquired a strong sense of cultural rootedness and identity, it is therefore possible that switching from English to their indigenous languages and back is an unconscious strategy that demonstrates the mother tongue's hold on them, thus betraying their identity. The tendency to code switch or code mix has been analyzed as one of the causes of direct translation which is discussed elsewhere in this chapter (Matras, 2009). In addition, the constant reference to the L1 stored in the learner's mind confirms the power of L1 semantics and pragmatics. Therefore, in the meaning creation process, crosslinguistic influence, which is a chiefly psychological phenomenon, takes precedence as an enabler of smooth communication (Kaplan, 2010; Jennings, 2004).

Veit-Wild (2009) has termed the creative energy arising from the mix of languages in Zimbabwe '*Zimboldicious*' while South African poet Muila (1997) calls it the '*delicious pie dish*'. This sensational yet academic view of code mixing, code switching and slang indicates the manner with which these constructs are viewed in Zimbabwe and South Africa where language plurality has forced speakers to be multilingual (Matras, 2009). While code switching and slang can be viewed as aspects of language innovation, (Veit-Wild, 2009); their relevance in this research has more to do with why code switching is

commonly employed by students and how it ultimately shapes the language written by students. The latter is very important in view of the observation that writing is a culmination of speaking in the communication process (Tshotsho, 2006). Such a view implies that the features present in code switching and code mixing such as kinship terms; tend to lose their import when translated into Standard English. When used as they are used in Shona and Ndebele, indigenous expressions have an enhanced meaning potential that has the effect of aligning speakers with their indigenous identity and culture without compromise (Veit-Wild, 2009). Table 6.5 is a list of common kinship terms that are found in codeswitching;



Table 6.10 Kinship Terms used During Code Switching and Code mixing

Shona	Ndebele	English
<i>Babamukuru</i>	<i>Babomdala</i>	Uncle
<i>Amai</i>	<i>Umama</i>	Mother
<i>Mukoma</i>	<i>Udadewethu/umnewethu</i>	Sister/brother

Uncle ambiguates the relationship since *sekuru/malume* is also translated as uncle.

Babamukuru (elder father) is supposed to be relationally weightier than **father** given that this individual is actually older than the father.

These kinship references are usually generalized to refer to all females and males alike even when they are strangers in an attempt to draw them closer and show that they are family.

6.13 Comprehensibility of English written by Students

Question Number 9 required respondents to state *how grammatical and comprehensible students' essays are*. This question was related to *Question Number 10: Do students' assignments retain grammaticality and comprehensibility even while reflecting crosslinguistic influence between English and Mother Tongue?* The general sentiments among both lecturers and members of the critical reference group was that as long as the English written by students was able to communicate and convey meaning, then it was as good as its equivalent in Standard English. The established position therefore, was that undergraduates' essays were largely comprehensible. The explanation was given in different ways as follows;

Lecturer 6:

Zimbabwean students, especially the university graduates are generally above average in terms of proficiency.

Lecturer 8:

I was not taught by native speakers of English from pre-school to university. My English is very good. I am now

the one teaching these students English and naturally, according to Standard English expectations, I fall short somehow be it in pronunciation, syntax or otherwise; therefore I cannot expect my students to speak and write with 100% native proficiency. Even the Zimbabwe School Examinations Council (ZIMSEC) cannot benchmark its expectations against those of Cambridge [British English].

While the first response clearly defends comprehensibility, the second response seems to be acutely aware of the shortcomings of English in Zimbabwe as compared to Standard British English. This response sheds light on the notion that although English in Zimbabwe is accepted by those aware of the dynamics surrounding its existence (teachers, curriculum planners, academics, policy makers); there is awareness of negativity with which local/African varieties of English continue to be viewed in the mainstream Englishes discourse; that is, as sub-standard, transitional competences, or approximate systems (Kachru, 1983, 1985). However, a sense of conviction can be sensed amid the consciousness of the conflicting discourses emerging from perceptions of New Englishes, particularly African Englishes.

6.14 Gender Neutrality and Distinction

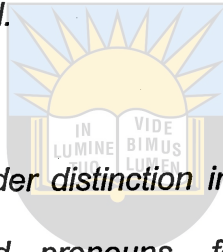
One of the interview questions that generated interest amongst lecturer respondents was *Question Number 11: Which lexical, morphological, syntactic, semantic and*

pragmatic aspects are mostly transferred from Shona and/or Ndebele to English without compromising grammaticality. While two lecturers indicated that they were aware of a significant amount of transfer happening lexically, they clearly pointed out that they could not give examples offhand. While the reluctance or failure of some respondents to give examples pointed to the complexity and technical nature of the question, there were several responses that shed some light on the sites vulnerable to crosslinguistic influence. Two lecturers indicated the following;

Lecturer 4: *What I know for sure is that there is influence from my mother tongue, that is Shona to English. The influence is quite widespread but I just do not have examples for each and every structure. But grammatically the use of pronouns and other intra-sentential discourse markers such as conjunctions show some relation to local languages. I don't know if this is a good or bad thing really according to what you prefer but that is what I see.*

Lecturer 5: *Words from my mother tongue have found their way into English. They will be English words but with an indigenous flavour or ring to them, for example, the word **tight**, that we use often saying; Things are **tight**. It's a **tight** situation. This is Shona vocabulary from*

*Zvinhu zvakaoma meaning the situation is difficult. But the way us Shona people speak English is such that we make it interesting and fancy. If we pick a word, we can use it and overuse it. We are creative, I think. The same word tight is also used as slang in instances such as, He got himself a **tight** girlfriend; meaning he got himself a beautiful/attractive girlfriend. Then there is the sentence structure where subjects and objects are not easily distinguished.*



Lecturer 9:

*There is no gender distinction in Shona and Ndebele possessives and pronouns, for example [she is going/ari kuenda/usehamba]. His chair/Chigaro chake/Isihlalo sakhe. Nothing in [a-/u-/chake/sakhe] says anything about the gender of the person being referred to by the possessive or the pronoun. This falls under morphology I believe. But it is a cultural aspect as well because it has meaning implications. Say, the way **us** in Shona express femininity and masculinity is not as clear in our pronouns as it is done in English. Still, in a way, we carry that to English and we mostly use the indigenous forms that we are used to, as long*

as meaning is not affected I do not think there is a problem. I don't know.

The above extracts make attempts at directing focus on morphology and the lexicon as the exact sites or domains that are vulnerable to crosslinguistic influence. The lexicon, for example, in the above stated kinship terms, is affected as vocabulary expands, old words assume new and additional meanings. In morphology, for example, the formation and use of words and phrases that have indigenous adaptations, also impacts on the lexical inventory of the Zimbabwean variety of English.

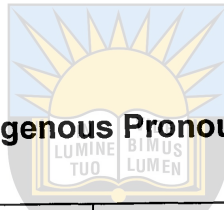


Table 6.11 Gender Neutrality in Indigenous Pronouns and Possessives

ENGLISH	SHONA	NDEBELE
1. Christian's book. His book.	Bhuku raChristian. Bhuku/gwaro rake.	Ibhuku likaChristian Ugwalo luka Christian. Ibhuku lakhe. Ugwalo lwakhe.
2. Bella's book. Her book.	Bhuku raBella. Bhuku/gwaro rake.	Ibhuku likaBella. Ugwalo lukaBella. Ibhuku lakhe. Ugwalo lwakhe.
3. He has gone to town.	Aenda/ Vaenda kudhorobha	Uhambile edolobheni/uye edolobheni
4. She has gone to town.	Aenda/ Vaenda kudhorobha	Uhambile edolobheni/uye edolobheni

As illustrated above, the Shona prefixes;

- /ra-/
- /a-/
- /va-/

and the Ndebele prefix;

- /u-/

can be used to refer to both genders. Contextual knowledge would then be required in order to find out what the gender of the person being referred to is.

The gender neutrality or non-distinctive gender referents in Shona and Ndebele illustrated above manifest in English as repetition of nouns/names in either speech or writing, confusion of the gender distinctive pronouns him/her; he/she (an aspect that naturally falls under crosslinguistic interference not positive influence).

In academic writing, non-consciousness of gender pronouns manifests in a variety of ways, some direct and others indirect. When a realisation of the complexity of gender distinctive pronouns occurs to the speaker, an effort to mitigate this difficulty may result in either avoidance of all pronouns (gender or otherwise); or overuse of pronouns (gender or otherwise) through generalisation as to where, when and how they should be used (Krashen, 1987). Literature indicates that although most deviations are quite pronounced (such as the non-distinctive gender pronouns), they do not endanger meaning totally since they do not compromise intelligibility in its entirety (Adedimeji, 2007; Schmied, 1991).

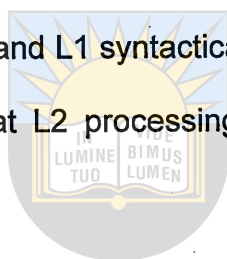
Furthermore to understand how meaning is constructed by second language speakers, one needs to rely on knowledge of the nature of cognitive processing that takes place in the minds of second language learners/speakers. Of relevance in this aspect is Krashen's Monitor Model (1987) that comprises of five hypotheses, one of which is the Monitor Hypothesis. The Monitor Hypothesis posits that acquisition and learning of a second language are used in specific ways. Acquisition is known to initiate utterances in a second language. Acquisition is also responsible for speakers' fluency.



Krashen (1987), in his second language acquisition research suggests that learning only comes into play to make changes in the form of speakers' utterances after they are produced by the acquired system (Krashen, 1987). This description implies that the formal study of language triggers the development of a grammar editor or monitor that is continuously on guard to avoid errors. The monitor is active with regards to problem features therefore it develops a cognitive mechanism to counteract and overcome problem areas during production. What the monitor hypothesis demonstrates is that processes such as avoidance of features, overuse and generalisation are results of the monitor at work. It is therefore evident that some crosslinguistic features that manifest in writing are directly or indirectly linked to the cognitive processes that go on under the surveillance of the grammar editor/monitor (Krashen, 1987).

6.14 Transfer of Syntactic Properties from L1 to L2

It has been discussed earlier in this thesis that properties of L1 have the natural capacity to modify, shape and direct the nature of L2 processing (Flege, Munro and Mackay, 1995). Therefore, in the same manner that we can easily identify L1 phonological influences reflected in L2 learners' pronunciation, tone and stress patterns; syntactic properties of L1 can be traced in the production, be it verbal or written, of L2 learners/speakers. The responses that referred to structure and word order are in effect confirming existing studies done elsewhere that indicate a correlation between the representation and processing of L2 and L1 syntactical systems. This then serves as an explanatory note that points out that L2 processing is dependent on the previously established L1 syntax.



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6.15 Conclusion

In conclusion, the chapter focused its analysis on data collected through questionnaires and interviews. From the analysis of such data, it would seem that respondents, both students, lecturers and the critical reference group, provided information that contributed much in confirming the existence of crosslinguistic phenomena in the English that is written in Zimbabwe.

Both questionnaires and interviews confirmed the multilingual nature of Zimbabwe and the linguistic diversity that gave rise to language contact, thus crosslinguistic possibilities investigated in this research. Furthermore, the analysis of data

demonstrated that all linguistic domains are vulnerable to crosslinguistic influence, however, to different extents. This means that, the lexical, syntactic, morphological, semantic and pragmatic domains are all vulnerable to influences from Ndebele and Shona although the lexicon and the semantic/pragmatic aspects seem to indicate clearer evidence. However, it should be noted that data indicated intricate interconnections that were difficult to separate due to the interfaces that exist between the linguistic domains namely; the lexicon, morphology, syntax, semantics and pragmatics. The structural overlaps made it quite difficult to confine any one example of crosslinguistic phenomena to one domain. This can be possibly explained by the observations made by Sorace and Serratrice (2009) in their studies of internal and external interfaces in bilingual development in which they discovered that there is internal coordination between syntax and semantics. Examples from all sources strongly indicated the interlinked nature of linguistic domains during the process of meaning construction and interpretation.

Lecturers and students perceptions tended to differ on issues that reflected to the superiority of English in that there were traces of elitist attitudes in some lecturer's responses as compared to students whose level of education is significantly lower. As a result, more evidence of crosslinguistic influence was likely to be volunteered by respondents with a positive attitude towards the language contact discourse. Ultimately, responses confirmed that the nature of language used in Zimbabwe demonstrated a stage of language change as well as socio-cultural identity. However, a model that

illustrates the principles that may be a guide in determining if a language can be classified as a New English or not will be developed in the next chapter.

The next chapter focuses on the conclusion and recommendations.



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CHAPTER 7: SUMMARY OF RESULTS, RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

7.0 Introduction

The study into the crosslinguistic interface between English and Zimbabwean indigenous languages was undertaken following the inferior perception of African varieties of English in comparison with Standard British English. The thesis problematized real and practical issues related to English in Zimbabwe, and raised matters of considerable interest and importance about the status of English in Zimbabwe, thus potentially affecting perceptions about English in Africa as well. The research questions interrogated the structure of English after its contact with Zimbabwean indigenous languages namely Shona and Ndebele.



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The study used textual analysis, interviews and questionnaires to analyse the crosslinguistic influence between English and Zimbabwean indigenous languages particularly Shona and Ndebele. The research, therefore, challenged officially accepted purist attitudes towards English as an international language as well as the inferiority of Zimbabwean indigenous languages in light of English's currency and primacy. Therefore, this means that the findings have the potential to contest official claims to the importance of English in relation to the place of indigenous languages on the linguistic sphere in Zimbabwe.

Growing concerns about the non-recognition of non-native varieties of English as authoritative, authentic and stand-alone Englishes prompted the foregoing study into the Zimbabwean case.

7.1 Summary of Findings

7.1.1 Multilingualism and Language Diversity in Zimbabwe

Language diversity was established as inevitable in a multilingual setting such as Zimbabwe. As discussed in Chapter 6, Section 6.2, all the respondents indicated that they could speak more than one indigenous language. It emerged that apart from Shona and Ndebele, students had some knowledge of either Venda, Kalanga, Nambya, Tonga or Shangani. Knowledge of the extent of language diversity was important in laying the foundation necessary for investigating crosslinguistic influence, which is a linguistic phenomenon that takes place in situations where there is language contact and therefore language diversity (Jarvis, 2000, 1998; De Houwer, 1995).

The interaction of Shona and Ndebele in various multilingual settings where students, lecturers and other speakers meet was considered as responsible for the similarities in the English writing styles of Ndebele L1 and Shona L1 speakers. Most important from the data on language diversity was the fact that English, Shona and Ndebele have been in continuous interaction from primary school where the national anthem is sung in all three languages as stated in Chapter 6, Section 6.2, thus providing a fertile environment for crosslinguistic interface. Bilingual phenomena such as code switching and code

mixing are processes that facilitate communication in settings of language diversity as illustrated by the findings where we encounter words and phrases in indigenous code being acceptably integrated grammatically in sentences in literary works and student essays.

7.1.2 Age of Exposure to English Quality of Passes in English

The question of age of exposure to the English language provided valuable personal background information that facilitated understanding of the crosslinguistic phenomenon. The findings demonstrated that respondents were exposed to English at very early stages of their education in a bid to master English which is considered as a symbol of sophistication, globalisation, social mobility, technology and international communication (British Council, 2013; Mauranen and Ranta, 2009). As illustrated in Section 6.3 parents wish their children to gain proficiency in the English language early. It however, emerged that learning English early was itself a basis for crosslinguistic influence as learners employed creative strategies to bridge communication gaps from the early stages of acquiring the complex rules of a foreign language (Kilpatrick in McIlwraith, 2013).

Analysis of data also established that students' performance at Ordinary Level ranged from a pass mark upwards as per Zimbabwe School Examinations Council requirements Chapter 6, (Table 6.3). English is a core subject and requirement for entry to university in Zimbabwe. Therefore, if students wrote the English that was illustrated

by the essays analysed in Chapter 5, given that the same students were assessed as competent by ZIMSEC standards as illustrated on Table 6.3, therefore the English in Zimbabwe could be passed as being of an acceptably high standard with all its deviations.

7.1.3 Influence of Indigenous Languages on English

The question of influence of indigenous languages on English was central to the main objective of this research. The findings indicated that all linguistic domains were vulnerable to crosslinguistic influence. This means that English phonology, vocabulary, syntax, semantics and pragmatics were all influenced by Shona and Ndebele linguistic domains although the influence was to varying extents. This is in line with Whorf's (1956) propositions on the binding power of L1 on L2. The binding power of L1 on L2 is a mental phenomenon that manifests when a language user is exposed to another language that needs to be learned. Aspects of the learner's L1 will surface to bridge the learning gaps by identifying similarities and coming up with creative ways of expression. In the end, aspects of the L1 will be evident in the L2 due to the power that the first language has on the learner.

7.1.3.1 Phonological influence

Although the thrust of the thesis was to focus on the nature and structure of written discourses, it was important not to exclude speaking from the investigation. Phonological aspects of crosslinguistic influence focus mainly on manifestation of CLI

on speech. As a result, all analysis deliberately used speaking as a starting point that would consequently lead to written discourses. The other reason for the inclusion of elements of phonology was the intricate interconnections that exist between the four language skills. Ultimately, an individual's writing style is intricately linked with their speech style as discussed in the literature (Krashen, 1987; Kellerman, Cook, 1991, Selinker, 1972), and illustrated in the findings in Chapter 6, Section 6.5.1.

This study viewed the spoken and the written language as originating from internal cognitive processes in the learner's language faculty in response to the external environment (Krashen, 1987; Kellerman, Cook, 1991; Selinker, 1972). It emerged from the findings that there were differences between Shona and English vowels leading to pronunciation variations between native speakers of English and Zimbabwean speakers of English as demonstrated in Chapter 6, Section 6.5.1 and Table 6.4.

As indicated in the literature, upon first contact with Shona and Ndebele, Standard British English loses its phonological characteristics. This is due to the influence of Zimbabwean indigenous languages that have a different vowel system. Of particular interest were the vowels that are rendered in indigenous form by English L2 speakers, that is, they are pronounced as if they were Shona or English. As illustrated in Chapter 6, (Section 6.4.1), it was established that Shona L1 and Ndebele L1 speakers used their indigenous vowel knowledge for the rendition of English vowels, thus grouping and generalizing vowel sounds so that they suit the five vowels that are present in the

indigenous languages (Kadenge, 2009). This led to a distinctly Zimbabwean pronunciation that significantly varied from Standard British English without compromising the communication process.

The vowel system in Zimbabwean English is therefore, limited in alignment with the indigenous vowel systems of Shona and Ndebele (Kadenge, 2009; Khumalo, 2007; Zivenge, 1995). Findings in Chapter 6 on the phonology section illustrated that in the Zimbabwean variety of English, vowels are streamlined to approximate Shona and Ndebele L1. In particular, Kadenge (2009) enunciates that Shona-English bilinguals have a tendency of employing simplification strategies where vowels are concerned. It was established from questionnaires and interviews and from the textual analysis of literary texts that the influence of speech on writing was quite significant in Zimbabwean English.

The manner in which simplification strategies are used to streamline seemingly complex features in pronunciation, is similar to the employment of discourse strategies and rhetoric used by English L2 speakers in writing as discussed in the sections on discourse strategies in Chapter 5 and 6 on data analysis. Given the inseparability of the four language skills namely speaking, reading, writing and listening, the findings on phonological influences was important for isolating issues such as discourse strategies in academic writing that have a bearing on crosslinguistic influence on the written mode. Therefore, evidence of phonological crosslinguistic influence in this case contributed

immensely in facilitating the understanding of distinct features that manifest in Zimbabwean English L2 written discourses.

7.1.3.2 Lexical and Morphological Influence

The lexicon is considered to be the most visible domain that can demonstrate crosslinguistic influence (Hulk and Muller, 2000; Odlin, 1995). The findings reflected that crosslinguistic influence manifested through adaptations of foreign words to local usage and meaning, direct translations and borrowing. Findings drawn from the student questionnaires and lecturer interviews in Section 6.4.2 illustrated that borrowing manifested through loans, coinages, lexical and semantic extensions (Matras, 2009; Schmied, 1991). Coinages (examples are documented in chapter 5 and 6) and other innovations mean that lexical items are used in the English language with local adaptations of meaning.

The vocabulary of English used in Zimbabwe showed significant divergence from Standard English through unique lexical chains. It also emerged from the findings particularly in Chapter 5 (Section 5.7) and Chapter 6 (Section 6.15) that Zimbabwean speakers of English as a second language have created a new lexicon that is capable of fulfilling their communicative needs in the Zimbabwean environment. According to literature, the mental faculty that is responsible for processing language engages and activates the known bilingual lexicon to facilitate creative discourse strategies outlined earlier such as coining new words, borrowing, and lexical adaptation (Matras, 2009).

Findings discussed in Chapter 5 (Section 5.8) illustrate the divergence of the lexicon of Zimbabwean English from that of Standard British English. The use of these creative lexical items was observed to have no negative impact on the meaning making process, instead, they have a facilitative effect.

7.1.3.3 Syntactic Influence

The analysis of results from textual analysis and interviews established that Standard British English was losing its characteristic syntactic rigidity as illustrated in Chapter 5 (Section 5.8), and Chapter 6 (Section 6.4.3). The subject/predicate structure was observed to be subjected to various changes ranging from an inverted structure to complete disregard of the rules in favour of a more flexible syntactic structure that resembles Shona and Ndebele structure.

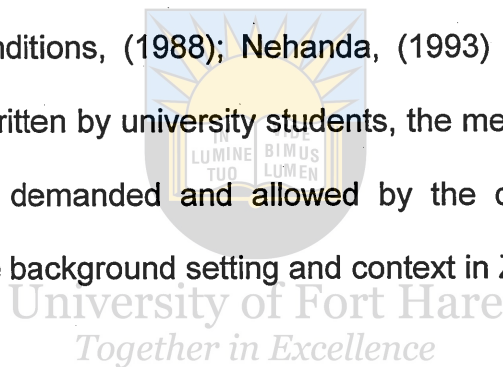


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The use of unusual syntactic constructions and deviant sentence structure was viewed as a signal of the incorporation of indigenous languages in the creation of literary texts and essays under analysis. Zimbabwean English's flexible syntactic structure was notably characterised by long, winding complex sentences with multiple clauses that are reminiscent of orality (Ong, 2002). Subject and object do not hold position monopoly in Zimbabwean English as observed in the findings, they can be shifted as per speaker's choice and communicative purpose.

7.1.3.4 Semantic and Pragmatic Influence

One of the objectives of this study centred on examining which semantic elements are transferred from the indigenous language(s) to the English language as a way of conveying meaning. The evidence from the findings indicated that the contextual background, as laid out in the theoretical framework that combined Systemic Functional Linguistics, Discourse Analysis and Genre Analysis, was responsible for determining the choice of expressions used and their meaning (Eggins, 2004; Halliday, 1978; Foucault, 1972). As illustrated in the textual analysis of the literary texts (*Waiting for the Rain*, (1975); *Nervous Conditions*, (1988); *Nehanda*, (1993) and *The Uncertainty of Hope*, (2006) and essays written by university students, the meaning schematic is open to multiple possibilities as demanded and allowed by the dictates of the linguistic environment, which sets the background setting and context in Zimbabwean English.



Rules are speaker driven and therefore they are flexible to manipulation and change. Furthermore, the more or less predictable semantic map of Standard English is replaced by the countless possibilities of meaning that are implied in indigenous language discourses. Meaning is stretched depending on context. Register is also shaped by context in the same way that choices from the linguistic repertoire is also determined by the context. As discussed in the findings in Chapter 6 (Section 6.9) rules in the Zimbabwean variety of English are largely context driven therefore speakers have the flexibility to create meaning in what Schmieid calls linguistic self-determination (Schmieid, 1991).

The incidence of crosslinguistic influence resulting from language convergence in contact situations is both a psychological and social issue. This means that it is a process that has psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic implications on both the speaker and the community (Matras 2009). While the context of situation impacts on the mental processes of speakers, in the same manner, social processes prompt individuals to innovate their speech thus coming up with distinct expressions with meanings that are unique to the Zimbabwean situation as illustrated by the findings discussed in Chapter 6 (Section 6.8).



As stated in Kerswill (2007), and similarly in Trudgill (1999); Standard English is just one variety of modern English, not original having evolved as discussed earlier in the literature and analysis of data in Chapter 5 (Section 5.7) on use of metaphor and lexical chains. It has been existing alongside numerous non-standard varieties whose difference from it centres on what Williams (2007, 2008) views as a relatively small number of linguistic features. Most importantly, the differences in the standard and non-standard varieties of English can be summarised as consisting of several alternative ways of expressing the same meaning, thus saying the same thing in different less conventional ways. As reflected by the research results discussed earlier, the differences are linguistically harmless or insignificant in terms of them not hindering meaning; but essential in as much as they facilitate communication as illustrated in the findings on unusual lexical and syntactic features in Chapter 5 (Section 5.8).

7.1.3.5 Comprehensibility of English written by Students

The findings established that differences and deviations from Standard British English do not inhibit communication capacity, but, instead, enhance the semantic potential due to the possibilities that are created when speakers use their indigenous knowledge to communicate indigenous thoughts, experiences and ideologies in a foreign language. There are numerous aspects that were listed as specifically finding their expression in Zimbabwean indigenous languages such as culture specific foods, rituals, names, kinship terms and so on whose English equivalents were either non-existent or inappropriate. As a result, concepts were continuously imported from Shona and Ndebele into English in creative and innovative ways that did not compromise meaning. It therefore emerged that the crosslinguistic interface itself that resulted in the development of Zimbabwean English, enhanced expression, despite the unofficial status of this variety of English as indicated in Chapter 5, Section 5.13.

7.1.3.6 Creativity and Innovation

As earlier outlined in the discussion of findings, the lexicon, syntactic and semantic/pragmatic domain emerged as vulnerable to crosslinguistic influence (Chapter 5 and 6, Section 6.4). This implies that creative communication strategies and innovations centre on the lexicon, sentence structure and semantic/pragmatic domains. Creativity forces elasticity and expansion of the lexicon through transfer, borrowing, loan words, coinages, and code-switching among other processes that affect the lexicon.

Simplification strategies and generalizations as well as semantic extensions are also used by multilingual speakers in discourse interactions and all these are internal aspects that can only be understood within the Zimbabwean context as discussed in Chapter 5 (Sections 5.9, 5.11, 5.12) and Chapter 6 (Sections 6.4.2, 6.9, 6.14) among other sections in chapters 5 and 6 in which data is analysed. A given context calls for the use of language in a particular manner that is appropriate to it hence the need for speakers to deviate and innovate so as to express themselves properly (Kadenge, 2009; Achebe, 1995; Kachru, 1985, 1982).



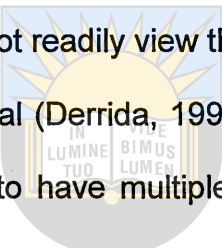
7.1.3.7 Language Change and New Englishes

English in Zimbabwe has been in contact with Shona and Ndebele since the days of colonialism. While taking this reality into cognizance, respondents noted that English in Zimbabwe was evolving towards an independent variety that could qualify to be known as a New English that is one of the African Englishes.

Language evolution and change can be speaker driven in language contact situations as discussed earlier in the literature (Matras, 2009; Schmied, 1991). For instance, the findings in Section 6.8 of Chapter 6 established that English L2 speakers initially used direct translations firstly for ease of communication since their English inventory was limited and the speakers themselves had not mastered the appropriate Standard English equivalents. Secondly, after noticing that the direct translations were conveying meaning effectively speakers continued using the new expressions that they considered

as functional and communicative. This is how the English in Zimbabwe is continuing to develop and grow away from Standard British English as stated by respondents.

Literature indicates that the acceptance of New Englishes is essentially a linguistic war that centres more on power implications than on the language itself (Heller 2006). The implications are that while the speakers of English in Zimbabwe may be in full awareness of their language in terms of its lexical innovations, syntactic creativity and semantic uniqueness as experienced in discourse interactions; the outside world which has claims to Standard English may not readily view these differences in a positive light. Given that language is by nature plural (Derrida, 1996); and given its natural quality of resisting monopoly, English is seen to have multiple speakers, accents, dialects and expressions in different parts of the world; and Zimbabwe is no exception.


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It is this growing nature of English which Kachru (1985) illustrated in the concentric circles discussed in the literature (Inner Circle, Outer Circle and Expanding Circle) in which the circles are unending but expansive by nature, that should inform analyses of any distinct varieties of English such as Zimbabwean English

7.1.3.8 Awareness of Indigenous Identity within Zimbabwean English

It emerged from the findings that speakers' register and speech style were pointers of their Zimbabwean identity. As discussed in Chapter 5, Section 5.6 and Section 5.7 choice of metaphor, or choice of informal style over formal writing style in a particular

context is actually an indicator of underlying linguistic and ethnic background. Furthermore, the findings from the analysis of questionnaires and interviews established that multilingual speakers consciously and unconsciously prefer to speak and write English using their indigenous expressions for support as this gave them pride of ownership of both the indigenous language and the English that they are integrating with indigenous languages (Adedimeji, 2007).

7.2 The Crosslinguistic structure of a new variety of English

Following the findings, a model has been developed in an attempt to facilitate understanding of the nature and structure of the Zimbabwean variety of English. I have titled the model 'The Crosslinguistic Model of Communication' has been developed as a tool for analysis of Zimbabwean English. The model aims to illustrate all the elements that are involved whenever languages come into contact in multilingual settings. This thesis proposes that English in Zimbabwe should be viewed from the perspective of an intercultural language with the following features; an external schematic frame that slightly resembles that of Standard British English while the internal structure and constituents are largely indigenous. In essence, English in Zimbabwe is a multilingual language, this means it is a language that is made up of more than one language as illustrated by the findings in which both Shona and Ndebele were identified as its functional constituents.

In developing the model I considered of the notion that speakers have linguistic self-determination (Schmied, 1991). This means that they have the ability to choose how to

speak and write. They also have the power to choose how to be construed, and how to express themselves in diverse speech situations as they tap into their growing linguistic repertoire that was contact-induced and set into motion by the interface of different languages (Matras, 2009). Linguistic creativity is triggered by the necessity to communicate.

The model presents Zimbabwean English as having several, different dimensions in both the external and internal structure. While the external features may seem to approximate Standard British English, closer observation and analysis would reveal that there are unavoidable peculiarities and idiosyncrasies that actually inform both the external, overt structure and the internal, covert nature of Zimbabwean English. The peculiarities in form emanate from the context and communicative purpose that inform speakers. Consequently, the context and purpose cascade and influence the meaning creation process.

In the model I propose a continuum for the crosslinguistic development of Zimbabwean English. While the continuum discusses the Zimbabwean context, it may apply to other language contact situations as well where language change is contact-induced. The continuum has Standard British English on one end and Zimbabwean English on the other. The continuum demonstrates some of the key processes that take place at the interface. It is deliberately presented as a horizontal schematic that is progressing in

opposing directions at the same level. This is to say both languages are perceived as equally important in as much as they serve the purpose of communication.

The continuum is a representation of the position of Standard British English in its pure form at one end and that of a Zimbabwean variety of English on the opposite end. In between, there exists indigenous languages that come into contact with English prompting speakers to adopt new strategies of communicating in a new and foreign language. Their efforts operate against the background of an indigenous context with functional indigenous languages, hence the consequent occurrence of crosslinguistic influence, creativity, innovation, adoption of communicative strategies leading to a new variety of English, that is distinctly Zimbabwean (Matras, 2009).



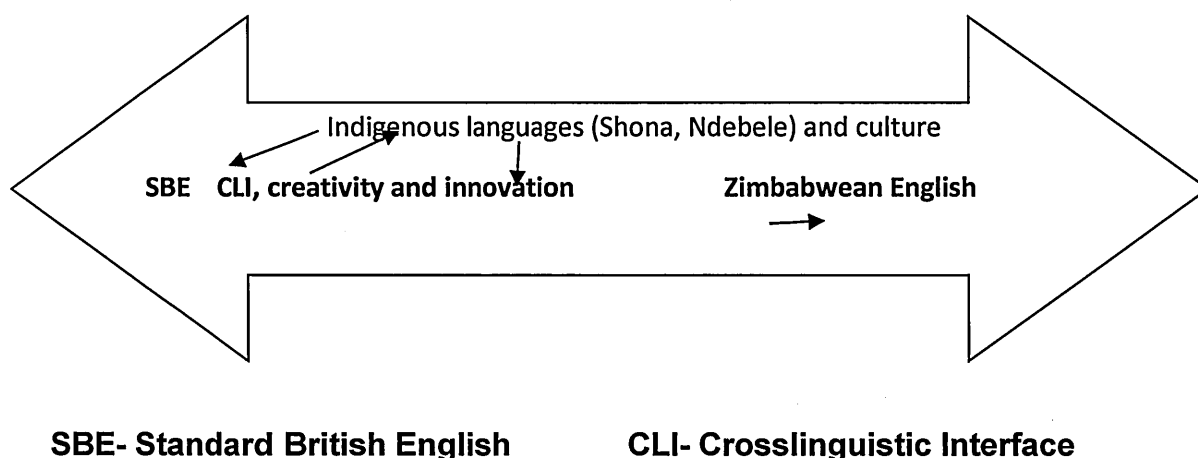
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Zimbabwean English as a unique variety is just one of the many Englishes that exist in Kachru's (1985) outer and expanding circles in which English continues to evolve to suit communicative needs and demands of different speakers in varied communities. Therefore, despite the differences between SBE and the distinct varieties (New Englishes) highlighted in the analysis of data in Chapters 5 and 6, communication is achieved (Adedimeji, 2007; Kachru, 1985). This is in line with the Hallidayan (2004) principle which proposes that language is for communication. Thompson (2004) also acknowledges that L1 semantics and pragmatics have power on L2 semantics and pragmatics meaning that L1 discourse and meaning construction have an effect on L2 discourse structure; a situation that should be expected and therefore accepted, since it

does not obstruct the communication process. Taking cognizance of these propositions and keeping in mind SFL attempts to explain the varied reasons why communication and meaning are closely interlinked; it is not considered as 'best practice' to venture to improve a learner's language competence without acknowledging the contextual reasons that inform and shape that competence (Kirkpatrick in McIlwraith, 2013).

When analysing the crosslinguistic continuum, in between the two extremes, at every level, language is functional; that is to say, language serves a practical purpose in communicating meaning. This is despite differences that can be noted after comparisons with Standard British English. While acknowledging that a point of perfect SBE is more of an ideal that exists in the minds of native speakers who are purists, the continuum should be understood as giving an estimated position of SBE rather than the exact destination given the variations, however minute, that exist in speaker languages (Krashen, 1987). Figure 7.1 is a depiction of the crosslinguistic continuum.

Figure 7.1 Continuum of Crosslinguistic Development of Zimbabwean English



As depicted in Figure 7.1, Crosslinguistic influence (CLI) is a key mechanism in the development of a unique variety of a language in a contact situation such as the Zimbabwean case (Matras, 2009; Schmied, 1991). Standard British English (SBE) is and Zimbabwean indigenous languages influence each other by way of continuous infiltration of linguistic features. Further, the presence of active, speaker-oriented linguistic processes such as creativity and innovation, is an indication that the language resulting from this process is context dependent and speaker driven. In this instance, the multilingual speakers themselves emerge as agents of language change. In any case, as the interviews indicated, the respondents are aware of the changes that are apparent in the English that they currently speak and write, in comparison with the English that they have known to be Standard British English from colonial times.



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7.2.1 The Crosslinguistic Model of Communication

The model raises awareness of the existence of a Zimbabwean variety of English alongside Standard British English and other forms of English. The model, which is a Crosslinguistic Model of Communication, reflects the Zimbabwean variety of English as an example that should be acknowledged not as an erroneous version of Standard British English, or a failed attempt at expression; but as one that should be accepted as a successful expression of Zimbabwean identity in a foreign language.

The observation that English is being used grammatically to communicate purely Zimbabwean sensibilities, experiences and identity should be an achievement and a

linguistic milestone for the speakers concerned. This is the situation that Kachru (1985) and Schmied (1991) were referring to while arguing that deviations are different from mistakes. They may drift from the norm and gravitate towards indigenous expression, but they still remain as deviations and innovations that aid and facilitate meaning creation rather than impede communication (Matras, 2009).

The model is developed in a manner that demonstrates that English has grown tremendously because of its encounter with Zimbabwean indigenous languages particularly Shona and Ndebele; for example, English can now do what it could not do as a native variety. English is growing away from Standard English towards Zimbabwean English as illustrated by findings in Chapter 5 where textual analysis of literary works and students' essays indicated that Zimbabwean English texts tended to defy the rules of sense and reference that are the pillars of Standard English writing. Furthermore, the Crosslinguistic Model of Communication illustrates the continued growth of Zimbabwean English within a contested linguistic space. Therefore, within acceptable precincts, and without encouraging ungrammaticality, Zimbabwean English quite successfully and acceptably communicates the speakers' intentions during various discourse interactions, thus achieving the communicative purpose of any language (Matras, 2009; Eggins, 2004; Schmied, 1991; Halliday, 2004, 1978).

The model that I propose in this chapter attempts a dissection of the Zimbabwean variety of English so as to analyse the covert and internal structure that is responsible

for the overt and external qualities that we experience as we listen to Zimbabwean speakers and as we read Zimbabwean texts. Given that language is part of social capital, and it is part of social infrastructure that is needed in social and economic development of a nation and its people; it therefore follows that speakers have the ability to shape their own language in response to the context, perspectives, personal needs and communicative purpose. Therefore, a language such as Zimbabwean English that has evolved after an interface with indigenous languages is considered as functional for its speakers regardless of external judgment to the contrary.



The discourse interaction involving Zimbabwean English isolates the following; grammar, lexicon, sentence structure, register, meaning potential, context and participants. After isolating the above stated dynamics, interactions are analysed for the occurrence of structural and contextual interface in view of the languages in contact. Figure 7:2 is an illustration of the Crosslinguistic Model of Communication in Language Contact Settings.

Figure 7:2 Crosslinguistic Model of Communication in Language Contact Settings

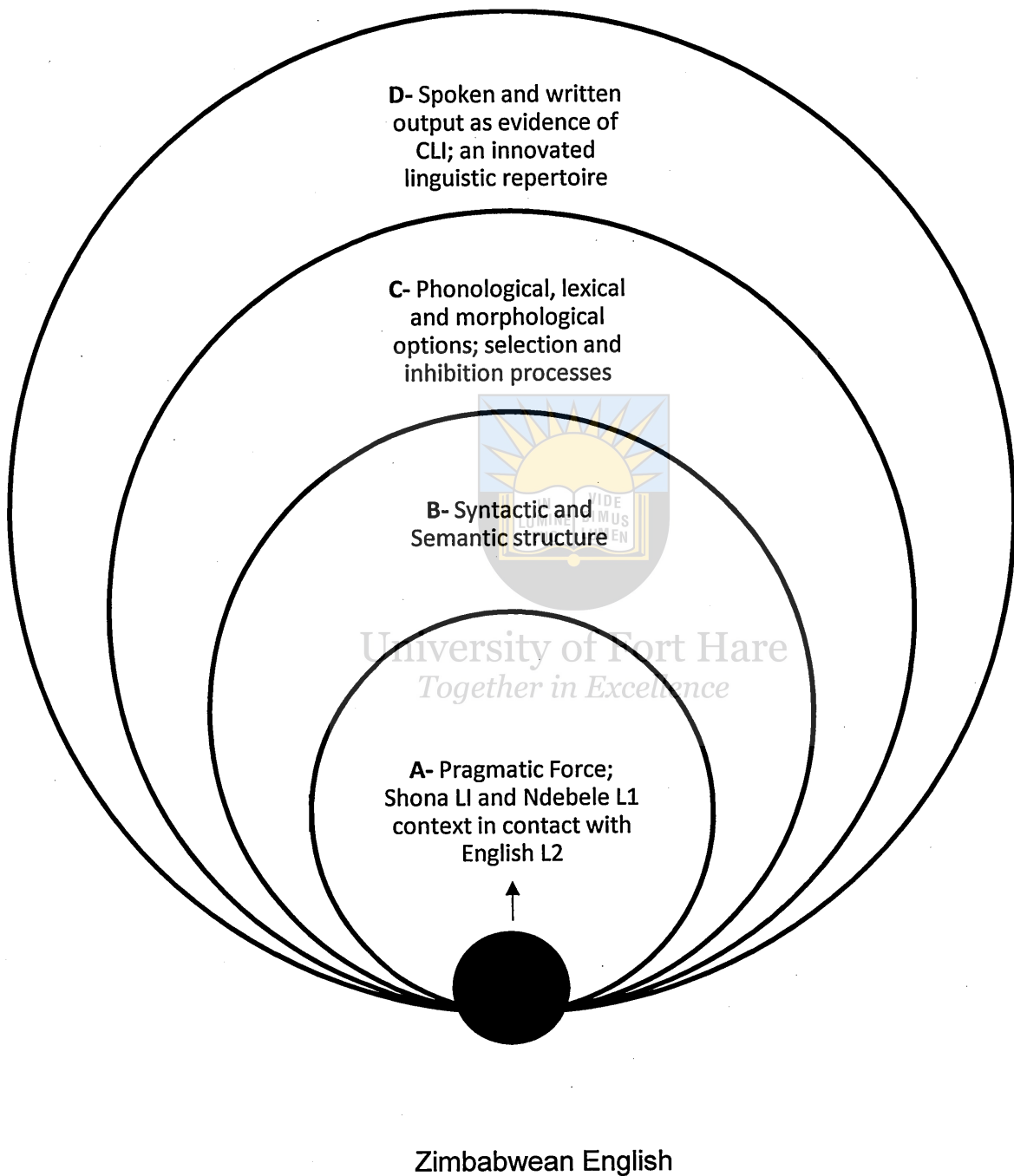
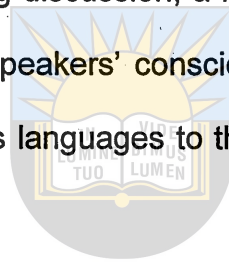


Figure 7.2 depicts the processes that take place within the speaker's mind and the evidence from the output following the progression that will be happening in the crosslinguistic continuum of language development. The model indicates the complex mental processes that result in the performance that is judged by listeners/readers as poor or perfect.

7.3 Recommendations

In light of the findings in the foregoing discussion, a number of recommendations have been made with regards to raising speakers' consciousness to the importance of the contribution made by their indigenous languages to the development of a Zimbabwean variety of English.

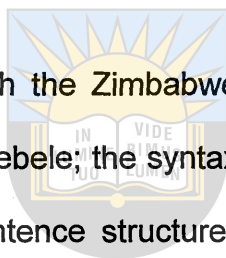


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7.3.1 Proficiency Levels and Legitimacy of Ownership of English

It would seem that currently, a 100% native competence in English is not a necessity given the functional nature of the Zimbabwean variety of English. While in the past native English teachers provided linguistic models; currently students are in need of multilingual models that centre more on linguistic flexibility and drift away from viewing the standard variety as a panacea for all linguistic needs. Given that 90% of the world's 6500 languages will be endangered by the end of the 21st century (Rausing, 2008) this thesis envisages and proposes that the recognition of Zimbabwean English will by extension engender the survival of the indigenous languages that are components in the creation and growth of the Zimbabwean variety of English.

To understand the issues surrounding multilingualism in Zimbabwe, Africa and elsewhere in the world; involves accepting the reality that the majority of English users today are multilingual speakers for whom English is a second or additional language. In the Zimbabwean case, the structure of the English used should be accepted as legitimately Zimbabwean as its individual constituents namely the lexical, morphological, syntactic and semantic frames are inclined towards Zimbabwean indigenous languages.



As illustrated in the findings in which the Zimbabwean English lexicon is expanding towards the lexicon of Shona and Ndebele; the syntax is developed and modified using the flexible Shona and Ndebele sentence structure. Most significantly, the meaning potential of words and sentences is innovatively adapted to local usage thus stretched to levels previously not known or accepted by Standard British English grammar and usage. Such a step will lead to developments in language planning policy as well as foster pride in indigenous identity while ensuring de-marginalisation and development of indigenous languages in Zimbabwe.

English is currently apparently outside British dominion and control. Independent Zimbabwe represents a post-Anglophone world in which control of the English language lies within its speakers (Kirkpatrick, in McIlwraith 2013). Therefore, learners need to be granted an opportunity to grow confidence and maturity in their own identities by allowing the use of features in their English, in any case, it is no longer Standard

English but it is now a multilingual variety which is drawn from several linguistic bases in this case such as SBE, Shona which has several dialects namely Karanga, Zezuru, Manyika, Ndau and Korekore and Ndebele which has Zulu, Southern Ndebele (and other Nguni languages) (Khumalo, 2007).

7.3.2 Language Planning and Curriculum Development

There is a potential combined contribution that the crosslinguistic continuum and the crosslinguistic model of communication have on linguistic theory and practice given the importance of the subject of emerging Englishes in contemporary linguistics. Knowledge of the crosslinguistic influence of Shona and Ndebele on English gives the background working knowledge that can be used in developing a culturally responsive and student-friendly curriculum that allows for sustainable integration of indigenous languages in the teaching of English at all levels of tuition.

Zimbabwe is currently lagging behind in terms of setting up and implementation of a language policy apart from the constitutional pronouncements of raising the official language figure from two to sixteen (Zimbabwe New Constitution, 2013). However, there are opportunities reflected by the Crosslinguistic Continuum that Zimbabwean English is developing independently, and is increasingly incorporating linguistic material from its own indigenous languages, a process that can be harnessed in policy planning for reversing marginalisation and extinction of indigenous languages as well as in the language classroom.

While acknowledging that English will continue to grow and spread as a result of the force and speed of globalisation; there is need to make future language related decisions within the understanding that language itself has been linked to the remodelling and reconfiguration of the present and the regeneration of speakers' future (Mazrui, 2004).

The dominant perception in Africa is that as a global language English is superior and African indigenous languages are inferior as indicated in the findings in which students were exposed to English early in an attempt by parents to ensure that they have enough time to master English. As a result of this negative perception, Knagg in McIlwraith (2013) points out that governments have continued to neglect advice from education experts and education organisations such as UNESCO, to introduce learners to formal education in a language that they understand, which is their mother tongue. This has resulted in the continued aspiration towards European languages such as English, French and others. This problem would mean that having an English variety that interfaces with Zimbabwean indigenous languages is a step in retaining speakers' familiar culture and norms within the English language thus creating strong indigenous identities that facilitate the learning of additional languages and learning of other subjects as well. This means that the propositions made in this thesis should facilitate the acceptance of indigenized English in which speakers identify L2 structures that allow them to maintain L1 perspectives.

The multilingual nature of Zimbabwean society is actually a resource to be celebrated and tapped into for human, social and economic development. Zimbabwean indigenous languages should be used in partnership with English to reinforce cognitive engagement. The educational, cultural and economic benefits of the use of Zimbabwean English, adoption and use, alongside Standard British English should be communicated to stakeholders and communities. Kirkpatrick, in McIlwraith (2013) argues that there is no need for learners to approximate a native speaker variety of English. Instead, they need to use English to be understood by fellow multilingual speakers nationally and internationally.



7.4 Conclusion

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The existence of a Zimbabwean variety of English and its functionality in communication was reflected in the findings through textual analysis, questionnaires and interviews. While deviating from Standard British English norms, the findings indicate that the Zimbabwean English that has resulted from an interface of Shona and Ndebele with English is in itself a functional variety that demonstrates lexical, morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic resemblance to Shona and Ndebele. This implies that while illustrating the presence of crosslinguistic influences across all linguistic domains, Zimbabwean English remains grammatical, comprehensible and communicative despite its non-recognition and unofficial use as a variety of English.

Since the results indicate the existence of fragments and sometimes whole features from indigenous languages, what it therefore means is that a new variety of English is in existence. Recognition and acceptance by outsiders is a matter that should begin within Zimbabwe itself. Such a situation calls for a reconceptualization of the concept of language evolution. If the language users' objective is successful expression of ideas in routine interaction, then there is need to promote the strategies that the language users employ to achieve their objective. The strategies used in this case are responsible for widening the lexicon, morphological and syntactic base of Zimbabwean English as illustrated in the proposed Crosslinguistic Model. Language contact therefore ceases to be only about the survival of the dominant language in the multilingual complex, but has to incorporate other marginalized and less dominant languages that become visible through crosslinguistic influence as they infiltrate and reshape the dominant language in a diglossic linguistic situation such as Zimbabwe.

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The study successfully integrated SFL, DA and GA to formulate a comprehensive framework for the analysis of crosslinguistic phenomena. The resulting framework was a practical methodological innovation as it merged the generic approach to discourse with the context based approach to language use that proved useful in isolating interface phenomena in academic and literary writings.

The study presents a significant dimension and a new direction to African crosslinguistic research as it demonstrates the contribution of Zimbabwean indigenous languages in

shaping English in the local context. While illustrating the presence of crosslinguistic influences across all linguistic domains to varying degrees, Zimbabwean English has been observed to remain comprehensible and communicative. The existence of a Zimbabwean variety of English and its functionality in communication is a reflection of language evolution and change indicating that Zimbabwean English demonstrates the capacity to stand out as one of the African Englishes. The findings further demonstrate that incorporation of indigenous features into English indicate language users' need to affirm indigenous identity and pride of ownership of Zimbabwean English. Given that Zimbabwean English is developing independently, and is increasingly incorporating linguistic material from its own indigenous languages, it would benefit Zimbabweans if this process can be harnessed through policy planning for reversing the marginalisation and extinction of indigenous languages in the classroom and in the public sphere.

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Future research should explore possibilities of consciously incorporating indigenous aspects such as new lexical items, metaphors, proverbs and culture-specific constructs into children's literature as well as classroom authentic texts in English. Ramifications of tactfully de-emphasizing native-like English proficiency in favour of the indigenous variety should also be examined as an opportunity of reducing localised prejudice towards indigenous languages towards development and possibly, intellectualisation of Zimbabwean English.

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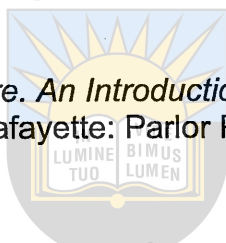
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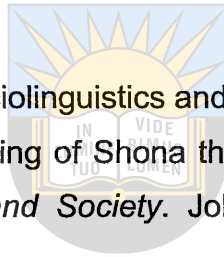
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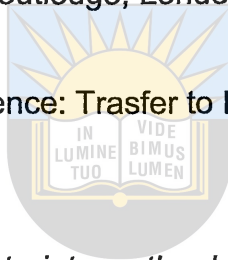
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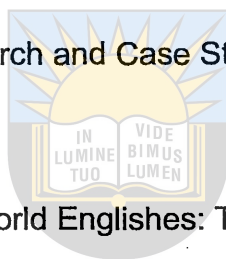
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APPENDIX 1 Sample Signed Consent Forms

NAME OF APPLICANT: SINDISO ZHOU
<<Approved >>

Ethics: Human 2011

OFFICE USE ONLY

Ref:	Date:
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University of Fort Hare
Together in Excellence

Ethics Research Confidentiality and Informed Consent Form

Sindiso Zhou, a Doctoral Student with the University of Fort Hare English Department is asking people from your community to answer some questions, which we hope will benefit your community and possibly other communities in the future.

The University of Fort Hare English Department is therefore conducting research regarding the **Crosslinguistic Interface between English and Indigenous Languages in Zimbabwe**. We are interested in finding out more about the **implications of language contact and the impact on Standard English**. We are carrying out this research to help in **linguistic theory specifically language transfer**.

Please understand that you are not being forced to take part in this study and the choice whether to participate or not is yours alone. However, we would really appreciate it if you do share your thoughts with us. If you choose not to take part in answering these questions, you will not be affected in any way. If you agree to participate, you may stop me at any time and tell me that you don't want to go on with the interview. If you do this there will also be no penalties and you will NOT be prejudiced in ANY way. Confidentiality will be observed professionally.

I will not be recording your name anywhere on the questionnaire and no one will be able to link you to the answers you give. Only the researchers will have access to the unlinked information. The information will remain confidential and there will be no "come-backs" from the answers you give.

The interview will last around 15 minutes. I will be asking you questions and ask that you be as open and honest as possible in answering these questions. Some questions may be of a personal and/or sensitive nature. I will be asking some questions that you may not have thought about before, and which also involve thinking about the past or the future. We know that you cannot be absolutely certain about the answers to these questions but we ask that you try to think about these questions. When it comes to answering questions there are no right and wrong answers. When we ask questions about the future we are not interested in what you think the best thing would be to do, but what you think would actually happen.

If possible, our organisation would like to come back to this area once we have completed our study to inform you and your community of what the results are and discuss our findings and proposals around the research and what this means for people in this area.

Document approved by UREC: 11 August 2011, V01

NAME OF APPLICANT: SINDISO ZHOU

Ethics Human 2011

<<Approved

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OFFICE USE ONLY

Ref:

Date:

INFORMED CONSENT

I hereby agree to participate in research regarding the **Crosslinguistic Interface between English and Indigenous Languages in Zimbabwe**. I understand that I am participating freely and without being forced in any way to do so. I also understand that I can stop this interview at any point should I not want to continue and that this decision will not in any way affect me negatively.

I understand that this is a research project whose purpose is not necessarily to benefit me personally.

I have received the telephone number of a person to contact should I need to speak about any issues which may arise in this interview.

I understand that this consent form will not be linked to the questionnaire, and that my answers will remain confidential.

I understand that if at all possible, feedback will be given to my community on the results of the completed research.

.....
Signature of participant

Date: 02/06/2014

I hereby agree to the tape recording of my participation in the study

.....
Signature of participant

Date: 02/06/2014

NAME OF APPLICANT: SINDISO ZHOU

Ethics Human 2011

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INFORMED CONSENT

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I understand that this consent form will not be linked to the questionnaire, and that my answers will remain confidential.

I understand that if at all possible, feedback will be given to my community on the results of the completed research.

Sindiso Zhou
Signature of participant

Date: 09-06-11

I hereby agree to the tape recording of my participation in the study

Sindiso Zhou
Signature of participant

Date: 09-06-11

Document approved by UREC: 11 August 2011, V01

NAME OF APPLICANT: SINDISO ZHOU

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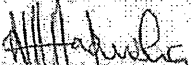
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Signature of participant Date: 02-06-2014

I hereby agree to the tape recording of my participation in the study


Signature of participant Date: 02-06-2014

NAME OF APPLICANT: SINDISO ZHOU

Ethics Human 2011

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OFFICE USE ONLY

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INFORMED CONSENT

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I have received the telephone number of a person to contact should I need to speak about any issues which may arise in this interview.

I understand that this consent form will not be linked to the questionnaire, and that my answers will remain confidential.

I understand that if at all possible, feedback will be given to my community on the results of the completed research.


Signature of participant

Date: 02/June/2014

I hereby agree to the tape recording of my participation in the study


Signature of participant

Date: 02/06/14

Document approved by UREC: 11 August 2011, V01

NAME OF APPLICANT: SINDISO ZHOU

Ethics Human 2011

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OFFICE USE ONLY

Ref:	Date:
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INFORMED CONSENT

I hereby agree to participate in research regarding the **Crosslinguistic Interface between English and Indigenous Languages in Zimbabwe**. I understand that I am participating freely and without being forced in any way to do so. I also understand that I can stop this interview at any point should I not want to continue and that this decision will not in any way affect me negatively.

I understand that this is a research project whose purpose is not necessarily to benefit me personally.

I have received the telephone number of a person to contact should I need to speak about any issues which may arise in this interview.

I understand that this consent form will not be linked to the questionnaire, and that my answers will remain confidential.

I understand that if at all possible, feedback will be given to my community on the results of the completed research.


.....
Signature of participant

Date: 02 June 2014

I hereby agree to the tape recording of my participation in the study


.....
Signature of participant

Date: 02 June 2014

Document approved by UREC: 11 August 2011, V01

NAME OF APPLICANT: SINDISO ZHOU

Ethics Human 2011

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OFFICE USE ONLY

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Date:

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I hereby agree to participate in research regarding the **Crosslinguistic Interface between English and Indigenous Languages in Zimbabwe**. I understand that I am participating freely and without being forced in any way to do so. I also understand that I can stop this interview at any point should I not want to continue and that this decision will not in any way affect me negatively.

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I have received the telephone number of a person to contact should I need to speak about any issues which may arise in this interview.

I understand that this consent form will not be linked to the questionnaire, and that my answers will remain confidential.

I understand that if at all possible, feedback will be given to my community on the results of the completed research.

Muzila
Signature of participant

Date: 02-06-11

I hereby agree to the tape recording of my participation in the study

Muzila
Signature of participant

Date: 02-06-11

Document approved by UREC: 11 August 2011, V01

NAME OF APPLICANT: SINDISO ZHOU

Ethics Human 2011

<<Approved

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OFFICE USE ONLY

Ref:

Date:

INFORMED CONSENT

I hereby agree to participate in research regarding the **Crosslinguistic Interface between English and Indigenous Languages in Zimbabwe**. I understand that I am participating freely and without being forced in any way to do so. I also understand that I can stop this interview at any point should I not want to continue and that this decision will not in any way affect me negatively.

I understand that this is a research project whose purpose is not necessarily to benefit me personally.

I have received the telephone number of a person to contact should I need to speak about any issues which may arise in this interview.

I understand that this consent form will not be linked to the questionnaire, and that my answers will remain confidential.

I understand that if at all possible, feedback will be given to my community on the results of the completed research.

Dzvalingwa
Signature of participant

Date: 25/5/14

I hereby agree to the tape recording of my participation in the study

Dzvalingwa
Signature of participant

Date: 25/5/14

NAME OF APPLICANT: SINDISO ZHOU

Ethics Human 2011

<<Approved

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OFFICE USE ONLY

Ref:

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Signature of participant

Date: 02/06/11

I hereby agree to the tape recording of my participation in the study


Signature of participant

Date: 02/06/11

Document approved by UREC: 11 August 2011, V01

NAME OF APPLICANT: SINDISO ZHOU

Ethics Human 2011

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Sindiso Zhou
Signature of participant

Date: 09-08-14

I hereby agree to the tape recording of my participation in the study

Sindiso Zhou
Signature of participant

Date: 09-08-14

Document approved by UREC: 11 August 2011, V01

Appendix 2 Interview Guide for Lecturers

1. What is your mother tongue?
2. Do you find the English spoken in Zimbabwe different from Standard English?
3. If so, how does the difference manifest?
4. What are the characteristics of the English that is written by your students?
5. Do you think indigenous languages in Zimbabwe such as Shona and Ndebele are responsible for the difference?
6. Apart from influences on spoken output, are you aware of any L1 influence on English? How does Shona and Ndebele influence English speaking, reading and writing?
7. What is your assessment of your students' written assignments?
8. Do students' assignments reflect any cross-linguistic influences?
9. How grammatical and comprehensible are students' essays?
10. Do students' assignments retain grammaticality and comprehensibility even when/ while reflecting on cross-linguistic influence between English and Mother Tongue?
11. Which lexical, morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic aspects of language are mostly transferred from Ndebele/Shona to English without compromising its grammaticality?
12. Is it common to find instances of slang, code-mixing and other contemporary speech styles in the English written by your students?
13. Is it a problem in the Zimbabwean classroom when students use this non-standard but grammatical English?

14. Do you associate language use with socio-cultural identity?

15. Are there any aspects of Zimbabwean culture that you can identify in the English that is spoken in Zimbabwe?



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Appendix 3 Questionnaire for Undergraduate Students

(v) What is your mother tongue?

Shona..... Ndebele..... Venda..... Tonga..... Nambya.....

Other (state).....

(vi) Which other indigenous languages do you speak?

Shona..... Ndebele..... Venda..... Tonga..... Nambya.....

Other (state)

i).....

ii).....

iii).....



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(vii) At what level were you exposed to English?

i) Birth

ii) Kindergarten/Creche/Grade Zero

iii) Primary School

(viii) English Language proficiency, state 'good'; 'fair', 'poor'

Speak

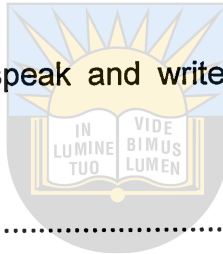
Read

Write

(ix) What is your highest symbol in English? At which level- Grade 7/ 'O' Level or 'A' level?

.....

(x) Can you say the way you speak and write English is influenced by your mother tongue? If yes, how?



.....

.....

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(xi) Are there any aspects of Shona/Ndebele that are transferred to English during your writing?

.....

.....

.....

(xii) Do you think speaking English with a style that resembles the mother tongue has any impact at all on Standard English? If yes how?

.....

.....

(xiii) Which English terminology do you think comes from Shona /Ndebele)?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

(xiv) Do you think English has been transformed sufficiently for it to be classified as a distinct variety of English that can be called Zimbabwean English?

.....
.....
.....



(xv) Would you say that the mother tongue influences on English indicate language change?

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.....
.....
.....

(xvi) How much has English changed because of it sharing space with Shona/Ndebele and other indigenous languages?

.....
.....
.....
.....

(xvii) Do you associate the type of English you use with your identity?

.....

(xviii) Do you feel a need to preserve your identity even while you are using a foreign language such as English?

.....

.....

Thank You!



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Appendix 4 Student Essays

Essay 1

University students in Zimbabwe face a lot of challenges during their learning course. Most of these challenges are increased by ignorant learning environments and lack of support from both their parents and the government.

Lack of fees is the major problem they face. Some come from disadvantaged families and might require help with fees and accommodation. Most of these students are students with tonnes of potential to excel but the authorities do not realise that potential.

While at the university campus, students struggle to get food. The facilities are not reliable and the services are not favourable. The environments are neither clean nor user friendly to students. The students also face problems of research facilities and access to the internet. Usually the libraries are closed and the WiFi is flooded. Students need to study and do research and if these services are not available, students cannot perform fully.

Transport facilities are also a problem for students. When they finish their lectures, they might not be able to access transport back to their hostels. The students may then resort to other means such as hitch hiking or walking, and it is during these times when tragedies happen. These are times when they get exposed to all forms of abuse by their transporters, rich old men and women who will be hoping to exchange the transport for payment in kind.

Places to stay on campus are also minimal and they are expensive. Students then find accommodation in their nearby communities and this may also pose problems for them. The problems include theft, burglaries and abuse.

Also, as university students are usually still growing children or young adults, they need SRHR (Sexual Reproductive Health Education). They need these to help them grow well and understand their sexuality. This education assists them in growing into better human beings who will be useful when incorporated into society not people with nothing but gross hooliganism.

Essay 2

University life can be a great experience. It can be fun and educational and on the other hand full of hardships.

Students in universities are faced by many challenges, these challenges can be divided into a few groups, you may find some of the students facing shortage of school fees this is where by parents don't have money to pay for their students fees. Many students are living alone and adjusting to being alone is difficult. Furthermore students get a lot of

freedom since they are renting or living alone, they have to adjust or otherwise they will find themselves moving adrift from their studies.

Security shortage is the other challenge faced by university students this is whereby students don't have anyone to protect them from any harm, and they don't have any one to look or control them from any wrong doing. Study workload is the other challenge this is where by students have to stick to a certain strict time table. Therefore learning methods are different and challenging for students, furthermore a lot of workload is also difficult to manage, students have to study for longer hours to keep up and for their progress.

Other external influences such as peer pressure, partying with friends and socialising also affects student's studies.

Essay 3

Many students in Zimbabwe face a lot challenges economically and socially. Some of these challenges include rents, diseases and accessibility to buildings especially to those who are disabled.

Financial challenges are one of the challenges that can be faced by university students in Zimbabwe. So many students find it difficult for them to acquire sufficient funds that they require when they are at the universities. This is mainly because their parents cannot afford to sustain two families that is at home and the student at the university. To add on to that, students face some challenges with money to pay rentals in the areas they live. There is also a challenge with those people who own houses in the nearby locations who are imposing rents that are not affordable.

University students also face a challenge of abuse. This is mainly because of the people who exploit the girl child. Also as a result of abuse there are cases of HIV infections that have been recorded among university students.

Students also face a challenge with transport as there are shortages of buses to ferry students from their residence to the campus.

Essay 4

There are many challenges that university students face during the four year stay. Some of these challenges involve capacity constraints that are beyond the control of the students. These include transport problems to and from different campuses, expensive food stuffs especially at school.

Students are also affected by financial hardships to pay for school fees owing to the fact that universities are charging exorbitant fees. They also face financial challenges for paying rentals which are usually also high. Students especially face sexual abuse from the university staff that lectures and the security personnel.

University students also face a challenge of not being involved in decision making that is their right to participation is impeded. Moreso, there queries are not addressed and if they are, they are not addressed in time.

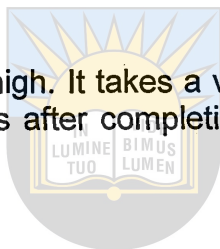
Essay 5

Quite a number of challenges are faced by university students in Zimbabwe but the most challenges come from finance.

Students in Zimbabwe don't receive grants. They find it difficult to cope with demanding life at university. They need food and pay for accommodation which costs about \$65 per month. The hostels are few.

Students travel long distances, and there is shortage of buses between campuses. There is always pressure at the bus stops. The weak students and the girls can be highly affected there.

The standards of education are quite high. It takes a very brave and consistent person to pass. There is no guarantee of jobs after completion of studies, that kills students' spirit.



Essay 6

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Accommodation is one of the major challenges faced by university students in Zimbabwe. Most students have to rent in nearby suburbs hence it is more expensive. The challenge of lack of school fees is also another problem since most students are not able to raise their school fees due to poverty or orphan hood. There is also a challenge of transport. Most of the student resides far away from their lecture rooms hence there is a risk of not attending lectures. Disabilities is also a challenge faced and those with disabilities can't access the building since they are disability friendly. The widespread of HIV/AIDS is also a pandemic which needs attention since students are indulging in unprotected sexual activities which therefore lead to the widespread of the disease.

Essay 7

University students are facing a lot of challenges. There is shortage of accommodation. In Zimbabwe there are few hostels at university that accommodate students for example at Bindura University of Science Education (BUSE) the school hostels only accommodate a quarter of students. The rest of students resides in location where they are not proper accommodation. The houses in location are poorly ventilated and there are sewers which are an eyesore hence outbreak of disease hence a major challenge to the students.

challenge is shortage of transport from home to the college. The unavailability of city buses leads many students to walk on foot. The buses do not transport to the location during the day. This will result to children to use short cut routes where they will be robbed by thieves. Many cases have been reported concerning who have been robbed while on their way home.

University students are facing a challenge of a firm representation of the committee who will effect change concerning the children grievances.

grants to pay school fees, food and accommodation is one of the major issues. The government is failing to ensure adequate funds towards tertiary schools. The fees are too high hence they fail to pay in time and hinder the success of a student.

Accommodation is another challenge university students in Zimbabwe face. There is a lack of accommodation thus student residence per hostels.

Many campuses per university. Students have to travel for long distances to reach centres of learning.

Access to the internet, it is not enough to cater for students all the time. Usually students have to wake up early in the morning in order to use the internet.

There are or no field trips per semester before fieldwork or attachment. There is lack of information to what is on the ground, what is the current situation in relevant to their study programme.

Among the various challenges that are faced by university students in Zimbabwe, accommodation due to lack of adequate infrastructure or hostels at university is one of the major challenges. Students face the challenges of accommodation to the extent of walking 7 kilometres. For example a B.U.S.E student who lives in Chiwaridzo Bindura faculty of science education campus which is about 7 to 8 kilometres. Thus accommodation is a challenge faced by students.

Another challenge faced by students is financial problems. Most universities in Zimbabwe have a cost above US\$450, 00 but majority of people's salaries is below that considering the family and the student, the money earned will be allocated to the family and this will result in a student facing financial problems. However, the government through the programme of cadetship pays an amount of US\$300 which is not enough for a student to cover less.

Moreover students' challenges of pressure. The pressure will be coping new environment pressure from friends as well as pressure of school work. If students may face challenge of coping up with the new environment because students come from different regions. Students also face pressure of school work which may result in students trying to manage the stress through drug or alcohol abuse .students may face pressure from peers for example if other student abuse drugs or engage in prostitution one will be exposed to peer pressure.

Furthermore students do not air out their views in terms of political issues. Students do not participate fully in politics since there is no less political stability. Students who support opposition parties may face challenges of neglect or abuse but the case are rare.

Essay 10

Students in Zimbabwe face a lot of challenges due to the economic, political and social setting of Zimbabwe. The challenges include financial support for school fees, basic needs and others. These great financial constraints are faced by the failure of our economic situation. There are also transport costs as universities do not have enough transport to cater for all students on the universities. These challenges are exacerbated by fewer residential plans to cater for university students.

Essay 11

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University students have faced challenges in their day to day activities which include issues to do with accommodation, transportation to and from and lacking financial capital to assist them in their survival. There is need for social capital to be at standard level so that university student's living on campus is stabilised. University students are often challenged in terms of accessing cheaper accommodation or housing that is located near schools. For example due to the fact that many of the university residents are not adequate to cater for a large number of students, some students have to live out of residence which can either be far or near which is may be expensive. Thus students are still learning and need to have a stable environment which is conducive so that the classes of degrees which will be produced will be of high quality.

Zimbabwean university students face the challenges of having no grants to cater for their basic needs. This is because the quality of degrees that are being produced are of a poor quality because they lack financial capital to sponsor their day to day activities. If the government was providing loans or grants to the students, they will face a little challenges in accessing basic needs that are necessary at school e.g. food clothing and other necessities they need as individuals. Inadequate transport is also a challenge faced by university students as they experience their life on campus. This is due to the reason that universities lack enough buses and other vehicles that can ferry students to and fro. Because of this university students tend to walk longer distances unfriendly to

other groups like the students with disabilities. For example students have to fight to get the first sit in the bus which is also affecting.

Essay 12

There are many challenges that university students usually face when pursuing their studies at various universities across the country. These challenges range from social economic, political and environmental spheres. These and more shall be discussed as the essay progresses. On social challenges, students are often exposed to various social ills such as drug abuse and prostitution.

Most students, especially at Bindura university live in high density suburbs which are beyond the schools' threshold. Hence students often fall prey to such social ills. At times there is social conflict which exists between students and permanent residents of respective towns in which universities are located. Students are deemed as antisocial as most community members will be viewing for their full intergration into the society. As a result, a conflict may occur as tension already exists in university towns. Economics is also a factor which also prompt challenges to university students in Zimbabwe.

Parents or guardians are at most unable to assist their children with adequate funds. Hence students will face financial constraints as a result. Environment is also posing as a challenge to students. Due to an inefficient university transport system, students are forced to walk very long distances which in itself is a challenge. Politically, students often fall victim of being portrayed as a threat to the existing political structures. They are often depicted as having varying ideologies which are in contrast with the status quo. Hence deprivation of basic necessities is initiated as political perception. All in all, students at Zimbabwe's universities often face challenges. These challenges are felt in the economical, political, social and environmental spheres.

Essay 13

Various challenges are being faced by university students in pursuing their studies. These include distance between the university and home. Accommodation is another challenge, financial challenges among others.

The issue of distance is a major challenge to university students in Zimbabwe. This is mainly caused by the issue of lacking accommodation in universities. Hostels in universities are not able to cater for all students enrolled. Therefore this is causing students to search for accommodation in areas that are far away from the university. However this is causing a negative effect towards their studies. This is affecting the time of their studies in the sense that they are having a limited time to access the library especially during the night.

The other issue is financial constraints. This is in the sense of the school fees and places by universities. They are too much for students to pay. Because of this reason some are being forced to defer which is delaying their learning process. Financial

constraints are also being aided by the issue of lacking of accommodation at the university. Students opt for lodging as an alternative to residing at a campus. However they are paying too much for lodging in surrounding areas. Lack of field trips is another challenge which is affecting most students learning. This is being caused by lack of commitment by the departments to enhance field trips which is affecting their studies. They will end up having theoretical knowledge but not practical.

In conclusion, these challenges need to be solved especially in financial constraints is causing students especially girls to engage in prostitution so as to acquire financial resources therefore they will end up having HIV/AIDS and other STIs.

Essay 14

Students mostly in Zimbabwe face a variety of challenges in all aspects of life due to certain circumstances.

Transport problem is one of the greatest challenges affecting the majority of the students in Zimbabwe. This is forcing many students who are not in a position to afford transport costs to resort to the natural feet. The universities especially state universities are not in a position to offer reliable and conducive transport services to the ever growing number of students that are being admitted institutions to transport students and fro university campuses. A good example is that of Bindura University students who reside in the neighbouring Chipadze and Chiwaridzo suburbs who travel at least six kilometres to the campus. Only one or two shuttle buses are supposed to ferry students to and fro campus, which are not enough. This will result in buses only ferrying those students who have been lack enough to chance accommodation in university hostels.

Accommodation challenges are also a challenge affecting the learning of university students at Zimbabwean universities especially state owned. Most university face a challenge of providing its students with enough and affordable hostels in the university premises this may be largely contributed by the fluctuating economic status the country is facing. This will force the university to offer the feel available hostels to those students with impairments and the first priority and first come first save bases to the remaining few. This situation is forcing some students to seek accommodation in surroundings locations hence they face various challenges which include ill treatment by landlords, high unbearable rents. Due to these situations, students are exposed to high risk of theft and robbery as well as sexual abuse. This unbearable conditions force some students especially ladies to drug and alcohol abuse to meet their needs.

To sum up, there is need for the government and often relevant stakeholders to intervene to ease such situations. These challenges are affecting the learning capabilities of students thereby overallly affecting their grades.

Essay 15

Extreme rates of fees, money being paid by students is too much to an extend that most of the students would choose to defer education. The student would seek employment

for them to complete education. At the expense of completing the programme after four years because of financial constraints stimulated by high unemployment rate.

Transport problems is also a problem that is faced by students in Zimbabwe. The required school buses are less than the number of students after studies mostly by 10:00pm, most of the students walk long distances for almost 5km from the library. As a result they encounter attacks from robbers, who some of them are also students who try to get a living through others food, money, and academics materials.

Essay 16

As a country itself, Zimbabwe like any other country especially in developing countries face a lot of challenges. These challenges especially economic challenges have also affected even university students in their lifestyles and way of living as they would be doing their degrees.

A lot of university students attain their education far away from their homes . this is because there are not as many universities in Zimbabwe that could accommodate everyone nearer to their homes. Also the issue of programmes being offered have proven to be problems to university students because most students end up accepting programmes that they would not have desired because it is the only programme offered by university nearer to their homes.

In addition to the above arguement the issue of acquiring places at universities far away from students homes has proven to be a challenge most university students in Zimbabwe face.these challenges include finding proper accommodation and in most cases accommodation fees that suit their background. This is mainly because of economic hardships many universities in Zimbabwe do not have adequate funds to built accommodation and after residential facilities to their students. So many students have faced challenges of accommodation and end up living in places that are not even safe for them and in most cases they have ended up being victims of theft.

Transport is also another challenge that most university students in Zimbabwe face. These students are affected by the issue of transport to such an extent that most students resort not to go to some transport services to their students and many students are faced with the challenge of finding their own means of transport to attend lectures yet they pay transport fees part of their tuition fees. This have led to many students especially girls to resort to find transport from strangers and in most cases these strangers ask for favours in return and these girls give them these favours to keep on attending transport to go to lectures.

Moreover university students face sexual harassment and in most cases girls have been the ones mainly affected. This sort of harassment come from their fellow students to lectures and even when they are on attachment girls are harassed by their fellow students and even boys but in most cases girls are the ones mainly affected from lectures they are harassed and in turn promised good marks. and in many companies

they face harassment from managers to give them jobs if you agree to most of their demands.

Essay 17

In this era of the poor economic environment in Zimbabwe, University students tend to face more challenges than ever. There has been a reduction in money flows, people can no longer access more money in banks and this at some point leaves the state with so many challenges due to shortages of money. Due to the fact that money is now difficult to get university students are now facing challenges in paying their school fees especially those that have civil servants as parents.

Also, accommodation has been listed among the major challenges faced by university students all around Zimbabwe. Due to financial challenges faced by institutions they fail to build hostels that cater for every student and in this case students are forced to live in shacks and other places where they pay rentals which is above their income. Thus accommodation has been a major challenge faced by university students in Zimbabwe.

Moreso, sexual harassment is another challenge being faced by university students in Zimbabwe in this case students are forced to indulge in sexual relationships mostly with lecturers in turn for good marks. Also, students especially girls face this challenge during the internship period whereby they are to sleep with company managers to secure a job

Furthermore, transport is another challenge faced by university students in Zimbabwe. Most of the students do not stay in campus and transport has been a great challenge and is still because some of the commuter omnibuses do not get to other destinations where students stay. Also, the institutions fail to provide transport and students have to walk making them late for lectures.

Moreover, students face challenges in acquiring information to write assignments and projects due to lack of necessary textbooks and internet services at their institutions. This leads to many students dropping out of school due to failure in different courses.

Essay 18

Zimbabwe as a nation has experienced an economic downfall due to many reasons which include inflation high rates and also lack of international support. This greatly affected university students in Zimbabwe as they face many challenges when they are at their learning institutions.

To start with university students have financial challenge. This might be due to their background which might be normally poor. In most families parents no longer afford to send their children to school and then to universities. Of the few who are able to send

their children to universities, these children are challenged at a greater percentage when they are for accommodation, paying tuition and buy food. This one can note that many university students face financial challenges.

University students also have accommodation challenges. This has been caused because many universities in Zimbabwe can not afford to offer residential accommodation to their students. Accommodation which might be available is offered at a high price. This leads to the facing of many challenges faced by students which could include the squattering of many people in a single room.

In addition students also face transport problems. This is because the universities have many campuses which are away from each other. One can also take a case of Bindura university where the campuses are away from each other. These transport problems have led to many students especially girls to be abused because they would want to have cheaper and free transport to and from their campuses.

Furthermore students also face challenges of being abused by their lecturers. This has been caused by mainly by male lectures who give marks to students in exchange of sex. The abuse of students has led to a high rate of sexually transmitted diseases to most teenagers. Students are also being abused when they go for their attachments. In order for them to get attached at some paying companies they would resort to have sex with the company leaders. This sexual abuse in school and out of school is a good challenge faced by universities students.

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Essay 19

Zimbabwe is best known for its high education standards. In fact it has the highest literacy rate in all of Africa. All over the continent where Zimbabwean students have been forced by economic challenges back home, to go students from Zimbabwe are a rated. However back home Zimbabwean students especially at university have to contend with mountains of challenges. It is the aim of this essay to highlight some of these challenges, specifically with reference to university students.

Firstly Zimbabwean university students have financial challenges. While university education in other countries is a luxury because of the scholarship programmes that cater for university going students, in Zimbabwe students have little or no such opportunities. The percentage of students who get any meaningful scholarships for their undergraduate studies is minute and insignificant. The majority still has to pay all fees and in most cases tuition fees are beyond the reach of many a student. This has seen many students taking petty jobs to sustain their studies. As a result students end up taking jobs after hours, which is a strain on their resources.

Another challenge for university students is that of inadequate resources to support their studies. Prices of laptops and other computer accessories that support are still very-very-very expensive for the poor students. The universities themselves do not have

enough computers for students to access online books, journals, individual academic articles and other electronic resources that students are in so much need of in the 21st century. This has forced university students to continuously pay for internet access at several internet service providing outlets that are dotted around university campuses in Zimbabwe.

As if tuition nightmares are not enough, university students in Zimbabwe still have to have food at high prices. The government has failed to subsidise students on anything not even on a right as basic as food. To ordinary citizens the prices of food at university might seem ridiculously low but if the student has to buy the food twice or three times a day and still have to pay for other service like printing of assignments and transport it becomes too much.

Problems associated with accommodation are perhaps the worst kind of challenge faced by university students in Zimbabwe. Universities in Zimbabwe simply cannot afford to accommodate students not even half of them at any given time. This is a huge challenge as students have to look for alternative accommodation outside campus. Students have as a result been forced to share a room amongst a number of them to cut on costs. Students as many as six can share a room on one hand to minimise costs and on the other because their land owners want to maximise on their properties and therefore require students to share a room and still pay for it as if they were not sharing.

University students in Zimbabwe face a plenty of challenges that are not shared by their counterparts elsewhere in the region. Highlighted above are just but a few of the many challenges faced by university students. Government still has a lot to do to alleviate the challenges faced by university students in Zimbabwe a few of which brought to light in this discussion.

Essay 20

University students are faced with challenges such as accommodation. This issue has been of great concern in all the universities around the country. Universities are enrolling more than they can accommodate and this have led to some students into prostitution or co-habitation. This is because some are not affording the rentals which are sometimes.

Another challenge is the issue of transport. Most of the students walk long distances to school and this is affecting their standards or their standards or their grades in school. Students are forced to leave thee campus earlier so as to walk home of which that time should be utilized for their personal studies. Some are now exposed to thieves because of walking late at night.

Financial issues is also a challenge faced by students in universities in Zimbabwe. Due to poor economy most of the parents are not affording to meet all the requirements by their children. Some fees are not paid on time and pocket money is also an issue which is also affecting students. Girls especially end up engaging in prostitution to cater for their needs.

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Essay 24

Zimbabwe has more than ten universities. This gives students a chance to have access to higher education. Even students from rural areas can now have the opportunity to go to university unlike in the past when it was just the university of Zimbabwe alone. However, the increasing number of universities is happening at a time when challenges are also increasing for the ordinary student. This essay will discuss some of the common challenges facing students in Zimbabwe.

The most common problem for students in Zimbabwe is tuition fees. Many students are passing O and A levels but there seems to be a failure by government to set up scholarships. Some African countries have scholarships to cover their people since they know how much poverty is in their backyard. Therefore they know that the onus to send their own people to school is theirs, no-one can do it on their behalf. But in Zimbabwe, this is not the case. Only a few companies have set up these scholarships, for example, Econenet Wireless.

For the few students who manage to source funds for fees, their problems are far from over. In fact they have just begun. Zimbabwe has these new universities that just start without enough capital or infrastructure. As a result they do not have enough student hostels. Despite this inadequacy, they go on to enrol thousands of students. Where do they house these students? Students end up crowded, squatting or even renting in shacks and backyards, others co-habiting with boyfriends, girlfriends, sugardaddies and sugarmummies. All this in this era of the Aids pandemic.

A further challenge nowadays is to do with getting a place for attachment. Many colleges have programmes that require students to go for attachment during the third year. Due to high unemployment rates and companies closing there are limited places

for attachment. As a result some of the students end up deferring due to failure to fulfil university regulations.

Lastly, the challenge of resources such as internet is a problem. Due to large numbers of students, we can not access the internet and anyway it is always flooded and slow. This works negatively on the pass rate, or even the progress of students. These challenges are not only at university but in all other schools in general.

In conclusion, the Zimbabwe education system is a good system when rating Africa specifically. It is simply poverty and poor planning that forces university students to suffer these ills. All that is needed is political leaders who have the students needs at heart to address these challenges. Otherwise education is the only escape from poverty and the only route to development.

Essay 23

Of the many challenges facing university students, cultural erosion is the largest challenge of all. This is a result of mixing with people from different codes of life leading to loss of norms, values, morality and identity.

Students at university claim to have freedom because they will be feeling like adults. But the main problem is the existence of the HIV and AIDS pandemic. As a result of the freedom, students engage in wild behaviour leading to disease and death.

A further challenge at university is that of sponsorship. Though sponsors are assisting schools or universities, not all students have access. Financial problems need to be looked at and addressed. If government could assist especially on issues related to finance, then all other challenges that are results of financial problems will have been dealt with.

Essay 25

Higher education is the gateway to success for many youth in Africa. Zimbabwe is included in this bracket. The major hiccup is that in Zimbabwe university students face far too many challenges including financial resources, academic resources and psychological support.

The problem with Zimbabwean parents in this century is that they just send students to university even when they cannot afford to do so. This has led to drop outs and other more serious problems such as promiscuity and juvenile delinquency. While thinking of their own status in today's materialistic society, they usually forget that apart from tuition fees there are other costs on campuses like accommodation, food, entertainment clothing, internet, stationery and even money for typing assignments since lecturers no longer accept handwritten work. Students are therefore in a tricky situation as to how they can meet all these costs on their own. This is a big challenge.

On academic resources, most universities have activities on campus that are part of the academic requirements such as field trips in which all students need to participate as part of course work mark component. Failure to attend these activities can actually cause one to fail. Usually just a small fee is needed but for a poor student even a small fee can be difficult to get.

Finally, university students suffer psychologically and yet fail to get psychological support from the authorities at students affairs offices due to the large numbers of students in need. Students can be stressed by academic demands, financial problems, relationships, peer pressure and many other social issues affecting the youth. Without professional assistance, students end up committing suicide or dropping out of college. All the above mentioned challenges affect the learning process and therefore they need to be addressed by university authorities and parents in order to reach an amicable solution.



Essay 28

This essay will discuss about the challenges encountered by university students in Zimbabwe. There are more than ten universities as of now, and the students in generally all the universities are facing similar challenges, to different extents.

There is the challenge of cash for subsistence. This is a common problem since parents do not have either enough money or the jobs to sustain the expenses. In addition most students face the challenge of attachment places. This is not because they want to go there but because it's the place that would be just open after a struggle to get that chance. At times they have to pay in order to get that space, the little they have, of course some will be having much. Some students from BUSE and MSU have reportedly failed to go for attachment the year they intended and they had to defer and go the next year where one will be working for no pay.

Moreover, there is also the idea of peer pressure. Students at university end up being into things because of friends. According to the Bible a bad friend defiles good character, Students end up doing anything. For instance, strikes, prostitution, unfair ways of getting money and some even engage in Satanism. This has contributed to the many challenges of varsity students.

Essay 35

Many problems that are faced by students are a result of their background. Most of them are a result of financial problems to cater for fees, food and accommodation. There is also the idea of attachments and peer pressure though these students claim to have freedom.

About three quarters of University students fail to pay all their fees. This might be a result of withdrawal of government from offering grants as used to happen in the 90s. Students suffer. They struggle to get that amount and this has been worsened by the idea that these days temporal jobs especially in the field of education where they recruit people only with degrees. They ignore the fact that students need to work so as to be able to pay their fees.

Essay 38

The issue of university learning is causing many problems in Zimbabwe. The people most affected are girls. This is not new because if you look around you can tell that most of the problems in life hit at the girls while the boys suffer less.

Most girls are indulging into prostitution thus having sugar daddies and young boys are having sugar mommies for instance, there are some Gwejas who reported in a recent newspaper that they would sleep with university students from \$3 to \$1. If this is true, this is only because the girls will be having no money to buy food and there at their homes there will be nothing to make them survive and so sex trade will do. At the end students graduate to die and not to benefit their country.

In addition to that, there is an issue of accommodation. After failing to be accommodated at the university, they move into locations where five or six students will be crowded in one room each paying about \$30 per month if not more than that. A certain block release student from Masvingo said that he spent about two weeks staying at the green market because he failed to get accommodation though he had money. That was 2008, at present accommodation is still a big challenge.

Essay 39

University education in Zimbabwe is the wish of many who will have succeeded at high school. However, it is the preserve of a few who manage to get resources to actually pay for the demands of universities in Zimbabwe. As a result of the expenses involved, many students face challenges in terms of food, shelter and educational facilities and resources. The major driving force behind these numerous stumbling blocks is the social, economic and political uncertainty in our country.

Most universities in Zimbabwe, especially State Universities, have dining halls where students are supposed to buy food at a fee. Due to tuition fees expenses, most students are not able to buy food so they practice what is jocularly called 0-0-1, or 0-1-0 whereby the zeroes mean no meal and the one shows that the student had a meal. Access to food is a challenge as some students from poor backgrounds cannot afford to have three proper meals in a day. This challenge leads to hordes of problems. When students are hungry they engage in numerous ills - Drug abuse, prostitution, unruly behaviour, riotous behaviour and even crime. All these are outside the core business of universities.

Universities such as the one I go to have a shortage of educational resources. Bindura University is still a growing institution so things like the internet, libraries and laboratories are still inadequate. This is a big challenge when students have to do research time and time again. We end up depending on children from rich families who have personal laptops with internet. This leads to plagiarism since there is not enough time to research so students end up simply copying and pasting, which is unacceptable.

In conclusion, students in university need the support of government in the form of payouts or grants. This is the only solution to the financial challenges. Universities also need to reduce numbers. The carrying capacity is a problem that needs government intervention.

Essay 40

There are numerous challenges haunting students in Zimbabwean universities. This is due to the socio-political environment that Zimbabwe is in. Zimbabwe has just emerged from a long decade of gloom and therefore it is to be expected that things are not to the satisfaction of citizens yet. Among the challenges to be discussed are shortage of lecturers, poor infrastructure, transport and inadequate accommodation.

Since the economic problems of the year 2000 onwards, Zimbabwe has suffered brain drain. Until presently, the country is yet to fully heal. Some universities are still experiencing shortage of lecturers as they continue to go for greener pastures to South Africa, Namibia, Botswana, America and Britain. Universities continue to enrol students, then they tell them to wait for a new lecturer who is said to be coming from somewhere. The waiting can take up to four or five weeks before a lecturer comes. This has a negative impact on university learning and many students have failed because of these delays.

As a developing country Zimbabwe is still trying to develop its infrastructure. Classrooms at universities especially the newer ones and the old ones that are introducing new programs are a problem. This particular challenge leads to overcrowding which is unhealthy. This challenge is just experienced in state universities. In Private Universities there is adequate infrastructure and the numbers are quite small and the space is conducive for learning.

The issues of transport and accommodation can't be separated. This is because students who fail to secure campus accommodation end up renting far from campus. As a result, they need transport to ferry them to campus daily. This puts them in a tight spot as most universities do not have many buses or they do not have fuel that can sustain many trips in a single day. As a result students suffer the consequences of unavailability of resources.

The resolution of the challenges outlined above is a long process. The students and the government that owns state universities need to sit down and discuss the way forward so as to deal with these challenges in a sustainable manner.

Appendix 5 Sample Transcripts from Interviews

Transcript 1

Q: What is your mother tongue?

A: Shona

Q: Do you find the English spoken in Zimbabwe different from Standard English?

A: Yes, structurally, syntactically and lexically.

Q: If so, how does the difference manifest?

A: It borrows from the indigenous languages. In speaking certain grammatical characteristics; e.g “I am tired with English” from the Shona “*Ndaneta neChirungu*”. Prepositions mostly, using of/for interchangeably.

Q: What are the characteristics of the English that is written by your students?

A: Rules are generalised from Shona to English and the spoken is carried over to written; they write the way they speak.

Q: Do you think indigenous languages in Zimbabwe such as Shona and Ndebele are responsible for the difference?

A: Yes, definitely. Even different dialects result in different versions of the English spoken in Zimbabwe. There is a huge influence.

Q: Apart from influences on spoken output, are you aware of any L1 influence on English? How does Shona and Ndebele influence English speaking, reading and

writing?

A: Pace and tone of speech (Shona is fast paced) – intonation. Ndebele is slower and has clearer pronunciation of words

Q: What is your assessment of your students' written assignments?

A: Okay. They make sense.

Q: Do students' assignments reflect any cross-linguistic influences?

A: Yes, syntactically (arrangement of words). Emphasis; 'very very very cold'.

Q: How grammatical and comprehensible are students' essays?

A: Quite clear that meaning is understood.

Q: Do students' assignments retain grammaticality and comprehensibility even when/ while reflecting on cross-linguistic influence between English and Mother Tongue?

A: Yes they do, because its also people who understand the context assessing the work anyway.

Q: Which lexical, morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic aspects of language are mostly transferred from Ndebele/Shona to English without compromising its grammaticality?

A: Words from my mother tongue have found their way into English. They will be English words but with an indigenous flavour or ring to them, for

example, the word *tight*, that we use often saying; Things are *tight*. It's a *tight situation*. This is Shona vocabulary from: *Zvinhu zvakaoma* meaning the situation is difficult. But the way us Shona people speak English is such that we make it interesting and fancy. If we pick a word, we can use it and overuse it. We are creative, I think. The same word *tight* is also used as slang in instances such as, He got himself a *tight* girlfriend; meaning he got himself a beautiful/attractive girlfriend. Then there is the sentence structure where subjects and objects are not easily distinguished.

Q: Is it common to find instances of slang, code-mixing and other contemporary speech styles in the English written by your students?

A: Yes; kind of, kind of like, guys, It is like (*njengokuthi/sokuti*)

Q: Is it a problem in the Zimbabwean classroom when students use this non-standard but grammatical English?

A: Yes, Standard English is held in high esteem in Zimbabwe. Zimbabwean English is not yet a legitimate variety of English.

Q: Do you associate language use with socio-cultural identity?

A: It's not really a conscious decision. Students from rural areas speak less or no slang.

Q: Are there any aspects of Zimbabwean culture that you can identify in the English that is spoken and written in Zimbabwe?

A: Speaking English with an accent eh writing as if speaking.

Transcript 2

Q: What is your mother tongue?

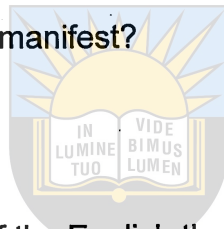
A: Shona

Q: Do you find the English spoken in Zimbabwe different from Standard English?

A: Its different but close.

Q: If so, how does the difference manifest?

A: Pronunciation and accent



Q: What are the characteristics of the English that is written by your students?

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A: Basically, grammar is correct but expression is poor; transliteration.

Q: Do you think indigenous languages in Zimbabwe such as Shona and Ndebele are responsible for the difference?

A: Yes, makes them conservative with words and hold back emotions.

Q: Apart from influences on spoken output, are you aware of any L1 influence on English? How does Shona and Ndebele influence English speaking, reading and writing?

A: Expression; the "R" and "L" sounds.

Q: What is your assessment of your students' written assignments?

A: Comprehensible to a larger extent

Q: Do students' assignments reflect any cross-linguistic influences?

A: Yes there is a lot of back and forth influence, some phonological and some in written work: e.g the use of there and their in speaking – there is confusion.

Q: How grammatical and comprehensible are students' essays?

A: There are problems with grammar but still comprehensible to a larger extent

Q: Do students' assignments retain grammaticality and comprehensibility even when/ while reflecting on cross-linguistic influence between English and Mother Tongue?

A: To a certain extent.

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Q: Which lexical, morphological, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic aspects of language are mostly transferred from Ndebele/Shona to English without compromising its grammaticality?

A: I can say vocabulary items, and sentence structure. Also there is no gender distinction in Shona and Ndebele possessives and pronouns, for example she is going/ari kuenda/usehamba. His chair/Chigaro chake/Isihlalo sakhe. Nothing in [a-/u-/chake/sakhe] says anything about the gender of the person being referred to by the possessive or the pronoun. This falls under morphology I believe. But it is a cultural aspect as well because it has meaning implications. Say, the way us in Shona express femininity and masculinity is not as clear in our pronouns as it is done in English. Still, in a way, we carry that to English and we mostly use the

indigenous forms that we are used to, as long as meaning is not affected I do not think there is a problem, I don't know.

Q: Is it common to find instances of slang, code-mixing and other contemporary speech styles in the English written by your students?

A: Yes, slang (informal language).

Q: Is it a problem in the Zimbabwean classroom when students use this non-standard but grammatical English?

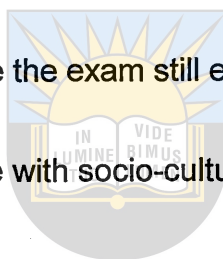
A: Yes there is a problem because the exam still expects Standard English.

Q: Do you associate language use with socio-cultural identity?

A: Socially yes, but individually no.

Q: Are there any aspects of Zimbabwean culture that you can identify in the English that is spoken and written in Zimbabwe?

A: Speech style, relationships – e.g cousin sister/brother, uncles and aunts are mothers. Infact our indigenous situation, eh, is responsible for the way we express ourleves.



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